

P. 492-T

This Exhibit consists of the "Special Russia Number" of the *Chitramaya Jagat* magazine for June, 1928 (Vol. XIX, No. 6). This number is incomplete and some pages are repeated twice over and so it is considered along with Exhibit No. P-863 which also contains the same issue of the magazine.

The first article entitled "Russia and secular salvation" is from the pen of D. K. Kelkar and purports to be an exposition of the Soviet doctrine: "Religion is an opiate for the people." The second article headed "What is Socialism" is contributed by R. G. Bhide and it traces the history of Socialism from Rousseau to Lenin's acknowledged master Karl Marx. A few quotations from Lenin's "State and revolution" and from Engels's writings are given to explain what is meant by the "Dictatorship of the Proletariat." The third article written under the pen-name "Keshavdatta" attempts to throw light on the system of education adopted in Soviet Russia. The freedom enjoyed by Russian students to take part in politics and to manage the school affairs is brought out in a dialogue at the end of the article between a foreign visitor and a Russian student. The fourth article written by T. R. Devgirikar entitled "History of the Russian Revolution" deals with the history of the last hundred years of the Tsarist regime which the writer says was full of bloody inhuman massacres and transportations. In the next article the writer under the pen-name of 'Pravasi' compares and contrasts the Courts of Justice and the Criminal Laws of Soviet Russia with those of England and America and tries to refute the allegation that the judicial administration of Russia is in a chaotic state. The next article written by S. V. Gore deals with the Social system of Soviet Russia in respect of religion, family, marriage, divorce &c. and pays a high tribute to the Russian Government for its solicitude for the welfare of the masses. Among the photographs reproduced there is one showing M. N. Roy lecturing before the International Agrarian Institute. It may be stated that the front page reproduces a bust photograph of Lenin and the scythe and hammer, the emblem of the Government of the Workers. The issue is profusely illustrated and also contains photographs of Trotsky, Stalin and Krensky. The next article headed "Bolshevism" explains the difference between Socialism, Communism and Bolshevism. The next article headed "Communist International and the League of Nations" is contributed by S. A. Dange and is translated under this Exhibit. In the next article S. M. Datar, M. A., L. L. M., deals with the "Foreign Policy of Soviet Russia" and in conclusion expresses the hope that Soviet Russia will be able to crush aside all misunderstandings prevailing about her in England and America and will, in a short time, occupy a leading place in the League of Nations. Next occurs the English version of the "Internationale" sung in Russia embodying the principles of Bolshevism

with its Marathi rendering in prose. At the foot of the poem the aim of Bolshevism is given as follows in English (page 300): "To end the domination of Capital, make war impossible, wipe out state boundaries, transform the whole world into one Co-operative Commonwealth, and bring about real human brotherhood and freedom." Next follows the article "The Bolshevik Trio" by a writer under the pen-name "Vinayaksuta" giving short sketches of the lives of Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin. Next follows miscellaneous information in brief regarding the army, the area under the rule of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republic, its population and the description of its national ensign. A few quotations are next given from Shaukat Usmani's book (not named but evidently "From Peshawar to Moscow") regarding Lenin's simplicity and the interview he granted to Raja Mahendra Pratap, Acharya, Abdul Rab, Barkatullah and Shaukat Usmani. In the following article headed "Economic Progress of Russia in the last decade" the writer under the pen-name "An Expert" explains the economic policy of Soviet Russia and the changes made in it by Lenin and declares that the new policy has resulted in making Russia a prosperous country. The Special Number ends with a few editorial notes which try to refute the attacks alleged to have been made on Bolshevism by Capitalist critics.

Meerut	}	S. EZEKIEL
4-11-1929		Marathi Translator

CHITRAMAYA JAGAT

Special Russia Number.

JUNE 1928.

~~PAGES 293—296.~~

Communist International
and

The League of Nations.

(By—S. A. Dange).

वैदिक
मंत्र

While speaking or writing about such matters from ordinary national politics to such small and great matters as a huge strike our speakers and writers while wielding the weapon of criticism against the politics of the workers make statements to the effect that the Labour office of the League of Nations with its office at Geneva and the leaders co-operating with it are good and reliable and try to foist on the Communists (the responsibility for) the unavoidable economic loss due to the workers' movement and the occasional loss of life and property. The following article has been composed, in these circumstances, with a view to placing before the readers an authentic history of the League of Nations and the

Communist International from a comparative stand point and leaving them to find out (lit: choose) what is good and what is bad, or at anyrate (lit: but', to remove the painful possibility of (people) sticking to false statements owing to insufficient information.

European politics have secured the position of priority for the last three or four centuries in the politics of the whole world and American politics form (merely) an offshoot (lit: offspring) of those politics. So far there was no institution in European politics that required all the governing nations of the world to act in concert with respect to a certain policy (lit: system . No doubt (lit: to say no) we hear of the Monro Doctrine issued to the world by America which lays down that no nation should interfere in the affairs of another nation and we have not heard of any institution having been founded for the express purpose of carefully putting this Doctrine into practice. Moreover this Doctrine was of a preventive nature. It would be safe to say that there is almost nothing of a constructive nature in it. It we set aside this attempt of America that culminated in the cries of victory for this Doctrine and afterwards cooled down, the second institution that for the second time discusses the questions of all the nations and tries to interfere in them-and which is constantly heard of by the people of India is the League of Nations. It is generally believed that this institution is the offspring of the Great war, but we consider this belief to be altogether wrong; and; and the advocates of the League of Nations have tried to spread this belief everywhere since the League has been founded. In our opinion the League of Nations is the very embodiment of the desperate effort made in self defence by the advocates of (the system of) the political economy, in which capital plays a prominent part. (and) who are opposed to Communism, when they could not ^{not} understand the force of the movement which came to be known as the Communist Movement so that their power may continue, at any rate, unabated for a few years more and that they may offer opposition to the Communist Party.

3224

In order to understand the real significance of the opinion expressed above it is necessary to get to know a brief but complete account of the origin of the Communist Party and its present position as also of the theoretical & historical aspect(of the movement). I would therefore supply the information in brief. From the year 1815 to 1848 A. D., we come accross attempts made prominently in the three countries-England, France, and Germany in various occasions to propound in direct or involved language the theory that by force of circumstances the society has an undisputed right over those things that have been produced by the society and that the system of administration that considers that these things are the rightful property of the sons of a few families or those of a few

merchants or factory owners and puts that (theory), into practice is dull and foolish and tends to the degradation of the society.

In England all the movements from the poems of Wordsworth to the accounts of the actual agitation of Owen—the services rendered by Tomas Hogskin in the matter of Workers' organisation and the revolutionary demands of J.F. Brey and their transformation into the chartist movement—all these go to show that though the English intellect could not comprehend real Communism still they show the movements organised to perfection by English intellect actuated by the motive that that aspect of the (Communist) movement deserves to be understood and that it contains something that is of benefit to society. In France about the same time flourished advocates of such opinion who surpassed the above mentioned English advocates of a revolution in the economic position of the workers (such as) St Simon, Frutier Prudcovt and Luis Blank (and they) are counted as the most prominent among them. But it cannot be said that any of them had in particular comprehended the principle of the new social science. They strongly propounded that society degenerates, it becomes addicted to slave mentality and that it loses self-respect (lit:manliness) etc. when power rests in the hands of the Capitalists. But none of them could clearly understand what was the way out (of this situation) and how it should be struck down. But it must be said that the French Sociologists who swam freely on the ocean of imagination could not comprehend as to how to prepare soft soil in the rocky circumstances of the time dominated by capital so that the anchor may be firmly cast into it and the barque of society may not be shattered to pieces in the social and political storm that would be considered as unsurmountable in future. It was very necessary at that time that mankind should get hold of a line of reasoning that would establish connection between the causes of the circumstances that had befallen them and their effects and that would put to test the new path that was daily being shown (lit: coming out) for the liberation of the bonds of society and decide their acceptability or otherwise. A German sociologist succeeded where English and French intellect had come to their wits end, and this sociologist is (no other than) Karl Marx, the chief founder of Communism.

Karl Marx was born in the year in which the rule of the Peshwas came to an end. He was born in a middle-class Jewish family and if we go beyond such matters of minor importance as his education in school and college and a few prizes secured in college examinations to the (year 1843) and inquire about Karl Marx of twenty-five years of age who was a young, hopeful graduate (and) a journalist we shall come across the sight that The Prussian Government considers that young man at an age when he should be in the grip of love or poetry as an angle of death of the German Empire

and is hurling all its legislative machinery at him and is sending him into exile. What was the reason? It was that he published a line of reasoning described above and essential to the world in such a manner that it even reached the ears of one or two lakhs of people. (This work is well-known everywhere as the "Materialist reviews of history" and its principles are not given as they are out of place here). After his exile by the Prussian government this youth carried on the same activities in Paris and he was sent away by the French Government. Then he went to Brussels. There he came in touch (lit: got the information about) with an institution known as the "League of the "Just" through the friendship of Frederick Angles in the year 1846 and he transformed it into the "Union of the Communists" in the year 1847 with the help of Angles. He published a book well known by the name of the Communist Manifesto (containing) full and brief and complete statements which form a compandium of the Communist principles. The authorities took the help of the article he wrote in the new Rhanish Ziting of Cologne (Germany) for the spread of these new principles to destroy his few stray follower Germany and to make arrangements for his being driven away from Brussels. Afterwards Karl Marx reached London in 1849. When he went there he had not a pice in his pocket and no one would give him any employment. This individual made London his permanent abode till the year of his death in 1883.

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Karl Marx, a few followers of Mazzini and some (other) gentlemen who were trying to establish a bank for Belgian workers established the "First Communist International" in the building in which the *John Bull* is published in London in the year 1864. Workers' Unions in England rapidly joined this institution and it gave an impetus to the movement of Workers' Unions throughout the Empire. In a short while (lit: in a few days) Karl Marx and Fredrick Angells became the real directors and leaders of this institution. Marx and Angells used to lay special emphasis on the following principles in criticising free trade while opposing capitalism.

"They have make it a science how to rob labour legally and religion, ethics and the politics of former times naturally bow down before it. Pleaders, physicians teachers, editors, physicists, poets, priests have become labourers who can be had on hire on account of (lit: on the strength of) free trade."

C. M. (1848.)

Marx and Angells used to put the following line of argument while differentiating between a partizen of the Communist party and any other person:

"When the machinery of trade raised on modern scientific materials with its key in the hands of the capitalists stands before

people of all social grades all differences gradually vanish and all of them become workers, and this machine of the workers, works in such a manner that if the worker by some means or other or as a last resort does not snatch the key of the machine into his hands by giving a blow of the cudgel on the hands of owners, he will be completely crushed with all his companions and the machine goes on unchecked as it gets fresh workers for being crushed and its every turn. It is evident from this how unavoidable is the class struggle between the Capitalists and the workers. The Communists have their origin in his (class war). The difference between a Communist and an ordinary worker is, this that a Communist while taking part in all the movements organised under the false notions of workers nationalism loudly proclaims that the interests of the workers of the world everywhere are identical and that sentiments of national-nationality have nothing to do with them; that workers whether they be white, red, yellow or black are all one, and that red, yellow or black capitalists are one and that it would be suicidal for workers of any class to cooperate with owners of any class or be disposed to quarrel with the owners of another class and their workers in any conflict about independence or about rights. The worker who says this is a Communist."

C. M (1848)

This movement (lit: the movement of this institution) spread rapidly in the three countries Germany, France and England. Many French and German workers' unions joined this movement to a very large extent. And one of the Unions affiliated to this institution took possession of Paris during the French-German war in 1870 and tried to carry on the former administration under its supervision but this attempt failed and the French troops defeated by aggression the first effort of the worker who made use of force to take power into their hands. After this failure this institution which had come to be known as the "First Communist International" remained in a moribund condition. The history of this institution will easily convince any reader that this institution was completely of a revolutionary nature.

The Second Communist International.

Six years after the death of Marx when the common people had forgotten the history of the above (lit: this) institution another institution known as "The second Communist International" came to be established in Paris in the year 1889. We would ask our readers beforehand (lit: in time) to pay special attention to the history and movements of this organisation. Because we want to convince our readers that the unwieldy organisation known as the League of Nations has taken upon itself the task of exaggerating the anti-social activities of this international. The Second International is as much anti-revolutionary as

the First International was pro-revolutionary. Those who founded the "Second Communist International" were people who were opposed to the real progress of the many Socialist associations carrying on work under various names and they took it for granted that the political administration of the time was best suited under the circumstances and believed that the society would remain in a state of stability if resolutions were passed asking for concessions for the oppressed people and if benefit societies, hospitals, orphanages, homes for the decrepits, free schools and such other institutions, or at most, if municipalities, postoffices and other government institutions were worked under popular control. This institution in its meeting held at Zurich in 1893 passed a resolution not to admit revolutionaries and this resolution passed at Zurich was reiterated at its sitting at London in 1896. The Independent Labour Party (Fenner Brokway is its present leader), the Fabian Society (Sidney Webb is its present leader) and the Social Democratic Federation (this institution has cooled down at present like the Indian Home Rule League) joined the second International in the year 1896. In the year 1908 the Labour Party (its present leaders are Mac Donald and Mardy Jones) was also affiliated to it. The work of the Second International merely consisted in the holding of (its) Congress every year. In the meetings of this Congress of theirs they held keen debates on wide social subjects as is done in our National Congress. But at every decade while traversing a stage in progress our National Congress comes in contact with leaders who make it adopt principles akin to revolt, the Congress gives up (the leadership of) tired people of the past and accepts (the leadership of) people of a new spirit; the Second International seems to have adopted a policy contrary to this. It is the broad policy (lit. royal road) of the Second International that as soon as it gets an inkling that a person or institution has joined it that trespasses the bounds (laid down by it) then it either very skilfully breaks him or it away from its revolutionary party or expels him or it from its own party. While the social work of this institution was in progress and while all the other avenues of Social revolution had been stopped by its efforts a conflagration of war blazed out in the year 1914 and the leaders of this peaceful institution that stood in constant dread of capitalists were so much shocked by the 'new' situation and were frightened out of their wits to such an extent that they ceased to express any opinion, to go anywhere (and) to hold the session of (their) Congress. The history of the Second International for the five years extending from 1914 1919 to has to be shown in blank pages.

After the conclusion of the war (and) when matters were settled to some extent and when the leaders of this institution came out of their homes and looked about themselves they found that those that had left their institution on account of difference

of opinion or those that had been expelled from it had accomplished that which they had tried their best to hinder (inasmuch as they had brought the administration under the control (lit. in the hands of the workers. In dealing with this subject it would be appropriate to explain how the "Third Communist International" came to be established and then to make clear how the "Second International" began to flourish under the new name of the League of Nations as a clog (lit. in opposition) to the "Third International."

The hearts of Placheno and Lenin used to break at the conduct of such men of strong sentiment but weak intellect as Kair Hardie (England), Jean Jure (France), Victor Adler (Austrian Patriot) who used to voice the principles of Karl Marx since his death but who acted contrary to his most mature and latest views on (revolution in Social ethics) published after the Paris Commune. These two Russian Sociologists entered the movement of the workers after making up their minds to bring about social revolution in accordance with the principles of Karl Marx and in 1901 Lenin realised that if he did not take account of the peasants in sowing the seeds revolution in the movement of the workers, the peasants might obstruct his movement on being misled by foolish people and if at any rate he was not obstructed he would in no way receive any help from them. He therefore, thought it necessary to promulgate more freely among the peasants than the workers the principle that they would secure no happiness without taking into their own hands the control of the means of production of food and clothing. Lenin thereafter busied himself with the task of getting the *Iska* newspaper published with the help of Plakhen, while staying in London, and getting it secretly circulated among the peasants of Russia.

Lenin was never slow (lit. lazy) in making it clear that the members of the Second international were trying to blink at the fact that some day or the other the workers and peasants would find it inevitable to make an effort to snatch the administration with the aid of arms and that that international was making an exhibition of its dullheadedness in believing that a miracle would happen and that the Capitalists and workers would take delight in living in amity. Moreover Lenin formed a cult (lit. science) as to how very essential, practical, and beneficial it was to identify some middle class progressive people who were not workers with the workers themselves and spread this cult nicely everywhere. He continued to do day and night the task of spreading among the workers and peasants discipline for the formation of a well constituted organisation so that every movement of the workers intent upon securing success in the class struggle may carry on its activities independently and with firmness (in co-operation and) keeping pace with other institutions having the same object in view. About the same time the Mensheviks who were working in the interests of the Russian

workers and who had objects in common with the Second International began their extensive efforts to draw away the workers and peasants from the views of Lenin and to draw them to the principles of compromising with the owners. But people found out by experience that though the prattle of the Mensheviks appeared to be systematic to a great extent and solid and based on good principles in the times of peace and prosperity still when the actual time came to wage a struggle for livelihood or existence the people of the Lenin party only fought shoulder to shoulder with them and that the Mensheviks disappeared and were not heard of anywhere. This had the desired effect and the Russian Workers and peasants began to look up to Lenin as their saviour after (the year) 1908. Lenin directed to current of popular revolt in such a manner that while the people who knew these principles could (formerly) be counted by hundreds after participating in two unlawful rising would then be counted by tens of thousands. By this revolt Lenin himself realised and confirmed the principle derived by Marx from the Paris Commune. This principle was this that the authority of the workers cannot be installed in the place of any former authority automatically and that (lit, but) before such a thing being done the principles on which the old authority is based and which are different from the new principles have to be thrown over board for all times (lit afterwards) and the new principles and a new form of administration have to be established with the brand new system.

Karl Liebknecht, the leader of German Social Democratic Party did not dare to give his opinion against the war policy of the Government of Germany in respect of the great war. While discussing this incident with the German Communist Kadek in that every year 1914 Lenin declared: The philosophy of the Second International could not be any other than that. The leaders of the Second International have not sufficient courage to tell this truth that to declare a revolt (lit. war) against the great war would be in the interest of the workers, peasants and the army. I have made up my mind to do that. Only the war may be allowed to be fought for a couple of years and then the fact should be well broadcast on all sides (lit. one side) how the owners of agricultural land, factory owners and the Czar remain unaffected by pain and are full of happiness almost equally both on the occasion of victory and defeat while the soldiers suffer the pangs of unsufferable pain in passing through the experiences of the great war—And Lenin successfully effected the Revolution on these lines. Lenin explains in the following manner the cause of his waiting for six months after carrying the national political revolution to a successful issue in March ;—“ I calculated that since the new people were carrying on the old form of administration the people would be ready to throw the machinery over board after six months of painful experience on my telling them that it was based on wrong principles and that it would not be conducive to the happiness of the general public.” This

calculation of Lenin proved true and Lenin achieved a sure and prompt success in the revolution of October. While Russia withdrew itself from the war and began giving warnings to the neighbours, not to interfere with them on pain of being severely dealt with (or annihilated); the members of the Second International were afraid to open their doors and to see whether the war was going on or peace had been established. It must be said that this picture (lit. sight) is very interesting.

While the great war was in progress Lenin intended in the year 1916 to publish a book expressing his views, how it would be possible to conduct the social and political administration of not only a single city but the whole world on Communist principles and how Russia could afford an examples in this matter. But before the book was completed he was informed by his co-adjutors that circumstances were very favourable at that time for inducing the army to join the revolt. Lenin while rolling up the papers on which his book "State and Revolution" was being written said "Oh how much better it is to bring about revolution itself than to write a book on revolution! Come along let us effect a Revolution!!!! Before coming forward for this revolution and before the year 1917 had dawned Lenin had clearly stated that the establishment of an administration based on Communist principles in a single country would not be lasting and this form of administration must eventually be made applicable to the whole world and that more attention in this matter should be paid to the people of dependent countries in the East who were politically like ignorant children and that if they were to be kept in the condition they were then the predominantly independent social system of administration would prove to be useless.

The members of the Second International knew (full-well) that though they had no open adversary from about 1876 to 1914 still their days were numbered and that not only (the world would) cease to listen quietly to their talk on philanthropy and the principles of world-welfare but that their opponents would not rest content with exposing them & criticising their actions but would engage themselves in an (open) fight with them. They, therefore, in order to save their skin and being overcome by their natural cowardice adopted the first policy of not speaking anything against the great war. Afterwards as the war progressed they tried to propound the old exploded theory, in the second instance, that the politics of the workers was of a secondary importance to the politics of nations and that it was the national duty of workers to sacrifice their lives in the struggle of their (own) capitalistic authority with the capitalistic authority and the workers of another nation in case of war. In this connection the example of Gaupers of the American workers' party comes prominently before (our) mind. He used to

indulge freely in the prattle that war was destructive to society and that the final goal of the workers' Party was the formation of a society without war (so long as America had not participated in the war. But as soon as America joined the war this American began to give lessons in national duty to the workers. The Great war was prolonged by the policy adopted by the Second International of turning with the tide to suit the circumstances and carrying on as great a struggle as possible with the capitalists while being controlled by them and it is on this account that great calamities befell workers in Germany, Austria, Hungary and other countries. The allegation that this policy prolonged the life of Imperialism (lit: thirst for empire) was made by Lenin before Karl Redak while discussing the question of the societies of German and Russian workers at a meeting held at Zimworld in 1915 when the war was in progress. Those people who had assembled at Zimworld held another conference at Kinthal in 1916 to decide whether it was not possible to give a lead to the politics of the workers of the world by the unanimity of opinion of all the revolutionists and the leaders of the Second International. At the conference at Zimworld all (speakers) made rhetorical speeches on the subject that to put an end to the war would conduce to the benefit of the society and that the general public had to undergo terrible sufferings on account of the war. But at Kinthal Lenin plainly told every one that peace established by treaties would not be lasting as long as the capitalists had the least power in their hands and that there was only one way of making a lasting peace and that was to give the political power in the hands of the society and not to keep the ownership of capital in the hands of a few (individuals) and that this could only be effected if the workers were prepared to make a desperate struggle against the capitalists. (Lenin said) that teachings of history led him to think that the Second International would fight shy of such a thing and that they would never consent to resort to it, but that if the International were ignored the workers behind the Second International were appealed to they would consent to it in a short while and would come over to his side if his (own) principles were preached to them. In support of his above statements Lenin pointed out the quarrels of the leaders of the Second International and used to say: "Look, their followers who are workers are so constituted that they would not listen to any arguments favourable to the war and to the establishment of temporary peace but their leaders want to do those very things. As a first step they mention the name of Karl Marx every now and then and intermix their speeches with ideas of national duty so that the workers may not begin to suspect them. They do not know that it was announced in 1845 that the workers have no nationality and that the workers themselves show by their deeds and not words that they are convinced of it. They do not know that as long as the capitalist is in power the position of the workers will be that of bearers of burdens (lit: bags) like a donkey.

If they have to bear burdens it makes no difference whether these burdens are loaded by people belonging to one's own nation or by foreigners; burdens remain burdens all the same. The way to reduce them cannot be found by running after national sentiments. If a war breaks out for any reason, among the capitalist powers of the nations A, B, C, D, and if any of them secures success or failure high prices that disturb (domestic) peace, wounds, deaths of near and dear ones and destruction of house-holds fall mainly to the lot of the peasants, workers and soldiers of all these four nations. And the Authorities are comparatively unaffected (lit: their hair is not touched). This position can not be changed (lit: adverted) by patriotism. It can only be changed if the army that takes part in fighting, the workers that supply the ammunition and the peasants that produce articles of food and clothing begin to consider it their duty to stop working in the matter of commodities necessary for warfare and act up to their convictions and take the government and the control over capital into their own hands; compromise is useless and harmful to life in the matter."

The era of Russian revolution begins after Kintal. After the accomplishment of both the revolutions. The belief (lit: opinions) that the Russian revolution considers as its object: "The abolition of war and the establishment of peace" began to have a great effect on the fighting world. The idea that the Communist party of Lenin who dealt a direct blow (lit: kick) to the great war was more conducive to the benefit (of mankind) than the hollow praises of peace indulged in by President Wilson began naturally to strike (lit: hold) root among the peasants and workers of all the countries.

In the year 1918 a conference was held at the invitation of the Russian Communist Party with a view to establishing the Third International and breaking down the Second International and establishing an institution that would make an effort to spread and stimulate the revolutionary movement and push forward the movement of the workers and have as its ultimate goal the establishment of a society without war and the bringing of the authority over capital and government into the hands of the workers' party. This conference is usually called the first universal conference of the Third Communist International. At this Conference it was resolved to establish an institution of this kind and to call it the "Third Communist International" and a committee was appointed to draft its constitution (lit: principles). The Second universal conference of this institution was held at Moscow in 1920 and at this Session the famous 21 articles (of faith) of the "Third Communist International" were passed and it was resolved to observe the rule that only that association of the workers that would recognise these twenty-one articles would be affiliated to it. The 21 articles are as under:—

(Here follow the twenty-one articles of the Third Communist International).

The above twenty-one articles give a clear exposition of the powerful, practical, well-regulated and well-grounded propaganda of the Communist party.

The Third Universal conference of the "Third Communist International" was held at Moscow on June 22 July 12 1921. It was specially resolved thereat that it was necessary to establish unions of the Communist party throughout all the factories and workshops.

(Incomplete.)

Meerut } (True translation)
4-11-1929. } Sd/- S. Ezekiel
Marathi Translator.

P. 777-T. Rejected

It is a bundle containing various issues of the Kranti newspaper. No issue from this Exhibit has been translated as important issues of the paper have been dealt with in subsequent Exhibits.

Meerut. } S. Ezekiel
6-11-1929. } Marathi Translator.

P. 786-T.

(Bombay Girni-Kamgar Union)

Red Flag.

In spite of the occurrence of the Hindu-Muslim riot, the workers kept their heads cool and did not allow the fearful shadow (lit. appearance) of the riot to fall on the movement of the Union.

But after the riot came to an end, in some mills the Hindus say that they would not employ Muslims and the Muslims say that they would not employ the Hindus. At some places responsible officials of the mills are resorting to such incitement and are intent upon creating a split. In this matter all are promptly informed that if any worker is taking part in any such agitation then that (agitation) is unjust and oppressive. It is not proper that there should be such religious differences amongst the labourers. The Hindus should afford protection to the Muslims where they (Hindus) are in the majority and the Muslims should afford protection to the Hindus where they (Hindus) are in the minority. Hindu-Muslim riots have been engineered by our enemies for stifling the movement of the workmen. Those who are real workmen-be they Hindus or Muslims-disapprove of these differences and this split. The Union will never encourage (lit. uphold) such religious bickerings. Prepare yourselves to break down the new scheme that the (mill)owners are devising to effect a cut in the wages of all workmen without differentiating between Hindus (&) Muslims and all workmen should observe unity for that purpose.

Bombay

D/15/2/1929.

Sd. A. A. Alve,

President.

Sd. S. A. Dange,

G. Secretary.

MEERUT

I4/9/29

[True translation]

S. EGKIEL

Marathi Translator

P. 787-T

Sivri 5th Centre.

Red Flag.

Dated 25/12/28.

All workers are informed that in accordance with what is written in the handbills issued in the past 5,000 drilled volunteers are

to be organised for (lit of) our union and accordingly some volunteers have been organised and they are to take part in a procession that will be conducted in 4 or 5 days. Therefore one who wants to become a volunteer should enlist himself soon.

No harm will come to you by becoming a volunteer on the contrary you will acquire merit for having striven for the welfare of your countrymen and you will be able to stand on your own legs. Therefore all should ponder this and act accordingly.

Yours,

(Sd.) S.A. Dange

General Secretary,

Bombay Girni Kamgar Union.

Bombay Girni,
Kamgar Union,
Centre 5, Sivri.

MEERUT

9/10/1929

[True translation]
S. EZEKIEL
Marathi Translator

P 790-T

(BOMBAY GIRNI KAMGAR UNION)

Red Flag

Public meeting of this (lit to-day's) evening.

A public meeting of the workmen will be held to-day, Saturday the 9th March at 5 o'clock in the evening on the *Maidan* (open space) opposite the Delisle Road cement Chawl.

All should attend. *Subject of the meeting:—*

The disputes in respect of the wages of the month in which the riots took place—attacks on the union—the strikes in progress.

(Sd.) A.A. Alve,

President.

Dated

8/3/29.

(Sd.) S.A. Dange,

General Secretary

[True translation]

MEERUT

9/10/1929

S. EZÉKIEL

Marathi Translator

P. 791-T

Rejected

MINUTE BOOK.

PUBLIC MEETINGS.

KOHINOOR No. 1 and 2.

As announced in the hand-bill published on the 17th Nov. 28. a public meeting of all the workers employed in the Kohinoor Mills Nos. 1 and 2 was held on the *Maiden* (open space) opposite the Naigaum Y. M. C. A. at 6 o'clock in the evening Mr. W. H. Joshi of the Naigaum centre and Khanderao Desai on behalf of the Union were present to conduct the business of the meeting. One thousand men were present at the meeting. At the meeting leaders were nominated for various branches as stated in the particulars given below and were elected unanimously (&) without any objection as the "members of the mill committee" of their respective departments.

PARTICULARS.

Kohinoor No. 1.

CLOTH DEPARTMENT : (1) Govind Babu (2) Shankar Ravlu (3) Hamja Husen.

ROVING DEPARTMENT : (1) Gahu Hari

(2) Parsharam Tukaram.

MECHANICS DEPARTMENT : Jahuralhaq Aftabuddin.

MECHANICAL EXTRA MECHANIC : (1) Babu Bhau.

FOLDING DEPARTMENT : (1) Mahadavo Bala.

CONVEYANCE DEPARTMENT : (1) Akaram Ysu
(2) Shivaram Bhaui.

KOHINOOR No. 2.

CLOTH DEPARTMENT: (1) Jairam Krishna (2) Krishna Mahadavo (3) Bhagwan Raoji (4) Mohamad Malang (5) Krishna Dehu.

MECHANICS DEPARTMENT : (1) Bhauram Balaji.

Men belonging to departments other than those were not able to elect their own leaders at (lit. after coming to the meeting as it was dark (&) late. It was resolved to finish the work at a subsequent meeting and it was resolved to discuss the question of deciding the line of action of the Union at a meeting to held on Monday evening in the office of the Naigaum centre and to conduct all the business of the Naigaum Branch of the Union with the help of the men that would be elected later on. The meeting was then dissolved at 7-30 p. m.

Dated 17-11-28.

Sd. W. H. Joshi,

Conductor of the meeting

18-11-28.

ooOoo

MILL COMMITTEE KOHINOOR No. 1.

Name	Dept.	Home address	Ticket No.
Govind Balu	Cloth.	Kamathiwadi near Tilak Bridge, Dadar.	223 224
Shanker Ravlu	"	Doctor's Chawl wadala.	337-38
Hamju Hasan	"	Nalwali's wadi Navapada Bandra.	65758
Ganu Hari	Roving	Municipal Chawl No. 19, Room 60	60
Mahadev Bala	Folding	Pandit Palan Kar's wadi Dadar	18
Akaram Yesu	Conveyance	Kohinoor Mill Chawl 5/252	90
Shivaram Bhaui	"	Do. 1/28	11

KOHINOOR .2.

Krishna Mahadve	Cloth	Kohinoor Mill chawl 9/602	521 22
Bhagwan Raoji	"	Develop-ment Chawl 1/10	209
Mohamad Malang	"	Cement Chawl Naigam 6/321	155-56
Krishna Dehu	"	Kohinoor Mill Chawl 9/25	547-48
Jahural Haq. Aftabuddin.	Mechanical	Abdul Rahiman Chidiwala's Chawl	6
Bhawrao Balaji	"	House No. 930 Vadadas, Bombay.	20

—o—

(A) Slip pinned at the back of page 3 bears the following :—

- (1) Govind Wanu (Dhaku Lakshman).
- (2) Shanker Khalu (Narayan Kanhoji)
- (3) Hamju Hasan (Javaji Bahaji)

(Original in English)

"These may do the work alternately"

Initials (Illegible)

20 11.

KASTURCHAND Nos. 1, 2 & 3.

In accordance with the hand-bill published on the 19th Nov. 29 a public meeting of (men of) all the departments of the Kastur Chand Mill was held at 6 p. m. on the Maiden in front of the B. B. & C. I. Railway Station. Mr. Joshi of the Naigam center, Mr. Desai and Mr. Bradley were present to conduct the work of the meeting about 2,000 men were present at the meeting. At the meeting leaders were nominated for various branches as stated in the particulars given below and were elected unanimously (&) without any objection as the "members of the mill committee" of their respective departments.

Particulars.

Mixing: (from three mills) 1 Bapu Rama.

Blanket: (1) Abdulla (2) Mahadev Rama (3) Mahadev Soyaraji.

- Cloth :* 1 Shankar Narayan
 2 Bapu Pandurang
 3 Atmaram Kanu
 4 Dnyanu Aba
 5 Kashinath Maruti
 6 Mahadev Devba
 7 Atmaram Sabaji
- Trason (sic) :* 1 Shankar Rama
 2 Gopal Bhagu
 3 Shivaram Bapu
 4 Dhondu Rama
 5 Dudhnth Baldevenath
- Conveyance:* 1 Narayan Bala
 2 Janu Balya
- Roving:* 1 Raju Sane 2 Ranu Tatya
- Roving (2) :* (1) Gorakhdin Kunjbihari
 (2) Aba Gunaji
- Kapot: (sic)* 1 Badri Rampadarat
- Drawing:* 1 Shiva Ram Baji
- Fitter:*
- Cloth :* 1 J. J. Desouza
- Chapan (sic)* 1 Uderaj Madhavsengh
 Kutdi khata
- Mixing:* 1 Baji Raghu Nath
- Warping:* 1 Pandurang Kondiba
- Sizing:* 1 Tukaram Govind
- Kandikhata:* 1 Gavru Apa

From amongst these one or two leaders of the Blanket department complained that once in the past when a strike was declained in that Department other departments did not give them support and stated that they would participate in the work of the committee and respect its decisions only if men of all the departments agreed to act in unison. A discussion was held on this question by Shankar Rama, Khenderao Desai, W.H. Joshi, Bradley, Abdullah and others

and the following resolution was placed before the meeting.

Resolution: In future all the work of the Union should be conducted on the lines laid down by the mill committee.

On the resolution being passed unanimously it was decided to approve of the election of the mill committee once as again by taking votes of all and accordingly a resolution was proposed and passed.

Then the list of the names of the members of the mill Committee was read and the meeting was asked to raise objections, if any, against any one of them. No one raised any objection. The meeting was asked to carry the resolution by the acclamation if they approved of it and so the appointment of the mill committee was approved by acclamation. In the conclusion Bradley exhorted (the people) that the mill committee should carry on its work on such lines as to enlist people with martial spirit more and more and to render less and less all matters that go against unity and the meeting was dissolved at 7-30 P. M.

Sd. W. H. JOSHI,

Conductor of the meeting.

Second public meeting of Kohinoor No. 1, 2, (24, 11, 28.)

As announced in the hand-bill, a public meeting of all the workers of the above mill was held on the 24th at 6 P. M. to complete the election of the leaders of those departments that had remained incomplete owing to the meeting held on the 17th being (unduly) protracted. W. H. Joshi of the Naigam centre and Desai began to read the names of the people who had been nominated as leaders exactly at 6 O'clock. Within 5 to 10 minutes leaders of the Bombay Girni Kamgar Union Messrs Alve, Dange and Kasle joined the meeting. About 2000 workmen were present at the meeting and they welcomed the leaders of the Union with applause at this public meeting the election of the mill committee was completed by adding the names of the following as leaders of departments that had not been represented to those already elected in the former public meeting and they were publicly elected and their names unanimously approved.

Kohinoor No. 1

Sizing Dept. (1) Krishnaji Damodar Bedekar (1)

Vahi Dept. (1) Narayan Mahadeo Kumbrekar (2)

Roving Dep. (1) Narayan Hatu (3).

(Roving ground floor): Vithoba Kashinath (4)

Ket (sic) (1) Gopal Dhondu (5)

- 1 Dattatraya Sahaji 6
 2 Jiwaji Babaji 7
Warping. 1 Rama Lakshman 8
Mixing. Krishna Rama 9

Kohinoor No. 2

- Folding Dept: Mahadev Govind Mahtre 10
 Ket (sic) Maruti Kanhu 11
Cloth : Mahipat Sambhaji 12
 2 Gopal Keshar 13
 3 Hiraji Jaun 14
 4 Balwant Balaji 15
 5 Vankat Vithu 16
 6 Kasam Rasul 17
 7 Sakharam Balwant 18
Roving: 1 Babji Balu 19
Vahi: 1 Mahadev Rambhau Rahut 20

The following list appears on a slip pinned to the reverse-side of page 8:- }

Helpers of the Mill Committee.

(IN ENGLISH)

- 1 Sonu Amhaji Mayekar (Mahadev Govind) ko 2
 2 Rama Mahadu Narayan Vitho ko 1
 3 Babu Gangaram (Gopal Dhondu) ko 1
 4 Vazir Bhaikhan (Maruti Kanhu) ko 2
 5 Bhagya Sakharam (Gaju Hadi) ko 1
 6 Davba Lakshman (Babaji-Babu) ko 2
 7 (Mahadev Sakharam Raut) Vishnu Gopal Konde ko 2

Mill committee as above was appointed for the ensuing year. Some workmen expressed an opinion in the meeting that the Head Jobber and his six men from Kohinoor No. 2 should not be taken on the mill Committee. But Messrs Dange and Alve said " we can not work without the workmen opposed to us if they have the

backing of all the men in their department. But the Mill Committee has the right of removing them if they do not follow the opinion of all or they take a line of action opposed to that of the accepted policy of the mill committee. We must therefore, include them in our Committee so long as they do not break our rules or laws." The meeting approved of this argument and votes were called for from their department for their election and they were appointed on the committee with 99 votes in favour and one vote against. In conclusion a resolution to the following effect was placed before the meeting by Mr Joshi and was passed unanimously: That the Mill Committee appointed at the public meetings held on the 17th and 24th will carry on all the work in respect of Kohinoor (Mills) No. 1 and 2 with unity for the ensuing year and that the Mill Committee has the right of removing those leaders that act in opposition to the policy of the Mill Committee and break the rules of the Union, and of appointing new men in their place. It was decided in consultation with members of the mill Committee, to call the 1st meeting of the Committee at 6 P. M. on 26. 11. 28 in the office of the Naigam centre of the Union and the meeting was dissolved.

(Sd). W. H. Joshi

26. 11. 28.

Conductor of the meeting.

Public Meeting of the Tata Mill.

As announced in a hand-bill a public meeting of the above mill was held on the 1st December 1928 at 4 p. m. Mr. W. H. Joshi of the Naigam centre, Khanderao Desai and Mirajkar were present to conduct the business of the meeting. About 1,000 people were present at the meeting. At that meeting the following were nominated as leaders of the departments noted below and were unanimously elected as members of the Mill Committee of the Mill without opposition :

Particulars.

Roving : (1) Krishna Sambhu 2.

(2) Lalbhai Manirang.

(3) Dhondu Yesu (4) Hari Babaji (5) Sadashiv Manaji

(6) Kondiba Dhondiba (7) Devji Rama.

Trason (sic) (1) Deu Bhaga (2) Dharama Mithu (3) Babu Bhagya

(4) Bhikya Dipya.

Ket (sic). (1) Tukaram Bapu.

(2) Saktya Karu.

Bhuler (sic) (1) Avtu Mahadu

14

* * * * *

(Blank)

Thus the election of the Mill Committee remained incomplete. There are 52 sections in the Cloth Department and it has a separate committee of its own with 52 leaders. These (leaders) agreed to elect 4 responsible men from amongst themselves as would be acceptable to the Department as a whole and they consented to elect four such men by coming to the office and the meeting was dissolved.

/Conductor of the meeting

Public Meeting of the Sorab Mill.

As announced in a hand bill a public meeting of the above mill was held on the 5th Dec. at 6 p. m. on the Maidan of Kasarwadi. Mr. W. H. Joshi of the Naigam centre and Khanderao Desai were present to conduct the business of the meeting. About 600 men were present at the meeting. Tago Fernandis, leader of the Tram Union had come there during the meeting. After some talk and discussion the following were nominated from the departments noted below and were elected as members of the Mill Committee after much discussion :—

Trason Dept : (1) Bavlya Keshav

(2) Ganpat Lakshman Logade

Roving : (1) Vithal Pandurang

Winding : (1) Ramchandra Tukaram

Warping : (1) Dhondu Narayan

Doubling : (1) Mahadev Rama

Cloth : (1) Raghoba Narayan

(2) Shankar Krishana

(4) Abdul Amir.

(5) Sonu Bapu

Vahi : (1) Bhaikaji Ladu

Roving : (1) Daji Gunaji

Bundling (1) Ganpat Babaji

(1) Narayan Bhau

(2) Changu Sonaji

(3) Muhanmad Karim

The above committee was appointed. Mr. Tongo, in the meanwhile made a speech on unity and he dwelt on the advantages of division of labour and exhorted the men to work without observing any difference between Hindu and Muslims and he moreover gave an illustrative example that had occurred in the Tramway. The whole of the Mill Committee was approved and the meeting was dissolved.

Conductor of the meeting.

Meeting of the Kohinoor Mill Committee.

A meeting of the Kohinoor Mill Committee was held on 13.1.29 at 6 p. m. at which the following members were present: (1) Govind Babu (2) Hamja Hasan (3) Sankar Ravlu (4) Gama Hari (5) Gapur Aftabuddin (6) Akaram Yesu (7) Narayan Mahadev (8) Vithoba Kashiram (9) Dattaram Sabaji (10) Javaji Babhji (11) Marute Kanhu (12) Krishna Deu (13) Gopal Keshav (14) Kasam Rasul (15) Ambaji Tukaram (16) Krishna Sahadev (17) Sadhu Mahadev (18) Waman Vishram (19) Dagdu Keshav (20) Ramjan Abdulla (21) Mahadev Rambhau (22) Shripat Lakshman.

Resolution No 1. Javaji Babuji should be removed from the presidency and another man should be appointed in his place. This resolution was passed, 12 voting in favour and one against it. Vishwanath Rambhau Vice-president and was nominated for the

presidentship and he was unanimously elected, 14 voting in favour one against the consideration of the question of appointing one individual as member of the managing Committee at the Head Office was deferred till the next meeting. Minor complaints were disposed of and the meeting was dissolved.

Meeting of the Kohinoor Mill Committee.

As announced in the notice issued on the 31st a meeting of the Kohinoor Mill Committee was held in the Office of the Naigam Centre. The following members were present thereat :

1. Krishna Mahadev, Salvi
2. Gopal Keshav Haldalkar (3)
3. Krishna Deau Bankar
4. Trambak Vithu Jedhe
5. Balvant Balaji Sakpal
6. Kasam Rasul 7. M. G. Mahtre
8. Mahamad Malang 9. Hamju Hasan 10. Mahadev Bala
11. Balvant Babaji 12. Sakharam Yeshvant.
- (13) Mahepat Sambhaji Rane
- (14) Vithoba Kashiram
- (15) Govind Babu (16) Ganu Hari (17) Dagadu Keshav.

In the last meeting two men 1 Balvant Balaji, Jobber 2 Shripat Lakshman had offered three names for being elected to the managing committee. Of these Shripat Lakshman was not present. Still votes were taken for both of them and Balvant Balaji was elected and Shripat Lakshman was defeated by 0 Vs. 17

votes and then the resolution of electing Balvant Balaji on the managing Committee on behalf of the Kohinoor Mill was passed unanimously, then minor matters were disposed of and it was decided to hold a public meeting on Saturday the 2nd in the open space of the Bhavanda Mill. The meeting was then dissolve.

*First ordinary meeting of the Gold Mohar Mill
Committee*

As announced in a notice the first ordinary meeting of the Gold Mohar Mill Committee was held on 5. 3. 29, in the office of the Naigam centre of the union at 6 P. M. In all 22 members were present. First the list of names of the persons appointed to the Mill Committee at the public meeting held on 26. 3. 29 and in the subsequent meeting was finally settled and then Mr. Govind Ganpat Shirkes name was proposed for the presidentship by Mr. Keru Pandu and he Shirke was elected unanimously. Then the names of 1 Lavaji Ramchandra 2 Vishram Bhikaji were propped for vice-presidentship and they were also elected unanimously. Then Mr. Govind Ganpat proposed the name of Surba Ravji as a fit person to occupy the post of the secretary but it was suggested that he should first be made a member of the Mill Committee and then elected as secretary and Surba Ravji was unanimously elected (as such

RESOLUTION [II] Resolved to send one member on the managing Committee of the Bombay Girni Kamhar Union on Thursday the 14th March on behalf of the Gold Mohar Mill and to convene another meeting of the Mill Committee for such an election in the office of the Naigam Centre. The meeting was then dissolved.

Conductor of the meeting.

Meerut	}	True translation.
16. 9. 29.		S. Ezekiel
		Marathi Translator.

Rejected. P. 791

P. 792-T.

Public Meetings File,
[Bombay Girni Kamgar-Union)

Red Flag,

MUNICIPAL ELECTION.

The municipal election will last from 7-30 A. M. to 6-30 P. M.

on Tuesday the 29th January 1929. And since many workmen have a right to vote, the mills will be working on Sunday next and closed on Tuesday.

All the workmen who pay a rent of Rs. 10/- and whose names are registered (in the electoral roll) have a right to vote. Those candidates who secure a large number of votes from them will be elected. Many persons have stood as candidates for the election but (only) four of them work in the interests of the workmen and the Red Flag, They are R. S. Nimbkar, K.N. Joglekar, S.S. Mirajkar and Lalji Pendse & it is the opinion of our Managing Committee that the workmen should vote in their favour.

Mr. Nimbkar and Mr. Marajkar are standing for the Dadar Ward. Those who stay in the Delisle Road, Fergusson, Warli, Mahim localities and on the other side of the B. B. & C.I. Railway line should go to pendal erected near the B. B. & C. I. Dadar Railway station and record their votes there. Those who want to give their votes to Nimbkar and Mirajkar should bear in mind that the emblem on the voting box of Mr. Nimbkar is a rifle and that of Mirajkar is a ship.

Mr. Joglekar stands for the Parel Ward. The voters residing in the localities of Parel, Kala Chowki, Lalevadi, Sewri, Wadala, Matunga have to record their votes in the Pandal of the Gold Mohar Mill opposite the Bhovenday's Mill. His emblem is a rifle.

Mr. Lalji Pendse stand for the Girgaum Ward. The voters living in Girgaum and Tardev localities should record their votes at the Gowalia Tank. His emblem is also a rifle.

(1) Even if you have given a written promise to any one to give a certain number of votes to him still you have a right to break your promise and give your votes to another person. If you have given a written promise (to one person) and give your votes to another no legal responsibility rests upon you.

(2) Do not give your votes by being influenced by others.

Put your voting papers in the voting boxes of those persons whose services commend your approval.

(3) At the time of putting the voting papers in the voting box you have to be alone, no name is written on the boxes and only emblems of the candidates are printed on them. It is therefore necessary to bear the emblems in mind before putting the voting papers (in the boxes).

(4) You should vote for those persons only who advocate reduction of house rent, that the tramway should be in the ownership of the Municipality and not in that of private individuals, that there should be good roads and cleanliness in the localities inhabited by workmen and that the municipality should be full of members belonging to the workmen's party.

Sd/- S. A. Dange,

General Secretary

Marathi C. U.

Public Appeal to the voters of the F.' Ward.

2

Give your votes only to the Workers and Peasants Party.

I am standing as a candidate for the ensuing municipal election for the 'F' Ward on behalf of the Workers and Peasants Party. All persons paying rent over Rs 101- and staying in the localities to the East of the G. I. P. Railway Line (like) Chinchpokli Kala Chowki, Sewri, Vadala, Gowari Sion, Matunga, Parel (and) Lalbag have the right to vote. I would request them to record their votes in my favour and elect me.

98 per cent of the population of (any) country consists of poor hard-working workers or peasants. It is they who produce the wherewithal of the life of the community by working day and night. But these people suffer privations in life owing to the Capitalist and Landed Proprietorship systems. The Workers and Peasants Party is making strenuous efforts to fight against these systems and to secure the comforts of life for those who are included in this 98 per cent (of the population). This 98 (per cent) includes workers, peasants as also men of the clerical profession belonging to the higher casts. Our party is doing the work of awakening these classes and organising them with a view to securing enough food and clothing and dwelling houses and other comforts for all these people.

You are aware of the work, I have done so far on behalf of this Party. I have been working for the organisation of the mill workers since the year 1923 and have been doing the work of organising the workers of the G. I. P. Railway for the last one year. I have devoted myself to a large extent to that work. It is our aim to organise the workers in all the industries and to make

them more powerful, on the one hand, & on the other, to fill the Municipalities & Legislative Councils with our men on the strength of this power with a view to putting a stop to the oppression that is practised on the poor through them and bringing all the administration in the hands of this hard-worked majority by gradual stages.

It is we workers who have given rise to (lit. produce) the greatness of Bombay and we have to sleep on the roads, to walk on foot and to shiver in cold for lack of clothing. Our children do not get milk and die untimely death ill in health owing to (our) having to stay in damp and insanitary dwellings. These sufferings must be ended.

All must be able to get dwellings in buildings owned by the Municipality. They should be able to travel (quickly and with ease) from one end of the city to another for one anna. The money-lending noose of the Manwaries and the Pathans must be broken. Provision must be made for free education and free medical help (lit. treatment). The leeches of the drink (evil), must be removed and all must get living wages. Such is the contention of our Party.

I wish to be elected on the Municipality so that I may be able to put up a fight for our Party with a view to securing reduction in house rent by passing Rent Acts, offering opposition to the increase in the tram fare, getting Bus service started and reducing its fare and getting such other things effected as are essential for the wellbeing of the poor.

I am a poor worker and so possess no vehicles (to be placed at the disposal of the voters), for the purpose of the election. I have no paid agents, not only this but as I have spent all my time in organising the workerrrs and as I have to go as far as Delhi and Agra for organising Railway men I have not got even leisure for canvassing (votes). Other candidates must have given you many false promises and must have made efforts to secure your votes by bringing their relationship and influence to bear upon you but bear in mind who are exerting themselves unceasingly for the real welfare of the public and give all your six votes to me for securing victory of the Workers and Peasants Party and thus afford ample powder and shot to pay rifle by way of your votes.

My Symbol

(Picture of a rifle)

Give all your votes to the rifle.

We are staunch Congressmen. Not only that but we have gone (one step) ahead of the Congress. The Congress wants Swaraj of the landed proprietors but our Party is fighting for the supremacy of the general public and we are working (lit. making efforts in the

Congress so that the Congress may establish—such an independence. We want the Congress politics to be made as radical as our own and we can not stop at the present moderate programme of the Congress. But the mandates of the Congress are obeyed by us and we have shown at the time of the boycott of the Simon (Commission) that we take the lead in the work of the Congress. It should be borne in mind that, on the contrary, those who were posing themselves as Congressmen sat quiet and the Municipality did not join in the *Hartal* on that day. Do not, therefore, be frightened because we do not go under the Congress ticket.

In conclusion, I have to make a special request to the high-caste and educated classes. Power and authority in the country rests with the land-lords. The poor public, that is, the 98 per cent. of the people have no place in it. Votes can only be given by those who can afford to pay a rent of Rs. 10/- or who pay income-tax. The clerical (lit. employed) class from among the higher castes seems to be happy to all appearances but in reality (lit. from within) it is stricken with poverty. In these circumstances, their place is in these 98 (per cent.) of the people. But the newspapers have filled their minds with misunderstanding with respect to ourselves. The work that we are doing tends to their welfare also. The poor workers will never desert us. But they possess no votes owing to the system of land-lordship and so the men who pay Rs. 10/- as rent and who belong to the middle classes should be alive to their own interests and those of the general public and secure success for the rife of the Workers' Party.

It is hoped that all workers who possess votes, and poverty stricken men belonging to the higher castes will uphold (the case of) their own Workers and Peasants Party and consider it their duty to give all votes to me.

It is not possible for poor workers to avail themselves of the services of any motor cars or agents, still they should not wait for them and make it a point to come to the Damodar Hall, Parel on the 29th January from 8 A.M. to 6-30 P.M. and support the cause of their Union and the Workers Party.

Yours humbly

(Sd) K. N. Joglekar,

168 Fanaswadi)

President,

Bombay No. 2)

Trade Union Dept,

Workers and Peasants Party,

Bombay.

792 (1)

Marathi P. 13

(Bombay Girni-Kamgar Union.)

Red Flag.

Public Meeting of all the

Mill Workers.

(3)

Place: Poibardi Parel, on the maidan at the back of the Gokhale Hotel.

Day & time: Sunday the 10th January 1929 at 5 P. M.

As usual a holiday meeting will be held on that day. The principle subjects that will be discussed at the meeting will be co-ordination of the Workers' agitation, when the report of the Government Committee will be out and what will be the steps we shall take, how to defeat the cut in the wages, and how to secure work for those who have been dismissed.

All are invited.

Bombay }
18 1-29 }

(SD) S. A. Dange,

G. Secretary.

(Bombay Girni-Kamgar Union)

Red Flag.

False Report.

Workmen bretheren,

Yesterday evening the English newspapers of the capitalists published a false report that Dange was assaulted and injured. This report is altogether false. No one was injured and no assault took place.

It is the design of (these) enemies to circulate false-reports and to drive people to get the mills closed and to bring matters to such a pass that firing will have to be resorted to (lit-opened).

Do not be misled and do not close the mills

The meeting of this evening will be held at the Deslisle Road Cement Chawl at 5 P. M.

(SD) S. A. Dange,

G. Secretary.

4-1-29.

(Bombay Girni-Kamgar Union)

Red Flag.

Monster Public Meeting.

It will be held on Tuesday the 1st January 1929 at 5 P. M.

in the Nagu Sayaji Wadi. The questions that will ordinarily be (considered are the following):

- (1) It is the Capitalists that are responsible for Secretely engineering the Hindu-Muslim and the caste disputes among the workers.
- (2) Is it necessary to continue to work without resorting to strike as suggested by the Government Committee?
- (3) How to face the prosecutions launched against the workers and the firing that is resorted to against them.

(SD) S. A. Dange,

G. Secretary.

11-12-28

(Bombay Girni-Kamgar Union)

RED FLAG

PETITION OF THE OWNERS TO GOVERNMENT.

The workers are greatly agitated—they do not allow us to effect a cut in their wages—deport these Extremist leaders—it is on their account that the intentions of the owners are frustrated—Government is considering (the question)—what should the workers do—a question of the workers to the Governor.

A few days ago a deputation consisting of the mill-owners of Bombay, European merchants and Indian merchants waited upon H. E. the Governor and they made a representation to him (thus): "Your Excellency, a terrible situation has arisen in the locality of the mill workers. We the owners (of mills) have been suffering losses (in our business). We asked for help from Government to get these losses averted. But the other steps we took to effect retrenchment, to some extent, in our business roused the opposition of the workers. The opposition was not strong in the beginning but the workers are greatly agitated since the advent of the present Extremist leaders,

The British rule does not (seem to) exist in the mill area. No one respects (lit: obeys) the law there. The workers have resorted to such inhuman (lit: terrible) practices and intimidation that if any one of us utters a word he is summarily dealt with. His Excellency should, therefore, take steps in the matter. We need not tell Government what sort of steps they should take because Government possess power and authority.

We owners are in a position even to produce documentary—evidence in respect of the movement that is being organised against the owners by, intimidation and the happenings that have taken place."

Such a representation was made by the owners in person to the new Governor who replied to them thus:—I shall consider from every point of view the—fearful situation that has arisen in Bombay and the consequences to which it will give rise and I shall give a consideration to the suggestions made by the owners. I fully realise the grave significance of the clash that occurred between the Police and the strikers on the 12th and it rests with us all to put a stop to such occurrences.”

What is at the bottom (lit: cause) of all these complaints which the owners have carried before Government? It is the owners who are responsible for the serious situation that has arisen in the mill area. We are fighting for legitimate rights and adequate wages. We have repeated this thousand times and would repeat it once again. The struggle that the workers are carrying on for the whole of the year is and merely for their living and rights. The mill industry of Bombay is going on for the last fifty years. All are aware how the bones of the workers have been crushed during these fifty years. It was the practice during the last fifty years that the wages given by the owner were accepted and his orders were obeyed. If a workman inquired for the scale of his wages or lifted up his head to ask the manager why he was given certain orders he used to receive blows and kicks in the past and was chucked out (lit was taken out by the neck), such incidents take place even now at many places. To-day the worker is prepared to overthrow such a system of slavery: We do not want laws that suit the sweet will of the owners. The workers have feelings of honour (and) dishonour in common with humanity in general. The days of getting frightened and saluting thrice on merely seeing the owners cap or carriage or his cook are gone..... We labour (for you), pay us our wages (lit. money). Wealth is created by our labour. The owners carry on a loot of that wealth and waste it. Some day or other the luxuries that the rich are enjoying at the cost of the workers will come to an end (lit. set flying).

But today the mill workers of Bombay are putting up a fight to maintain their rights as human beings and to avert the sudden cut (lit. attack) that is being made on their wages so that they may be able to secure conveniences (to which they are entitled) as human beings and live in happiness.

The owners allowed this fight to go on for six months and (then) agreed not to effect a cut in the wages as a temporary measure and to pay their wages without any cut as in the year 1927. But as soon as the strike was called off (lit. broken) they took a somersault and gave rise to a fresh struggle.

What do the owners mean to do in this counter attack? The

owners are effecting a cut in the wages and depriving the workers of their employment mill by mill. This has led to strikes on a small scale in each of the mills. It is moreover the contention of the owners that the workers should quietly put up with the beating and words of abuse like corpses as they did in the past. The officials mean to carry on their work with the haughtiness and overbearing conduct to which they have been used for the last fifty years. But the workers are not prepared to behave in a slavish manner as in the past.

Our two demands

(1) We, workers, have as much self-respect as the owners themselves. We shall not put up with haughtiness or abuses like a dog. We shall not behave like the horses harnessed to the carriages of the owners.

(2) We want adequate wages to enable us to live in comfort like human beings in good dwellings that are well ventilated and to put on good clothes. We shall not accept wages that are less than that by a *cowree*.

The workers have been carrying on a struggle for the last year to secure these ordinary and matter of fact demands (lit. things).

Instead of granting these two ordinary demands of ours in a straight forward manner the owners are making an effort to crush the workers. This effort of the owners has many aspects. The capitalists are assailing the workers of Bombay thus: (1) Hired assassins are engaged to deal with the leaders of the workers in broad day light and they are not seen by the brave police-men going about armed with revolvers (2) Small strikes are engineered among the workers to fag them out so that they may not be able to take part in a big struggle (3) Hindu-Muslim differences are set up among the workers.

You must not fall a prey to the devices used against the workers. You must be prepared to answer an attack by a counter attack. Therefore

(1) Do not go on strike till you get two months' wages in your hands. Keep four annas in a rupee as a saving in the house perforce from your wages.

(2) Establish Unions or Committee consisting of honest and clever workers in every mill and prepare leaders. Learn the work of leadership. Get to know the tricks of the owners.

(3) The poor worker with the lowest wages should be protected by all the others in a concerted manner and efforts should be made by other workers to bring him forward.

If (any one is) arrested.

If any leader is arrested and put into prison by Government

at the instigation of the owners then maintain peace and carry on the agitation for organising (the people). If one leader is lost to us, create a thousand leaders in his place on the strength of your powers. And as long as you are not in a position to face your enemy do not allow losses to be inflicted upon you by inviting attacks upon yourselves for no reason whatsoever.

Representation to the Governor.

The mill-owners made a representation to the Governor asking for the arrest of the Extremist leaders of the workers. At is our representation to the Governor that he should also arrest and send to prison those owners who inflict sufferings upon the workers for securing luxuries for themselves and go to great lengths (lit. become Extremists) in looting (them). The owners say that if a handful of Extremist leaders are arrested eighty four owners will be pleased. The workers say that if the eighty four owners are similarly dealt with half of Bombay will live in happiness. Does the Governor attach more importance to the happiness of five owners or that of five lakhs of workers !

The Akhandbari began work.

The Akhandbari will began work on Thursday.

After the pay on the 15th

Many mills were closed because there were only 23 (working) days in the previous month and those who did piece work did very little work still being under the impression that the payments made to them were on the basis of daily wages. And in certain mills lower rates were given. On account of all these causes less wages than usual were received & so many strikes were declared soon after receiving the pay on the 15th. Strike was declared in Mote, Pabani and Damodar mills. Some weavers were demanding the wages due to them. The people were naturally excited on receiving less pay. But those mills began to work after three or four days. Similarly strike was declared in the Shapurji Bharancha Mill. The owner has posted a notice about payment of wages due (to the workers).

David Mill.

The vehicle department of the David mill declared a strike and demanded the wages due to it but the workers become ready to resume work on being told by the Union that such a step on their part would be injurious to them. But the owner has closed the department and refused to open it.

Dispute in the Nanabhai Mill.

Mr. Bakhale tried to bring about a compromise in the Nanabhai Mill but it could not be brought about. He had taken

the grievances of the Cloth (Dept.) in hand. Thereafter Mr. Dange in company with the workers waited upon Mr. Watts and represented the grievances of the *trason*, winding, wrapping and cloth departments and those grievances being attended to it was decided to work the mills. On entering the mill on the 21st it was found that the machine men belonging to the Red Flag and working in the cloth department had been dismissed and Mussalmans had been engaged in their stead. On the 20th Mr. Dange had asked Mr. Watts: will you dismiss our men? He said: No. How was this practised then? On seeing this inconsistency the Hindus in the *trason* and cloth departments came out. It seems that matters will assume a serious aspect (lit. excitement) if the Mussalman Head jobbers and their accomplices will (continue to) practice such a rascality. For a rumour is set afloat that the Mussalmans working in the cloth department of the Mulmal and Hindusthan (Mill's) are going to give a thrashing to the Hindus of the Nanabhai (Mill) The excitement has become keen on this account.

Supari Bag

Two sides are working in the Supari Bag (Mill). But compulsion is being resorted to in those departments where only one side was used by joining the machines and working them on both sides. Those workers on the machines who refused to do work (in this wise) have been dismissed (lit. stopped). Accommodation has been caused on that account.

HUK MILL.

The *trason* department has struck work in the Huk Mill. It is the demand of the men that wages for piece work should be changed into fixed pay. It is (also) their demand that that bonus (paid) on monthly basis should be changed to that of weekly basis and that (full) wages should be paid for the two days Divali holiday. A reply has been given to the effect that the piece workers can not be paid wages for the two days, of leave and that the first two demands can not be granted till the Report of the Government Committee is published. But the workers are still on strike (lit. out).

(23-12-28)

(Shraddhanand Press, Bombay, No. 4)

No. 23, Roving Dept. the Tata Mill.

Names	Dept.	Roving.
Krishna Shambhu	"	"
Lalabhai Manirang	"	"
Dhondu Esen.	"	"

Ghari Babaji	"	"	
Sadashiv Manaji	"	"	
Kondiba Dhondiba	"	"	
Devji Rama	"	"	
Names Trasan	Dept.		
Deanu Bhagya	"	Trasan	
Dhar Mavitu	"	"	
(not present)			
Babu Bangya	"	"	
Bhikaiya Dipya	"	"	
Names Cut	Dept.		
Tukaram Babu	"	Cut	No. 18
Sakhya Kayru	"	"	" 19
Bhulair	Dept.		
Atu Mahadu			

16 Manshe Phujri

Tata Mill (elections).

Public Meeting of Workers. 8

All (workers) of the Sorab Mill should attend.

Time: Wednesday the 5th December. at 6 P. M.

Place: The *maidan* of Kasar Wadi near the Sorab Mill

Subject: (1) Bringing about the unity of all the workers of the Sorab Mill.

(2) The election of the Mill-Committee of the Sorab Mill for the work of the Union.

All the workers of the Sorab Mill working in the Roving, Cut Doubling, Winding, Reeling, *Traspati*, Warping, Sizing, Folding, Mechanical and other departments, great and small, should attend to-day's meeting. Before coming to the meeting every department should settle among themselves to appoint one leader or two if the department is big. They should be prepared to nominate as their leaders good clever and enthusiastic men who would work in concert with others but who would not be backward to fight if injustice is done, but who are (at the same time) well versed in the work of the mill. These men should be consulted before hand whether they are ready to work or not, and then their names should be proposed

for the work of the Union and got approved of by the meeting. If any one wishes to speak anything at the meeting he should speak without fail. This is the work of the Kamgar Union. Every one from the sweeper to the Head Jobber has the right to speak and to speak in support of another with a view to helping the Union, increasing the strength of the Union and spreading the movement of the Union among the Workers.

Those who will be present at the meeting: W.H. Joshi and Khanderao Desai of the Naigam centre. Dange and other leaders will attend if they get time and leisure.

(Sd) W.H. Joshi.

(Sd) Khanderao Desai

(Nigam Centre)

Bombay Girni Kamgar Union.

Sorab Mill

5th December 1928.

Tago (Fernadis)

- Trasan: (1) Balya Keshan Khakhe
(2) Ganpat Lakshman Lodge
- Roving: (1) Ramchandra Tukaram
No. 2 (Jobber)
- Winding (1) Dhondu Narayan
- Doubling (1) Mahadev Rama
- Cloth: (1) Rahoba Narayan
(2) Shanker Krishna
(3) Sakharam Bapu
(4) Abdulla Amir
(5) Sonu Bapu
- Wahi (1) Bhikaji Ladu
- Roving: (2) Daji Gurnaji
(Night duty).
- Bundle: (3) Ganpat Bahaji
(1) Rama Bhan
(2) Changa Sonaji

(3) Mohammad Karim

(Abha Raghu Kolaha Land Mill)

$\frac{600}{(1000)}$

Public Meeting of the Worekrs.

All the workers of the Sorab Mill and Kastur Mill should attend.

Time : Friday the 30th at 6 P. M.

Place : Maidan opposite the B.B. & C. I. Railway Dadar Station.

Subject before the meeting:

- (1) To bring about the unity between the *trasan* and cloth departments of the Sorab Mill.
- (2) To announce the reply given by the Manager of the Kastur Mill in respect of the reduced rates.
- (3) To explain what action the workers should take if the Manager reduces rates or effects reduction in any department (e. g. the roving dept.)

Men belonging to all the departments of the Sorab and Kastur Mill i. e. men of the *trasan*, roving, dying machanical, sizing, warping, reeling; cloth, folding, winding and blanket a departments should be present at the meeting. Members of the Mill Committees should make it a point to attend and help in the work of the meeting. Those who will be present to conduct the meeting:

(1) Mirajkar

(2) Alve

- (3) W. H. Joshi }
(4) K. A. Desai } of the Naigam Centre.

Mr. Dange will be present if he gets time and leisure.

KOHINOOR No. 1.

Trasan Department : (1) Lakshman Rama
(Sado Gopal)

(2) Dhondu Bhiwa

(3) Narayan Arjun.

Doubling : Shripat Lakshman,

Kohinoor No. 1.

Tata, Bhowanda, Morarji

Govind Babu }
Hamju Hasan } Kohinoor No. 1.
Shankar Khaw } .

Balwant Balaji }
Mahipat Sambhaji } Kohinoor No. 2.

Public Meeting of the Workers.

All the workers of the Tata Mill
should attend.

Time: Saturday the 1st. December at 6 P. M.

Place: Behind the Gokhale Hotel.

Subject: The election of the Mill Committee of the Tata
Mill for the work of the Union.

All the workers of the Tara Mill working in the Roving, Cut, Doubling, Winding, Reeling, *Trasan*, Warping, Sizing, Folding Mechanical & other departments, great and small, should attend to-days meeting. Before coming to the meeting every department should settle among themselves to appoint a leader or two leaders if the department is big. They should be prepared to nominate as their leaders good, clever and enthusiastic men who would work in concert with others but who would not be backward, to fight if injustice is done, but who are (at the same time) well versed in the work of the mill. These men should be consulted beforehand whether they are ready to work or not, and then their names should be proposed for the work of the Union and got approved of by the meeting. If any one wishes to speak anything at the meeting he should speak without fail. This is the work of the Kamgar Union. Every one from the sweeper to the Head Jobber has the right to speak and to speak in support of another with a view to helping the Union increasing the strength of the Union and spreading the movement of the Union among the workers.

Those who will be present at the meeting W. H. Joshi and Khanderao Desai of the Naigam Centre. Dange and other leaders will attend if they get time and leisure.

(Sd). W. H. Joshi,

(Sd). Khanderao Lesai,

(Naigam Centre).

Bombay Girni Kamgar Union.

Kohinoor No. 2.

Folding Department : Mahadev Govind Mahatre

(Helper : Sonu Ambaji Mayekar)

Unanimously elected.

(lit. passed)

Kohinoor No. 1.

Sizing :

Krishanji Damodar Bedekar

Unanimously elected.

Kohinoor No. 1.

Vahi Department : Narain Mahadev Khuperkar

Unanimously elected.

Kohinoor No. 1.

Roving :

Narayan Hatu

(Rama Mahadu 149)

Unanimously elected.

Roving (ground floor) Vithoba Kashinath.

Kohinoor No. 2.

Cut Department :

Gopal Dhondu

(Babu Gangaram)

Unanimously passed.

Kohinoor No. 2.

Cut Department :

Maruti Kanhu

(Vazir Bhaikan)

Unanimously elected.

Kohinoor No. 2

Cloth

(1) Mahipat Sambhaji

(2) Gopal Keshav

(3) Heruji Janu

(4) Balvant Balaji

(5) Casam Rasul

(6) Vankat Vethu

Kohinoor No. 1

Roving: (Help to the one elected in the
last meeting.): Bhāgya
Sabharam

Kohinoor No. 2

Roving: Babaji Babu
(Deoba Lakshman)

Kohinoor No. 1

Mixing: Krishna Rama
Unanimously passed.

Kohinoor No. 2

Cloth: (1) Balyant Babaji
(2) Sakharam Yeshvant

Kohinoor No. 2

Vahi Department: Mahadev Rambhau Raut
Vishnu Gopal Konde

Kohinoor No. 1

Wrapping: Dattatraya Sabaji
Jivaji Bavaji
Rama Lakshman.

KASTUR CHAND MILL

22nd November 1928.

The following change has been made in the committee and men from new departments have been included in the Committee:

Vithal Balaji } Drawing Department.
Narayan Bhikaji }
Narayan Khewā } Cloth Department.

In place of :-

Duyanu Aba

Atmaram Kanu

Dattatraya Shanker: Folding

Waman Vithol : Engine

These changes have been effected with the consent of the men.

K. A. Desai

25-11-28

Afterwards two names from the Dying Department have been received:

(1) Sitaram Daji

(2) Babu Bola

Yours

K. A. Desai.

19-11-28

Kastoorchand Mill.

Mixing:	Babu Rama
Blanket:	(1) Abdulla
	(2) Mahadev Ram
	(3) Mahadev Syaroji
Cloth Dept. :	(1) Shankar Narayan
	(2) Babu Pandurang
	(3) Atmaram Kanu
	(4) Duyanu Aba
	(5) Kashinath Maruti
	(6) Mahadev Daoba
	(7) Atmaram Sabaji.
Traşan depart :	(1) Shankar Rama
	(2) Gopal Bhagu
	(3) Shivram Bapu
	(4) Dhonduram
	(5) Mahadev Shivram Bhave
Gadi Dept.	(1) Sitaram Bhava
	(2) Janu Babya
Roving	(1) Raju Sinu
	(2) Ranu Tatya
Roving (2)	(1) Gorakhdin, Kunjbihari
	(2) Aba Gunaji (Kashinath Rama)
Cut	(1) Badri Rambadarak.

Drying	(i) Shivrām, Bajl
Fitten Cloth	J. J. Desonza
Pafan	Udraj Madhaosing
Mixing	Baji Raghunath
Warping	Pandarang Kondiba
Sizing	Tukaram Govind
Kandi Department	Gavru Appa

You should pass a resolution at this meeting (lit. place) that the work of the Union should be carried on in accordance with the wishes of the Mill Committee.

At this time 1 or 2 leaders of the Blanket Department contended thus: At one time in the past a strike was declared in our department but people in other departments did not give us any support and we shall take part in the work of the Mill Committee and respect its decisions only if men belonging to all the department come to the agreement that in future all department should act in concert. Shankar Rama, Khanderao Desai, Joshi, Bradley, Abdulla etc. took part in the discussion on this question. The following resolution was placed before the meeting and passed. It was then resolved to elect the Mill Committee once again after consulting all the people. A resolution to that effect was placed before the meeting and passed. The names of the Mill Committee were read and people were asked to raise objections, if any, to any of the names proposed. No objection was raised. People were asked to express their approval of the Committee by acclamation and the Committee was approved with acclamation. In conclusion, Mr. Bradley exhorted the people to include more men with martial spirit in the Committee and to carry on the work of the Mill Committee in such a manner as to reduce all affairs that are detrimental to unity. The meeting (was then dissolved).

20th November 1928

Shankar Rama Kadam, Ist leader

Mahadev Shivram Sathe

Gopal Bhagoji Sapko

We shall inform the Ist, leader if any information (?) from the owner of the mill is received.

Dudhnath Baldev is not liked by our Committee and so his name is removed and another leader is appointed.

J. G. Dsonza

Leaders of the Union.

Kastoorchand Mill Roving Dept. No. 2

(1) Raja Soma, Leader Roving

(2) Ratnu. Namaya, " "

Abaji Gunaji and Gorakhdin Kunjpihari, Roving Department are not liked as leaders and so other leaders were appointed.

Shivram Bapu Salvi, Leader Ring No. 2 Mill

Dhondu Gurav, Dhondu Rama Kashinath Rama, Cut Department, Roving No. 1

Sitaram Bhiva Jadhav Gadi Khata No. 3

Leaders.

Gangaram Vithoba Karekar Kandikhata

Garu Apa, Leader

Public Meeting of the Workers

All the workers of the Kastoorchand Mill should attend.

Time: Monday the 19th at 6 P. M.

Place: Opposite the B. B. & C. I.-Dadar Station.

Subject: Election of the Mill Committee of the Kastoorchand Mill for the work of the Union.

All the workers of the Kastoorchand Mill working in the Roving Cut, Doubling, Winding, Reeling, *Trasan*, Warping, Sizing, Folding, Mechanical and other departments, great and small, should attend to-day's meeting. Before coming to the meeting every department should settle among themselves to appoint a leader, or two leaders, if the department is big. They should be prepared to nominate as their leaders good clever and enthusiastic men who would work in concert with the others, but who would not be backward to fight if any injustice is done but who are at the same time well versed in the work of the mill. These men should be consulted beforehand whether they are ready to work or not, and then their names should be proposed for the work of the Union and got approved of by the meeting. If any one wishes to speak anything at the meeting he should speak without fail. Every one from the sweeper to the Head Jobber has the right to speak in support of another with a view to helping the Union, increasing the strength of the Union and spreading the movement of the Union among the workers. Those who will be present at the meeting: W. H. Joshi and

Khandrao Desai of the Naigam Centre. Dange and other leaders will be present if they get time and leisure.

(Sd) W. H. Joshi,

(SD) Khanderao Desai,

(Naigam Centre)

Bombay Girniamgar Union.

Manscript of the above hand-bll.

Meerut.
15-10-1929

} True translation
S. Ezekiel.
Marathi Translator

P. 797-T.

(The following names and addresses are transcribed in Marahati).

Page 15. D. R. Bhatvdekar,

President,

Girni Maha Mandal,

Hajib's Chawl,

Chinchpokli,

(Bombay)

Page 35.

(Shamrao Deshmukh)

Mal Guzar.

Kala Pipal.

Daolatrao Nagorao Deshmukh,

Mal Guzar,

Hardei khurd.

Page 105.

Duttatray Ramchandra Mayekar,
No 20, Kali Chowki Road.
(Editor of) The KAMKARI.

Page 129.

(Below the address of R. G. Pradhan of Hyderabad the following occurs) He is the husband of the sisterinlaw of Vimlabai.

Page 129.

(Below the name of the Agricultural Engineer of the Gwalior State the following occurs) :—

Nawab Kuva
House of Chotu Sahab,
Shinde Camp.

Page 129.

Dowlatrao Nagorao Deshmukh,
Mal Guzar,
Hardai Khurd,

Page 152.

Dada Sahab Soman,
Mehkar
(Dist. Balghana).
Meerut } [True Translation]
19.9.29. } S. Ezekiel.
Marathi Translator.

P. 802—T.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE KIRKEE ARSENAL
WORKMEN'S UNION.

This meeting was held on Saturday the 8th Jan. 1929, at

2-30 P. M. Mr. N. C. Kelkar, M. L. A., was to take the chair. There were about 500 workmen present at the meeting and a few invited guests were also present. At the opening Mr. Pandit, president of the Union delivered his welcome address thus :—“ The age of the factory has arisen of late and a new class of workmen has come into being. It has to depend upon others. However its life would be made pleasant if it is given adequate wages, limited hours of work, holidays and etc. It is the endeavour of our Union to remove grievances in this respect. But we are of opinion that these grievances could well be removed by legislation.” Mr. Kelkar was then elected to the chair. Garlands and bouquets were presented. * Telegrams and letters of sympathy received from various places were then read. The Secretary next read his report. He said Our Union has 499 members on the list. A membership of 500 can not be said to be very satisfactory on looking to the workmen employed in the Arsenal (lit: factory) as a whole. Efforts are being made to increase the membership. The total amount of subscription collected upto date is Rs 862-11-6. Out of this Rs 282/- were spent in expenditure. The balance of Rs 580-11-6 is with the Treasurer. In the year under report seven meetings were called. Mr. Kerk of Coimbatore, Mr. Joshi, M.L.A. of Bombay, Kamat, a patriot of Poona, Mr. Thengdi of Nagpur were present at these meetings and rendered special services in organising the work men. The Union is very much indebted to them for their help. In the period under report we placed many of the grievances of the workmen before Government. The grievances affected the interests of not only our members but those of all the workmen. Replies were received from Government to some of our representations and some were not replied to at all. The Union had no fixed place for holding the meetings, of the managing committee & the working committee. But arrangements have been made in this respect. The report was concluded with a vote of thanks to gentlemen and associations that had rendered assistance to the Union. Then DES BHAKTA (patriot) Tatyasaheb Kelker president of the conference delivered his address. He said :—* There is some truth in the statement that the educated classes do not sympathise with the plight of the illiterate classes. However, they should ventilate their own grievances and get them redressed. At no time should it be thought that Government of its own accord would inquire into our grievances. The present is the age of the factory and so factories will work and workmen will attend them to earn their living. But these workmen should pass their lives as human beings and some arrangement should be made to give them adequate wages so that they may get enough to feed and clothe themselves and live in decent houses. They should get

*See Page.

increments in their wages every year. They should get holidays and leave. The place where they work should be well ventilated and sufficiently lighted. The workmen should get pension, gratuity or provident fund in old age. A hospital should be attached to the workshop. There should be some arrangements for the education of the children of the workmen in the neighbourhood. The workmen must be literate. When all these facilities are provided for the grievance of the workmen will be considerably removed. The workmen and owners must co-operate to bring all this about. A third party is needed to bring about such a co-operation. There is strength in the Union of the workmen but the owners do not like it. However workmen's Unions have now been recognised by law. There is no objection to all workmen joining them. It should be fully understood that we would not be able to secure our aim unless all workmen are united. I shall make efforts in the (Legislative) Assembly to secure all those things that are possible by legislation."

After the presidential speech was over the workmen placed the following resolutions before the meeting and got them passed.

RESOLUTION 1. This meeting is of opinion that the workmen should get liberal and technical education free.

RESOLUTION 2. This meeting is of opinion that Government should be responsible for giving work to adults of 20 to 60 years of age.

RESOLUTION 3. This meeting is of opinion that that the Government should give work to the unemployed workman and if this is not possible then give him unemployment wages.

RESOLUTION 4. This meeting is of opinion that when a workman gets old after serving for 25 to 30 years he should be given a pension for his maintenance.

RESOLUTION 5. This meeting is of opinion that when it is not possible to get old age pension, if a workman after working for more than five years is disabled by old age or any other cause he should get gratuity or provident fund.

RESOLUTION 6. This meeting is of opinion that the promotion of the workmen should be governed by rules. Promotion should not rest on the will of the superior officer.

RESOLUTION 7. This meeting is of opinion that the workmen should be given one month's notice in respect of the termination of their services and the notice should state the cause of removal.

RESOLUTION 8. This meeting is of opinion that an ordinary workman should get wages that would suffice to secure for himself sufficient food and clothing and decent housing accommodation.

and that the labourer working in the Kirkee workshop should get as. -/12/- instead of As. -/8/- as daily wages.

RESOLUTION 9. This meeting is of opinion that *mistries* from every department should be represented on the managing Committee of the workmans' union and that a capable workman, if there be, any should also be elected (thereon).

RESOLUTION 10. This meeting is of opinion that the managing Committee should appoint its own office bearers, that is, president, vice-president and Secretary, treasurer and a working Committee consisting of seven (persons).

RESOLUTION 11. This meeting is of opinion that the new constitution approved of by the Managing Committee should not be put into force till the (meeting of the) next annual meeting.

RESOLUTION 12. This meeting is of opinion that the workmen should get fifteen days' privilege leave after one year of work.

RESOLUTION 13. This meeting is of opinion that no workman should spend more than eight hours from the time he gets inside the gate (of the arsenal) to his leaving it and that if he spends more time he should be paid "Over time" (allowance).

RESOLUTION 14. This meeting is of opinion that translation of the orders meant for (men working in the) arsenal and ammunition works should be posted on the (notice) board or the gate.

RESOLUTION 15. This meeting is of opinion on that Mr. D. Y. Phathak should be appointed as the auditor of the Union.

After the above resolutions were passed Mr. Vaze and Mr. Pawar addressed a few words of advice to the workmen. After the concluding remarks of the president and a vote of thanks the meeting was dissolved at 5 P. M.

***Telegrams and Letters of Syamphy.**

It is necessary to give some more explanation about these telegrams and letters. One hundred invitations were printed and almost all of them were sent out. Only those leaders who are interested in the labour movement were invited. A few members of the (Legislative) Council and the (Legislative) Assembly were included therein. It is to be regretted that only 9 or 10 persons out of these 100 took the trouble of sending telegrams or letters of sympathy and those persons are also participating in the labour movement to day. Prominence was given to this fact by Mr. Pandit in his introductory speech and perhaps because of this allusion Mr. Kelkar, president of the conference, replied to it in his address. We workmen rest our claim on (the attention of) patriotic leaders on the fact that we are at present greatly disorganised, we

do not know in what our welfare lies and that we form 90 percent of the total population of the country. If there is anything like a country the workmen form a principal part of it. If there is any thing worth the name of the welfare of the country it is the welfare of the workmen. If Swaraj is to be established it must be established after taking into consideration the welfare or otherwise of the workmen, and if it is possible to establish Swaraj it would be possible to do so only with the help of the workmen. It would not be possible to establish Swaraj as long as the leaders of the country do not enlist the help of the working classes that is to say, the worker and peasants. The above reflections are made with a view to attracting in a more marked manner than heretofore the attention of the country, (its) leaders and Government.

2nd February 1927.

The Managing Committee was elected in accordance with the 9th resolution of the conference on the 2nd February. It included the *mistries* named below and about 65 capable workmen.
1. Devrao Ramchandra Mistry 2. Dagna Sadu 3. Narayan Tukaram 4. Babji Ganpat 5. Arjun Pola,

21-2-27.

A meeting of the Managing Committee was held on the 20th February and the following gentlemen were elected as its office bearers :

- | | |
|---|-------------------|
| 1. Dhundiraj Thengdi—President. | } Vice-president. |
| 2. S. V. Ghaneré, Moreshwary Pandurang Gore, Devji Ramchandra | |
| 3. Madhorao Ramchandra Jadhav..... | Secretary. |
| 4. Narayan Babi..... | Treasurer. |
| 5. Ramchandra Narsu..... | A. Secretary. |

Similarly by the working committee was appointed which consisted of the above named office bearers and Umrikar and Moreshawar.

Madhav Ramchandra Jadev, Secretary Kirkee.

Dhundiraj Thengdi, Engineer, Poona City.

Printed in the Chitrashala Press at Poona.

[True translation]

Meerut }
19-9-29. }

S. Ezekiel,
Marathi Translator.

P. 810-T. Rejected

Page 15.

Sumatibai Biniwalle

Age about 17 years,

Gotra Washshths,

3rd Standard,

240, Kasha Peth

(Poona City)

Page 31.

Davre,

Bhawani Peth,

Kavde Shaste,

Celebration Committee.

Page 33.

Badhai Ali Chowk,

Raviwar Peth.

Page 37.

Dattatraya Vaman,

Kattale,

Gotra Bhardwaj

Paravara Bharagdwaj }

Agiras

Brahyasaratya }

Ajurwedi : Namadi Brahman

Page 65.

Juna Bazar,

Kirkee.

Page 67.

Chitrao Shasgtri

Bhuskute

Javdekar

Lalit
Jadhav
Bhauro Phatak.

Page 75:-

(Mr. S. A. Ghare)
Swavalawhan National School,
Chinchwad

Page 77.

Society for the promotion of eloquence.

Page 78.

Agashe.

Page 79.

Bapu Tukaram.

Meerut. } [True Translation].
 } S. Ezekiel
9-10-1929. } Marathi Translator.

P. 829-T.
Ideal of Life.

Rejected

Dying utterances of comrade Vanzetii who fell a victim to the American Imperialism after being imprisoned for seven years continuously.

I have read and studied much and I have found that the centre of all learning is the same—to read the book of Life. The book of life is the book of books. I have therefore made a minute and constant observation of the working of the life history of the animal and vegetable world that is found in the vicinity of human society.

Constant thought and meditation on the book of life have moulded my principles and have determined my path of life. I never approved of the doctrine: "Life lives on life" or "Society

exists for the individual." I have always embraced the cause of weak, afflicted, and persecuted humanity, and I have faith in the sacrifices and heroic deeds performed for the victory of right principles.

No human being can come in the way of the Power that governs Life and similarly man-made conventions (lit. connections) that have connection with the Universe by the inspiration of Life can not also obstruct the progress of this power. The sea, rivers, and mountains that have been in existence long before the creation of man have certainly not been created for creating differences between man and man.

I have faith in universal love. An action of the individual affects the life of the society and feelings of pleasure and pain arise therefrom, and, therefore, organisation of human society should be based on delegation of power and morality. Joy, supreme joy is the highest goal (lit. ideal) of Life, and health, peace, self-realisation, satisfaction of earthly desires and supreme faith are respectively steps in the ladder that lead to that highest pinnacle.

Toleration is the (outcome of) real mental culture.

In my life I have made strenuous efforts to secure the cool shade of home for every individual, food for the hungry, education and intellectual light for every member of the society.

I am convinced that the real history of man has not yet commenced. We have not yet reached a stage of historical importance. But the fresh light of the morning (lit. new) sun has begun to appear (lit. shine).

The psychologists are of the opinion that the age of 33 forms a critical period in men's life. This is (quite) true. Christ was crucified (lit. killed). at the age of 33. Similar doom has overtaken me in the 33rd year of my life.

But after being killed as long as my soul hovers in the firmament it will be treading the path of the doctrines (enumerated) above.

I am an anarchical socialist. I believe anarchism to be the final stage of human evolution.

(Publisher, Lalji Pendse, Ganesh Building, Tara Temple Lane, Bombay. No. 7. Printer, S. V. Kamat, Kamat P. Press, Bombay, 4.)

[True Translation].

Meerut. }
13-9-29. }

S. Ezekiel
Marathi Translator.

P 863-T

This Exhibit is the same as Exhibit No. P-492 and has been dealt with under that head.

MEERUT. { S. EZEKIEL.
4/11/1929. { Marathi Translator.

P. 876-T.

PANCHNAMA.

1. Hussainbhoy Fazalbhoy of Bandra.

Lalji Chapsi of Bandra.

We the undersigned panchas were called by the Bondra Police at Khar, Bandra to the residence of Mr. Sawaksha Hormasji Jhabwalla and his house was searched by the Police in our presence.

The following books and papers were found in his possession:

1. Copies of the "Masses of India" for the month of July 1927, volume 3, Nos. 7, 8, 9, and 10.
2. "Malini" The daughter of the Punjab or a toll of India's sacrifice by Mr. S. H. Jhabwalla.
3. "Wanted National Government" a book by Jhabwalla.
4. "India and China" a book having read cover.
5. "Boycott of British cloth" (nine pages typed).
6. "Bundelkhand Kisan Labour Conference" by Mr. Jhabwalla, Jhansi.
7. Waiting upon G. I. P. Ry. Agent, (a photo).
8. Visiting card of H. Hutchinson.
9. Hand bill of Khar Youth League.
10. "One year of Non-cooperation" (a book).
11. "Rich and poor" (typed papers).
12. "Slavery in our midst" (typed papers)
13. "Wanted a National Government" (a book)
14. "Gandhi Sikshan"
15. "Satyagraha" (a book).
16. One photograph (big)
17. One photograph (small)

18. One thousand and one gems of English poetry (a book).
19. "John Keates", (a book).
20. Long Fellow's poems (a book).
21. Poetical works (a book).
22. Poetry book.

The Police attached the papers and books and took possession of the same in our presence. Mr. Savaksha Hormasji Jhabwalla was present at the search. There was no disorder or derangement (of articles) and no act against religion was committed. We saw this and testify to it.

Dated 20/3/1929.

Sd. HASUNALI.

Before me.

Fazaalbhoj.

(in English)

Sd. J. C. ARANJO,

Police Sub-Inspector.

Sd. LALJI CHAPSI

Bandra.

(in Gujrati)

[True translation]

MEERUT.

20/9/29.

S. EZEKIEL
Marathi Translator.

P. 929⁶-T

Rejected

Dated 12-6-1928

To

Mr. NIMBKAR,

SECRETARY,

Strike Committee.

SIR,

You and your cooperating friends Messrs Dange, Mirajkar Jhabwala, Bradley, Joshi and others being moved by the hardships of the workers in the present circumstances have taken the leading

strings of the strike into your hands and there is no doubt whatsoever that you have rendered very praiseworthy services so far; and the credit for the continuance of the strike for so many days must be given to the troubles taken by the leaders. In the past 4 or 5 strikes were organised and many persons had come forward as leaders therein but they did not put in the necessary exertions and so the desired result was not produced. But the exertions you are putting in the present strike lead me to hope that it will be successful. However, in my humble opinion, I think that the following steps would be necessary to make the strike a success and so I express to you my honest opinion for which I beg to be excused. The volunteers you have posted at the mills for picketing purposes come there at about 7 (A. M.) but the firemen, oilmen, fitters, collies &c. attend work come at 6 A. M. or even before that and so they (the volunteers) are of no use. These men are relieved from work at 4 P. M. and the volunteers go away at 10 or 10-30 and so the workers go to take their tiffin at 12 noon and come back to work undisturbed at 1 P. M. Thus picketing does not in any way come in their way. However, if the time of the volunteers is changed and they are made to attend from 6 to 8 in the morning and 12 to 2 in the forenoon, picketing will be very effective. But I am afraid this will involve a great deal of trouble.

2. At present 100 to 125 men come to work in the mills for doing miscellaneous work. These people attend work at the time noted above and are relieved at 4 (P. M.) But the matter is attended to in time, the millowners will come to terms soon. However, I believe that if arrangements are made as suggested below such a bandobast could be made.

A committee should be appointed from the persons who attend (public) meeting and such small committees should be appointed for every mill separately, for some days (some) people from every mill should get up early and be present at the gate and recognise the people who attend to the mill and persuade them not to attend work either on the road, or by going to their residence. Similarly they (volunteers) should be in the vicinity of the gate 4 P. M. and again remonstrate with any one who had gone by remaining in the vicinity of the gate. If they do not listen to this then intimidation should be practised to the effect that their names would be noted down and that a demand would be made (with the owners) to get them dismissed. This will have some effect. This will have some effect.

The above suggestion may be given due consideration and brought into effect if practicable.

With compliments &c

Yours humbly

A well wisher of the workers.

(True translation)

Meerut.

9-20-1929

} S. Ezekiel
} Marathi Translator.

P. 1016 T (1)

*P. 928-T. Rejected, later on
take as P. 1016 T. (1)*

OPEN SUGGESTIONS TO MILL WORKERS.

Brother-workmen,

The mill owners are practising oppression upon you and are trying to reduce the rate of your wages. It is their design to get double work done in a small sum of money by making you work on three machines and two sides. If you accept to work three machines or two sides, one man out of three machine-men, that is $\frac{2}{3}$ of the men, will be thrown out of employment and among those who work one sides one out of two men, that is half the number of men will be thrown out of employment. It is the intention of the mill owners to reduce the rates unknown to the simple minded and illeterate workers. But in the first place, besides this, the system will throw 50000 men out of employment. The next secret design (of the owners) is to make use of these men to get your usual wages reduced. This is the design of all the mill owners. But (they know that) if the secret is let out all of you will be roused as in the case of the last strike in respect of wages and they (the owners) will not be able to make their design successful. It is therefore, their machination to put the Sassoon company forward in a rascally manner and so out-wit you by taking you by surprise and by attacking you one by one. The Mill Owners' Association has decided to introduce this system in all the mills. But if the notice is published simultaneously all of you will be united. But in order that you may not be united and you may be attacked one by one, false statements are made that such notices will not be

given to men in the mills working at present and you are not put on your guard. It is their object to keep you unguarded and you are confronted with this straight question whether owing to ignorance or folly you will sit quiet till the knife is placed on your very necks and help the owners to kill you by dividing you.

Selfish agents (lit. people) of the owners are leading you astray by asking you why you are excited when no notice is posted (in your mill); while our so-called leaders are disheartened and are giving us false hopes and hiding the intentions of the owners from you so that their cowardice may not be exposed. But the poor workers will suffer in the long run by this cowardice and the attitude of inconsistency and time serving policy adopted (by the leaders) to maintain their leadership intact. These leaders are giving you wrong advice to-day and are helping the owners in their design of attacking you singly. This danger can be averted only if you stand united. Your salvation lies in being warned in time and helping the workers of the Sassoon (group of) mills. Bear this in mind that all of you will be reduced to a sorry plight if you listen to the sweet words of leaders who do not rise to the occasion and remain unguarded till the knife is applied to your necks.

It is the design of the owners that you should be divided. For that purpose they are giving you any number of false hopes. Although the Mill Owners' Association have decided to introduce this system every where (the owners) are not posting notices and are trying to create a false impression that such notices will never be posted. When the strike of the Apollo Mill could not be broken notice was posted calling upon workers to resume work on former conditions and afterwards unity was broken. Similar deception is now being practised by Wadia (mill) with a view to creating a split among the strikers. It is for your consideration whether you will fall a prey to this split and do harm to yourselves or maintain unity by being warned in time and show the courage of bearing hardships for a few (lit. four) days. There is a big pit before you and you do not see it. Our duty consists in making you aware of it and make you wise. But, in spite of this, if you remain unguarded and allow a split to be created in your midst and if you bring about your own ruin (lit. carry the cowardly cases by your own hands to the burning ground), then who can say anything beyond ascribing it to your destiny? Consider this carefully. Do not fall victims to the cowardice and tactics of secrecy adopted by the leaders. Similarly do not be taken in by the machinations of the owners. You can hold your own only if you at once join hands with the workers in the Sassoon Mills. Bear this in mind that if you remain aloof you will allow yourselves to be crushed.

Machinations of the Owners.

1. To get more work done by the new system and to pay less wages.
2. To increase unemployment among the workers.
3. To effect a cut in the wages of the present workers on the strength of these unemployed men.
4. To effect such cuts step by step and to reduce the wages to their former level and to do away with all the allowances.
5. To attack the wages from behind three machines since workers would be agitated if the wages are openly cut.
6. To introduce the new system mill by mill lest their device may fail if (all) the workers unite as at the time of question of 11½ per cent (cut in wages).
7. To give false promises that new notices will not be posted in their mills with a view to creating a split among the workers even though the Mill Owners' Association has arrived at a decision in the matter.
8. To get enormously rich by crushing all (opposition) by attacking one (mill) after another.

There is only one way of defeating this demoniacal (&) cruel design and that consists in the blow of the unity of the workers. Brother-workmen, arise, awake and safe-guard yourselves on the strength of unity, Only then will God grant you success.

Yours humbly,

Workers & Peasants' Party,

Bombay.

[True translation]

MEERUT,

19-9-29.

S. Ezekiel,

Marathi translator.

P. 929-T.

To-days' handbill No. 2

Bombay Girni Kamgar Union.

This morning at nine o'clock a handbill was issued and all were informed that though the leaders were attacked and had received a beating still they were happy and that they had the intention of giving you a notice before hand of the impending danger to us & that people should be on their guard and not a fall a prey to the enemy when the

police and our enemy would try to break our unity and courage by causing firing to be opened upon us. A handbill with the above warning was distributed. But before the handbill was fully distributed another danger came (upon us). The Police attacked at Lalbag thousands of workers who were carrying the Red Flag to the office of the Union. In this attack firing was opened and three workers were killed. One policeman met death and (about) five to ten policemen were wounded, Such is the report. There is disorder everywhere in the city.

What Next.

This disorder and commotion must be put a stop to. For this is not the time to make use of and show our bravery. We must be patient for some time more. After the termination of the big strike all were told that we shall have with us 5,000 drilled volunteers ready. Were they in existence to day, matters would not have come to this pass. Be it as it may.

Now we should bear in mind this bloody attack led on our workmen and should make preparations for retaliating (&) taking revenge for it. These preparation cannot be made in a day. Make preparations to raise armies of peace for self protection, in the coming one month. For that purpose determine (lit take oath) peacefully in your mind to take revenge and make up your mind to serve both the capitalists and Government aright and in order to effect proper organisation go to work from to-morrow and while continuing the work let us make preparations for the struggle. Restrain those people amongst us who are likely to create disturbance by incitement. Obey the orders of the Union and those in-respect of the discipline of the Red Flag. Do not desert the red Flag even if all the leaders are killed and act up to the call (lit request) of the Red Flag.

Then we shall get all that we want.

12-12-28.

Sd. S. A. DANGE,

General Secretary.

[True translation].

MEERUT, }
19-9-29. }

S. Ezekiel,
Marathi translator.

P. 930-T.

KRANTI (Special)

Sunday the 29th July 1928.

No. IX.

(The letter press below the photograph of Mr. S. J. Jhabwalla appearing on page 5 of the paper runs thus:—)

Many unions have been started at his hands in Bombay. He lost his job because he is (found) in the company of the radical party of the Workers' movement. He was a teacher in a school (A member of the Workers' and Peasants' Party).

* * * *

(Letter press below the photograph of Mr. Shantaram-Savlaram Mirajkar runs thus:—)

Page 7. He was serving in a bank on a salary of Rs. 100 for seven years. He lost his job as soon as he joined the Workers' movement. (A member of the Workers' and Peasants' Party).

* * * *

(Letter press below the photograph of Mr. B. F. Bradley runs thus:—)

It is rumoured that Government are going to arrest him and send him to England as soon as the strike is over.

* * * *

(Letter press below the photograph of Mr. Raghunath Shivram Nimbkar runs thus:—)

It is said that he will soon become the guest of the stone house of Government. So far he has enjoyed the atmosphere of the jail twice. He is called a 'born agitator' by the Government papers. (A member of the Workers' and Peasants' Party).

* * * *

(Letter press below the photograph of Mr. Arjan Atmaram Alve runs thus:—)

The attention of Government has not yet turned towards him. But if he continues in his persistence and boldness it will not be long before he gets the Royal *Firman*.

KRANTI.

Sunday the 2nd September 1928

No. 18.

(The following appears in bold type on page 1 of the paper :—

Bring the National Congress under your control. And beat down the dominance of the owners. The Workers' Party secured Rs. 3000 for the strike from the Congress. The agents (lit-people) of the owners opposed it.

The present Congress belongs to the owners.

They go abegging before the English.

One, one man Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru got up and made a speech on behalf of the Workers in the meetings held at Lucknow by these rich Capitalists and their friends. He got up and said:— Thousands of strikes are being organised in the country: Government are enacting oppressive laws against the Communists and the Workers. At such a time this meeting of Capitalists wiseacres (lit-wise men) is holding deliberations for capitulating with the English.

* * * * *

The Congress is helping the Tatas and (other) owners.

* * * * *

KRANTI

Thursday the 12 July 1928.

No. 4.

* * * * *

Page 5—4

HOW SHOULD THE WORKERS FIGHT.

(by Mr. ALVE.)

* * * * *

It is in the very nature of the Capitalists to persecute the Workers and it is the duty of the workers to fight against them and to gain victory over them.

The fight of the workers is not such as would last for a day (only) and so no fixed rules can be applied to it. Still we should devise our tactics in such a manner as to suit the strength of the enemy. Two parties are facing us as enemies and are attacking the Workers. One is the Capitalists and the other is the interfering Police.

Our weapon for fighting against the Capitalists at present is, strike. Our present weapon consists in prolonging the strike for three to four months.

But many minor enemies are intent upon breaking our ranks.

What will the workers do to face all these sides? We workers are at present without arms. Our enemy possesses rifles, guns and money. The attacks of the Police on us are now on the increase because we have not the backing of arms. When the enemy sees that the strike can not be broken in course of time (lit day by day) he makes up his mind to annoy the Workers who have become desperate by starvation by some means or other and then subject them to the attack of the baton and firing.

We shall secure victory only when we become fighters. But we do not want the fight of the clod of earth. We want the fight of brave men. Bear this in mind that it does not become a real worker to strike a small stone and run away.

If the enemy possesses great strength, we should not face him like fools in his own stronghold (Lit-house). First we should try to possess as much strength as he has got and than begin the warfare.

The warfare of the workers is of a very terrible nature. It does not last for a day but continues for several years:

* * * * *

(But) how many so ever calamities many befall and how many so ever attacks may be made victory will accrue to the Workers some day or other.

KRANTI

Sunday the 30th June 1928.

* * * * *

Pages 3 and 4.

DOCK-WORKERS and REVOLUTION.

* * * * *

So far we have taken a general survey of the sufferings of the dock-workers and of their unions. We shall now conclude after dwelling (lit-thinking) on what a prominent part the dock workers play in the movement. There are docks at the principal parts in India. Only recently a union of dock labourers working in the harbour of Karachi has been started. Now if a big union of all the dock labourers of Karachi, Calcutta, and Madras is established the key of the enormous trade of India will rest in the hands of the Union of Workers. Not only will our miserable state improve on the strength of union but the dock labourers will be able to render valuable services if an occasion arises to wage a great warfare for the rights of workers and peasants in India. The organisation of the dock labourers constitutes a big gun in the preparations which

the Indian working public has made. On the strength of his organisation we can keep trade and commerce of crores of rupees under our control; and to have this power under (our) control constitutes the revolution of the modern world.

KRANTI

Thursday the 2nd August 1928.

PREPARATION FOR WAR.

* * * * *

But the oppression on the Workers and Peasants increased to an enormous extent. Since the Chinese worker is hard working and content to remain on very meagre wages like the Indian worker all the Capitalists began to rush to China and all began to crush him.

The national patriots of China joined hands with these foreign robbers. The so called Chinese mill owners of China used to plunder the Workers and Peasants of China with (the help of) English, Japanese and American troops and police.

* * *

But the English capitalists are making preparations for waging a war against the workers of Russia for removing the Russian thorn that was, in the meanwhile, helping the (Chinese) workers in their struggle. The leaders have published a hand bill publicly exhorting our Indian workers not to fight on the side of the capitalists in this war.

KRANTI

Saturday the 12th November 1927

Page 2

No. XXVI

Salient feature of the Russian Revolution (by S.B.)

It is now four days since ten years after the Russian Revolution have been completed. The last month, and the last week in particular, was filled with the joy of this-celebration all the cities, towns and villages in Russia were reverberating with (the cries of joy) this tenth anniversary.

But people who are outside Russia- may who are thousands of miles among from Russia and who are not Russians and who have not even seen the face of Russia celebrated this day to the best of their abilities, held meetings, delivered lectures, passed resolutions of congratulations, sent telegrams expressing their share in the joy, took a holding and enjoyed

feasts. What is the salient feature of this. Have not there been numerous revolutions in the history of the world so far?

The secret of this is one and that is that the Russian Revolution has not been effected (lit- is not) for selfish ends (or) for robbing the foreign countries, of their country, wealth or independence, (or) for fulfilling the ambitions of a single individual, (or) for establishing the supermacy of the people of one colour or race over the people of another colour or race, (or) for the purpose of enabling a certain handful of people to enjoy luxuries at the cost of a large number of people, but for putting an end, once for all, to the sacrifice of the lives of numerous innocent persons and the waste of wealth for the satisfaction of the ambitions of an individual, (and for) burrying the ghost, once for all, of the racial pride that considers one's own race as superior and that of another as inferior and insults that race at every step, and securing liberty for people in bondage and the total liberation of 98 per cent of people who have to suffer pangs of hell for being kept in ignorance sufferings, poverty, dirt, and disease so that the remaining 2 per cent of the people may enjoy perpetual comforts. And it is for this reason that all people residing in lands hundreds and thousands of miles away from Russia and (people) of all- nations and races and colours and talking various languages and following various kinds of manners and customs like to celebrate the annivesary day of the Russian revolution.

* * * *

But in the political revolution that took place in Russia in the years 1917 power has come in the hands of the general public that has so far, in the history of the world, been crushed under oppression and has fallen a victim to injustice. This is the salient feature of this political revolution.

MEERUT
14/9/29

}

[True translation]

S. EZEKIEL

Marathi Translator

—

P. 931-T.

Rejected This No.

This has already been translated in a previous Exhibit
(P-792)

Meerut
6-11-1929. }

S. Ezekiel
Marathi Translator.

P. 938-T

Rejected

PUBLIC MEETING.

A Public meeting of the workers in the Dana Bander will be held on Saturday the 6th March 1929, at 8 p.m. at the place noted below under the presidentship of the labour leader Mr. Govind Rao Ramchandra Kasle. At that meeting consideration will be given to (the question of) the difficulties of the workers. All are requested to be present on the occasion.

Place of the meeting: Second

Mota's Sare, Opposite water tank, Dana Bander.

Yours' humbly.

Balvant R. Jadhv.
Rao Sahib Narain Rao Kadam
Savlaram Y. Jagdole
Bhikoji M. Bandal
Dagdu Bala Pawar
Bhiwaji Bhan Bhonsle
Jagu Marute Mone
Baburao Kushaba Wagh
Baburao S. Padwal
Muckandrao S. Wadkar
Bharu K. Dhanavde
Krisba G. Mardhekar
Bajirao S. Shivde
Ramrao S. Jadhav
Ranu B. Gole
Tukaram G. Goli
Tukaram V. Gaikawad
Hariba V. Malsare
Ramrao S. Shingade
Parvatrao M. Thorat.

31-8-29

[True translation.]

Meerut }
9-10-1929. }

S. Ezekiel
Marathi Translator.

P. 939-T. Rejected

Bombay Girni Kamgar Union.

Registered

Red Flag.

R U L E S .

NAME.

1. The name of the Union is the Bombay Girni Kamgar Union and it will be referred to as the Union in the following rules:

OBJECTS.

2. (A) The objects of the Union are as under:—

- (1) To establish a Union of the mill workers of Bombay City, island and Presidency and to bring about unity among them.
- (2) To make efforts to improve the conditions of the employment of the members of the Union and to make their life more conducive to happiness.
- (3) To make efforts to remove the grievances of the workers.
- (4) To make efforts for preventing cuts in wages and getting wages increased.
- (5) To help workers in the event of misfortunes like illness, unemployment, old age and death.
- (6) To make efforts to secure legitimate compensation to workers from owners in respect of injuries received by them in accidents while working in mills.
- (7) To make efforts to secure legal advice to members in respect of cases arising out of their employment.
- (8) To give every kind of help to members in strikes declared with the consent of the Union.
- (9) To secure information in regard to the working of the Cotton spinning and weaving mills in India and outside the country.
- (10) To co-operate with and join the unions of workers in cotton spinning and weaving mills in India and outside the country.
- (11) To render help in accordance with the (provisions of the) Indian Trade Unions Act, to workers in this country and other countries with a view to carrying out the objects of the Union embodied in these rules; and

(12) To adopt all possible means to improve the social, educational economic civic and political condition of the members in general of the Union.

(B) To establish the centre of the Union in the city and island of Bombay and to establish its branches throughout the Presidency of Bombay.

MEMBERS.

3. Any worker in any of the spinning and weaving mills in the city and island of Bombay or the Presidency of Bombay can become a member of the Union on the payment of the minimum subscription of four annas every month, provided he undertakes to abide by the rules and by-laws of the Union.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

4. Office-bearers of the Union and other gentlemen, nominated by the Managing Committee and the general body, who are not workers can become "Honorary" members of the Union but the number of such members cannot exceed twenty. Office-bearers as long as they remain in office and others as long as the managing or the general body determine, can continue to be Honorary members of the Union.

5. If any workman does not pay his subscription for six months in succession with the permission of the Managing Committee, or for three months without such permission, he shall cease to be a member for that period. But he can again become a member on the payment of the subscription in arrears.

REGISTER OF MEMBERS.

6. A register of the names of the members of the Union will be maintained and it shall include the name of the member, the name of the mill in which he is employed and his private address &c.

OFFICE BEARERS OF THE UNION.

7. One President, Vice-Presidents to the extent of four, one general secretary, one secretary two treasurers will be appointed as office bearers of the Union; all office bearers except the secretary will be appointed at the annual (general) meeting of the Union. The Union has the right to re-elect its former office bearers.

THE MANAGEMENT OF THE UNION.

8. *Managing Committee*:—The financial and other affairs of the Union will be under the control of the Managing Committee. The Managing Committee will consist of the office bearers of the Union and one representative elected by the mill committee of each of the mills.

9. The Managing Committee shall meet once a month and the meeting shall be held at a place and on a date fixed by the General Secretary with the consent of the President.

10. The work of the Managing Committee cannot be transacted without the presence of at least 1/5 of its members. Meetings adjourned for want of quorum are not governed by this rule.

11. *Central Committees* A Central Committee shall be established at every centre of the Union. It shall consist of President General Secretary and one representative from each of the mills affiliated to that centre.

12. Every Central Committee will appoint a Secretary for its centre.

13. Every Central Committee will hold its meetings every fortnight on a convenient date.

14. The resolutions of the Central Committees will be in the form of recommendations. These Committees will deal with all the questions of the centre such as the strengthening of the centre, collection of subscriptions &c. They have the right of making recommendations in respect thereof to the Managing Committee.

15. *Mill Committees*:—There shall be a Mill Committee for each of the mills affiliated to a centre and it shall consist of the President of the Union, General Secretary, Secretary of the Centre and one representative elected by the members of each of the departments.

16. Every Mill has the right to elect its own President, Secretary and Treasurer.

17. Meetings of Mill Committees will be held on such days as will be fixed by the Secretary for the Centre with the consent of the President and the Secretary of the Mill Committee concerned.

18. The resolutions of the Mill Committees will be considered as recommendations. The Mill Committees have the right of considering the questions in respect of the employment of workers in their respective mills and other questions affecting their lives as also of collecting subscriptions and making recommendations in these respects to their Central Committees and through these committees or even directly to the Managing Committee.

19. *Working Committee*:—A Working committee consisting of the office bearers of the Union will be formed and the following will be its duties:—

(a) To see whenever the work of the Union is being carried out in a smooth and Vigorous manner;

(a1) To adopt suitable means for carrying on necessary agitation for increasing the strength of the Union and coordinating it,

20. Meetings of the Working Committee will be held once a week at a place and time fixed by the General Secretary with the consent of the president.

Duties of office bearers.

21. *President*:—He will preside at the meetings of the Union and its committees and keep order at the meeting (and) affix his signature to the minutes of the meeting. These are his duties. Moreover in a case of equality of votes at any meeting he can give his (casting) vote. He has the right to preside over any of the committee meetings and also to see whether the rules of the Union are properly observed or not.

22. *Vice-Presidents*:—They will help the President in seeing whether the rules are properly observed or not. One of them shall preside at such meetings at which the President cannot take the chair and will (also) preside at the meetings of the Managing Committee in the absence of the President.

23. *General Secretary*: The following duties have been assigned to the General Secretary: To keep the minutes of the meetings of the Union and the committees of the Union, to carry on all the correspondence, to convene all meetings, to supervise the work of the Union and to keep the accounts properly and to prepare a balance sheet of the accounts of the Union at the end of the year.

24. The General secretary has the right of appointing as many assistants as he deems necessary for the propaganda and office work of the Union, in consultation with the President and with the sanction of the Managing Committee.

25. *Secretary*:—The duty of supervising the work of the centre and of helping the General Secretary in his work has been assigned to the Secretary,

26. *Treasurer*:—The Treasurer is responsible for all the amounts of money credited to the Union. The Treasurer has no authority to cash at the bank any cheque that does not bear the signature either of the President or the General Secretary.

Vacancies and removals

27. Any vacancy in the members of the Managing Committee should be filled by the Mill Committee concerned in the (original) appointment. The Managing Committee has the right to fill any vacancy in the office bearers. Vacancies in central and mill committees can be filled by the committees concerned.

28. If any office bearer of the Union or any member of the Managing Committee commits the crime of taking (or giving) bribes or defalcations in accounts or does any act against the interests of the Union he can be removed from office or his membership (of the Committee) at a general meeting of all the members of the Union by the majority of $\frac{3}{4}$ ths (of the members present). Provided that before such a step is taken the person concerned is given full opportunity to give an explanation with respect to this conduct.

Help given to members.

30. No worker can lay claim to any help the Union may resolve to give him unless he has been a member of the Union for six months and has paid his subscription for that period.

31. Those members who have not paid their subscription to the Union for three months cannot lay claim to any help from the Union for two months after they have paid up the subscription due to them.

32. All members are entitled to every kind of help (to be) given to them by the Managing Committee and approved of by the general body of the Union after they have fulfilled the conditions laid down in rules 30 and 31.

33. No member is entitled to any help (from the Union) in respect of any strike declared without the consent and approval of the Managing Committee.

General Meeting.

34. An ordinary general meeting of all the members of the Union will be held every year in the month of May and the following business will be transacted thereat :

- (1) Sanctioning the Report and the balance sheet of the Union.
- (2) Electing the office bearers for the current year.
- (3) Giving consideration to any question brought before the meeting, with the permission of the President.

35. The President has the right to convene a general meeting of the Union. He shall also have to convene such a general meeting on the requisition of $\frac{1}{20}$ th of the total members of the Union.

Funds of the Union.

36. The funds of the Unions will be deposited in such bank or banks approved of by the Managing Committee in the names of

five persons including the President, one of the vice-presidents, General Secretary, and two Treasurers. And three persons out of these including the President or the General Secretary can withdraw money from the bank. The General Secretary or Treasurer should not keep in his possession an amount exceeding Rs. 300.

37. The funds of the Union will be utilised for securing the objects of the Union, as set down in these rules, in accordance with the provision of the Registration of Trade Unions Act.

38. The Union shall provide for the audit of the accounts of the Union by authorised auditors approved of by the Managing Committee.

39. Arrangement should be made for the inspection of the register of the Union and other books by the members of the Union at a suitable time at the head office of the Union or at any other place where they may be kept.

Amendment of rules.

40. The Managing Committee can by majority of votes, alter the rules, make amendment in the rules, substitute one rule by another and add to the rules but they shall have to get these amendments sanctioned by the general body.

A split in the Union for the establishment of a new Union.

41. If at least one thousand members of the Union express a desire to separate themselves from the Union and form a new union (of their own) and send a representation to that effect to the Managing Committee, they can do so and they are entitled to a share of the funds of the Union in proportion to their number.

Circumstances under which the Union can be dissolved.

42. The Union cannot be dissolved unless at least half the members of the Union are present at a general meeting of the Union and three fourths of the members present thereof resolve to dissolve the Union.

(True translation.)

Meerut. }
7-9-29 }

S. Ezekiel

Marathi Translator.

P. 940-T.

GIRNI WORKERS PHATKA (Poems)

Part III.

Poets Ganga Ram Pandu Devag & Jayaram Pandu Devag

BOMBAY.

6th FEBRUARY, 1929.

Price $\frac{1}{2}$ anna.

I

1. In *shake* 1850 the misfortunes of the workers turned up, there was great prosperity and so capitalists (lit Capitalism) grew fat. They take away what belong to us and do not give us sufficient food to eat. They look at our sufferings in a merciless manner.

2. Even their heart does not melt, their intellect is very dull; they think of breaking the spirit of the workers. God could not tolerate this and he was put in a difficult situation. He took the tenth incarnations and declared the Great War.

II.

1. Just as a mighty struggle was waged between the Kauravas and the Pandavas in the Dwapar age in the same manner the workers fought in a terrible manner (lit plight) with the capitalists in Bombay.

The capitalists thought of effecting a cut in the wages of the workers, the workers heard this and how did they denounce it?

3. When the workers heard the news they were greatly enraged (and said) what a curious (Lit hard) justice is this that they take away what belongs to us and do not give it back.

4. God can be easily conciliated (lit: taken in hand) on the strength of organisation, our lives would be (spent) in vain if we do not take revenge upon the Capitalists.

5. The workers began to say: let us unite and declare a general strike; the workers are being insulted and our stomachs are now being really pinched.

6. The heroes of the mills came out and laid a siege to the city of Bombay; an assemblage was formed and the sea of the army was filled in a furious manner at that time.

7. An army (consisting) of a lakh and a half is marching (forward) to swallow Capitalism; only the old men and children

were left out, the youths rushed (lit: started) filled with heroic sentiments.

8. The mill workers with their banners, the heroic followers of Alve, (and those of) Joglekar and Mirajkar vie with one another.

9. The sword of Mirajkar does not rest satisfied in its scabbard, that of Dange is really electricity and it goes one better than lightning.

10. (And the army of) Lalji Pendse and Krishna Arsekar, making real preparations, take part in the procession in an orderly manner.

11. Mayekar burns in his heart and so does Borker; Kasle, Ghate (and) Bradley Saheb always hold (in their hearts the idea of) taking revenge.

12. Other heroic workmen also came forward; how can their number be computed ? As many men as were workers came forward (lit: went), the men had not the least anxiety.

13. The leaders of the people advanced forward taking confidence (of the people) with them; they see nothing but revenge in their minds, and for (taking) that revenge they move (lit: go) quickly.

14. The lustre of heroic sentiments always appears on the face of heroes, the unshakable pillars of the liberty of the workers march (lit: come) like this.

15. Just as the monkeys fought with the demons in Lanka in the same manner the workers struggled against capitalism in Bombay to its,severe detriment.

III

1. (Workers) assembled in the Nagu Sayaji's Wadi in such a manner that it appeared as if it was another National Congress. Those who attended the meeting were full of intoxication of heroic sentiments (and) the leaders of the army appeared like their representatives.

2. Mr. Alve was appointed president, he is like the great serpent Takshaka in swallowing the enemies and is altogether like a bower of Pipal trees in breaking down opposition and upholding his own arguments.

3. Eloquent speeches are made enthusiastically with the weapon of words, (and they) spread the paper of unanimity and write a resolution on-it with their tears.

4. The meeting has assembled for one purpose but how

different is the action of the two (parties) (and) on seeing this floods of tears will flow quickly from the eyes.

5. In this manner workers possessing many virtues met together in Bombay for fighting (and punishing the enemy and securing (lit: protecting) victory.

6. Just as the Pandavas fought in a vigorous manner with the Kauravas in the Dwapar age, in the same manner the workers struggled against Capitalism to its severe detriment.

IV

1. When afterwards at the time of the strike people did not get food to eat, they said it would be better to go to their native places instead of dying of starvation.

2. Then people with one voice (lit: opinion) determined to fight (and) they say before their eyes the example of the *Satagraha* of Bardoli.

3. They received money from Russia (and other) foreign countries (lit: other cities) for (the supply of) grain to them, they (the workers) went to invite King Shivaji to have a look at the fight.

4. Blessed are the workers and blessed the people who are fighting for (their) rights, we, their own people are weeping for mere selfishness.

5. (Selfishness) enters into both the sides of the battle with enthusiasm, but selfishness creates a havoc among the workers by dividing them amongst themselves.

6. The misfortune of the workers takes the form of pride, (and) it finds a lodging in the heart of Borker (and) he acts (lit: becomes) like a knife (struck) in our chest.

7. This exchange of the blows of the knife took their stand on the ground of the battle of wits (lit: chess board) but such an unfortunate turn took place that they (the workers) were checkmated by a pawn (of the Capitalists).

8. Look, brother workers what harm (lit: destruction) has been effected by disunity; in fighting amongst one another four workers met with death.

9. Let there be no such distinction, as this is a Hindu, this is a Mussalman (or) this is a Mahar (untouchable), let there be unity, how and how long shall I exhort (lit: tell you) this.

10. Bearing in mind that we are children of the same mother, let us make efforts with one mind (and) one heart for her (mother's) benefit.

11. After reading this ape-like story of the workers in (the form of) this *phatka* poem, let mutual bickerings vanish and let (the workers) be fond of unity.

12. Just as the Paṇḍavas fought in a vigorous manner with the Kauravas in the Dwapar age, in the same manner the workers struggled with Capitalism in Bombay to its severe detriment.

V.

1. Come along warriors come to the battle, a bloody struggle is taking place, look, look, (how) the enemies have led a counter attack and are assailing (us) on all (lit: four) sides.

2. (O, you) Soldiers, workers of the new spirit and new discipline, increase the power of organisation and let there be the strongest effort you possibly can make for the regeneration of the world.

3. We are the protectors of the world, who are these people who persecute us, but such a dire condition prevails to day that we do not get sufficient food to eat.

4. Owners join hands with owners, they exercise authority over the world, governments have made common cause with them, there is no end to misery!

5. To whom do you show the fear of arms, machines (and) armies when the workers possess the invincible powers of strikes (and) organisation?

6. They have plundered us by keeping us in the pit of slavery, we can not still fathom the oppression (they have practised upon us).

7. You have weapons in your hands, the machines are in your hands, this is the game we are playing in this world; (but) the Red Flag is in our hands, now we have no fear of anything.

8. Now, workers and peasants have become united all over the world; a struggle of the class war is going on, cries of liberty are reverberating.

9. O, many people, rise in an organised manner for breaking the bonds of oppression, give cheers to the authority of the workers. This is my madness.

VI

Brothers, cry out "Victory to India" (and) "Victory"! Give reply to my question (refrain).

1. Have we come to birth to live a life of slavery and to die sudden death like dumb sheep?

2. Work hard and kill yourselves, fill the coffers (lit: stomach) of the rich (classes) and let them hold concerts at Mahabaleshwar and Matheran.

We have to do hard labour on half rations and inadequate wages and they repeat the words "May we have happiness (and) may we have (soft) beds" (on a rosary).

4. Who can now tolerate (lit: listen to) their impertinent orders? There is no remedy left against organised power except strikes.

5. Organised power is feared all over the world it would be in the fitness of things at this time to lead a life of manliness and to let others lead a life of manliness.

6. This song of the workers is really for loving brother workers "Vasant Vihar" calls to the Lord of the World to protect us.

Printer : Dattatraya Ganesh Savarkar,
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[True Translation].

Meerut. } S. Ezekiel
7-9-29. } Matrathi Translator.

P. 941-T. Rejected

PUBLIC MEETING OF THE MILL WORKERS

To Bury Treachery

Place of meeting: On the *Maidan* opposite *Morar Bag*

Time: Saturday 9. 3. 29 at 9 A. M.

Brother workers.

The capitalists are forming thousands of conspira-

cies for breaking the unity and meeting the invasion of the workers belonging to the red Flag (movement). One of such plots was being hatched so far secretly and with the help of Government seryants to create a split in our Union and to drive away (from our midst) Communist leaders-Dange , Nimbkar, Mirajkar etc. This has become quite evident in the Lalbag meeting and in the issues of the *Kaiwari* (newspaper).

The agents of these plotters go about in the city and quietly wisper false reports in the ears of the people. We workers do not want such a plotting. Whoever does not want a certain leader should openly say so and prove the fault committed by him to himself. But the workers can not tolerate (lit listen to) treachery that walks about in a theavish manner.

In these circumstances, we some of the workers, have decided to call a meeting of all the workers belonging to the Red Flag (Movement).

All those who wish to be grateful for the services rendered in the big strike and to break down the plots that are hatched against our leaders should attend this meeting. We have also invited the leaders at the meeting.

Bombay }
8-3-29 }

Your Brothers,

Shanker Kashinath-	Moon Mill
Ramchander Babaji-	Do
Krishna Gopal-	Do
Shanker Lakshman-	Do
Bahiru Dhondu-	Swan Mill.
Martand Bala-	Moon Mill.
Narayan Shripal-	Do
Wasant Sadev-	Do
Atma ram Babu-	Do
Shanker Ramchander.	Swan Mill
Ramchander Govind.	Jom No2 Mill
Gopal Chande	China Mill.

31. 3 28

Meerut } True translation
9-10-1929 } S. Ezekiel
Marathi Translator

P. 949-T

(Translation of the Marathi Portion of the accounts &c.)

Page 2.

From

The Centre Secretary,
Delisle Road Centre,
Bombay Girni. Kamgar Union,
Bombay.

To

The General Secretary,
Bombay G. Kamgar Union,
Poibavdi, Bombay.

Sir,

The budget account for the month of February 1929, has been forwarded herewith. It is therefore requested that the expenditure may be sanctioned.

(Illegible)

for Centre Secretary.

Page 3

FEBRUARY 1929.

Cr.	Dr.
Rs. 25-0-0, Credited in cash Recd. on 4-2-29 in accordance with suspense voucher.	Rs. 23-7-6 Expenditure. In accordance with the table submit- ted along with.
	23-7-6
	1-8-6, Balance
25-0-0	25-0-0.

Thus out of the sum of twenty-five rupees received the sum of rupees twenty three and annas seven and pies six has been expended and the balance rupee one, annas eight and pies six has been carried over for the expenditure of the month of March. May this be known, dated 15.2.29.

Page 4.

The statement of expenditure of the Delisle Road Centre for the month of February.

From Saturday 1st. Feb. 29. to Thursday 28th. Feb. 29.

0-1-0	Friday 1. 2. 29.	0-1-0	Thursday 7.2.29
	0-1-0 Navakal		0-1 0 Navakal
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	0-1-0		0-1-0
0-1-0	Saturday 3.2.29.	1-9-0	Friday 8.2.29.
	0-1-0 Navakal		0-1-0 Navakal
	<hr/>		0-6-0 Tin for
	0-1-0		Kerosene oil.
			(It is cheap to
0-1-0	Sunday 4.2.29.		buy K. oil in
	0-1-0 Navakal		large bulk)
	<hr/>		1-0-0 Kerosene (1 gallon)
	0-1-0		0-2-0 Tram fare to Hd.
0-2-0	Monday 4.2.29.		Office and back (had
	0-2-0 Tram fare to and		been to ask for Sun-
	back from Hd.		day expenses for the
	office to hand over		volunteers) Hd. office
	the statement of		was closed.
	accounts ending		<hr/>
	31.1.29.		1-9-0
	<hr/>		
	0-2-0		
0-1-0	Tuesday 5.2.29.		
	0-1-0 Navakal		
	<hr/>		
	0-1-0		
0-4-0	Wednesday 6.2.29.		
	0-1-0 Navakal		
	0-3-0 1 bottle K. oil.		
	<hr/>		
	0-10-0		1-10-0

Page 4. (Reverse side)

2-4-0	Carried over	0-11-0	Friday 15.2.29.
0-2-6	Satur ⁹ 9.2.29.		0-1-0 Navakal
	0-1-6 Navakal		0-10-0 Hire for cycle for
	0-1-0 To bring books		2½ hours for going
	from Hd. office		to inquire what
	by Ry.		mills were work-
	<hr/>		ing (by the order
	0-2-6		of G. Secretary).

0-2-0 Sunday 10.2.29.

0-2-0 Navakal

0-2-0

B. Petit, Bradbury Hind, Indian Mfg. Union, Toyo were visited. No report

0-1-0 Monday 11.2.29.

0-1-0 Times

(No Navakal today)

was obtained from those marked X.

0-11-0

0-1-0

0-7-0 Saturday 16.2.29.

0-4-0 Tuesday 12.2.29.

0-1-6 Kesori

0-1-6 Navakal

0-1-0 Sandesh

0-4-0

0-1-0 Navakal

0-4-0 Hire for cycle 1 hour. Went to above three mills again. Hind and Bradburys Mfg's

0-6-0 Wednesday 13.2.29

0-1-0 Navakal

0-5-0 one bottle K. oil.

0-6-0

managers could not be visited. The manager of Bradbury said that wats had given no permission.

1-7-0 Thursday 14.2.29.

1-4-0 1 gallon K. oil.

0-1-0 Navakal

0-2-0 Tram fare to get stationery from Hd. office.

0-2-0 Tram fare to Hd. office to deposit cash (office was closed).

0-7-0

1-7-0

4-10-6

1-2-0

Rs. 5-12-0

Page 5:

5.12.6. Carried over.

0.3.0 Sun. 17.2.29.

0-1-0 Navakal

0-2-0 Tram fare to Head Office.

Office was closed 7:30.

0-3-0

0-3-0 Wed. 20.2.29.

0-1-0 Navakal

0-2-0 Tram Cash Rs. 4-12 was carried but the Hd. Clerk said it could not be taken.

0-3-0

10-11-6. Mond. 18.2.29.

- 0-2-6 For setting a pump to the tin of K. oil.
- 0-1-0 Tram fare for depositing cash. Returned with Mr. Dange in a motor.
- 10-8-0 Rent of the centre Room.

10-11-6

11-0-6 Tuesday 19.2.29.

- 0-1-0 Navakal.
- 0-1-6 Kesari.
- 0-14-0 Vic. fare for going to settle the dispute re. Britannia Mill. The Spin Master refuses to engage Govind Ranu.

4-0-6

0-5-0 Thurs. 21.2.29.

- 0-4-0 Tram fare From D. Road to Parel and back on account of Gokhale and Tarlekar.
- 0-1-0 Navakal.

0-5-0

0-3-0 Friday 22.2.29.

- 0-1-0 Navakal.
- 0-2-0 Tram fare to Hd.

Office and back. Paid to Tarlekar in the matter of the complaint of Namsu Pundlik (Apollo).

0-3-0

0-5-0 Sat. 23.2.29.

- 0-1-0 Navakal.
- 0-2-0 Tram fare Navrange had called Gokhale.
- 0-2-0 Tram fare paid to Tarlekar Pundlik at Apollo.

0-5-0

1-0-0

17-11.6.

18-11.6

Page 5 (Reverse side)

18-11-6 Carried over

3-5-0 Sun. 24.2.29.

- 0-1-0 Navakal
- 3-0-0 Paid through Gokhale for repairing 2 bars of hand gas (?)
- 0-2-0 Tram fare to Girgaon and back.
- 0-2-0 For going to the

0-6-0 Wed. 27.2.29.

- 0-1-0 Navakal
- 0-2-0 Tram fare to Hd. Office and back to get reply from S. Bharucha to complaint. Reply was received. The woman was allowed to work.

meeting from D.
Road to P- Bavdi
(B. N. Tarlekar)

3-5-0

0-2-0 Mond. 25.2.29.
0-2-0 To Tarlekar for
tram fare to Hd.
Office and back
for taking letter
signed by Pundlik
and Dange.

0-2-0

0-7-0 Tues. 26.2.29.

0-1-0 Navakal.
0-6-0 Cycle fare for com-
plaints in B. Petit
Mill and carrying
the list of the
names of subscri-
bers to strike Fund
to Hd. office. 1½
hours.

0-7-0

0-3-0 K. oil.

0-6-0

0-8-0 Thurs. 28.2.29

0-1-0 Navakal

0-4-0 Tram fare when
the Police beat a
worker of the.....
Mill. Took him
and back.

0-3-0 Cycle fare. Went
to Hd. Office for
the complaint of
B. Petit Mill Time
¾ hour at the rate
of As. 4.

0-8-0

0-14-0

Total Rs, 237-6-0.

Page 5A.

DETAILS OF EXPENDITURE FOR FEBRUARY 1929.

Date.	Carriage fare.	News- papers.	Office expen.	Total.	
1.	0-0-0	0-1-0	0-0-0	0-1-0	As aforesaid
2.	"	0-1-0	"	0-1-0	Carriage fare 4-9-0
3.	"	0-1-0	"	0-1-0	
4.	0-2-0	0-0-0	"	0-2-0	Newspapers 1-15-0
5.	0-0-0	0-1-0	"	0-1-0	Office expense 16-15-6

6.	0-0-0	0-1-0	0-3-0	0-4-0	
7.	"	0-1-6	0-0-0	0-1-0	Total 23-7-6
8.	0-2-0	0-1-0	1-6-0	1-9-0	Is the expense
9.	0-1-0	0-1-6	0-0-0	0-2-6	May this be
10.	0-0-0	0-2-0	0-0-0	0-2-0	Known
11.	0-0-0	0-1-0	0-0-0	0-1-0	Sd/- (Illegible)
12.	0-0-0	0-4-0	0-0-0	0-4-0	for Centre Secretary
13.	0-0-0	0-1-0	0-5-0	0-6-0	D. R. Centre B. G. K. Union,
14.	0-2-0	0-1-0	1-4-0	1-7-0	
15.	0-10-0	0-1-0	0-0-0	0-11-0	
16.	0-6-0	0-1-0	0-0-0	0-7-0	
17.	0-2-0	0-1-0	0-0-0	0-3-0	
18.	0-1-0	0-0-0	10-10-6	10-11-6	
19.	0-14-0	0-2-6	0-0-0	1-0-6	
20.	0-2-0	0-1-0	0-0-0	0-3-0	
21.	0-4-0	0-1-0	0-0-0	0-5-0	
22.	0-2-0	0-1-0	0-0-0	0-3-0	
23.	0-4-0	0-1-0	0-0-0	0-5-0	
24.	0-4-0	0-1-0	3-0-0	3-5-0	
25.	0-2-0	0-0-0	0-0-0	0-2-0	
26.	0-6-0	0-1-0	0-0-0	0-7-0	
27.	0-2-0	0-1-0	0-3-0	0-6-0	
28.	0-7-0	0-1-0	0-0-0	0-8-0	
	4-9-0	1-15-0	16-15-6	23-7-6	

Page 14

To

The Centre Clerk,

You are informed that within two days of the receipt of this replies containing the following information should be sent to the Head Office :-

(1) To how many people have you supplied, up to, this date, books of the Union for receiving subscription and sending it to the Head Office ?

(2) Out of these how many books and bearing what numbers have been returned to you ?

(3) How many books were issued to people in the month of February ? How many out of these were not returned to you ?

(4) Out of total books not returned (Incomplete).

Page 17

IN RESPECT OF COMMISSION

GOLD MOHAR

	Per cent.	Rs.	Per.	Com	Remarks.
1. Govind Ganpat	30	449	28	714	2% object but paid
2. Savji Ramchand	44	195.4	30	—	money. Balance 14

TATA

1. Balvant Katki.	90	434-12,90	21-11-0
2. Dhondu Escu (Rose).	12	58-12,12	2-14-0
3. Sadu Paraji.	36	151-12,36	7-10-6

KASTUR CHAND

1. Khanderao Desai.	72	171-12,52	3. Balannce 20-5
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KOHINOOR I

1. Akaram Escu-	9	45-0	2-4-0	
2. Dagdu Keshav.	3	10-12	0-8-0	
3. Vijeba Kashi.	5	25-0	1-4-0	
4. Sakharam Ganpat.	7	32-0	1-9-0	
5. Jairam Sakharam.	2	8-12		
6. Lakshman Rama.	5	15-0	0-12-0	
7. Abaji Tukaram.	5	20.	4	1.
8. Anant Dattaram.	2	5-0-1		1.

161. 8. 6. 6. 12

KOHINOOR II

1. Mahadev Rambhan.	9	45-0-0	2-4-0
2. Maruti Kami.	2	9-8-	0-7-6
3. Babaji Babu.	4	20-0-	1-0-0

7 4-8 3-12-0

[True Translation].

Meerut. }
-9-29. }

S. Ezekiel

Marathi Translator.

Saraswati Machine Printing Press, Meerut, U. P., India.

P. 951-T.

*Rejected as P.
D of Nimbkar*

(1)

(Bombay Girni Kamgar Union) Red Flag.

NEWS TO ALL WORKERS.

Today, in the morning, the mill workers in the Parel, Dadar, Fergusson Road, Delisle Road, Lalbagh localities began the work of the mills in an orderly manner. The work went on well for two hours.

But after that some one from the people of the opposite side let out four men and raised a false rumour that four workers were murdered at Poibavdi. All the leaders were on their rounds. On enquiry it was found that the rumour was false. On finding out this truth many mills again resumed work.

From this the workers should bear in mind that they should not stop work unnecessarily by relying on false rumours, without making proper enquiry. If need is felt to stop work and come out, the leaders themselves will not hesitate to go round and circulate the news. But all wish that men may not fall victims to firing by (being taken in by) false alarms.

KEEP THE MILLS WORKING.

All should start work on Thursday morning and should not come out without the leaders themselves coming and informing them.

Bombay:

6-2-29—2-p.m.

A. A. Alve

(President.)

S. A. Dange

(General Secy.)

(2)

(Bombay Girni-Kamgar Union) Red Flag.

PUBLIC NOTICE.

To

All Mill Workers and Railway Workers of Tarwadi

A rumour is afloat in Bombay for the last three or four days that the Pathans have been kidnapping children. On account of this rumour all mills and workshops were stopped yesterday and all people are excited. But it is impossible to make enquiries as to

whether any one's children were really kidnapped anywhere and to test the truth of the rumour in these troublous times.

Owing to this trouble the owners and our enemies have gained an advantage. Since we have been working peacefully from the 12th December, on which firing took place, and since all attempts to cause a split amongst us have failed and our unity and strength are on the increase tactics of various sorts are being played against us, our volunteer force will be patrolling the city for protecting our children in these terrible circumstances.

But it will not do for us to keep the work closed in such troublesome times, and it will be possible to inquire minutely into the source of the trouble when excitement is over and people attend work. All are therefore requested that they should resume work from today. Even if workmen go to work volunteers will be kept in all localities and parts, and *bandobast* will be maintained.

Bombay.

A.A. Alve (President)

5-2-29.

S.A. Dange (Genl. Secy.)

(3)

(BOMBAY GIRNI-KAMGAR UNION) Red Flag

Unanimous resolution of today arrived at by all.

Every one should go to work the *bandobast* behind, (you) with be made by the Union.

The origin of the present day trouble is that someone raised a rumour that the Pathans kidnap children. In this matter the newspapers raised a considerable cry and the people were excited on that account. When a rumour begins to spread it gets thousand mouths and a mountain is made out of a mole-hill. All love their children intensely. Such a news, therefore, gave a fright to the workers and their wives and children. 'But three days' minute enquiry and information to hand makes it clear that these rumours are false and that there must be a deep plot of some clique in spreading them. An additional reason for making this statement is that when the rumour about kidnapping of children become stale our enemies laid aside the alarming news about children under the fear that their intentions might be divulged if the truth came to light and now they have begun the attempt of introducing the questions of

HINDU MUSLIM TENSION.

In this matter when we went to the Khilafat Press to get a handbill printed for our Mussalman brethren we came to know that some one had telephoned to the Khilafatists that the Hindus had

burnt the Mosque at Fergusson Road, but when we went to the spot and made enquiries we found out that the report was entirely false.

THE LEADERS' COMMITTEE.

Was sitting in the Nagu Sayaji Wadi the whole day yesterday. On receiving reports from all sides and on careful consideration they told the workers assembled in the Wadi to go to work and they (the workers) agreed to do so.

THE REASON FOR THIS

is this that peace would soon be established on the workers resuming work and that it was necessary to do so. If we do not do that then the unity and heroism that we had organised for advancing the interests of our wages, our rights our homes & our children & the heroes we have prepared will all be utterly destroyed in this insignificant (and) small whirlwind and then there will be nothing left in our hands when the owners or other enemies make a simultaneous attack on general welfare. Let, therefore, our fighters not be involved in this terrible (and) monstrous stratagem.

If any one is making attacks on the Pathans stop them. Do not loiter on the streets in batches. Go to your own work. Do not allow any one to set up the Hindu Mussalman quarrel.

Bombay.

A.A. Alve (President)

6-2-29.

S.A. Dange (Genl. Secy.)

(4)

To the Railway workers of the B.B. & C.I. Railway workshops.

(FROM THE WORKERS' & PEASANTS' PARTY)

A rumour has been set afloat for the last three or four days that the Pathans have been kidnapping children. This led to the closing of workshops and mills yesterday. But it is impossible in the present troublous circumstances to make enquiries as to whether any one at any place kidnapped any one's children and to test the truth or falsity (of the rumour).

We should maintain a volunteer force for protecting our children & continue our work, for the officials will take advantages of these disturbances to break down our increasing organisation and strength and to involve us in their machinations. Therefore, the mill workers and railway workers and all other workers are requested to go to their work after making arrangement for the patrolling of the city by (volunteer, troops for their own protection.

A. A. Alve.

S. A. Dange.

S. V. Ghate

5. 2. 29.

K. B. Joglekar

B. F. Bradley.

S. S. Mirajkar

R. S. Nimbkar

(5)

(TRANSLATED IN A PREVIOUS EXHIBIT).

(6)

(BOMBAY GIRNI KAMGAR UNION)

RED FLAG

SET THE MILLS WORKING.

If the workmen do not resume work they will be put to more loss. Do not fall into more troubles by being a prey to incitement. For all have an eye on our agitation.

Come to work.

Monday

Bombay, 11-2-29.

Come to work.

A. A. Alve President.

S. A. Dange G. Secretary.

(7)

(BOMBAY GIRNI KAMGAR UNION) Red Flag.

THINK

Read carefully with attention.

New order of Government—How to protect ourselves—Why there is need for keeping the mills working—Guns in the Queen's Garden—Keep five men each at every place—and the rest should keep the work going.

Brother workmen Government have promulgated a new law since yesterday evening for putting a stop to rioting. It is to the effect that not more than five persons should gather together on any street or lane and that no one should go about in streets or lanes from seven in the evening to six in the morning. But this order has not reached all but it should be notified by the people to their own people.

How should we protect ourselves.

Workers from thousand sides come and ask us : how should every workman protect himself against the attacks that are being made on him while returning home or in the streets ? On hearing reports about the rioting that is going on and on seeing the figures prominently printed in newspapers the heads of all get excited and in irritation some workers say : we shall close the mills. The Union has said thousands of times that we shall be completely ruined if all the mills stop working.

See how we shall be ruined.

If the workers come out in excitement and begin to go in another locality with sticks, lathis (and) bars then Government has made preparations for firing guns on them. It is the design of our enemies that we should close the mills and march together in thousands and that we should be slaughtered by guns. In order to gain that (end) attempts are made on all sides to excite us. (We) earnestly request all workers with folded hands not to fall into this snare.

How to protect after going to work ?

The mills should be set to work and whenever there is danger or if any workman is afraid of being killed by any one or if there is no safety on the side of any locality or if any chawl is not (considered) safe then the workers of that place should choose five men and take precautions for self-protection. Five men should be chosen and kept outside and the rest should go to work. Those who can not undergo such a self-sacrifice should not incite others to close the mills.

Some will ask : Is it becoming that batches of five should stay outside for protection and the rest should work ? Those who incite will say : Oh these people will protect and you will work ; Do not fall a prey to such an incitement. *For if all stay outside then instead of being protected all of us will be slaughtered and completely ruined.* For if you resort to rioting and come down from Fergusson Road, Delisle Road, Parel and other places then the guns in the Queens Garden will surround you and slaughter you. The agents of (our) enemies are giving incitement for bringing about this (state of affairs). Keep batches of five persons at every place on guard—the rest should continue work—protection will not be afforded by closing work—our brave workmen will be slaughtered—do not lead an attack on any one of your own accord—for it is the design of the capitalists to effect breach of the peace in our locality.

Bombay

A. A. Alve—President.

10. 2. 29.

S. A. Dange—G. Secretary.

—————oOo—————

(BOMBAY GIRNI KAMGAR UNION)

RED FLAG.

Do not close down the mills without the leaders coming and telling you to do so.

All the mills situated on Parel, Dádar, Deltisle Road, Fergusson Road etc. were working on Thursday. But in some mills only the Mussalman workers did not go to work. Owing to the atmosphere that is prevailing during the last three or four days, Mussalman workers in these localities entertain fear that other workers would beat them if they were to go to work and they remained absent owing to this suspicion. The other workers, therefore, felt a doubt that the Mussalman workers had absented themselves with a view to hatching some plot. And this gave rise to some excitement. But peace was soon established.

Workers and the Present Disturbance.

Peace prevails in the workmen's localities. But some one raises an alarm of an attack at night, some time or other, and that causes excitement. But the workers should keep their minds calm. There were disturbances in the other localities of Bombay like Bhandi Bazar, Kumbhar Wada etc. But efforts are being made to establish peace in those parts also. But mill workers should pay (no) heed to those disturbances and should not stop work till the leaders come and tell you (to do so).

THIS IS THE REASON.

Some workers ask the question: should we not stop work if there is a disturbance somewhere else? The reply to this is that if we come out (from work) then there would be more likelihood of there being disturbance than peace and that will lead to harm to the workers.

Men of the Union are on the look out whether there would be any attacks on the mill areas after the workmen have gone to work and if there is any real attack a word would be sent round and all will be warned.

Sporadically some drunkards (lit: people addicted to intoxication) raise an alarm in these localities. People should put themselves on their guard on the alarm being raised but if the alarm is proved to be false on inquiry then they should resume work forthwith.

At some places people are heard to say that the Union suppresses news and sends people to work by giving them false

reports. But in this matter people should bear in mind as to what these spreaders of false reports are going to gain by getting the mills closed. Only the necessary precautions should be taken. But no good purpose would be served by bringing out thousands of workers and unnecessarily giving sacrifices by causing firing to be open on them. In these circumstances (we) request all to have complete faith in the Union.

Handbills will be issued from time to time to give reports to the workers.

Bombay,

A. A. Alve -- President.

7. 2. 29.

S. A. Dange - G. Secretary.

97

(BOMBAY GIRNI KAMGAR UNION)

Red Flag

STOP THE HINDU—MUSLIM FRACAS,

Brother workmen,

(We) have to consider, through this handbill, what fixed policy we should adopt in the present circumstances. Our Union consists of workers and they include Hindus, Mussalmans, Parsis etc. Workers of all sorts and all religions have one policy in view in doing work in the mills and struggling against the owners. And the duty of the Union consists in improving the condition of the workers and looking to their interests by obtaining our rights from the owners and getting the wages increased. But our enemies are making efforts to sacrifice all our heroism, our good men and our organisation in these disturbances by sowing (the seeds of) Hindu Muslim differences in the midst of our workers.

Harm is being done to us all by exciting religious feelings (dit: annoyance) and by pitting workers against workers. The Mussalman worker says: Have stones been thrown at my Mosque? are Hindu workers going to attack me? And he asks the Union.—What shall I do? The Hindu worker says: Is our temple to be pulled down? What shall we do then? Workers asking such questions both belong to the same Union. But all should bear this in mind that this excitement will lead to the death of workers and harm to the poor. If we close work both Hindu and Mussalman workers will receive harm therefore and when we fight among ourselves and workers of both the sides are killed and our unity is broken and strength is destroyed, the enemies of Hindu and Mussalman workers will effect the spoliation of both of them in every way.

This disturbance would have been quelled very early but Goondas on both the sides are trying to reap advantage out of it. Some people are indulging in private exchange of blows and are ascribing them to the Hindu-Muslim tension. It is on this account that minds are excited and peace is not established.

If you want to avert the terrible massacre of workers, and loss and deception to them, you should adopt a fixed policy and it is this that you should not allow this sinful agitation to spread (and) the workers of both the communities should go to work. Some people will get excited and call our policy into question for some time. But Hindus and Mussalmans should do this their duty unmindful of abuses hurled at them.

All workers stand (in a body) as one, many plots are hatched to sow dissensions among them--Down with these (plots), and do not be misled by these alarms and fall victims unnecessarily. Even if you think this advice bitter today, it will prove beneficial in the end. Therefore, put an end to the Hindu-Muslim tension.

Bombay:

A. A. Alve .. President.

8. 2. 29.

S. A. Dange.. G. Secretary.

(10)

(Bombay Gini Kamgar Union.)

RED FLAG

Public Meeting.

Public meeting of the workers in the Shapurji Bharucha (Stone Mill), Huk Mill and Nanabhai Mill.

(This meeting) will be held on Friday the 18th at 6 P. M. on the Maidan of the Delisle Road Cement Chawl. Consideration will be given to the question of the dismissal of certain workers of these three mills by the owners after the strike of the workers in the last month. Similarly a careful consideration will be given to the questions of the owners' scheme of wages, the methods of facing it and the ways and means to be adopted by Mill Committees and the leaders of departments for the organisation and education (of the workers).

All should make it a point to attend.

Bombay:

S. A. Dange.. Genl: Secretary.

17. 1. 29-

(BOMBAY GIRNI KAMGAR UNION)

RED FLAG.

Notice to the workers of the Sassoon (Mill):

Some notices have been posted in the Sassoon Mills in the name of our Union and under the signature of S. A. Dange. These notices have been posted by the owner. In this respect the workers should bear in mind that the conditions embodied in the notices do not bear the signature of any one and the facts (lit. contents) given therein are misleading and false. We have never given any undertaking that such conditions should be posted in all the mills of the Sassoon Group.

Bombay

18-1-29.

S. A. Dange,

General Secretary.

(12)

(BOMBAY GIRNI KAMGAR UNION)

RED FLAG.

Public meeting of the workers of the Currimbhoy Group of Mills.

Place: Warli, Near Century Mill.

Time: Today Friday, 18-1-29, 6 P. M.

At this meeting consideration will be given to the question as to how to enable the old workers of the Moti Mill to get back their jobs who are not being accepted by the owners and what provision should be made (for them). All the workers of the ten mills of Currimbhoy should attend.

Bombay:

18-1-29.

S. A. Dange,

Genl. Secretary.

(13)

(THE BOMBAY GIRNI KAMGAR UNION)

RED FLAG.

Public meeting of all the mill workers.

Place: Poibaydi. Parel, on the Maidan in the rear of the

Gokhlay Hotel.

Day (and) time : Sunday, 20-1-29, 5-P. M. .

As usual a holiday meeting will be held at the time. The chief subjects before the meeting will be: The unification of the labour movements; when will the report of the Government Committee be out and what shall we do next; how to counteract the cut in wages, and how to secure work for the dismissed workers. All should come.

Bombay }
18-1-29- }

S. A. Dange,
General Secretary.

(14)

(THE BOMBAY GIRNI KAMGAR UNION)

RED FLAG.

Public Meeting.

Place: On the *maidan* near the Moon Mill.

Time: Sunday, 20-1-29, 9-A. M. .

A meeting of all the workers of the mill on the Sewri side will be held, all should come there. Every one at this meeting, should consider all the following questions: How are the owners going to prepare the new scheme of wages, what will be the report of the Government Committee in the matter and when will it be out; how to turn upside down the forthcoming cut in our wages, how to secure jobs for people who have been dismissed and how to protect ourselves from the attacks that will be made on us.

Bombay }
19-1-29. }

S. A. Dange,
General Secretary.

(15)

(BOMBAY GIRNI KAMGAR UNION)

RED FLAG.

*Public Meeting of the workers of the Framji Petit Mill
(Lower Arsenal).*

(This meeting) will be held today. Thursday, 24-1-29 at 4-30 P. M. Subjects: the new scheme of the owners, the unity of the

workers, the programme of the future.

Bombay }
23-1-29. }

S. A. Dange,
General Secretary.

(16)

(TRAMWAYMEN'S UNION, BOMBAY)

OWNERS' ATTACK ON THE TRAMWAY WORKMEN.

The Tramway Company that has grown rich by securing a profit of five lakhs of rupees per month has decided to dismiss 50 to 60 men from the workshop.

A meeting of the Tramway workmen will be held on Friday, 25-1-29 at 5-30, P. M. opposite the Dadar Workshop to consider the question of beating down the attack that the owners are going to make on the workmen.

S. A. Dange
G. Secretary.
24-1-29.

Bapu R. Shinde
Secretary.

(17)

(BOMBAY GIRNI KAMGAR UNION)

Public Meeting.

A public meeting of the mill workers belonging to the Lalbag, Sewri, and Naigaon Centres will be held to-day, Monday 6-30 P. M. at the rear of the Gokhale Hotel.

All should make it a point to attend.

Bombay
28-1-29.

A. A. Alve, *President.*
Girni Kamgar Union,

(18)

(BOMBAY GIRNI KAMGAR UNION).

RED FLAG.

Public Meeting.

(This meeting) will be held on Sunday, 3-2-29 at 5-P. M. on the *Maidan* of the Deslile road, Cement Chawl.

Subjects: What has happened to the efforts made by the owners to frame a new scheme of wages after making an attempt for a compromise? To consider any complaints of a general nature that might be made.

Bombay

1-2-29.

S. A. Dange,

Gen. Secretary.

(19)

(BOMBAY GIRNI KAMGAR UNION)

Lalbag Centre.

A meeting of the workers of the Narsu Mill will be held on Sunday the 3rd February, 1929 at 9-A. M.

Place: In the open place opposite the Mill, Lalbag.

- Subjects:— 1. To elect the Committee of the Narsu Mill.
2. To appoint the volunteers of the Mill.
3. To transact other miscellaneous business.

S. S. Mirajkar,

Centre Secretary.

—:~*~:—

(20)

(Same as above).

—:~*~:—

(21)

(Bombay Girni Kamgar Union).

RED FLAG.

PUBLIC NOTICE TO ALL WORKERS.

An alarming news that children are being kidnapped in Bombay has spread everywhere. An enquiry is being made everywhere by our news agents as to whose children have been kidnapped. The man whose son, daughter, brother or any other near relation has been kidnapped should personally come to the office of the Union at 6-30 P. M. and give full information (in the matter).

Men belonging to a few centres were informed that a meeting would be held (this) evening but subsequently it has been decided

by the leaders that all the meetings to be held this day have been cancelled.

BOMBAY

4-2-29.

S. A. Dange,

General Secretary.

—o*:o—

True translation

MEERUT

10-9-29

}

S. Ezekiel

Marathi Translator

— — —
P 953-T.

**The capitalists have grown fat but the worker is still-starving.*

Published in
the Kranti
dt. 29-1-29.

Every one is afraid whether there will be a general strike in the mill area. The loss sustained by India during the last six months of the strike is not likely to be recouped in six years. And it is natural to picture before one's eyes the condition that will prevail if the strike takes place again.

But we should pay particular heed to the question of the workers of the country while looking to the interests of the country. It will not do to look merely to the benefit of the country. That can be said to be the real welfare of the country which effects the welfare of the public in general along with the welfare of the country. But if the country belongs to a handful of capitalists (lit capitalism) the workers have no reason to be sorry if harm is done to the country even if it is destroyed. The oppression that is being practised on the workers in the name of the (interests of the) country has now become unbearable.

The worker has been crying in the name of the country since his birth and his crying has not ceased as yet and matters are coming to such a pass (lit-the turn is coming) that he will have to cry all the more. New and new kinds of factories have been established in the country, big-buildings have been erected, beautiful gardens have been laid out, aeroplanes like the balloons of Indra have begun to traverse through the sky for the purpose of travel and every where (beautiful) cities have been embellished like those in

the garden of Indra. The Capitalists that mere men became (rich like) Kuber, they become fond of luxury like the singers in the court of Indra, their wives become (fond of luxury and embellishments) like Rambha. But the unfortunate hut of the worker has remained just the same. He has to sweat for ten hours (per day) and he still cannot get (as before) sufficient bread he eat even once a day. What wonder would there be if, instead of living in such a pitiable condition, the workers not only resorts to strike but goes a step further (lit-beyond) and does whatever he likes ?

However, it is my advice to the Government who have lately (lit-now) been moved by patriotism and who do the right in a slowly way that they should still ponder in their own mind and put an end to their monstrous ambitions. The poor public is crying out in a loud voice, in a condition of starvation, for food for the stomach. Do not look with haughtiness towards that (cry). Enough with the persecution that has been practised so far and awake in time. Otherwise (one) cannot say to what lengths the worker-afflicted with sufferings inflicted by the capitalists may go in a state of excitement. You may be proud of your wealth, you may think much of your army, but proud Ravana was fully prepared all round (lit-everywhere) like (you) but you must have heard what the unarmed monkeys did to him when he exceeded (all bounds). But we are human beings. It is our right to live. It is our request that (the workers) should be well fed while they are made to work hard. But if this request is not granted (they) will have no course open to them butto resort so such drastic remedies (lit-ways) like strikes.

Sd. A. A. Alve

Workers' and Peasant's Party.

True translation

S. Ezekiel

Marathi Translator

Meerut }
14-9-29 }

P. 954-T.

Page 1.

BOMBAY GIRNI KAMGAR UNION.

In force from 31/12/1928.

Register of work done by the office bearers and the orders issued by them.

Page 2.

In this book will be recorded reports by those men who have been deputed to settle any dispute or who have settled any dispute. Any order that might have been issued or any programme that has been outlined should be noted down here.

Page 3.

31/12/28.

At seven in the morning took the hand bill for printing to the Kamat Press. The hand bill was for the meeting to be held on Tuesday. Went at 4-30 P. M. to the Century Mill. From there went to C. N. Wadia for (making) complaints. Was accompanied by Alve, Kasle and Sumant. Wadia was not prepared to come to the mill in person and listen to the complaints. But afterwards he consented to come if there was any such complaint (of a serious nature). He agreed to write out the rates on the boards of the cloth (department). Proof is needed for the complaints of the women in the Winding (Department). (He was) informed that fines were inflicted and discharges given to a large extent in the mill. Thence to the Sharddhanand Press and then to the Head office.

S. A. DANGE.

Page 4.

1/1/1929.

Did work in respect of keeping accounts in the office in the morning and afternoon.

There was a meeting in the Nagu Sayaji Wadi at 5 P. M. Alve, Kasle, Ryan, Mirajkar, Sumant, Dange, Wasudev Joshi, Javalkar and others were present. A rough budget in respect of expenditure was placed (before the meeting).

S. A. Dange.

Pp 5 & 6.

2/1/29.

Messrs Kasle and Bal Krishna came to my place at 8 in the morning; I accompanied them first to settle the dispute of the women working in the Winding Department of the Kastur Chand Mill. The Manager could not be found there and so we went to a friend in Girgaon with a view to settling through him the dispute that had arisen in the Shapurji Mill. From that place we went to the Head Office. Afterwards we went to the Chhyeo Silk Mill and informed the Manager about the complaint of the workmen working in the cloth department of that Mill in respect of rates. From the silk Mill I went to the Kastur Chand Mill. Could not see the Manager for the second time. Again came to the head office and went to the Morarji Gokaldas Mill in company with Mr. Ryan to show him the

Mill. From there I came home at about 1 o'clock for taking meals. Again went to the head office at 6-30 P. M. and accompanied Mr. Ryan to the meeting that was to be held on the Delisle Road at 8 P. M.

S.S. Mirajkar

2/1/29.

Page 7.

(Attended) the meeting of the New China Mill in the rear of the Gokhale Hotel (at 9 o'clock) Then went to the Delisle Road Centre to get the volunteers, if there be any, from that place to the head office, thence to the Press for the settlement of the bill.

At 1-30 went to Stones in the matter of the strike in Jacob and Manchester (Mills). From that place went to Mafatlal New China at 3-30 and settled the strike there, from there went to the Jinnah Hall, Girgaon and left Mirajkar there. (Then attended) the meeting of the Jacob and Manchester (Mill) at Lalbag. Then to head office. Then noted down complaints of the women working in Winding department of the Century (Mill), and those in respect of the Warping department of Currimbhoy and those in regard to the strike of the women working in the Winding department in the Akhandbari (Mill) &c. At night gave a send off to Ryan on behalf of the Union Mill.

S.A. Dange

Page 8.

3/1/29.

Mr. Kasle came to my place at about 7. 30 and I accompanied him to a gentleman staying at Mohalakshmi; then went to Girgaon to make arrangements for the lecture by Mr Ryan and then on my way back went to the office at about 12 o'clock and then went home for dinner. Again came to the head office at one and thence accompanied Dange, Alve, Kasle to the head offices of Sassoon and Mafatlal in the Fort for effecting a settlement in the matter of the strike. Returned from that place at 5 and attended Mr. Ryan's lecture held in the Jinnah Hall and from there came at about 8.30 for the meeting held at Delisle Road.

S.S. Mirajkar.

Page 9.

4/1/29.

At the head office in the morning and from there to the Delisle Road Police Station in answer to a Summons. Then to the head office and to the Govt. Committee. A hand bill was issued in the matter of false reports appearing in newspapers. The committee rose at 2. From there went to Sir Victor (Sasson) in the matter of strikes in the Manchester and Jacob (Mills). Thence to Girgaon

and then to the head office. Then (attended) the meeting of the Delisle Road and (went) back to the head office.

S.A. Dange.

At night about 11 o'clock prepared and wrote down a communique in English. It was in respect of the report of an attack in the morning papers. It was typed and I personally took it to the *Nava Kal. Herald Chronicle* and *Times*. From there a telegram was sent in reply to an inquiry made by Muzaffar Ahmad in the matter of the strike.

S.A. Dange.

Page 10.

5-1-29.

To the press in the morning to hand over "matter" and from there to the Post Office to post foreign post and from that place to the Kamat Press to give the subscription register for printing. Then back to the head office. At noon again to the Press. From there to Kaibadevi to purchase a bugile for the volunteers. Thence to the Khemraj Press to purchase (a copy of) the Rawayan. This Rawayan has been given for the use of those who want to learn Hindi or for supplying the need of Hindi required for carrying on agitation among the Hindustani people of Kat Bhulier. From there (went) to Akhandbari for (noting) the grievances of the women working in the winding department. I gave my opinion that (the employment of) women from out side should be put a stop to. From there to the Morbay meeting. Mr. Kasle accompanied me from noon. At night to the Pooja of the Akhandbari (Mill).

S. A. DANGE.

Page 11.

6-1-29.

At the Lalbag meeting in the morning. Thence to the head office and then to one Wadi centre and (to see) the parade of the volunteers at the Delisle Road centre. The Jobbers of the Apollo Mill had come there and were complaining against the leaders of the Union.

Page 12.

7-12-29.

The grievances of the workers were placed before Wadia at 10 A.M. in the Tanksal (mint). People working in the winding, warping, trassan & cloth (departments) had come (there). Wadia said that stores and other materials that were supplied in insufficient quantities should be fully supplied.

Wadia told me that (I) should ask the people who had thrown away their tickets in the Tanksal and Morbay to get them back or also the owner would issue an order on Monday which if not complied

with a lockout would be declared. There is a circular of the Mill-owners' Association to the effect that folding and other departments should be made to work for 9 or 8½ hours. Its number is 83-14

of 1920.

Page 13.

8-1-29.

In the morning witnesses for the Government Committee were selected and were taken to the Committee. The meeting of the Committee (lasted) from 11 to 4-30. Went to Sir Victor at 5 along with Alve, Kasle, Mirajkar, Ghate and the workers of the Jacob (Mill). From there to the meeting in Komdi lane then (to) the meeting of the Tanksal in the Wadi. There was a meeting at the head office of the Jobbers of the Shapurji Bharucha (Mill) and dismissed workers to consider the question, whether the tickets should be thrown away or not. The Jobbers have no objection to take back the dismissed workers but the objection is on the part of the Manager and the weaving Master.

S. A. DANGE.

Page 14.

9-1-29.

At the Govt. Committee from 11 A. M. to 2 P. M. Thence to the Press in fort to get the cards of the Union printed. Then to the office of Mufatlal for (settling) the averages of the Jobbers. It was decided to send a letter in the matter. Then back to head office along with Kasle, Alve. Philips (and) Pandanakar, sent Savant, a clerk, with a note to the meeting in Kambdi lane. Kasle could not attend any meeting in the evening as his son was very ill. Alve (and) Nimbkar had been to the meeting of the Oil (mill workers) and thence to the meeting (of the workers) of the Fazalbhoj group (of mills) I had been to one meeting of the Tramway Union, Bradley and Jhabwalla were (present) there. Jhabwalla complained against me and what appeared in the *Kranti* and threatened to resign.

S. A. DANGE.

Page 15.

13-1-29.

In the morning.

Page 16.

14-1-29.

Came to the head office at 8-30 A. M. and then discussed (matters) with the members of the Working Committee till 12 o'clock. At about 2 settled one dispute over the question of the wages of the workers (in the meeting held) at Keli Wadi. Attended a meeting held at the Nagu Sayai Wadi in the evening. After that attended a meeting of the Working Committee of the Workers and Peasants'

Party at 5-30 P. M.

S. S. MIRAJKAR,

16-1-28.

*This entry is
in English.

"Nimbkar and Joglekar and myself went to the meeting of Edward Sassoon Mills. The four men, whom the management want to dimiss told the meeting that they were prepared to sacrifice themselves. We asked them to resume tomorrow to which they agreed.

S. V. GHATE.

Page 17. 15-1-29.

Page 18. 18-1-29.

Ghate and myself went to the Kasturchand Mill. From there went to the Morarji Mill to settle the strike of winders (there). But it was already settled. Thence Dange and myself went to attend a meeting of the Tapo Podar and Shapurji Bharncha Mills at the Delisle Road. At noon went to settle the strike of the Bomanji Petit Mill. I was accompanied by Bal Krishna & B. G. Kasle. After settling the strike went to the head office.

G. K. KASLE.

] True translation]

MNERUT,
10-10-1929. }

S. Ezekiel
Marathi Translator.

P. 958-T

*File Minute
Book*

Page 1,

GIRNI KAMGAR UNION 1928

Page 2.

22. 5. 28.

As announced at the meeting of the mill workers on the 21st a public meeting of the mill workers was held on 22nd in the Nagu Sayaji Wadi under the Presidentship of Mr. A. A. Alve-

At the meeting the "Girni Kamgar Union" was established. Many members of the "Girni Kamgar Mahamandal" that has its office in the Sheti Building were present and they also joined the Union. The following Managing Committee was elected.

1. A. Alve (President) 2. G. Secretary S. A. Dange. Secretaries Satam, Tande, Joglekar. Vice-president Jhabvalla, Bradley, Nimbkar, Tamhnekar. Treasurers B. T. Alve, Ghate. Members Sabaji Samant, Bhagwan Penekar, Khanderao Desai, Babaji Raut, Gopal R. Kadam, Godkari, Narayan, B. Dhuri, Arjun Ghoyte, Withoba Dhuri, Kasle, Maruti Alve, Krishna Avsekar, Mirajkar, Pendse, (25) Yeshvant Savant (26). The following resolutions were passed at the Meeting (1) The Union should be registered on the application of any seven members of the managing committee (2) The managing Committee may frame necessary rules for the registration and working of the Union & it may fix its objects. (3) A general meeting of the members may be again convened within seven days to take a stock of the work done.

22. 5. 28.

A. A. Alve President

Page 3.

22. 5. 28.

A meeting of the Managing Committee of the Union was held on the 22nd at 12 noon. Rules on the line of those of the Girni Kamgar Sangha were framed for the registration of the Union and passed. It was resolved to send an application for registration under the signature of Messrs, Alve, B. T. Alve, Dange Gopal Kadam, Krishna Ramji Avsekar, Satam, Kasle. It was resolved that the sum of Rs. 43.8.3 which was received in payment of the subscription of members may be deposited in the Bank of India. That the temporary office of the Union should be located in the Kondaji Building. That the account of the subscription received should be examined and the list of the members prepared should be open to the inspection of members. It was resolved to call a meeting of the Committee on the 22nd at 2-30 to consider an urgent matter and to consider the question of the position of the strike.

A. A. Alve,

President.

22-5-28.

2-30 P. N.

The meeting called at 2-30 has been postponed.

A. A. Alve

30. 6. 28.

Page 4.

A meeting of the Managing Committee of the union was held in the office of the Union on 30. 4. 28. Mr. A. A. Alve occupied the chair. In the first instance the statement of work for the months of May and June prepared by the Secretary was read and approved. The total income for the two months Rs. 53.8.0. expenditure Rs 10. 10-0 and balance Rs 43-8-0 was examined and passed. It was proposed (lit decided) that the pictures of Hindu gods hung on the walls of the office of the Union may be properly removed and stored away and be lent on requisition for religious celebrations and be taken back. A discussion took place and it was resolved to adopt the arrangement suggested in view of the fact that members of all religions are joining and will join the Union and that a quarrel might arise if only certain pictures were hung and if some one were to insult those pictures. It was resolved that it was necessary to arrange about renting a place, transferring it to the name of the Union and to put the name of the Union on the furniture of the Union. It was also resolved to continue the services of the office boy of the Union.

It was resolved to print the receipt books, membership forms and other necessary stationary for the Union.

Dated 22.8.28

A. A. Alve.

President.

Page 5 & 6.

22. 8. 28

A meeting of the Managing Committee of the union was held on 22. 8. 28. Mr. Alve occupied the chair.

The meeting was dissolved after considering the question of the situation of the strike.

Sd A. A. Alve

S. A. Dange

25. 10. 28.

G. Secretary.

A meeting of the Managing Committee was held on 10. 10.

Consideration was given to the question of the branches and funds of the Union.

(Sd.) A. A. ALVE.

S. A. DANGE

President.

G. Secretary.

25/10/28.

A meeting of the Managing Committee of the Unions was held on 14. 10. 28 in the office of the Union.

It was resolved to print receipt books, receipt books of the funds and other stationery for the use of the Union.

It was also resolved to open the following centres of the Union:—(1) Nagu Sayaji Wadi (2) Fergusson Road (3) Delisle Road Jacob Circle, (4) Lalbagh, Kalachowki (5) Sewri and (6) Naigaum. The list of men and Mills attached to each centre has been attached. It was resolved to purchase tables, chairs, and other necessary furniture for the centres and General Secretary was asked to make early arrangements in the matter. It was resolved to advance Rs. 25, 25/, 25/, and 20/, each to Messrs. Gadkari, Withal Dhuri, Balwant Savant and Krishna Avsekar for expenditure. It was resolved to appoint Head Clerk Navrange on a monthly salary of Rs. 50 and to appoint a part-time able Accountant for writing accounts. Besides three part-time clerks should be appointed on a salary of Rs. 30 each for writing account rolls at Fergusson Road, Naigaum and others places if necessary. That rooms should be rented for the six centre at the rent of about Rs. 15 each. That the symbol of the Union at Lalbag should be registered. It was resolved to rent half of a room in Aswar Building for the office and that the Tramway Union may be requested to rent the other half.

That the funds of the Union should be deposited in the Imperial Bank in the name of the Union. The funds should be invested in the name of five persons A. A. Alve (President), R. S. Nimbkar (vice-President), B. T. Alve (Treasurer), S. V. Ghate (Treasurer) and S.A. Dange (General Secretary) and that money cannot be withdrawn without the signatures of at least three of them but that one of these signatories must be either the President or the General Secretary. On this Mazgaonkar and Ghogate suggested the name of Tahmanekar in place of Nimbkar. Kasle opposed, thereon Tahmanekar withdrew his name and the names first suggested were confirmed.

(Resolved) that arrangement may be made to pay up soon the rent of the Union in arrears and the Bills regarding printing.

(Resolved) that fund to the extent of one Lakh of rupees be raised in the matter of (the agitation re) two sides and three machines of the Sassoon (mills) and a General Strike fund to the extent of two lakhs be raised. That a regiment (lit:company) of five thousand volunteers be raised and 100 speakers be trained.

That two office boys on Rs. 15 each be appointed,

A. A. ALVE

S. A. DANGE

President.

Genl. Secretary.

25/10/28.

1. A meeting of the Managing Committee was held on 25. 10 28. After the minutes of the (previous) meetings were read Mr. Dange gave a report of the work done and of the circumstances prevailing after the strike. Then Mr. Dange proposed a resolution that a General allowance of Rs. 50 per month should be given to the President—Mr. Alve. In moving the resolution Mr. Dange said that Mr. Alve worked day and night (for the Union) and that he had learnt from him that if some such arrangement were not made it would be difficult for him to work. Mr. Khanderao brought an amendment raising the amount from Rs. 50 to 60. The mover accepted the amendment. Mr. Mazgaonkar moved an amendment that Rs. 60 should be paid for the first month and Rs. 50 thereafter. There (original) resolution was unanimously passed and the amendment was defeated.

2. Resolution 2. Proposers Nimbkar and Tamhnekar. That the General Secretary should be empowered to spend to the extent of Rs. 500 per mensem for the work of the Union and that if the amount is exceeded the approval of the Managing Committee should be obtained. The General Secretary should incur expenditure with the consent of the Treasurer—Passed.

3. Resolution 3. That the resignation submitted by Mr. Jhabvalla by later dated 24/10/28. be accepted and that efforts should be made by means of letters and telegrams to remove the misunderstanding likely to be caused by foreign countries not being aware of the names of the office-bearers of the Union and that the General Secretary may incur extra expenditure for the purpose. Proposers Nimbkar and Gadkari Passed.

4. That Mr. G. R. Kasle be appointed in place of Mr. Jhabvalla. Proposers Mirajkar and Nimbkar. 11. V. 7. Passed

5. Satam has given resignation of the post of Secretary. Nimbkar suggested the name of Mirajkar in his place. Seconded by Pednekar, Mirajkar suggested the name of Desai. Seconded by Ghogate. Kasle suggested the name of Gadkari. Seconded by Dhari Mirajkar withdrew his name but at the request of the President Gadkari and K. Desai withdrew their names and Mirajkar allows his name which he had withdrawn to be retained. Mirajkar to be Secretary, Passed.

6. That the collector of subscription be given a commission of 5 and that one who takes away the books should be held responsible for their being lost or their is any confusion about them; that as far as possible books should be given from the centre but if books are lost at the head office of a mill the centre of that Mill should be informed... Proposers Pendavekar and Nimbkar ... Passed.

7. That the full amount realised at a Centre should be forwarded to the head office and the expenditure incurred should not be deducted from it. For that purpose a responsible person in each centre should be given the sum of Rs 25/ for contingent expenses and he should from time to time account for it. Proposers Nimbkar and Gadkari. Passed.

Responsible persons for the Centres:

Lalbag ... Mirajkar, Wadi ... Ghate, Fergusson Road... Nimbkar, Naigaum.... Joshi, Delisle Road... Joglekar, Sewri, Kadam. These should receive (subscriptions) and give account. A keen debate took place on the question of the appointment of these responsible people. The resolution was passed.

That Maruti Alav and Ramchandra Babaji Buwa should be appointed to the two vacant places. Proposers Nimbkar and Tavde. Passed.

A. A. Alve,

S. A. Dange

President.

Genl. Secretary.

5. 12. 28.

Page 7

2/11/28,

A meeting of the Managing Committee was held on 2. 11. 28 Mr. Tamhnekar occupied the chair.

That the resignation given by Messrs. Gadkari, Dhuri and Savant may not be accepted till they had fully accounted for the collections made by them and that the General Secretary should take necessary steps for realising money from them.

It was resolved to pay the sum of Rs 2028/-, two thousand and twentyeight, being the balance of the bill of the grain merchant for corn distributed among members of the Union during the last week of the great strike in two instalments and (thus) to square the account.

5. 12. 28.

S. A. Dange,

A. A. Alve,

Genl. Secretary.

President.

(Pages 10 and 11).

8. 12. 28.

The following resolutions were passed at the meeting of the Managing Committee held on 5. 12. 28 and 8. 12. 28.

Resolution: 1 The accounts of the Sewri Centre should be

audited by the following three persons Nimbkar, Tamanekar and Kasle. Proposer ...Dange. Seconder ... Ghate.

Resolution: 2. Mr. Dange proposed and Mr. Kasle seconded the resolution that a telephone should be installed in the head office. The resolution was passed unanimously.

Resolution: 3. The President moved a resolution for the purchase of a motor car since conveyance charges for settling disputes amounted to much, Mr. Ghate moved an amendment that no motor need be purchased. Mr. Kasle supported the resolution for purchasing the car. On being put to vote the resolution was passed 6 V. 5 Those who voted for the resolution Tahmnekar, Kasle, Nimbkar, Mazgaonkar, R. Buwa and Khanderao Desai. Those who voted against the resolution: Dange, Mirajkar, Alve, Ghate, and Pendanekar. Those who did not vote; Ganpatrao and Tavde.

Resolution 4 Mr. Kasle moved that a cycle should be purchased for the office boy of the Union. Mr. Khanderao Desai seconded it and the resolution was passed, one voting against it (Mr. Dange voted against).

That the cycle should be kept in the office and should be used by the office boy for the work of the office and the head clerk should keep an eye over its use (lit. over their work).

Resolution: 5 That there should be a Committee of auditors to examine the accounts of the Union, that this Committee should consist of five members: Dange, B. T. Alve, Kasle, Jhilu and Pendanekar, that this Committee should examine the bills and accounts before the Managing Committee meets and if there is any (ground for) suspicion place it before the Managing Committee.

Resolution: 6 That Mr. Mirajkar should attend to the work of complaints from day to day and that Mr. Tavde should look to the minute book and office record. Proposer Nimbkar. Passed unanimously.

Resolution: 7 Mr. Kadlekar proposed that the rules of the Union should be printed. It was unanimously resolved that the rules should be printed.

Resolution: 8 That those who receive salary from the Union should not be paid commission for collecting subscription. Proposer Nimbkar. The resolution was unanimously passed.

After this the meeting was dissolved.

A. A. Alve.

President.

S. A. Dange,

Genl. Secretary.

30. 12. 28.

(Pages 12 and 13).

5. 12. 28.

The following resolutions were passed by the Managing Committee at its meeting held on 5. 12. 28 at 8-30 P. M. (S. T.)

Resolution: 1. Applications for nomination to the Managing Committee were read.

Resolution: 2. Mr. Nimbkar moved that the resignations of Dhuri and Savant be accepted. Ghate seconded. The resolution was passed unanimously.

Resolution: 3. Mr. Nimbkar proposed that Jhily Bhiwa (Morbag) and Ganpat Lakshman (Simplex Mill) be included in the Managing Committee and the resolution was passed unanimously.

Resolution: 4. Mr. Nimbkar proposed that the pay of the clerks be increased as under:

- (1) Mr. Naurange- Head Clerk, Rs. 10/-
- (2) Mr. Joshi, ... Clerk, Rs 5/- Lalbag Centre.
- (3) Mr. Kali, ... ,, Rs 5/- Fergusson Road Centre.
- (4) Mr. Patil, ... ,, Rs 5/- Nagu Sayaji Wadi Centre.
- (5) Mr. Gokhale ... ,, Rs. 5/- Delisle Road Centre.

Resolution: 5. Resolved that Mr. Raghunath Savant be appointed as a clerk at the Tradeo Centre on Rs. 30/- and similarly S. T. Patil and N. S. Gaode be appointed (as clerks) at the head office on Rs. 30/-

Resolution: 6. Mr. Nimbkar proposed that the following additional men be appointed, Mr. Mirajkar seconded and it was resolved that the appointments be made as under

1. Mr. Sakharam Lad—Fergusson Road Centre.
2. Mr. Balkrishna—Delisle Road Centre.
3. Mr. V. R. Pendanekar—Lalbag Road Centre.
4. Mr. Apya Sonu—Naigaum Road Centre.

It was resolved to pay Rs. 30/- to each.

Resolution : 7. Mr Tavde proposed and Mr. Kasle seconded that the services of Mr. Krishna Ambekar be appreciated by giving him a promotion of Rs. 10/-. The resolution was passed unanimously.

Resolution : 8. It was resolved that those mills whose funds are deposited with the Union should be consulted and their accounts

should be opened (separately) in the Bank in the names of three persons one being their own representative and the others the General Secretary and Mr. B. T. Alve, Treasurer, on behalf of the Union.

Resolution : 9. That permission of the head office should be obtained in respect of the expenditure on handbills to be issued by the Centres and the handbills should bear the signatures of the General Secretary and the Centre Secretary. That until the framing of the rules about the election of centre Committees and until such committees are elected the persons nominated on the Managing Committee as responsible persons from the various Centres will from this date act as secretaries (for their respective centres). Proposer Mr. Nimbkar. Secunder Mr. Ghate. Resolution passed.

After this the meeting was dissolved.

A. A. Alve.

S. A. Dange

President.

Genl. Secretary.

Pages 14 & 15.

30. 12. 28.

The following resolutions were passed at the meeting of the Bombay Girni Kamgar Union held on Sunday 30. 12. 28 at 8-30 P.M. (S.T.):—

Resolution : 1. The minutes were read and confirmed.

Resolution : 2. Mr. A. A. Alve, the President, moved that superfluous clerks should be dismissed, Mr. Tamhnekar brought an amendment that the clerks in service at present should be retained in service and it was unanimously passed.

Resolution : 3. The President, Mr. Alve moved the resolution that a clerk should be employed on a salary of Rs. 50/- for translating all correspondence and it was passed. It was (also) resolved that a Committee consisting of the following Mr. Tahmnekar, Mr. Ganpat and Mr. Mirajkar should make the appointment of the clerk. Proposer Mr. Ganpat. Secunder Khanderao.

Resolution : 4. That if a mistake is made by any one and he is to be dismissed, the question should be considered by the above Committee and the General Secretary. Proposed by Mr. Kasle passed.

Resolution : 5. That the Governor be informed that a deputation will wait upon him on behalf of the Union that the deputation should consist of the following: (1) A. A. Alve (2) S. A. Dange (3) S S. Mirajkar (4) R. S. Nimbkar (5) G. R. Kasle and one person should be included on behalf of the following mills.

One from Simplex Mill,
Parashram from Morbag,
Bapu from Bomanji Petit,
One from Finley,
One, Balkrishna from Sassoon,
One, Arjun from Currimbhoy,
One from Tardeo,
One, Mr. Phillip from Standard Mill.

Resolution : 6. That a handbill should be issued by the Union in the matter of (its) funds and all workers should be warned that no one should pay anything towards the funds without (receiving) receipts of the Union. Passed.

Resolution : 7. (Resolved) that a corps of 100 (hundred) volunteers be formed and they be supplied with uniform by the Union at its own expense and that Rs. 500 (five hundred) should be spent over it and that Mirajkar and Ganpatrao should be Captains of the corps.

Resolution : 8. Resolved to open an account in the American Bank in the name of the Union.

Resolution : 9. Resolved to give a grant of Rs. 105 (One hundred and five) to those who took part in the oil strike.

The meeting was then dissolved.

A. A. Alve.

S. A. Dange.

President.

Genl. Secretary.

Bombay Girni Kamgar Union.

Urgent Meeting.

11. 1. 29.

The meeting was called after giving a notice of two hours. A keen discussion took place on this matter and at length Mr. Mirajkar proposed that consideration should be given to the cases of men in the matter of the Pearl Mill.

Resolution : 1. Resolved to sanction the sum of Rs. 1000 (one thousand) as the first instalment for fighting out the case of the workers of the Pearl Mill. Proposer Mirajkar. Secunder Pednekar.

The Committee was dissolved after this.

A. A. Alve.

S. A. Dange.

President.

Genl. Secretary.

Pages : 18 & 19.

Bombay Girni Kamgar Union.

A meeting of the Managing Committee (of the Union) was held on 16. 1. '29 at 9 P.M. The minutes of three former meetings were read and confirmed, and the following resolutions were passed.

Resolution : 1. On the requisition of ten different mills that one person from each of them should be taken upon the Managing Committee of the Union, the requisition was given a consideration by the Managing Committee and it was resolved that one person from each of the ten mills be taken on the Managing Committee and one person each from the mills that had requisitioned in the matter was taken on the Managing Committee as under :—

1. Atmaram Babu (Moon Mill).
2. Arjun Ramchandra (Jam Mill No : 2).
3. Bhima Gangaji Gangal (Currimbhoy).
4. Arjun Sambhaji Kumbhar (Pabani).
5. Bapu Balvant Sakpal (Fazalbhoy).
6. Ganpat Narayan (Mathura Das).
7. Sadashiv Appa (Damodar).
8. Tukaram Rama (Prahlad).
9. Lakshman Shiva (Lal Chimni).
10. Lakshman Amaram (Britannia).

One person each was thus taken on the managing Committee.

Resolution: 2. Every Centre Committee should elect one from amongst them as its representative on the managing Committee. Such an elected representative should be one who works at the Centre and who has worked at a mill but he may not necessarily be working in a mill at present. Proposed by K. N. Joglekar, Seconded by G. R. Kasle.

The resolution was passed unanimously and it was proposed that a copy of the resolution should be supplied to each of the mills (concerned). Proposed by Dange. Seconded by Ghate.

Resolution: 3. Mr. Nimbkar proposed that the bill of Dr. Kashekar for attending to and dressing the wounds of persons injured in the fracas in the compound of the Manakji Petit Mill be passed; on being seconded by Kasse it was passed unanimously.

Resolution: 4. (A) Resolved in respect of the Brahmin-Non-Brahmin controversy that it has come to the knowledge of the Committee that certain outsiders are creating an ill-feeling under the name of the members of the Committee and making use of every responsible member of the Committee, and that this Committee makes a declaration that there is no room for Brahmin-Non-Brahmin or Hindu-Muslim communal-tension (in the Union) and that the Committee has made no effort to introduce such principles in the movement of the Union and that the Committee is wholly against such matters, and (declares) that no one should place any reliance on the mention made by unauthorised outsiders of the name of any member of the Committee and should not allow himself to be deluded and (our) movement to be disturbed.

(B) That no member of the Committee should take part in communal (or racial) controversy and that if any one is found to have acted against this (resolution), a resolution of censure will be passed against such a person and he will be expelled from the Union.

The resolution was moved by the President and passed unanimously.

Resolution: 5. Resolved that Rs. 1,000/- (One thousand) be given as help in the matter of the strike of the Bari (Mill) and that the first instalment of Rs. 500/- (five hundred) should now be sent and (the remaining) Rs. 500/- (five hundred) be sent afterwards if needed. Proposed by Bradley. But afterwards it was moved by the President on his own behalf and passed unanimously.

Resolution: 6. That Rs. 200/- (two hundred) be given as the second instalment of help to the strikers of the Oil Companies. Proposer Mirajkar. Seconder Pendanekar. Passed unanimously.

Resolution: 7. That a Sub-Committee of the following four persons be appointed to administer proper help to those who have been wounded and the helpless dependants of those who have been wounded or killed and that this help be given from the fund collected for the relief of those who have been attacked. The Sub-Committee to consist of (1) President (2) vice-President-Kasse, (3) vice-President-Nimbkar and (4) General Secretary- Dange.

Proposer. Dange, Seconder- Ghate. Passed unanimously.

Resolution: 8. That the standardisation scheme be translated into simple Marathi and published in small pamphlet (form) for awakening the public. Proposer- Dange. Seconder- B. T. Alve. Passed unanimously.

Resolution: 9. That the General Secretary should hold meetings of the Mill Committees and teach the people the system of work and explain the standardisation scheme to the Mill Committee.

Proposed by the President. Passed unanimously.

Resolution: 10. The Mill-Owners' Association should be requested to declare a holiday on Tuesday on the occasion of the municipal elections and an agitation should be carried on by issuing a handbill (asking the people) to elect our own men.

Proposer-Nimbkar. Seconder- Dange.

Passed unanimously.

Resolution: 11. That the Mill clerks should be allowed to come into the Union.

Proposer- Dange. Seconder- Joglekar.

Passed unanimously.

Resolution: 12. That in one month two meetings of the Managing Committee should be necessarily held. Passed unanimously.

Resolution: 13. That a Committee consisting of (1) General Secretary, (2) Treasurer, (3) Treasurer, (4) Kasle (5) Kadam (6) Arjun Sabaji, is appointed for presenting to the Committee the account of receipt books and the fund till the end of December. That the Committee should submit the account to the managing Committee within a month. Passed unanimously.

Resolution, 14. (A) That (the men of) the Shapurji Mill should not remain idle (lit: on strike) and these men should be provided for in other mills.

(B) Mr. Dange submitted an explanation in respect of the Moti Mill and after a discussion (it was resolved) that the men working in the thirteen mills of Currimbhoy should not go on strike and that the men of the Moti Mill should, as far as possible, be provided for in other Mills.

(C) Mr. Nimbkar explained all the circumstances of the strike in the Jam Mill and (suggested that) as far as possible the men should be asked to resume work and the strike should be ended.

The meeting was then dissolved.

A. A. Alve.
(President).

S. A. Dange.
(Genl. Secretary).

[True translation.]

MEERUT, }
20-9-29. }

S. Ezekiel,
Marathi translator.

P. 960-T. Rejected.

Managing Committee

Page 1-9 contain matter similar to that appearing on pages 14-19 of Exhibit No p. 958)

Pages 10-13,

Bombay Girni Kamgar Union, Bombay.

Meeting of the managing committee. 5-3-29.

(1) The following representatives elected by the Mill Committees on the managing committee are accepted.

- (1) Phillip (Standard)
- (2) Dattatraya Bhav Deshmukh. (Century)
- (3) Ralsekar (DhanMill)
- (4) Gangaram Pandurang (Ranchoddas)
- (5) Ganpat Raoji (Currimbhory)
- (6) Ganpatlal, Javharlai, (Madhavroa Scidia).

(2) Subject Split in the Union Mr. Alve explained how efforts were being made to cause a split in the Union and asked (the meeting) to consider in a cool manner (how) to defeat this attempt at the split or else a great harm would come to the Union.

Mr. Dange dwelt on the agitation (adverse) to the Union carried on of late by Balkrishna, organiser at Delsle Road and suggested that his pay may be stoppeu.

Mr. Nimbkar then narrated the account of the meeting held at Tergusson Road and explained matters fully. Mr. Buwa complained that people of our side indulged in asking him questions and abusing him.

Mr. Mirajkar made a speech supporting the suggestion made by Mr. Dange for maintaining discipline in the Union. *Resolution 2:* (cancelled)

Amendment -Mr. Khanderao Desai suggested that Mr. Balkrishan should give an apology in a public meeting and the apology being accepted he should be retained. If Balkrishan does not tender an apology he should be removed.

Mr. Dange withdrew his original proposition and suggested that a draft of the apology should be prepared and Mr. Balkrishan should be asked to sign it and that the letter (of apology) should be read in a public meeting and that Mr. Balkrishan should be removed if he does not sign it.

Resolution 3. An attitude of compromise should be adopted in the matter of the dispute over the question of old & new men and that the dispute should be settled in that attitude. *Resolution 4* Mr Danga read a rough account about the expenditure incurred during the riots and (it was resolved) that he should place before the next meeting on Saturday account audited by the Voucher Committee.

6000.....in the Bank.
2600.....(For giving) Security.
3000..... Moti Mill case.
636.....Badli

16.000.. ... Total

Resolution 5. That the objections which the Mill Committee has against retaining the Jobbers of the Dhan Mill should be called for and should be placed before the meeting for consideration.

Proposer Dange.

Secunder Nimbkar

S. S. Mirajkar

5-3-29.

Page 14-16.

(1) The meeting adjourned on 5-3-29, was held today 8-3-29, at 10 P. M. and the following resolutions were passed thereat.

(2) The questions asked by Dharamsi in the open meeting held on the MAIDAN of the Rita Mill was discussed and it was

resolved that the questions were wrong (it was also resolved) that no office bearer of the (managing) Committee or the Mill Committee should ask any questions except at the meeting of the Managing Committee and that a resolution of censure would be passed against any one who asks such questions and he would be expelled.

(3) There was much discussion on the fise issue raised by Balkrishna in the meeting held at Lalbag and it was resolved that he should apologise for his mistake at the General Meeting and that he should do about it.

(4) The balance at the credit of the Union at the end of February was read out.

58000	Balance at the back
3000	Deposit in Court.
<hr/>	
61000	

and that the account of the Union till the end of March should be completed and audited and should be placed before the Managing Committee and then before the General Meeting.

(5) any suggestion for the amendment of the rules of the Union should be placed before the annual meeting of the Union.

(6) That a close enquiry should be instituted in the matter of the report spread among the people by the workers of the Mill without a chimney that a sum of Rs 160000 (one lakh and sixty thousands have been collected) and in the matter of the attempts that are being made to create a split in the Union and that a timely consideration should be given to the question and that all the four leader should carry on work (of the Union) with one mind.

(7) Consideration was given to the question to the application made (to the Union) that there should be one officer responsible for determining the promotion of the clerks, settling there hours of work giving them four holidays during one month and issuing orders and it was resolved that a committee consisting of (the following) five persons: President, vice-president Tahmanekar, General secretary Hari Narayan Parale and Phillip should settle the question of the appointment of clerks, determining their hours of work and the question of their Salary and place the matter before the Committee.

(8) That rice, dal and etc should be distributed among the wives and children of those who have been arrested during the riots and who have been suffering great hardships and that train fare should be given to those who want to go their native places.

That a meeting of the Mill should be called to consider the letter received in the matter of the two jobbers of the Crown Mill.

That in the matter of strike, the workers on strike should not go to another Mill and cause that Mill to be closed.

Riot.

[True Translation]

Meerut
20-9-29

}

S. Ezekiel
Marathi Translator.

P. 961-T.

PAGES 1—5.

*LIST OF NAMES OF VOLUNTEERS IN ROLLED ON
2ND JULY 1928.

S. No.	Name	Mill.
1.	Sitaram Baabu	Kaliwadi
2.	Balu Shiva	Chawl
3.	Dattatraya Krishna	Kaliwadi
4.	Janu Babu	Suparibag
5.	Dhondu Jilu	"
6.	Ganpat Bapu	Jute Company
7.	Mahadev Bhiwa	Moghul
8.	Ganpat Sadashiv	David
9.	Hari Narayan	"
10.	Ganpat Balu	Bhovanda
11.	Gunya Babaji	"
12.	Devram Shivaram	Bentury
13.	Gopal Ladu	Moti
14.	Mahadev Vishram	Kalidas
15.	Yeshvant Sakharam	David
16.	Bapu Mahadu	Bentury
17.	Shanker Ganpat.	"
18.	Rajaram Vishnu	David
19.	Tukaram Visram	Bhovanda
20.	Ganpat Ramji	Moti

21.	Shakharam Tanu	Naigam
22.	Ramachandra Gopal	Narayan
23.	Sadashiv Bala	Curmbhy
24.	Vithu Sambhu	"
25.	Dhondu Gopal	Narayan
26.	Mahipati Raghu	Bhovanda
27.	Vishnu Subhana	China
28.	Atmaram Babu	New Sun
29.	Shankar Rama	Morbag
30.	Mahadev Balu	"
31.	Mahadev Bala	"
32.	Lakshman Daji	"
33.	Shankar Salya	"
34.	Sonu Dattu	"
35.	Bhau Bala	"
36.	Shankar Narayan	Silk
37.	Hari Yesu	Tata
38.	Barkya Kaku	Jute
39.	Bapu Sakharam	Burrimbhoy
40.	Bapu Sonu	—dadi
41.	Govind Raghu	Ellis Sassoon
42.	Bhikya Hari	Oil
43.	Govind Dhondu	"
44.	Vishnu Lakshman	"
45.	Bala Sudakya	Escot
46.	Rama Raghu	Birla
47.	Hari Ramji	Jubilee
48.	Ganpat Shakharam	Oil
49.	Pandu Dhondu	Escot
50.	Lakishamya Ravji	"
51.	Tukaram Ravji	Sumpal
52.	Babu Lukshuman	Oil
53.	Shanker Vithu	Farlabhoy
54.	Ramchandra Gunaji	Dhan
55.	Narayan Yesu	Apollo
56.	Vishnu Govind	Silk
57.	Shanker Yesu	Savid
58.	Arjun Bapu	Union
59.	Ananta Sakharam	Bhovanda
60.	Babu Narayan	Shivdi

61. Namdev Lad	Bhayanda
62. Vithal Gunaji	Raghunath Thota
63. Rajaram Davlat	Narsu
64. Arjun Ramachandra	Darukhah
65. Babu Ganu	David Sassoon
66. Yeshvant Ganu	Oil
67. Gopal Pandu	"
68. Lakshaman Raghu	Suspal
69. Sonu Ravji	Sassoon
70. Shantaram Lakshuman	Shivdi
71. Narayan Yesu	Lalchimney
72. Babu Devji	Kohaji
73. Bapu Appa	Shahapurji
74. Yeshvanta Parvata	Cotton
75. Rama Appa	Shapatkrji
76. Narsu Joti	Apollo
77. Babaji Mahadev	"
78. Tukaram Babaji	Bhayanda
79. Nagu Sambhaji	Raghunath Thota
80. Mahadev Gopal	Suparibag
81. Gopal Arjun	Khatra
82. Ganpat Ramaji	Don
83. Narayan Kashiram	Baite
84. Ganpat Vithu	Papani
85. Arjun Budhaji	Pearl
86. Antu Dowlat	Thatara
87. Dhondu Rama	Narayan
88. Krishna Dhaku	Apollo
89. Sayoji Mahipat	Baite
90. Baburao Raghu	Rahgunath thota
91. Govind Dhaku	Baithi
92. Mahadev Dhaku	Union
93. Sakharam Vishnu	Baithi
94. Ladu Vishnu	Baita
95. Gangaram Govind	David
96. Shantaram Vithu	Don
97. Rama Narayan	Jamshed
98. Soma Raghu	"
99. Ravji Gunaji	Currembhoy
100. Kondiba Mallas	Oil Sun

101. Babu Sakharam
102. Gopal Sakharam

Asu Rovji
Mager Sassoon

[True translation].

MEERUT }
16-10-1929. }

S. EZEKIEL
Marathi Translator.

P. 962-T.

This Exhibit contains a bundle of sashes with the following inscriptions: (1) Volunteer of the Girni Kamgar Mahamandal (2) Volunteer of the Joint strike committee (3) Girni Kamgar Mahamandal and (4) Ter-centenary Shivaji Birthday Mandal (Association), Bombay.

MEERUT }
8-11-1929. }

S. EZEKIEL
Marathi Translator.

P. 966-T.

In the struggle to break down the three
machines and two sides to be
continued?

IF SO, COME ALONG.

MAKE PREPARATIONS FOR BOYCOTT.

Let us organise two red troops consisting of 500 Satyagrahi

volunteers and 100 lecturers. And let us start an agitation for collecting Rs. 25,000/- for grain.

BROTHER WORKMEN,

The strike in respect of three machines and two sides was declared in the Sassoon Mills one year ago but unfortunately it was put an end to. Afterwards 84 mills joined in a strike, and this was to put a stop to a cut in the wages. However, even when the general strike was declared the workers of the Sassoon Mills were working three machines and two sides. But the demands of the workers of the Sassoon Mills were included in the general demands after the big strike was declared.

When a compromise (lit. treaty) was effected between the owners, Government and the workers, the owners of Sassoon, Finley and Kohinoor (Naigaum) Mills refused to withdraw the three machines and two sides. The Manager of these mills Mr. Stones said that their workers were paid one time and a half as much (as other workers) and they were pleased with it and so they worked this system for six months after the strike of the Apollo and Manchester Mills and all the other owners except these three said that they would not work the new system.

This gave rise to the splitting of the mills into two groups, one big group consisting of 69 mills that was to effect a cut of 15 % in the wages and the other group consisting of 15 mills belong to the Sassoons and Finley. Out of these the owners of the first group of 69 (mills) agreed to pay the wages that were paid before the cut was effected and not to introduce the new system.

But the Sassoons and Finleys would not agree to this. But they said that they would give a consideration to the question of paying the former wages for working the three machines and two sides.

The first group of 69 mills agreed to pay the former wages and work the old system till the publication of the report of the Government Committee. The workers forced us to accept this temporary compromise with a view to starting the struggle a new. For there was tremendous increase in the starvation of men, attachments on houses and lack of funds after the strike of six months, Women and children began to cry out for mercy, on account of starvation. Therefore, the compromise (lit. treaty) was effected for taking rest.

The following persons were present when the compromise was effected: Messrs, Jhabwalla, Joshi, Dange, Nimbkar, Alve, Mirajkar, Rajab, Godsey, Kasle, Fancy, Asavle, Syad Munavar. Still the (workers of) Sassoon (Mills) seem to be prepared and bent upon carrying on this struggle. On seeing this we are prepared to continue

their struggle and to help them. In the mills named hereafter, their haughty and rich owners do not want to withdraw this monstrous system. The reason for this is that their owners are Europeans and big capitalists. They possess crores of rupees.

(2)

(Turnover)

Let us make preparations to fight with them. Let us organise a Red Army of 500 volunteers and a corps of 100 lecturers who would explain the arguments (lit. side) for the fight by giving lectures before meetings and who would enlist help from their other workmen brethren by going to the gates of mills.

The owners of the following mills are insisting upon working this monstrous system.

Stone Mill-Apollo	}	Owners—Sassoon company. They insist upon working three machines and two sides.
Stable Mill-Manchester		
Narayan Mill-Mayer Sassoon		
Bhovanda—Gold Mohar	}	Owner—James Finley, they want to work two sides and not the three machines.
Keli Wadi—Finley		
Bania Mill—Swan		
Naigaum—Kohinoor— Owners— Killick Nixon & Co.,		They want two sides and not the three machines.

OBSTINATE OWNERS SASSOON COMPANY

(1) David Mill, (2) Edward Sassoon, (3) Trikamdass, (4) Elphinstone (Kapidas), (5) Jacob Sassoon (Soparibag) (6) Alexandra (Oil) (7) E. D. Sassoon (Ellis Sassoon) (8) Rachel Sassoon (Escot) (9) Turkey Red. Owners in these eight mills wish to work two sides there are no three machines in them.

Besides these, nine mills have split out of the Owners' Association and they have refused to abide by the compromise.

All these matters are not hidden. They must be faced (and) struggled against. Our enemies have let out a secret force with a view to effecting a split among the workers and their leaders and making it easy for effecting preparations for cutting throats. Do not listen to their rumours and get (matters) explained and let us continue the fight. We would not draw back.

It is because we fought for six months that the 15 % out of 12,000 workers of 70 mills and the new scheme was defeated. Now

would not draw back in fighting the fight of (working on) two sides of the remaining 20,000 workers.

Come to the meeting, break down false rumours, take a vow of SATYAGRAHA, all the leaders are prepared to undergo any amount of additional sufferings for the sake of the workers. For this purpose a meeting will be held at the rear of the Gokhale Hotel (Poibavdi) at 4 o'clock this evening. Those who are prepared to place a stringent boycott on these mills and undergo even imprisonment if occasion arises and to resort to SATYAGRAHA should attend (lit. come).

Those who obey the behests of your interests.

Yours

S. A. DANGE,

R. S. NIMBKAR

S. MIRAJKAR

A. A. ALVE

G. KASLE

[True Translation].

Meerut. }
10-10-29. }

S. Ezekiel

Matrathi Translator.

P. 967-T

Join the Union that has fought for you for six months.

A WORD (lit hint) OF WARNING TO ALL MILL WORKERS.

Join the Girni Kamgar Union only

Look at the numbers on the receipts.

Ask for accounts.

This strike of the workers has been suspended. The strike has not come to an end. If we sit quiet and do not make preparations for the future then the Government Committee of the owners will attack us. Therefore all millworkers should make preparations as

given below. (1) One lakh of members should be enlisted in the Girni Kamgar Union. In this respect one suggestion needs be given that there are many unions of the mill workers. Agents of many people have set about getting people enlisted in any Union. Therefore workers should be on their guard. The receipts of our Union bear the signature of S. A. Dange with the consent of all. Some of those who are enlisting members give out the names of Dange, Alve, Nimakar and take away money for a different Union altogether. You should attend meetings that will be held to explain these matters.

(2) Fund for (agitation in respect of) two sides and three machines. The Sassoons and Finleys own 14-15 Mills. It has been decided to start a special fund to fight with them in the struggle of in respect of two sides and three machines.

Every workman working in the Sassoon and Finley Mill should contribute one rupee per month towards this fund. If this goes on for three months a fund of one lakh of rupees will be collected for carrying on this struggle. Our condition will improve only when the Sassoons receive a shock every three months.

Ask for the account of the fund every month.

A separate receipt will be given for (amount contribute to) this fund.

Try to get every worker and every jobber of the Sassoon and Finley Mills enlisted into our Union.

(3) *The strike fund.* We must raise men and fund to fight the fight of the workmen from now. We must make *Preparations for six months* to ensure success till the end for the new struggle in respect of the demands of all the mills. 5,000 (men of) the Red Army, 1000 lecturers and two lakhs of the strike fund must now be organised. Those who have in their possession tickets of this fund will alone be provided with grain (and) steamer fare at (the time of) the next strike.

Get all the above matters properly explained. Join any union you like. Do not become members through intimidation. Do not give money to any one you like in a hurry. Ask for receipts with over symbols.

Yours,

B. F. Bradley,

A. A. Alve.

K. N. Joglekar.

G. R. Kasle.

S. A. Dange.

R. S. Nimbkar.

S. Mirajkar.

Gadkari.

Girni Kamgar Union ,
Kondai Building ,
Poibavdi .

[True translation]

S. Ezekiel
Marathi Translator

P. 972-T. Rejected

To

Mr. DANGE,
General Secretary.

(Dear Mr. Dange)

My health is getting worse (lit. less) I am sending (lit giving) this note as instructed by you. Be pleased to make some arrangement about the expenses. Be this know. This is the request.

Yours

A. A. Alve.

Meerut }
26-10-1920

[True Translation]
S. Ezekiel,
Marathi Translator.

P. 973-T.

A meeting should be held tomorrow evening on number fourteen to ask people to give votes to Nimbkar and Merajkar who are standing for the next Municipal election on behalf of the workers and to create an awakening among the people

Another meeting should be held at Dadar and the third one at Nageshachi wadi.

Three such meetings should be held.

Meerut }
26-10-1926 }
A. A. Alve.
[True Translation]
S. Ezekiel.
.....Marathi Translator.

P. 985-T

In this Exhibit there occurs the signature of A. A. Alve in Marathi and that of Bhiwa Tanse in the Modi script.

Meerut }
2-11-1929 }
S. Ezekiel
Marathi Translator.

P. 986-T.

This Exhibit contains 33 issues of the Kranti newspaper, an organ of the workers and Peasants' Party from the 30th January 1928 to 20th January 1929, of these issues those the 5th July 1928, 9th August 1928, 12th August 1928, 23rd August 1928, 30th August 1928, 20th September 1928, 27th September 1928 and 5th Oct. 1928, are translated under this Exhibit while article in the issues of 29th July 1928, 2nd September 1928 12th July 1928, 30th June 1928, have been dealt with in Exhibit No. P-930,

Meerut }
16-10-1929 }
S. Ezekiel
Marathi Translator.

P. 986-T.

KRANTI

5th. July 1928.

Page 3,

The attack of English owners on the Country of the workers.

Who helped the mill workers of Bombay on their going on strike without asking any questions? What (help) did our kith and kin give when the mill workers of Bombay and the Railway workmen of Calcutta went on strike during the last four months? They stood (still, looking at the sight how the workers were dying. Those who were making profit of lakhs of rupees sat laughing in merriment. But the workers of a foreign country helped us. The workers of Russia sent Rs. 21,000 at once and supplied grain to the workers of Bombay and sent Rs. 10,000 to the Railway-men of Calcutta and saved them from starvation.

What is the cause of this?

The cause of this is this that if the mill workers are defeated the stomachs of the so-called Indian capitalists would be still more bloated, the funds of the patriots would be collected, (and) the companies with share capital (lit. shares) would gain a profit. But if the workers win a victory the movement of the workers would be strengthened. The people of this country (lit. staying here) can not bear to see this strength. The English cannot bear to see it. But there is a Raj of the workers in Russia. The factories of Russia are managed by the workers. If the workers of Bombay win a victory, the workers of Russia would be glad as if their brethren have secured victory and it is on this account that they have helped us.

If we come out successful all the workers of the world would be benefited. But if we resumed work on less wages and if the articles are manufactured on such low wages, the owners of mills in other countries will effect a cut in their wages. If a cut is effected in their wages, the owners here will effect a further cut in our wages. The struggle will thus go on. Therefore if we persist (in our demands) we shall not only benefit ourselves but do benefit to all the workers (of the world).

On seeing this the British Government have been greatly annoyed. The workers of Russia have taken possession of the Raj and the factories and therefore they can give help to the workers of all (the other) countries. It is on this account that the owners of every country have been annoyed with the workman's Raj of Russia and they are making efforts to subvert it. Just as we get our affairs managed through our union, the workmen of Russia get the affairs of their country managed through their Union. There is no place

You have so far amassed untold wealth with the help of (lit. on the life of) the workers and now you want to convert the poor people into (your) permanent slaves. But bear in mind that every worker in India will sacrifice his life but will not tolerate (lit. accept the servitude of the foreign or Indian capitalism. And the worker will not be deceived by your new game and come to work, You have so far produced untold wealth with the help of the workers and have enjoyed it so far. Has not your ambition been still satisfied.

I once again warn you that every worker will sacrifice his life for liberty but will not become your slave and will not allow your fresh ambitions to be fulfilled. You may open the mills on the 6th and ask your wives and children to attend them. Our workers will go to their native places and will follow their ancestral profession of agriculture and remain independent in an half-starved condition. But they will not step into your mills unless their demands are fully granted.

SIMILARLY.

I would ask the Governor and the Commissioner (of Police) not to be misled by the capitalists into harrasing the poor ryots. Withdraw the help given by the Police to the haughty capitalists and took to the starvation (lit. belly) of your poor subjects and attend to the demands of the poor workers. This is my request to you.

Yours humbly

A. A. Alve.

[True Translation].

S. Ezekiel,

Marhati Translator.

Meerut }
16-10-19. }

P. 986-T.

KRANTI.

9th August 1928.

Page 3.

Help (received) so far (amounts to) Rs. 75,000. Who contributed money to the strike (fund) and how much was paid.

The mill workers have received help of three-fourth of a lakh (75,000) of rupees so far from various sources to continue their struggle. Out of this:

From the Russian workers	...	Rs. 32,516.
From workers in England, France, Germany &c.	...	Rs. 25,100.
From the Union of Indian workers in England	...	Rs. 4,322.
From G. I. P. Ry. workmen	...	Rs. 1,555.
From Port Trust workers	...	Rs. 200.
From Ahmadabad Mill workers	...	Rs. 3,034.
From Bombay Girni Kamgar Union	...	Rs. 1,000.
From Provincial Congress Committee	...	Rs. 2,051.
From the Association of Grain Merchants	...	Rs. 1,000.
From the Mahajan Association	...	Rs. 500.
From private individuals and collections made by Voulnteers.	...	Rs. 3,722.
	Total	Rs. 75,000.

In the above account annas and pies are not shown and only round figure are given).

[True Translation].

Meerut }
16-10-1929. }

S. Ezekiel,
Marathi Translator.

P. 986-T.

KRANTI.

12th. August 1928.

Page 2.

Government are going to frame a new act for the sake of the owners.

The striker's will get one month's and the ledears three month's imprisonment.

Strike took place in mills owing to the oppression of the

owners. The mill workers defeated all the devices of the owners and since they preserved peace, did not allow the Police who are the helpers of the owners to have any ground to annoy them. The Railway workers carried on their struggle for two and four months at a time and thus inflicted a great loss upon the Government. On seeing the increasing strength, cleverness and unity of the workers all the owners in India, their hired newspapers and educated parrot like *Pandits*, got frightened and felt a fear that their luxury and extravagance would be snatched away from them by the workers and that they would be completely ruined. Similary Government felt afraid that if the workmen working in the Railway, Telegraph and Postal Department got irritated and became ready for a revolution in a united manner, their *Zulum*, high-handedness and loot of a hundred and fifty years would come to an end, and their Kingdom vanish in two minutes.

India and White capitalists or owners and Government both got frightened of the power of the workers.

A CONSPIRACY OF SLAUGHTER

Both the owners and the Government have realised how the affairs of a white city, (and) of a nation can come to a stand still if the workers, inspite of being weak and sickly on account of low wages and starvation, stop the (working of) machinery and both of them began to think how to slaughter these desperate (and) organised workers and their leaders and to wipe them out of existence.

The PARTNERSHIP of OWNERS and GOVERNMENT.

The owners want to continue to reap profits of crores of rupees and (enjoy) power. The English want the Kingdom of India for the sake of reaping (enormous) profits. Both are speculators and profit makers. But the Indian owners have no guns, troops (or) much power. That lies in the hands of English owners. But both of these want to squeeze the workers and to get possession of the heap of gold, earned as profits, raised on the blood of the workers. For this purpose the Indian owners have agreed to give a share of the profits in their pockets earned from their factories to the English owners and they in return took the help of the guns and troops of the English and both of them in partnership have come forward to take the life of the workers.

* * * *

The next step of this partnership consists in their joint preparations to crush down the workers. This preparation to weaken the strength of the workers is evident from the new legislation about strike that Government have brought forward.

DEFEAT THE LEGISLATION.

The workers should make preparations to defeat this Legislation. (1) Hold meetings in every town and go on passing resolutions of protest. (2) Awaken every worker by making preparations for explaining what the law is. (3) Every Trade Union should pass a resolution (of protest) against this strangulating law and send it to Government. (4) Make preparations to take to task the newspapers, their *Pandits* and their voters who will give their assent to this law. (5) And if the law is passed in spite of all this defy (lit. break) it throughout the country, be prepared to go to jail and (thus) defeat it. And all this must be done within the period of one month and a half.

[True translation]

MEERUT.

16/10/29.

{ S. EZEKIEL
Marathi Translator.

P. 986-T.

KRANTI.

23rd August 1928.

PAGE 2.

The demand of the owners is to imprison the communists. Our demand is that workers should be communists.

So far hundreds of owners have requested Government on behalf of big capitalists to imprison the communists. (They say) The workers do not want the strike. They are quite contented. But these communists (&) people of the Workers and Peasants' Party tell the workers to quarrel with the owners and that is why strikes take place. Therefore enact a law to suppress these (people). Declare strikes to be illegal. Such demands have been made by the owners. But why are the owners so very angry with the Communists and the members (lit. people) of the Workers and Peasants' Party? There have been strikes in various places. But the strikes in which the Communists did not participate did not last for many days. And much cry was not raised against them, why?

Because it is only the Communists that fight for the real

needs of the workers. The demands of the communists do not constitute an art sorcery nor is it a conspiracy (lit. market) of cheaters. Communism is science. The Communist creed is the creed of the workers.

The Communists say that the struggle between the capitalists and workers can never be finally settled. There is no necessity of the capitalists for the working of our society. Factories, railways, &c are worked by the labour and intellect of the labourers. But the owners exercise their authority (wrongfully) and themselves appropriate the profits derived therefrom and employ the workers in suffering and filth. The workers will remain poverty stricken and will not get happiness as long as the profiteering owners exercise possession over factories that produce articles needed for the use of workers.

Not only will the number of workers continue to increase but also that of the middle class and educated people and their poverty will also be on the increase. Only land owners and owners of factories will continue to grow rich.

At last such a state of affairs will prevail that a handful of owners will be the masters of the whole world and the possessors of all happiness while all the rest-workers, peasants and educated slaves will be their servants, will live on the piece (of bread) given by them and die in misery.

The owners in their authority will exercise control over Government, police, law courts, schools, newspapers and the workers will derive no benefit from them since the owners have contrived them for their own benefit.

All workers and peasants and poverty stricken educated people should, therefore, combine and take the authority of the owners into their own hands. There must be courts of the workers, newspapers of the workers, magistrates of the workers, houses of the workers (and) factories of the workers and land of the peasants, cinemas of the workers and all must belong to the workers and peasants.

For this purpose the workers and peasants will have to fight many battles. Their strikes will be put an end to by bullets being fired upon them and by starving them (and) their leaders will be hanged. In spite of all this, 28 crores of workers and peasants will establish their own authority with the help of crores of workers and peasants of the rest of the world.

For this purpose, the workers should increase their strength by increasing their organisation in the small strikes that would take place. They should increase their demands for more wages, less

hours of work &c. They should even be prepared to suffer hardships for this purpose.

The worker and peasant earns (lit. make ready) all property (and) all wealth but the owner enjoys all happiness out of them only on the strength of usurped ownership & the workers & peasant passes his days in unhappiness & poverty. The Communists say: we will increase our power and organisation and will take the authority of the capitalists (lit. Capitalism) and the Government of the capitalists into our own hands. It is we alone who must be possessers of all happiness for it is we who manufacture all articles of happiness. We constitute 99 out of a hundred. But one owner and landlord can oppress 99 workers and peasants on account of our ignorance and lack of organisation.

The capitalists also take advantage of our orthodox opinions and misunderstandings and raise a false cry and teach false theories (lit. rumours) under the guise of education to our children and make us slaves of the capitalist creed (?). Therefore, the Communists expose their cunning in the matter of education by the creed of their own party.

It is because that the Communists say all this that Government and the owners have raised their swords against the Communists and the Workers and Peasants' Party. This is a preparation for an attack on the chief power of the workers. Therefore all workers should be prepared boldly to say: "we are Communists." (All) militant workers should become members of the Workers and Peasants' Party without fear and secure their demands and happiness by co-operating with that Party.

[True translation].

Meerut. }
16-10-1929. }

S. Ezekiel.
Marathi Translator.

P. 986-T.

Kranti

30th August 1928.

Page 1.

Every Militant worker is a Communist.

A new attack on the workers. .

Is the British Government frightened ?

The Capitalists and their Government have got exasperated at the attack of one lakh and half workers of Bombay, the continuous retreat of the owners for the last five months and the iron (let steel) grit (let preparation) of the workers that does not admit of defeat in spite of the starvation of five months.

The owners began to realise that their profiteering and their stolen wealth would go out of their hands on seeing the dash and bravery of the workers of Madras, Calcutta, Bardoli and every other place that came to the aid of Bombay. On this the owners made a common cause with Government and raised a hue and cry from all sides that the workers and peasants have risen to slaughter all the owners as a class and that the Communists and the Government of Russia is prepared to give them help and that the vast Bolshevist Government of the Russian workers is ready to supply funds men, arms, ammunition, troops, aeroplanes &c. to the workers and peasants of India to snatch away Government, power and riches from the hands of the Capitalists and that it is for this reason that Europeans from there have come here and are helping the workers of this country.

With this hue and cry the Capitalists have requested Government to take any steps they like to arrest these Communists so that all the workers would cool down and there would be no strikes (any more). Government have listened to the capitalists and have made up their mind to enact a law. By getting the law passed Government will be enabled to arrest Europeans like Spratt and Bradley who have come to India or who will come to India hereafter to help the workers in India and to send them away to far off countries by putting them on ships. If both the Government and the owners think that by this legislation of Government the movement of the Communists and the workers would come to a stand still then both of them do not deserve to occupy positions of authority.

The Capitalists (let owner class) create Communists by starving the workers sweating them, giving them inadequate wages and indulging in (let increasing) profiteering.

All militant, brave and clever workers and peasants become Communists when all honest means come to naught, a bankruptcy of the common sense of the Government and the owners is declared and a reign of repression begins by the passing of oppressive laws.

WHAT IS THE MEANING OF BECOMING A COMMUNIST?

In the beginning the worker advance only such demands as

increase in wages, good regulations and decrease in the hours of work and for getting these (demands) he resorts to strike. But if (his) demands are not granted by resorting to strike the working class takes a more dangerous weapon than strike in to his hands. Then the worker does not demand an increase in wages and he does not resort to a strike. He sets aside the owner class and takes the power into his own hands (&) destroys Capitalism by effecting a revolution. He establishes his own power and works the machines of capitalists their system of accounts, (book) of accounts & groups of the factories of capitalists in the interests of the working class and those of the country. Profiteering is given a go bye and the workman's Raj manufactures goods of the quality and in quantity suited to the convenience of all and supplies it to the workers.

It is law with capitalism to produce articles of luxury for the sake of profit and to give the monopoly of happiness to a handful of rich robbers. (While) it is law with the Communists workers to secure to every one, with the aid of machinery, easy work, much leisure and ample happiness in the interest of the public.

If Government is going to pass thousands of laws and practice repression with a view to obstructing such a work every worker of India will soon turn a Communist.

MEERUT
16/10/1929

[True translation]

S. EZEKIEL

Marathi Translator

P. 986-T

Kranti.

20th August 1928.

Page 2

What do you want?

What does a Communist demand?

1. A minimum wage of Rs 50/- for every one.
2. Eight hours of work per day.

3. Two good rooms to live in.
4. Four off days on full pay per month.
5. One month of rest on (full) pay in a year.
6. At least one visit to a theater or a cinema every month.
7. Destruction of profiteering Capitalism.
You demand this much. A Communist worker demands the same. Every Communist demands this and fights for it.

(True translation.)

Meerut. }
16-10-1929 }

S. Ezekiel

Marathi Translator

P 986-T.

KRANTI.

20th September 1928.

PAGE No. 4

Warfare in the air (lit. sky)

Increase in aeroplanes.

When will there be 400 aeroplanes

belonging to the workers ?

* * * * *

It is possible to go from Bombay to Delhi in four hours by aeroplanes. Railway requires three days (to do the same). All this can be done. But the more the increase in aeroplanes the more difficult is becoming the struggle of the workers and of the Swaraj. There is no doubt that India will one day have to fight against the power of the British. In thinking of the future struggle (lit. wrestling) all the powers of the opposite side must be thought of. When this fight commences, there is no doubt that there will be fighting among other nations. But there is not much consolation in saying this that they will die off by fighting among themselves and we shall then be independent. The workers should,

therefore, make a study of the preparations made for (lit. signs of) fighting (by various nations) the mutual fighting among nations and what preparations are being made by what nations.

* * * * *

MEERUT. }
16-10-1929 }

(True translation)

S. Ezekiel

Marathi Translator

P. 986-T.

KRANTI.

27th September 1928.

PAGE 3 & 4.

The Police sent for Kasle, Alve. Boa & other leaders..

What warning did the (Police) Commissioner give ?

* * * * *

Even though this happened our brave workers were not frightened and no split was created among them. It is the privilege of every one to say that he would take the power of ruling the whole of the country and his own country into his own hands. We will continue to say, "We will destroy capitalism" We will continue to repeat the *mantra*: "Establish labour Raj and destroy Capitalism" a thousand times every day; Never mind if thousands are sent to jail, shout out workers : "Victory to the Labour Raj-destruction of Capitalism.

—:—:—

MEERUT " }
16-10-1929 }

True translation,

S. Ezekiel

Marathi Translator

P. 986-T.

KRANTI

5th October 1928.

PAGE 1.

Even if the Strike is over the following things would be continued.

(1) These agitating and militant leaders will continue to carry on the struggle on behalf of the workers.

(2) The workers and Peasants' Party will train up workers to become leaders and thus make preparations for the establishment of the Labour Raj.

(3) The Red Army formed during the strike will become the drilled Red Army of the future.

(4) As a second step in the struggle (lit. game) of the workers a huge Union consisting of one lakh and fifty thousand members would be formed to demand an increase of 20 per cent over the wages of 1927.

(5) Take rest now, gird up your loins to demand increase in wages so as to pay off you rent, debt and interest.

Do not remain idle and be misled by this victory.

True Translation.

Meerut.

16-10-1929.

} S. Ezekiel
} Marathi Translator.

P. 986-T.

KRANTI.

5th October 1928.

PAGE 2.

Do the workers want the Kranti newspaper ?

The newspapers of the capitalists deceive the workers by giving out false news and ideas. The *Kranti* newspaper has been started during the strike so that this may not happen and the strike may be successful.

It is now for the workers to let us know their decision whether they do or do not want the *Kranti* newspaper for (voicing their opinion on) the work before the Government Committee, the evidence given before it and for (exposing) the clandestine affairs in the mills and for (voicing) complaints &c.

The *Kranti* newspaper will be continued if there are 5000 readers and workers ready & if the workers want it. Or else the *Kranti* newspaper will take (your) final leave after outlining the programme of the work that is to be done in respect of the forthcoming enquiry and your duty (towards it).

We wish that the *Kranti* newspapers should be continued to carry on the fight for the establishment of Labour Raj, destruction of capitalism, increase in wages by 20 per cent & organising the Union. Let us know what is your desire.

The *Kranti*
Organ of the
Workers & Peasants'
Party.

S. A. Dange,
Editor,

True translation.

S. Ezekiel
Marathi Translator

P. 986-T.

KRANTI.

5th October 1928.

Page 2.

BE ON GUARD FOR THE FUTURE

The strike has come to an end but capitalism has not been sunk. All the power is still in the hands of the capitalists. If you wish that the owners should not repeat their treachery keep intact the organisation of 84 mills even if the strike has ended. Even if the fight has come to an end the preparedness for fight and the army

can not be dispensed with. There is no knowing when the enemy will attack again.

[True translation]

MMERUT, }
16-10-1929. }

S. Ezekiel
Marathi Translator.

P. 989-T

The Exhibit comprises several issues of the KRANTI newspaper. Out of these those of 30th June 1928 12th July 1928 and 29th July 1928 have been dealt with in Exhibit No. P-830 and those of 9th August 1928, 12th August 1928, 23rd August 1928 30th August 1928, 20th September 1928, 5th Oct. 1928, and 27th Oct. 1928, have been dealt with under Exhibit No. P986. Translations of articles appearing in the issues of the *Kranti* dated 4th June 1927, 11th June 1927, 13th Jan. 3rd March and 17th March 1929 appear under this Exhibit.

Meerut. } S. EZEKIEL
16/10/1929. } Marathi Translator

P. 989-T.

KRANTI.

4th. June 1927.

Page 2.

CONNECTIONS WITH RUSSIA SEVERED.

The British Capitalism is, at present, placed, in an awkward

position. Pressure (lit. pressure on the throat) on all sides is on the increase and Capitalism has begun to be afraid of annihilation. The commotion in China has shaken its limbs and the sympathy expressed by the labourers at home towards the Chinese movement has made it apprehensive for (its) future. Ugly signs of the destruction of capitalism have begun to be apparent and so the Capitalistic Conservative Party has begun its last struggle for self-protection. The Conservative Party is contemplating to break the organisation of the Workers on the strength of the Trade Union Bill in order to put a permanent end to the movement of the labourers that has arisen for the destruction of Capitalism.

The Conservative Party seems to be taking precautions to root out the right of (declaring a) general strike so that its position (lit. seat) in its own country may not be shaken by a political revolution. Since the essential rights of the working classes are endangered these classes are being awakened with annoyance and a keen controversy is taking place on the Trade Union Bill.

The Labour Party is in the minority and the Conservatives can command a majority, and so the Labour Party can do nothing in a parliamentary debate. But it has become apparent that public opinion has been stirred by the Trade Union Bill and people are increasingly disposed (favourably) towards the creed of the Communists. In these circumstances there is little chance of the Conservative Party winning if the elections take place very soon in future. Even the patient, quiet and constitutional leaders of the Labour Party are likely to lose patience at the arrogant attitude of the Conservative Party.

In order that disaffection may not increase owing to the commotion of the Trade Union Bill the Conservative Party has been making an effort in another direction by picking up a quarrel with Russia so that the attention of the people may be directed towards a struggle with a foreign country. But instead of diverting the attention of the public it seems to have added fuel to the fire. The Conservative Party means to mis-lead the people into the fear of a secret Russian Conspiracy by raiding the Russian Embassy. But its real dodge is to make the shaky position of Capitalism firm at home in England, as also in China, Egypt and other countries on the strength of military discipline by taking an aggressive attitude towards Russia, dragging the people into a war, and taking advantage of the state of war and all its efforts are directed to this end. But it does not seem as if its efforts at misleading the public will at all succeed. By the raid on the Russian Embassy public opinion has, on the contrary, drifted towards Russia and this is quite natural when the memory of the coal mine strike is fresh (in the mind of the public). It does not

seem likely that it (the Conservative Party) will succeed either in its dodge of taking advantage of the state of war by dragging Russia into a war or in its dodge of making attempts to destroy Russia that has become a centre of all labour activities. Even if it annoys (lit. pinches) Russia by breaking commercial relations with it, Russia will remain (lit. is) firm. It has understood this dodge and it seems that the Soviet Government will not allow hastiness to be committed on its part till England actually declares war.

When the Conservative Party itself commits a mistake, and declares war it will be easily seen how and where the world-wide disorganised Empire can be distracted (lit. scratched). To commit the actual mistake of (declaring) war, at a time when such a conflagration is prevailing in China, and when the Quo-ma-tang is securing success everywhere, and when class feelings have become so acute at home on the Trade Union Bill, would be tantamount to forgetting oneself on account of the approach of death and taking a leap in the dark (lit. pit). If the Conservative Party sets ablaze this conflagration of war by being blinded by pride, and by being unaware of this pit which is out of its sight owing to the majority it can command in Parliament, then we (shall consider it an auspicious sign of a political revolution in England. Just as the Great War gave rise to the Russian revolution, in the same manner, as judged from present circumstances, this future war will not fail to produce a political revolution that will give a go-bye to British Capitalism. Such an occasion of war will not only be an auspicious time for breaking the shackles of the servitude of the people in England but it will afford a favourable opportunity for all those people who are being crushed under the iron heels of Capitalism. It is the duty of everyone to take full (lit. due) advantage of this (war) and to make the necessary preparations before hand to remove the yoke of bondage from one's neck. China has (already) shown (us) that path. If we do not follow the example, and if we do not increase our strength by timely organisation we shall be guilty of being false to ourselves like the sluggard who did not take advantage of the river Ganges that came towards him. If we remain sluggards we shall not only do harm to ourselves but in addition shall not fail to throw obstacles in the path of the independence of the working classes in England and the public in China and other countries that are being crushed under the (steam) roller of Capitalism. For this very capitalism will not fail to resort to the tactics of smothering these movements for independence by making use of us as mercenaries (lit. by mercinariness). This has been proved by the troops sent to China. It is, therefore' necessary that we should be prepared to give a go-bye to Capitalism at this time that is coming, in our

own interests and for the love of our brethren who follow the same profession (lit. vice.).

[True translation]

Meerut
16-10-29.

S. Ezekiel,
Marathi Translator.

P. 989-T.

KRANTI

4th. June. 1927.

Pages 2 & 1.

THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE IN CHINA.

PART I.

(By K. N. Joglekar).

The eyes of the world have been directed towards China for the last six or seven months. Japan, France, England, America and other Imperialistic nations consider the present movement in China as a danger to their life and they feel great anxiety for what its outcome would be. But a nation like ours that is undergoing bondage has to look at this movement from quite a different point of view (lit. way). The people that are in bondage should make it a point to study the movements and history of the people that are similarly situated while making efforts to come out of that bondage. (The study of) what people did under certain circumstances would help us to steer our way clear through many difficulties. This is the advantage that man has to derive from history.

Ever since the National movement began many of our leaders and prominent men have referred to (lit. given) the examples of the wars of independence of other nations with a view to determining the direction of this movement for Swaraj from time to time and creating a zest among the people for that movement. In order to awaken our people with the inspiration for independence some have studied the war of independence of Italy, some have gone through the history of Holland, some have moved the hearts (of people) by the unfortunate tale of Poland and others have skipped through the life of Washington by hastening towards America. Some have lost

themselves (in admiration) at the grit of Ireland while others see the true path in the French revolution. Mr. Savarkar wrote the life of Mazzini in order to stir our inspiration for independence on the pabulum of experience of other nations (lit. others., Mr. Kelkar published information about Garibaldi in the form of a book and even a man like Lajpatri could not get rid of his admiration for him. But these are happenings in the past. What they did was fit and proper in the times of the nationnistic notions of the last generation. But those incidents would not be servicable to us.

The struggle that took place ten years ago for an Irish Republic is in fact the last effort according to the old methods.

The wars of independence in the world have assumed a new aspect since the Russian Revolution of 1917. The wars of independence that have taken place subsequently were not wars for establishing political supremacy over one nation by another, but have been struggles carried on by one class (economic) of people against another class with a view to establishing their economic independence be these classes belonging to one and the same nation or different nations. This is what goes by the name of class War. And all the struggles subsequent to the Russian Revolution have been carried on, on the lines of such a Class War. The agitation that is going on in England, at present, or the clash of arms in China are both based on such a Class War. And in all the movements of the world, great and small, the seed of such a Class War is prominently seen and it is what should it be. Leaders like Mr. Gokhale, the editor of the Mahratta may say what he likes, but our struggle has also a tinge (lit. water) of the Class War and it has been recognised by a far-sighted man like Motilalji (Nehru).

Our present agitation and the war of independence in China are closely related in accordance with the new theory of Class War. There is much in common between our present situation and the condition in China. Only we have gone permanently under sway of foreigners (lit. others) while China is some what self-governing this much only is the difference. Otherwise, just as our life is suffering (severe) pangs owing to a rope having been drawn round our necks by foreign capitalists in the same manner several foreign capitalists are jointly playing the game of plundering China. China is teaching (us) to-day the lesson as to how to escape from the iron (lit. crocodile) grip of such a Capitalism and it falls to our lot to (just) peep over the hedge and to realise the secret underlying it. It is therefore necessary to give an exposition of the economic position of all the conflicting parties in China so that we might properly understand the elements (lit. object or theory) of this Class War and that it may throw proper light on our agitation. Our society is not used to looking at such happenings (lit. things) in their practical aspects. It is on this account we have committed serious mistakes

(in the past.) A detailed exposition must be given about the interests that are involved at the root of the Chinese struggle so that (India) might acquire this new practical sight, and a foundation should be laid to give a bias of that Chinese system to our politics by exposing the policy of the party in opposition on the bases of the above exposition.

We, therefore intend to give a brief review of the history of several generations in the past and then expose the secret cunning of the present-day Capitalists.

[True translation]

Meerut. { S. EZEKIEL
16/10/1929. { Marathi Translator

P. 989-T.

KRANTI.

4th. June 1927.

PAGE 4.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA.

ANNUAL SESSION IN BOMBAY.

The annual meeting of the above mentioned Party was held on Tuesday last, the 31st. May. At the outset after giving its approval to the annual report the organisation of the party was prepared. The following managing (or working) committee was elected for the next year,

Presidium.

(1) Com. Muzaffar Ahmed (Calcutta). (2) Jankiprasad Bagrhoda, Rewari. (3) Gowhar Rehman, N. W. F. P. (4) K. S. Iyanger, Madras. (5) S. A. Dange, Bombay General Secretary—S. V. Ghate, Bombay. Treasurer Com. S. H. Mistry, Bombay.

Managing Committee — (1) Com. Singarwelu, Madras.

(2) Com. Hasrt Mohani, Cawnpore. (3) R.S. Nimbkar, Bombay.
(4) M. A. Majid Lahore. (5) K. N. Joglekar, Bombay.

- (6) S. N. Tagore, Calcutta (7) A. Halim, Calcutta.
 (8) S. D. Hasan, Lahore.

Then resolution to the following effect were passed :—

(1) This Party expects the guidance and help of other Communist parties in the world and the International in respect of the work begun (by it) in this country.

(2) This Party appoints Com. Boghrōda, Muzaffar Ahmed and Nimbkar as their representative board to travel in Great Britain and Europe to study of the movements of the workers. The representatives should give a report of the work done by them to the party.

(3) This Party expresses its condemnation of the machinations used by Imperialist nations in dealing with China, and adopts a sympathetic attitude towards the struggle for the economic independence of China.

(4) This Party expresses its condemnation of the estrangement created by the Conservative Government (of England) by the machination of dragging Russia into a War.

(5) Whereas it is the opinion of this Party that only the working classes will secure Swaraj for India and whereas the Congress leaders of the present day who are high caste (Hindus) are in league with Imperialism and thus acting in a manner prejudicial to the interests of the general public, the members of this Party should become the members of Congress and create a clique of radical people therein, and make efforts to liberate themselves from the foreign power.

The members of this Party should co-operate with the National members of reactionary tendencies in the Congress, with a view to bringing into effect the following minimum demands (lit. programme) approved of by this Party.

(a) Complete independence; establishment of a republican form of Government by giving franchise to any man or woman of eighteen years of age.

(b) Complete removal of the *Zamindari* (system).

(c) Reduction in land assessments. To put an end to indirect taxes. To fix income-tax on a duly graduated scale.

(d) To conduct agricultural operations on modern (scientific) system with the help of the State.

(e) To establish State ownership of all public utility services (lit. things).

(f) Establishment of industries by State aid.

(g) To fix hours of work at 8 per day and to fix the minimum wages. The central body will fix the policy of the Party in the matter of elections.

(h) The Party will discuss beforehand the questions that will come before the All-India Congress Committee and the members will be informed of the attitude of the Party towards them and they will be instructed to express their opinions accordingly.

The members of this Party can not be members of any Communal institution and will explain the real character of the Party (to the Public).

MEERUT, }
17-10-1929. }

(Incomplete)

(True translation)

S. Ezekiel,

Marathi Translator.

P. 989-T

KRANTI.

11th. June 1927.

Page 4.

(The following advertisement appears in English :—

Just Out.

India and China

by

“AN INTERNATIONALIST”

With a foreward

by

Shapurji Saklatvala, M.P.

Price 4 annas.

Contains lucid exposition of the present Chinese situation.

Copies can be had of

Shantaram S. Mirajkar,
2/3 Khandke Bldg.

Dadar.

BOMBAY. 14.

Meerut. } S. Ezekiel.
17-10-1929. } Marathi Translator.

P. 989-T

KRANTI.

11th. June 1927.

Page 3.

Monthly meeting of the G.I.P. Railway workers at Matunga.

A public meeting of the G.I.P. Railway workmen employed at the Matunga Workshops was held on Monday, the 6th. June at 5-30 P.M. at Matunga in the *Wadi* of Mr. Jivraj Nensi under the presidentship of Mr. Jhabwalla. Mr. Jhabwalla in his speech referred to the increase in the membership (of the union) and placed before the meeting a scheme for starting the Unemployment Fund. Then the question of annual leave was discussed and a resolution expressing condemnation at bringing down the grade of carpenters, fitters and wiremen to 60—66 and 74 when in fact it is (at the level of) Rs. 87. was passed. Besides a resolution was passed drawing attention to the inconvenience felt by the workers at the closing of the gate convenient to the workers' train before time in the morning and demanding that the door may be kept open. At the meeting speeches were made by Messrs Spratt, Joglekar and Mirajkar on the question of organisation. Messrs Patil and Venkatrao Rale, railway leaders, also made strong speeches. In the end the *Kranti* newspaper was sold and the workers purchased the said paper out of sympathy.

[True Translation].

Meerut. } S. Ezekiel.
17-10-1929. } Marathi Translator.

P. 989-T.

KRANTI.

11th. June 1927.

Page 3.

Monthly meeting of the Municipal Workers.

A meeting of the workers in Municipal workshops was held on Tuesday the 7th. June at Foras Road. Much enthusiasm prevailed (lit. was seen) at the meeting. After the introductory speech of Mr. Jhabwalla people working in various departments of the Municipality placed their grievances before the meeting and the Secretary took note of all these complaints and promised to carry on correspondence in these matters with the (Municipal) Commissioner. Various methods of bribery, (questions) of leave, dismissal on flimsy grounds etc were discussed (lit thought of) at the meeting, and then Messers Mirajkar, Joglekar, Rajaram Shetkarne, Rama and others made speeches on (the necessity of) joining the Union and increasing its strength. In the end the meeting was dissolved after effecting sale of the *Kranti* newspaper belonging to the Workers' (Party). The peculiarity of the said Union is that many workers take part in (its) meetings.

[True Translation].

Meerut. } S. Ezekiel.
17-10-1929. } Marathi Translator.

P. 989-T

KRANTI

11th June 1927.

Page 3.

Resolutions of the Communist Party

• (Concluded from the last issue.)

(7) Whereas the leadership of middle class people in the

All-India Trade Union does not bring it in direct touch with the public (lit society) the members of this party establish a workers' Union with a view to wresting leadership from the middle class people and getting it affiliated to the Congress and thus entering it. The Communist members will place the following programme as the provisional minimum demands of the workers.

- (a) Eight hours' (work per) day.
 - (b) The limit of minimum wages.
 - (c) To prohibit the employment of boys & girls below the age of eighteen.
 - (d) To prohibit women from participating in dangerous industries and working in underground mines.
 - (e) Maternity benefits to women and old-age, sickness and unemployment insurance.
 - (f) Workmen's compensation & responsibility of owners (in the matter of accidents).
 - (g) Freedom to establish Worker's unions. The union not to be held responsible for the mistakes of individuals. The union to be free to participate in political activities.
 - (h) Distribution of weekly wages.
 - (i) Provision of safeguards against accidents in factories and mines.
- (8) This party expresses its approval of the programme outlined by the Workers and Peasants' Parties established in Bengal, Bombay and Rajputana, and requests its members to bring this programme into effect and to establish such organisations where they do not exist.
- (9) This party heartily congratulates Mr. Avari and his associates at Nagpur on their attempts to establish their right to bear arms by resorting to Satyagraha.
- (10) This Party expresses its emphatic condemnation of the prohibition declared by Government against the import of progressive literature into India with a view to gag independent opinion.
- (11) This party expresses its condemnation of the unjust restrictions placed by Government on Mr. Gowhar Rahiman Darweshi in the North West Frontier Provinces.

- (12) This party expresses its condemnation of the internment by the Govt. of N. W. F. Provinces of Comrade Shapik (?) who was president elect of the conference of their Party to be held in November 1926.
- (13) This Party expresses its sympathy for the sufferings of Shaukat Usmani and Akbar Khan in Jail.
- (14) This Party extends its welcome to Mr. Dange and expresses hope that, he would do his work as in the past on the improvement of his health.
- (15) This Party congratulates Babu Subhash Chandra Bose on the courage shown by him in not throwing his opinions overboard and in refusing to accept the terms proposed by Government.

[True translation]

Meerut }
17-10-1929. }

S. EZEKIEL,
Marathi Translator.

P. 989-T

KRANTI

13th January 1929.

Page 3.

SEPOYS IN THE ARMY AND WORKERS,
HOW WILL A REVOLUTION BE EFFECTED?

(By S. S. Mirajkar).

Two thousand sepoy are at present participating in a *Satyagraha* at Lahore. These Sepoy fought for Government in the war and won it and sacrificed their lives but the loot secured in the war was divided between Government and the capitalists and the wives and children of those sepoy who sacrificed their lives and those sepoy themselves are dying of starvation to-day. It is not only that the sepoy of India are going from place to place in a state of starvation but the soldiers all over the world and the workers are tasting the bitter fruit of the aftermath of the war. While the Imperial Governments and the capitalists of the world bring about

wars with a view to increasing their profits and spreading their commercial strength and make the soldiers and workers in one country fight with their comrades in another country and thus strengthen their utility and oppressive power.

Those sepoys who are resorting to *Satyagraha* at Lahore have fallen (a prey) to the conspiracy of this capitalism and it is a matter for sorrow that the intoxication of the opium of capitalism has secured so much influence over them that they are continuing to utter the *mantra* that their movement is for livelihood alone and that it is not a political movement.

I would say that though the sepoys of Lahore have organised this movement to solve the question of their livelihood still it is a political movement for as they do not possess political power they have no authority. Had they such a power, the sepoys who are starving in Lahore without means of livelihood (lit: food and water) would not have had to come on foot from place to place—throughout the province of the Punjab and the question of their livelihood would have been solved in a satisfactory manner. Therefore, political agitation, that is to say, struggle with Government, is the necessary corollary to the question of the livelihood of the workers or the movement of the sepoys for (securing) livelihood. Those who say that the movement of the workers should not be (of a) political (nature) must either be imbecils or the underlings of the capitalists who try to see that it does not become revolutionary. It must be said that workers and sepoys who declare that their movement is not of a political nature but is confined to the question of livelihood, are under the strong influence of the opium of Capitalists and are prattling anything they like.

The sepoys of Lahore should realise this. They should co-operate with the revolutionary labouring classes and give a revolutionary blow to and displace in the first instance the capitalism that has kept political power into its own hands and turned the workers and sepoys as a class into slaves. As soon as this is accomplished the workers and sepoys as a class should not rest content but should proceed in to take up all power into their own hands. To establish such power some preliminary preparation is necessary and the Indian peasants and workers as a class should immediately set about making that preparation.

The workers and sepoys should deeply consider what would happen if a common cause is made between a lakh and a half of the mill workers of Bombay and two thousand armed sepoys of Lahore

who are unemployed and in distress but who are versed in the art of fighting.

[True translation]

Meerut

S. EZEKIEL,

17-10-1929.

Marathi Translator.

P. 989-T.

KRANTI.

3rd. March 1929.

Page 2.

What is the necessity of a Workers and Peasants Party composed of real workers?

(S. S. MIRAJKAR)

If we cast a cursory glance around us we shall find that a struggle (lit. quarrel) is going on amongst all classes. We shall find the owner class struggling against the workers for safeguarding their own interests. We find a big landlord struggling against a poor peasant. We shall find that the KHOT has opened his mouth wide to swallow the tenant. We shall find that the house owner is sitting thinking over (the question) how to harass the tenant and how to get his rent enhanced. All these examples lead us to say that two classes of people with conflicting interests are always struggling against each other and that one class keeps all authority into its own hands and lords it over (lit. checkmates) the other.

To-day, with the exception of one country on the surface of the world and that country is Russia- all power is vested in the hands of the capitalists and this power is dancing naked everywhere and the capitalists have converted the general public, that is to say, the peasants and workers as a class into their slaves.

Now in what does their power lie? This power lies in political authority. And therefore, we see that the capitalists and the educated classes who depend upon them always obstruct the path to that political authority and do not allow the people opposed to them to enter the arena of this political authority. But as

oppression and poverty gradually begin to increase a little awakening (simultaneously) takes place among the oppressed people and they realise the importance of organisation amongst themselves. A political party of the workers comes into being from the work of such an organisation.

Up to now many political parties came into being in our country but all of them were such as safeguarded the interests of the capitalists class, they never paid any heed to workers and peasants. And if a few men paid heed to them they were actuated by philanthropic motives. Their efforts were turned into this direction with this inner motive that the workers and peasants may not be disposed to become revolutionaries and dig out capitalism root and branch. But the veil of this deception has been completely lifted and the organisation of workers and peasants will not be deceived by the sleights of hand of their enemy.

Just as fire is necessary for baking bread and air, water and food are necessary for life so is it necessary to have a party of real (lit. bona fide) workers for strengthening the organisation of the workers and to bring into the hands of the workers the economic and political power that has been usurped by the capitalists through cunning.

The principle object of such a party is to establish the power of the Workers by uniting the workers, explaining to them the rules of the political science, making them study the revolutionary movements and utilising the new force that is created out of the strength of organisation for the purpose of (bringing about) a revolutionary movement.

For accomplishing this object such a party has to work for years together. In the class struggle between the aforesaid two parties- The oppressors and the oppressed. The workers and peasants party forms a shield to the latter class. The leadership of the workers automatically devolves upon such a party and other unions or associations of the workers cannot come under the leadership of this party. An extraordinary strict discipline must be maintained (lit. created in the political party of the workers, for a party where there is no discipline becomes a haunt of mere camp followers and it can accomplish no work whatsoever.

The goal of workers' Party is very lofty. The workers' and peasants' Party has to utterly destroy (lit. bury) the Capitalism that oppresses the society, and to cross swords with the oppressive Government that has been raised (lit. created) on the theory of capitalism and (thus) to bring to an end the oppression practised by this class. Unless such an end is brought about they will not be able to live (lit. to carry on their affairs) in happiness. There will be no strength (lit no strength will be created) in our bodies

as long as innumerable leeches of the theory of capitalism and Government are sucking the blood of the worker and peasant class. Therefore there is a great necessity of a *bona fide* (lit. unadulterated) strong Workers' and Peasants' Party for attaining our ultimate goal. The Workers should do the following forthwith for strengthening their Party.

(1) Those workers who have not formed themselves into unions should form such unions forthwith under the leadership of The Workers' and Peasants' Party.

(2) All workers should become members of the Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bombay.

(3) Arrangements should be made to introduce the policy of the Workers' and Peasants' Party into those Associations of workers who have not adopted it.

(4) Intelligent workers when they go to their native places should give to the peasants of their village full information about their Party and they should spread to their villages the agitation (going on) in the city.

P. 989-T.

KRANTI

17th. MARCH 1929.

Page 3.

THE

A. B. C. of Communism.

4.

(Continued from the last issue)

Question—What were the further effects of Imperialism ?

Answer—Imperialism is the revised and enlarged edition of Capitalism. In the reign of Capitalism keen competition used to prevail among various factory owners and big factory owners used to sell their products cheap and cause serious loss to the small factory owners and swallow them up. In the age of Imperialism such a competition ceases to exist. Factory owners of one country

manufacturing a certain kind of goods come together and form themselves into an association and fix the selling price by an agreement and so the competition among the factory owners of one country ceases (to exist). Such industrial associations have been formed everywhere. Such associations go by the name of trusts. To-day in important capitalistic nations the views of capital industries have been centralised in the hands of such Trusts. Big factory owners of each of the industries are included in such Trusts. These Trusts get the monopoly of those industries. The factory owners of the Trusts find it easy on the strength of their organisation to secure the raw material needed for the industry as also to sell the finished products and to remove difficulties (in their way). The Capitalists can effect wholesale cuts in the wages of workers employed in their respective industries on the strength of such an organisation. It is on this account that in the age of Imperialism the struggle between the workers and capitalists gets keener (lit. more ignited) and very often assumes the form of a general strike. The general strike soon assumes a political aspect and the working classes learn to organise their strength against the members of the Trust and the Government that stands behind them.

The third distinguishing feature of Imperialism, as has been already told, consists in the Capitalistic nations taking possession of backward countries and monopolising the trade there. In order to increase the trade they construct railways and docks in the country. Then merchants in that dependent country get rich and themselves purchase machinery and begin to establish factories. When this begins to happen the capitalistic nation in power gives up selling goods manufactured in and imported from foreign lands and begin to establish factories in that country out of its own capital. In this way when factories begin to be established in a backward dependent country (as for example India), the working class comes into being (lit. rises). This working class being new and inexperienced it is very much harassed (lit. squeezed) and the wealth derived on the strength of this harassment goes to the imperialistic Government. But this does not mean that a share of this wealth goes to the workers in that paramount nation. Nay, on the contrary the capitalists of the Imperialistic nations are disposed to effect cuts in the wages of their employees and to reduce their number on the strength of the low wages prevailing in the dependent nations. Since all the strings of the trade of the dependent country are centred in the hands of the Imperial Government alone the harassment of not only the workers, but also of the peasants is carried to such lengths that the movement for the national revolution in such countries gathers strength.

Thus with the growth of Imperialism three evils detrimental to it also take rise with it. In short the evils are these :-

(1) A keen competition arises among mighty capitalistic nations for securing customers for the finished products and for the purchase of the raw products in a cheap manner. This Competition is carried to excess and results in (lit. assumes the form of) a great war.

(2) In order to face (this) competition on a large scale Trusts are formed in the capitalistic nations for putting an end to internal competition and thus the struggle between the workers and capitalists of that country assumes a more serious aspect.

(3) The harassment of the Workers and Peasants of the dependent country in the possession of the Imperialistic Government (lit. Imperialism) is carried to such an excess that the movement for national revolution gains strength there.

The organised working class takes advantage of these three evils and effects a world revolution and can (thus) subvert Imperialism.

Question 15—What is the object of the revolutions taking place in dependent countries?

Answer—The working and peasant class can bring about the end of their harassment by effecting a national revolution. The position of the Workers and Peasants class will not improve by capitulation and establishing friendly relations with Imperialism, nor can their servitude come to an end (there by). It is on the strength of revolution alone that the following changes can be effected. These are the changes :—

(1) To defeat the power in the Empire:—(This means) the end of the rule of the baton of the Police, Army (and) officers maintained on the wealth derived from the squeezing (out) of the working class.

(2) The confiscation of all the concerns such as banks, railways, telephones, factories and concerns worked by foreign capital... This means that the profit earned by the concerns worked by foreign capital denotes that the wealth produced by the indigenous workers goes to foreign countries and the country gets more and more poverty stricken and there is no more legitimate growth of industries in that country. Therefore, all these concerns should be confiscated and taken into possession by the National Government, that is to-day the Government of Workers and Peasants. When this is done the wealth produced by the workers remains in the country and can be utilised towards effecting improvements in the condition of the workers and the establishment (lit. creating) of new industries (and) the manufacture of iron implements and manures needed by the peasants are produced in the

country and agriculture is promoted (thereby). And when the ownership of railways, factories and mines is centralised into the hands of one body, the difficulties in the matter of transportation of goods are removed and the progress of industries can be stimulated still further.

(3) The establishment of the representative body of the workers (and) peasants.

(4) To fix hours of work at 8 hours (per day), to effect increase in wages and to give help to un-employed workers etc.

(5) To confiscate lands of the big landlords (Zamindars) (and) to give the land to peasants who cultivate it themselves.

(6) To cancel all Government taxes and assessments and to fix an income-tax on a graduated increasing scale.

(7) To keep in touch with the Workers movement in the world and to co-operate with them.

Question 16—What benefit would the workers in the capitalistic countries (like England, France, Germany, America) derive from the success of national revolutions in dependent countries (like India, Egypt, China, etc.) and the establishment of the government of workers and peasants?

Answer—When the workers in the dependent countries relieve their countries from the bonds of Imperialism the (very) foundation of Imperialism is shaken. Capital invested in foreign countries is lost, and the interest thereon ceases to be received. The monopoly of trade slips from (their) hands. The workers in those countries can easily attack the governments of such capitalistic countries that have thus been weakened and, can defeat them and establish their own sway over them. It will thus be seen that national revolution in dependent countries conduce to the benefit of the workers in capitalistic countries and therefore such revolutions commend the support of the workers of all capitalistic countries.

Meerut }
17-10 1929 }

[True Translation]

S. Ezekiel.

.....Marathi Translator.

P. 1002-T.

COMMUNIST WORKER.

1. The present-day worker that is to say the Proletariat—its peculiarities and origin.

2. The capitalist that is to say the bourgeois—their origin the secret of the profits.

The origin of the capitalism and its share—industrial revolution—factories run by machinery the system of collective production only the ownership in not collective but monopolist.

3. Matter of Destiny of—“differences must exist, what is written in one’s destiny etc.” The principle of evolution of the Communists; human society its evolution; evolution of the means of livelihood—the the difference in the mutual relations of owners and workers in various professions on account of revolution—The slavery of tenants (peasants) the divine right of Kings and princes to plunder—King is the incarnation of God. The origin and end of priest craft—The cooperation of monarchy and priest craft—The commercial age—The greatness of wealth—The revolution in Europe—end of monarchy—monarchy is completely destroyed. The end of the slavery of peasants (tenants) - The reign of Capitalism—Government means an institution for looting the fruits of the labours of the workers, peasants and other poor classes on the strength of the firmness and military prowess of the governing class.

How in the civilized nations (excepting Russia) capitalism and government are one and the same.

(1) The wealth of the nation (food, clothing, machinery, railways) is the fruit of the labour of the workers.

(2) Only that portion of this wealth that is necessary for the bare existence of the workers and peasants remains with them and the rest goes to the Capitalists.

(3) A portion of this wealth comes to Government in the form of income-tax, moreover money goes to Government in an indirect and direct manner in the form of salt-tax, excise duty, land revenue assessment.

(4) What use does Government make of this wealth in the maintenance of the Police, Army and the Government offices for the protection of Capitalists, the (big) land-lords and the protection of their proprietary rights. Their justice is one sided. Therefore the Workers call the rule of the Government the rule of the Capitalism, the rule of the bourgeois and consider that just as monarchy perished and the slavery of the peasants came to an end and goods

were produced with the help of machinery on a collective bases (in the same manner) the next step capitalism is proletariat revolution after this revolution comes to an end and the ownership of the means of production becomes of a collective nature the wealth produced by workers and peasants comes into the hands their representatives and is utilised (for the following purposes), (1) For improving the condition of the workers and peasants. (2) For improving the implements of the work and agriculture. (3) For the protection of the workers and their rights. (4) For effecting an all round progress of the workers.

This revolution is effected by the workers why is this revolution brought about under the leadership of the proletariat? What is the peculiar revolutionary character of the proletariat.

4. What should the proletariat do while it is under the protection of Capitalism. What kind of organisation is brought about by the proletariat to take the lead in the revolution unions of workers history—organisation trade by trade its causes chief demands (1) eight hours work (2) prohibition of child labour (3) wages on the minimum bases of living expenditure (4) state help to the unemployed, old age pension, maternity benefit (and) free medical help (5) prohibition of fines (6) amendment in the Labour Compensation Act, responsibility of owners (7) There should be a stock of modern machinery in factories, railways, mines for saving workers from accidents. (8) There should be an end to the system of jobbery.

“The object of the workers ‘Union is not to bring about amicable relations between workers and owners or to effect a treaty between them but to struggle against them for the improvement of the condition of the workers (and) to afford them conveniences.’

“General strike or general *Hartal* of the workers is a mighty weapons in the hands of the workers and the agitation of the workers should not hesitate to make use of them”

The communist workers and the movement for the formation of the Unions of workers. The-Trade Union movement reforms versus co-operative shops “Co-operative credit Society.

Communist Worker.

(1) The proletariat and capitalists, their peculiarities the origin of profits, the origin and growth of capitalism The peculiarities of the production of goods under capitalism the mutual relation between the workers and capitalists in the present day society.

(2) Is it possible to effect any changes in these matters. *Karma*: Destiny; Fate; The lessons of history-the history of human society-the growth of the means of production-The class war-The

end of the slavery of peasants and monarchy—The age of commerce—the greatness of wealth—The French revolution—its echo throughout Europe— The rise of Capitalism.

(3) How are government and Capitalism one and the same? The end of capitalism means the subversion of capitalist government.

(4) The work of the proletariat revolution leadership of the proletariat its peculiarity in respect of revolution.

(5) The preliminary preparation of the proletariat revolution—in what manner the workers should organise (themselves) and fight while under the protection of capitalism—The means of increasing the power of organisation and strength.

(6) The proletariat should show the future path to the peasants and bring them also under the Red Flag—The demands of the peasants— The growing misery of the peasants in the regime of capitalism. The means of Government—the means of the Communists—Unions of peasants.

(7) Situation prior to the raising of the standard of rebellion—The example of Russian revolution—revolts in Germany and other countries and why they failed—revolt in China.

(8) After the revolt—The work of the Labour Party
[True Translation]

Meerut }
2-11-1929 }

S. Ezekiel
Marathi Translator.

P. 1016-T.

(Page 1 has already been translated under Ext. No:P-928).

(Page 2 is torn on one side and so translation of headings and portions marked is given).

Mill workers be on your guard.

Advantage is being taken of your ignorance and your confidence is being abused.

Mr. Mayaker has gone over to the side of Government and the owners and wants to push you into a pit.

Brother workmen,

Mr. Mayakar has become very much annoyed with us for the efforts we have made to put the workers on their guard by publishing a handbill on behalf of the Workers & Peasants' Party to expose all the secrets of the owners. The people became alert on our placing all facts openly before them and Mr. Mayakar's secret plot (lit. game) began to be defeated. He therefore, resorted to intrigues and taking advantage of the position of (being) the Secretary of the Gernikamgar Maha Mandal he has made efforts to mislead the people and to create a split among them. He has (moreover) written an irresponsible (and) mischievous article in the *Kamkari* paper and has abused us to his hearts content. But people should not be deceived by it. But they should give consideration to the intrigues of the owners that have been exposed by our handbill. If we have written anything that is false in it Mr. Mayaker should prove it to be so. But since all the facts we have given are true, Mr. Mayaker could not refute them and he has not proved a single contention of that handbill to be false. Since he cannot prove the handbill to be false he indulges in abusing us and is trying to create misunderstanding about us. Not only that, but he has gone over to the side of Government and it seems that he is resorting to intrigues to bring a case of treason against all the men belonging to our party by being in league with the C. I. D. And in that case Mr. Mayaker is going to give evidence on behalf of Government and the article in the *Kamkari* forms a (mere) preparation to it. Therefore we are driven to place his real character before the people and put a stop to their confidence being abused.

Members of the Workers and Peasants' Party make efforts in the interests of the poor people. This Party fights against the efforts that are being made by the owners and their supporters, the Government, to deprive the poor of their bread and takes sides with the poor people and makes efforts to organise the workers and peasants and tries to create in the workers a power to face the

owners and Government. Government are therefore annoyed with us and they are making efforts to consign us to imprisonment. Only recently, as people know, attempt was made to institute a case against Spratt and Mirajkar. Government and the owners do not want to grow wise on seeing the organisation of the people. And our party is doing that work and is struggling for the (question of) the peoples' livelihood. The men belonging to our Party are striving for the organisation of all (kinds of) workers. Our men are working in several institutions (lit. places) like Railway Workers' Union, Municipal Workers' Union, Workers' Union, Dock Workers' Union, Peasants' Union etc.- Moreover Mr. Joglekar has been working among the mill workers and the President of the Maha-mandal is also our member. Mr. Mayaker was present at the meeting at which our Party was established and his signature is found among those that were present thereat. And Mr. Mayaker is aware that during the strike of the Apollo mill a small sum of Rs. 10 or 12 was sent to the Mahamandal from us as a help to the strikers. In these circumstances there is a wicked plot behind the ignorance that Mr. Mayaker is feigning and the attempt he is making to mislead the people.

* * * *
* * * *

We have exposed all the intrigues of the owners in our handbill. People should pay careful attention to it. If people follow the harmful advice given by Mayaker prompted by jealousy they will break their own legs with their own hands. From what we understand we see the destruction of all if the mill workers do not become alert before the knife is actually placed on their necks.

In conclusion all people are humbly (lit. with folded hands) requested not to be deceived by the wrong and treacherous advice of Mayaker. In order that he may have a free scope (lit. have as a free pasture) in the Gernikamgar Mahamandal Mr. Mayaker is prepared to send to prison Mr. Joglekar and other members of the Workers and Peasants' Party who are fighting with the owners and Government at the risk of their lives so that workers in mills, Railways, Docks, tramways Municipalities may get a (decent) living. Mr. Mayaker in his *Kamkari* has called us all agents of the Bolsheviks that is to say traitors to Governments and has brought false allegations against us that we incite people to riots and disturbances. This act of being a traitor (on the part of Mr. Mayaker) may lead to (criminal) cases being possibly instituted against us. Even if such an occasion arises our people are not afraid (and) that has been shown by Mr. Joglekar by taking part in the picketing during the strike of the Apollo mill. Do not be misled by the attempt made by Mayaker to frighten you by the false bogey of the funds received from Russia. For there is no offence

in that. The Mahamañdal itself accepted about three or four thousand rupees from Mr. Joshi during the recent strike in the matter of twenty per cent (cut in wages) and has distributed grain to you. Mr. Mayaker in order to gain selfish ends is telling you whatever he likes and is taking advantage of your ignorance. It is his design to create a split among you. It is even rumoured that he is making efforts to supply men to the Spring mill. In order to gain his selfish ends and to do harm to the whole country he has shamelessly come forward to give false evidence before Government. He relies on your ignorance. Therefore do not be deceived by these false representations, and you will be able to hold your own (ground) if all of you continue together and join the strike. You will be completely ruined if you do not grow wise and stand on your own legs. Therefore, make up your mind (to do anything you like) after giving a consideration to the intrigues of the owners disclosed in the last handbill. It is clear to us from outside circumstances (lit policy or attitude) that you will gain a speedy and sure success if you resort to a general strike. You are therefore requested to give up lethargy (lit folly) and make bold to resort to a general strike.

Yours' humbly,
 Workers and Peasants' Party,
 Bombay.

Though this handbill is issued on behalf of the Committee the responsibility for the statements made therein rests upon me.

K. N. Joglekar.

[True Translation].

Meerut. }
 17-10-29. }

S. Ezekiel
 Marathi Translator.

P. 1019-T

This is a Panchnama and the translation accompanying it has been verified.

Meerut }
 6-11-1929 }

S. Ezekiel
 Marathi Translator.

P. 1107-T.

This Exhibit contains three issues of the *Kranti* newspaper dated 23rd Feb. 1929, 3rd March 1929, and 9th March 1929. Of these the issues dated the 3rd March 1929 has been dealt with under Exhibit No. P. 989.

Meerut

26-10-1929

}

S. Ezekiel

Marathi Translator.

P. 1261-T Rejected

This Exhibit contains a few entries in Marathi but they are not translated as they are not considered of any importance.

Meerut

2-11-1929

}

S. Ezekiel

Marathi Translator

P. 1263-T. Rejected

This Exhibit contains three issues of the *Kranti* newspaper dated 24th Feb. 1929, 17th Feb. 1929, and 9th March 1929 as also pages 2 and 3 of an issue of the 10th March 1929.

Articles in these issues have not been dealt with.

Meerut

26-10-29

}

S. Ezekiel

Marathi Translator

P. 1351-T.

This Exhibit contains no Marathi entry of importance and so nothing has been translated therefrom.

Meerut }
2-11-1929 }

S. Ezekiel
Marathi Translator

P. 1353 T.

This exhibit contains thirty-two membership applications of the Workers & Peasants' Party.

Form No. *Seven* contains the address of R. S. Nimbkar which is given as...opposite Prarthana (Samaj).

Form No. *Ten* is dated 13-1-1929 and bears the signature of Kamlakar Ramchandra Sumant in the Modi script and contains the following particulars of the applicant:-

Full name-Kamlakar Ramachandra Sumant.

Address- Pimpalkhunte, Taluka Madhe, Dist. Sholapur.

Occupation-Propagandist and Peasant.

Form No. *Eleven* is dated 13th. Jan. 1929 and bears the signature of Gangadhar Adhikari and contains the following particulars of the applicant:-

Full name:- Gangadhar Adhikari.

Address-Bhivrao Wadi, Block No. 3 Thakurdwar, Bombay.

Occupation-Physico-chemist.

Form No. *Thirteen* is dated 18-11-1928 and is signed by Khanderao

A. Desai and bears the following particulars:-

Full name- Khanderao Atmaram Desai.

Address-758, Bhawani Shankar Road, Dadar.

Occupation-Fancy Jobber, Cloth Department.

Form No. *Fifteen* bears the signature of Govind Ramchandra kale.

From No. *Sixteen* bears the signature of Bapu Ramchandra Shinde, in the Modi script.

Form No. *Twenty* bears the signature of Arjun Atmaram Alve.

Meerut }
2-11-1929 }

S. Ezekiel
Marathi Translator

P 1073 (10)-T.
(I)

A request to our Hindustani brethren.

DO YOU NOT WANT TO FIGHT FOR LESS WORK AND
MORE WAGES ?

Listen to what the Committee demands for you.

Some circumstance have arisen to address this handbill specially to our *Hindustani* brethren. The circumstances are these that a majority of Hindustani brethren working in the Bombay mills keep no connection with the Strike Committee during the days of strike. The reasons (for their keeping no connection with the Committee) is this that these our brethren have to bear greater sufferings than other people.

In these circumstances we have come to hear that some people have gone to these Hindustani brethren and whisper to them (thus): 'The Strike Committee does nothing for you, why then do you resort to strike? We do not know whether what we have heard is true or false but we know this much that some agents are trying to spread misunderstanding among you against the Committee and against the strike to induce you to resume work.

In this respect the Committee would like to say that (it knows that) our Hindustani brethren are mainly employed in *trason*, *bhuliar rui* (cotton) and such other departments where they have to open machines and fill them. We are aware that there are no worse departments than these and the waste cotton department. Similar is the work of *bhattiwalla*. In all these occupations one

is to suffer great hardships while the wages received are very low. All these occupations are very troublesome and dirty and that is why our brethren from this part of the country very rarely accept employment in them. The Strike Committee, though it has not in its midst any Hindustani brother who could adequately describe your sufferings and difficulties still it has made inquiries into them and has made these demands on your behalf.

One man should not be given two machines for being worked.

And if any man or workers accepts to work two machines then his wages should be double of what they are at present.

Even if one man is given one machine as in the past his wages should be increased by Rs. 4.

You will find that the Strike Committee has asked for some increase in the wages of workers in each of the departments you are working in the letter it has sent suggesting changes in the new system of work the owners have published.

The Committee has got it printed, on the other hand, the owners have increased work and have not enhanced the wages.

The Committee submits to you this (fact) that it represents all the workers and makes a demand for the increase in wages of all the workers. The Committee insists upon (lit. makes a *satyagraha*) the owners to cancel the cut they propose to make in the wages.

From this you will understand that you should continue to be with us as heretofore so long as you are not asked to put an end to the strike and thus help us to gain success in the strike. In this lies your benefit and that of every one.

22. 9. 29

SECRETARY,

STRIKE COMMITTEE.

THE ABOVE HANDBILL IS IN HINDUSTANI WRITTEN
IN MARATHI CHARACTERS

(II)

Indulge in the cries of victory to the Workers' Raj in Bhajans in the market. in the chawls, in the camps of the enemy, around the mills and everywhere.

Government's letter to the Strike Committee. Suggestion for holding another conference of the owners and workers for effecting a compromise.

THE REPLY OF THE COMMITTEE.

After seeing the determination of the workers in securing

their demands Government have become desirous of making efforts for effecting a compromise. When the workers defeated the intentions of the enemies of the workers to create splits in mills by inducing the workers to accept reduction in wages to the extent of 20 to 30 per cent and thus acknowledge defeat, Government became desirous of becoming mediators. The Strike Committee received a letter from Government on the 18th that Government were sorry to see that no conclusion was arrived at the conference of both the parties which Government had convened for arriving at a compromise and that Government were prepared to call another conference for such a compromise if both the parties were willing and that the Strike Committee should communicate its opinion (in the matter).

Reply to the Strike Committee.

The Strike Committee has sent the following reply:—

The strike Committee of the workers is ready at any time for a compromise and our Committee has no objection if another conference is called for a compromise. But before calling such a conference Government should discuss with both the parties the conditions and principles on which the compromise is to be effected and then call the conference of both the parties for getting the conditions accepted on which both the parties agree. If this is not done the owners will turn their faces at a critical moment and the workers will be needlessly blamed. If Government are prepared to discuss the terms of the compromise the Strike Committee will have no objection to speak with the representatives of Government.

BROTHER WORKERS.

It is your duty always to explain to the workers what efforts are being made to remove their sufferings and to secure their welfare by getting their demands accepted. This (lit. the above) handbill is published so that all (workers) may know what is the present position of the army of the workers, to what stage we have reach and what distance we have traversed.

Thus far we have come stage by stage. Now we must be wide awake to bury treachery or else a little laxness on the part of brave workmen in their vigilance and in obstructing the enemy will (remove) the cup (lit. morsel) that has come to their lips (In the original the sentence is not complete) and (great) harm will be done to us.

THEREFORE.

Keep a strict eye on all the mills and indulge in the cries

of victory to the workers in Bhajans, in the chawls, around the mills and everywhere.

Secretary,
Strike Committee.

[True Translation].

Meerut }
5-11-1929.

S. Ezekiel,
Marathi Translator.

P. 1373 (17)-T.

WORKERS—TAKE A VOW TO FIGHT.

Brother workers,

The life of most of the workers is full of pain and sufferings, (even though) they may be employed in any factory or in any industry. When one worker meets another, from the time of salutation to the time of separation (lit. till the end) each tells his tale of woe to the other. Each one asks the other as to how he would be able to stand the strain of the circumstances prevailing at the time and as to how long the situation would last and then each one of them goes his own way in disappointment after having a sigh.

What do you find (lit. see) on considering the (position of the) city or the country you live in? (You find) that those who harass you and are reaping (high) profits are continuing to enjoy life as heretofore but that the workers' (position) is getting depressed. (You find) that the city is getting bigger, big buildings are being erected, motor (cars) are getting abundant, new factories are being opened, but the wages of the workers are being lowered: unemployment is on the increase and expenses are on the increase. The meaning of (all) this is that a continuous struggle is going on between the workers and the owners and that while the owners are getting richer we (the workers) are getting more crushed.

OUR STRUGGLE IS OF SUCH A NATURE.

In every industry its owner and the Government that helps him, the Police, the courts, the newspapers of the owners and able educated men who advocate their cause—all join together in their intention of crushing down workers in every industry.

Owners of mills	versus	Mill workers
Railway officials and Govern- ment.	versus	Railway servants.
Dock owners	versus	Seamen and Dock owners.
Owners of tramways and Motors etc.	versus	Tramway men.
Municipal officers.	versus	Municipal workmen.
House owners	versus	Poor tenants.

What have the workmen done in these struggles? The main weapon of the workers is strike and during the last four months there is not a single place either in Bombay or the whole of India where the workers had not either to resort to strike or make preparations for strike. But in all these (we find that there is no unanimity (or) unity of purpose. Just as the owners in order to crush us take the help of all these such as Government, Police, Courts, Railways, Telegraphs, Cavalry and Motor-(cars) in the same way we in order to fight for our legitimate rights should take the conjoint help of workers of all kinds and belonging to all industries.

For this purpose the demands of all should be put together, the grievances of all should be put together and all should join together in presenting a joint demand on behalf of the working classes to all the owners and after salutation tell them:—

“We the workers in all the industries are (like) one. Each one of us should get such wages as would enable him to secure lodgings, clothing and food. We shall not work for more than eight hours at the maximum in any industry. We who work the factories and the mills from which you derive profits of lakhs of rupees should have power and a hand in working these factories and in framing laws about ourselves”.

Make up your minds to say this to-day. To-day is the first of May. All the workers of the world are going to make their determination in this respect today. Let us determine in the same way.

And in order to bring that (determination) into practice let us form ourselves into a union, let us be fearless, let us learn the art of strike and let us raise the strength of money and men for this struggle.

The workers are not imbeciles, they are not weak, they are not fools; they may not be able to wield the pen but they can fight, they can speak to the owners (and) they can bring them to their senses.

The worker who can work thousands of iron machines is a tremendous power (in himself). Say: Victory to the working class.

Managing Committee,

Workers and Peasants' Party

Meerut } True translation
4-11-1929 } S. Ezekiel
 } Marathi Translator

P. 1375-T.

This Exhibit contains loose issues of the *Kranti* newspaper of the 20th Jan. 3rd 17th and 24th February 1929, and two files one of which contains issues from the 7th Feb. 1927 to 9th August 1928, and the other from the 14th May 1927 to 9th December 1928.

Of these issues those for the 14th May 21st May, 28th May 18th June 25th June 2nd July, 9th July 16th July, 6th August, 13th August, 20th August, 27th August, 3rd September 20th Sept., 17th Sept., 24th Sept., and 1st Oct., of the year 1927 have been dealt with under this Exhibit. Those for 4th June and 11th June 1927 have been dealt with under Exhibit No. P-989.

MEERUT. { S. EZEKIEL
26.10.1929 { Marathi Translator.

P. 1375-T

KRANTI.

14th May 1927.

PAGE 1.

What should the Congress do?

It should accept the programme of the Workers and Peasants' Party.

An outline of the minimum demands of the General Public in the nation that live by their own labour.

Messrs Keshav Nilkanth Joglekar and Raghunath Shivram Nimbkar representatives of the Workers and Peasants' party have sent the following programme for acceptance of the Nation through the next meeting of the All-India Congress Committee.

The Political movement that is carried on in the country in the name of the Congress is not in accord with the every day life of the general public and so distrust has arisen in the mind of the public about the work of the Congress. 98% of the people who have not secured franchise in accordance with the Reforms Act have become indifferent towards the Congress and so the Congress has grown weak and effate. People who like to pose themselves as leaders have imposed such a programme on the Congress that it might be the monopoly of the Capitalists and their friends and tools a handful of educated classes of the higher castes. As a natural result of this short sightedness a rivalry has arisen among the leaders for self interest and these leaders are making their followers disposed to break each other's heads by inciting them on the score of religious or caste distinctions. In order, therefore, to free the general public from this evil and to relieve them from bondage it is necessary to bring the Congress out of the selfish mire of this handful of people and to set them on such a path as would enable the general public to come out permanently out of the clutches of Capitalism. This Congress therefore resolves that:—

(1) The aim of the Indian National Congress is the attainment of complete national independence from Imperialism (from economic and political bondage) and the establishment of Swaraj based upon universal adult suffrage.

(2) It expresses its faith in civil disobedience (direct action) that is general strike, as the only effective weapon that will ultimately free the people of India from their bondage, but realises that a general awakening will have to be brought so that the people may understand the importance of the movement before the movement of general revolution can be commenced. All efforts must be directed to the attainment, with the least possible delay, of the general awakening and for this purpose the Congress considers it necessary to adopt and work the following programme:

I. 70 per cent of the population which is engaged in agriculture is to be organised into peasants' societies, by district, taluka and village on the lines of village panchyats, based on universal suffrage, aiming to secure control of the economic life of the rural areas.

II. Agricultural co-oprative Banks to be established by the Government for the provision of cheap credit for the peasants, whereby they will be enabled to free themselves from the iron (lit. crocodile) grip of the *savkars* and to purchase modern machinery and other equipments.

III. Limitation by law of there interest (on loans) to 7 per cent. per annum.

IV. Limitation of land (revenue) assessment to 10 per cent of the total produce to be paid to Government.

V. Bringing into cultivation by Government aid of cultivable land that is at present lying fallow.

VI. The industrial working classes to be organised into Trade Unions in order to improve the condition of labour. In order to guarantee a human existence (to them) the following provisions to be made.

(a) Eight hours duty per day. (b) A minimum living wage. (c) Abolition of child labour under the age of eighteen. (d) A scheme for old age, health and unemployment insurance for industrial and clerical workers, similar provision being made for agricultural labourers. (e) Workers' Compensation Act to be put into force. (f) Full freedom for Trade Union Activity (and) provision for good housing accommodation.

VII. Hospitals and Sanitariums to be opened in every town having a population of ten thousand and provision made for free medical help to the masses.

VIII & IX. Free and compulsory education (both) for boys and girls to be enforced in the primary schools and full facilities to be given in secondary schools Provisions to be made to give free technical and vocational training. Special attention to be paid towards giving instruction in the elementary principles of hygiene, sanitation and civics. Support to be given to (the system of) imparting instruction through the medium of the vernacular.

X. Women to enjoy equality of rights with men.

XI. All indirect taxation and also perquisites exacted from the agriculturists on the strength of granted and hereditary rights to be abolished. Land assessment to be reduced to a minimum.

XII. A progressive income tax to be imposed upon all those whose income exceeds Rs. 250 per mensem.

XIII. Full freedom of speech, press and association to be granted (to all).

XIV. Full religious freedom to be granted to all and religion to be considered absolutely an individual concern.

Make use of the reforms.

XV. While distinctly of opinion that the Reforms and the political machinery created there under are unsatisfactory and inadequate this Congress holds that whatever advantages could be secured

from it should be utilised in the interests of the masses.

The Congress (further) holds that the above mentioned (lit, this) programme will ultimately make them independent and therefore all possible efforts should be made to create favourable circumstances for the actual working of the programme. In the initial stages of the above work all legal protection and conditions of direct help will have to be created under the existing political machinery and with this definite purpose alone the Congress and other political bodies will be worked and utilised by the Congressmen whenever and wherever possible. Congressmen will enter the Councils, Local Boards, Municipalities, village organisations and will occupy all positions of advantage and will use them to the fullest extent for the furtherance of the above mentioned programme and bring more and more power into the hands of the people. For this purpose of the utmost democratisation of the whole machinery of Government, Congressmen will make use and exploit all existing laws and statutes and will further try to introduce new statutes by moving Bills resolutions, amendments etc., in furtherance of this cause. They will, however, put up united and constant opposition to all efforts that Government would make to make their hold strong. All possible means will be used to foil Government interests.

INITIAL PREPARATION OF THE STRUGGLE FOR SWARAJ.

XVI. Some stern measures must be adopted to create, as soon as possible, a political opposition that would bring Government to terms and create an awakening among the masses and make them realise their own existence. Then only will Government come to terms and open negotiations for giving the (second) instalment of political reforms.

THE INVINCIBLE WEAPON OF GENERAL STRIKE.

Government have scientific resources at their command in readiness and so Government have become fearless. Therefore, it is necessary to checkmate Government by establishing our control over railways, posts, telegraphs, docks, motor service and other means of transportation. In order to establish such a control it is necessary to establish Unions of the workers, working in those concerns and to take indirect control of those concerns into our hands and then only can these concern stop work and declare a general strike and it is possible to paralyse all the activities of government on the strength of a general strike. Government will be afraid of us and grant us some reforms only if we are prepared to wield this invincible weapon of General strike against Government. All the bodies connected with the

Congress should, therefore, set about organising the workers in every province. The Congress should devote itself to the task of forming Unions of Workers with a view to creating organisation among workers and circumstances favourable for the declaration of a general strike.

[True translation]

Meerut,
17-10-1929:

S. Ezekiel,
Marathi Translator.

P. 1375-T.

KRANTI

14th. May 1927.

Page 4.

NEW POLICY OF RUSSIA.

The Soviet Government is going to participate in the International Economic Conference in order to get an opportunity of placing the model of its own system before the world and to convince the workers of the world that society can not secure happiness without removing class feuds and reorganising society on the Soviet lines. Moreover, it is necessary to co-operate (lit. to have connection) with the present Capitalistic system of Government during the time of transition till the Soviet system spreads every where and is (firmly) established,

[True translation]

Meerut
17-10-1929

S. Ezekiel,
Marathi Translator.

P. 1375-T.

KRANTI.

21st. May 1927.

Page 2.

SLIPPING DOWNWARDS ON THE INCLINED PLANE OF MODERATISM.

Our opinion on some of the resolutions passed at the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee has appeared under the heading "Occasional and Current." It must be said that the resolution of the All-India Congress Committee based on the triple principle of a common electorate, reserved seats in the legislatures and the re-organisation of the provinces on linguistic basis conducive to Hindu—Muslim unity and national unity, must be said to be satisfactory in the present circumstances.

This scheme can not be said to be a great triumph from the view point of the workers and peasants class that forms the bulk of the general public. But even this party welcomes it as an antidote against the tension that prevails among the Muslims and the Hindus of the higher castes.

The A. I. C. Committee though it did not pass any actual resolution for bringing about unity of all the political parties still it showed the goodness of asking for an explanation from the congress men of Madras for their conduct. But this river Ganges of the goodness of the Working Committee may be said to have developed into a flood by passing a few hours thence a resolution to atone for their sins!

It becomes clear from it that (both) Shrinivas Iyengar and Motilal Nehru have made up their minds to work the Councils and its affairs on the lines laid down by the responsive co-operationists by opposing Government as far as practicable (but) in the interests of the nation. It becomes quite clear from this on what lines the work of the Madras Congress would be carried on. This becomes evident from the resolution of Motilal Nehru in the matter of preparing the scheme of Swaraj. Why then did Motilal and his followers become annoyed when the young men said, in these circumstances, that the congress was growing more and more Moderate and that it was thinking of accepting whatever would be granted by the Royal Commission?

In our opinion the attitude shown by the I.A.C. Committee on a resolution of more importance is still more objectionable. While the President passed a numby-pumby resolution moved by

Vallabhbhai Patel in the matter of organising the workers and the workers and the peasants he considered *altra vires* and suppressed a resolution sent by Mr. Joglekar that stated in detail the demands of these (workers and Peasants) classes. If the President were so disposed he would have buried the ghost of constitution and have easily induced the A.I.C.C. to accept the purport of the resolution by some means or other. But if he had shown so much concern for the welfare of the workers and peasants how could he have justified himself as the leader of the higher *Hindu* castes

[True translation]

Meerut

17-10-1929.

S. Ezeziel,

Marathi Translator.

P. 1375-T

KRANTI.

28th. May 1927.

Page 2.

Workers' Unions

AND

Our Party.

Since our Workers' & Peasants' Party has come into existence many (persons) have expressed opinion favourable and unfavourable to it. We have faith in our ideal and since we are firmly convinced that our Party is the real popular party in the world the discouragement we receive stimulates our enthusiasm all the more. Our party has come into existence to bring into practice the object which the so-called Nationalists express merely in words and do nothing beyond that.

This object consists in causing an awakening among the masses in the country and breaking the shackles of bondage on the strength of that awakening. All Nationalists accept this object but they have made no effort (so far) to put it into practice. We have so much faith in that (object) that we will put it into actual practice. How then can we awaken the masses in general

in order to achieve political independence as well as economic independence?

Mr. Gandhi showed us that path but he effected a retreat when the time came to lead the masses along that path. Like Gandhi, Lenin or Sun-Yut-Sen showed that path to the masses and they effected a revolution in their countries by accepting the leadership of the masses. What may be this path of revolution, pray?

The masses consist of (lit. means) peasants & workers. These people always look from a practical point of view. How can they understand (such) high sounding words (like) Swaraj—(or) Independence? They realise only one thing and that is this—shall we or shall we not get sufficient bread (to eat) twice (a day)! Shall we or shall we not get sufficient clothing to cover our bodies? This is their practical point of view. It is therefore no wonder that they should look with indifference towards a hallow movement full of lofty (&) high sounding words (like) 'Independence', 'Equality' (&) 'Justice'. They would naturally ask—What will this Swaraj, Independence or whatever you call it of yours, give us? Will your Swaraj take greater care of me and my family? Shall I get more bread and clothing in this Swaraj? Shall I get better lodgings for protecting myself (against wind and rain)?

And who can say that these questions are wrong? This is all true (lit. truth). The leaders of oppressed people in the world outlined their programme on the above questions. Lenin taught (lit. said) this *mantra* to the peasants and workers of Russia that they should unite to solve this question of bread (&) that they should fight with (lit. butt against) their enemy. The Chinese leader Sun-Yet-Sen gave this advice to the people in China and oppressed people gave the teaching a practical shape and brought it into force. The reason for it was that they were fully convinced that there was only one way of escaping from bondage and solving the question of bread and water. A new life was created in the people of China and Russia.

Mr. Gandhi pointed out this path. He in the first flush asked the people to resort to non-payment of taxes. The peasants thought that Mr. Gandhi was their real leader and that he would free them from oppressive assessment (lit. taxes). And an awakening took place all of a sudden in the country and they showed readiness to obey this order of Mr. Gandhi. But in the mean while while the Mahatama's whim changed, a revised order to pay the taxes was issued and the poor practical people were taken a back; they lost faith in the non-co-operation movement and the new awakening in the nation fizzled out.

Only one thing was gained by that (movement) and it is this that the people accept a practicable programme. A programme for the real welfare of the people must be of a practicable nature,

and it should be closely connected with the every day struggle for existence of the people. It is, therefore, necessary to show such a path to the people as would effect their every day life. The programme of the Workers' & Peasants' Party is based upon this principle. The public, that is to say, the workers & peasants should accept this programme for it fully embraces their everyday struggle for existence.

The working class abounds in the city of Bombay and so we shall consider (the question of) their condition. This does not mean that we consider the question of the peasants as of less importance. That question is of as much importance. Be it so. A rich man or a few rich men can establish their supremacy on the strength of the power of their wealth. But it would be folly if a worker were to say that he would establish his supremacy or a peasant were to say that he would not pay his land assessments. The power of the workers & peasants consists in their numbers so we poor people should be first united. And this fact is being realised by these people. It is a matter for great satisfaction that workers in a city like Bombay are forming themselves into unions and it is our primary duty to strengthen these unions.

Now some one would ask—What is the necessity of this new Workers' & Peasants' Party? What is the connection of this (Party) with the unions of Workers? And it is necessary to reply these (questions). It is but natural that when these Unions are established their objects should be narrow such as decrease in the hours of work of the workers, increase in wages etc. But when these unions become more and more practicable it is realised (i.e. experienced) that it is impossible to do any effective work without possessing political power. Besides, it is possible for some time for Capitalism or the owners to adopt a cunning policy of humility or philanthropy with a view to destroying these unions as these classes are illiterate.

It is therefore essential that there should be an organisation carefully watching over the interests of the workers and peasants so that these Unions may be fostered and strengthened. The Workers' & Peasants' Party constitutes such a real party of the people. It is but natural that the programme of this party should consist of teaching the workers & peasants in what their welfare lies, and in convincing them from time to time that it is only through unity that they can get their object. We would conclude (i.e. take leave for the present) by giving a promise of giving in future an answer to the question as to what would be the practical attitude

of our Party in respect of the Unions of Workers' & Peasants'.

[True Translation].

Meerut.

17-10-1929

} S. Ezekiel;
} Marathi Translator.

P. 1375-T

KRANTI.

28th. May 1927.

PAGE 3.

MAY-DAY CELEBRATION IN HANKOW

3,000 representatives of the official committees of the Quo-ma-tang Party met at Hankow and passed a resolution for continuing the programme of revolution. A monster meeting was held at Hankow on the occasion of the May Day and Su-chiyan, the National Judicial minister, Hena-ye-ja, Tom Mann the representative of British labourers, Earl Browder of America, M. Droit of France, Nishadaw of Japan addressed the audience consisting of one lakh of people.

The National Government purposely prohibited the programme of procession so that there may not arise an occasion for conflicts with foreigners.

True translation

MEERUT

17-10-1929

} S. Ezekiel

} Marathi Translator

P. 1375-T

KRANTI.

28th. May 1927.

PAGE 2.

The awakened workers and peasants of China.

The congress committee has given a grant of Rs. 1,000 for sending an ambulance (corp) to China, well and good, but we are sorry that the original suggestion of Mr. Nimbkar for Rs. 5,000 was defeated for it is necessary for us to pay more attention to the country of China. China is a great country in the world & in particular now our workers and peasants brethren there have shaken themselves (out of their lethargy) and become wide awake and have made up their minds to kick out their indigenous and foreign capitalists, and so China has assumed additional importance.

We have also one day to do what they are doing (lit. the same) and so we should learn how they do it to-day.

True translation

MEERUT

17-10-1929

}

S. Ezekiel

Marathi Translator

P. 1375-T.

KRANTI.

18th. June 1927.

PAGE 1.

PRESS WORKERS' Union.

A meeting of the above Union was held on Sunday the 12th, June in the garden opposite the Town Hall under the presidentship of Mr. Jhagde, vice-president of the Union. Many members were present at the meeting. Mr. Joglekar and others made speeches at the meeting. A resolution was passed to the effect that the Secretary should personally see the owner of the Tatwavivechak Press and try to effect a compromise in the dispute that had arisen between the

workers and the owner of the Press, and the secretary has begun efforts to put an end to the tussel. The number of the membership of the Union is on the increase.

Union of the Dock Workers of the B. I. S. N. Company.

A new Union of the Dock workers of the B. I. S. N. Company has recently been started. People working in various departments have promised to form the Union. There is considerable enthusiasm and unity in the employees of the Company and their intention to get difficulties and grievances removed on that score is commendable.

B. B & C. I. RAILWAY.

The demands of the workers must be granted.

Mr. Vallabhbai Patel President of the B.B. & C.I. Railway Workers' Union has communicated the following demands of the Workmen to the Agent and he insists upon those demands being granted, as they are the minimum demands of the workers:—

- (1) Additional wages for work done on sundays or holidays.
- (2) 75% leave allowance
- (3) The scale of the Goods Drivers should be fixed at 9/-Rs.
- (4) All passenger trains and local (suburban) trains should be included in class A.
- (5) Increase in the pay of Drivers of 3rd. class, Local shunters and fire-men should be granted as shown in schedule A.

The President, Mr. Patel has expressed his condemnation of the threat advanced by the Agent to reduce the men.

Increase in the Membership of the Telegraph Union.

A meeting of the line-men of the Telegraph Depart: was held at Kalyan on the 12th. June, Mr. Surve, Secretary of the Telegraph Union spoke on the advantages of (forming a) Union and his speech had such an effect that 50-60 (new) members were enlisted on the spot. It is a matter for gratification that the strength of Workers' Unions is on the increase day by day.

The demands of Government Peons.

A general meeting of the Government Peons and Menial service was held on the 11th. June at the Maratha Kshtriya Hall under the presidentship of Mr. Jhabwalla. Many members were present and enthusiasm prevailed at the meeting. The President referred in brief to the working of the Union and made an announcement that the confusion created in the midst of the strike had been removed with the help of the Working Committee and the

Honorary Secretary and that the fear of the members had (also) been removed.

Then a consideration was given to the demands of the Government peons in respect of increase in pay, leave, pension, provident fund etc., and a draft of the petition to be submitted to Government was prepared.

In the end Mr. Mistry, Secretary, made a powerful speech on the subject of organisation and the meeting then terminated.

[True translation]

MEERUT
17/10/1929

S. EZEKIEL

Marathi Translator

P. 1375-T.

KRANTI

18th. June 1927.

Page 1.

Appeal to the public on behalf of the Workers' & Peasants' Party.

It is now nearly six months that a political party called the Workers' & Peasants' Party has been established. During these six months the Party has begun its work slowly, steadily and persistently and the programme of the Party is before the public for the last six months. It is now five months that this Party has started the *Kranti*, a weekly (newspaper) with a view to popularising (lit. spreading) the programme and awakening the workers and peasants and the programme of the Party is being proclaimed before the public through the said paper. The workers and peasants alone constitute the general public in the country and so the Party of this distracted and (hard) worked class is the real big National Party. And the real benefit of India, lies in such a party securing public support and in the widening of its field of work. In thinking from this point of view this party alone is entitled to appeal to the public to help it to bring its programme into effect. When a task is undertaken preliminary difficulties are bound to be experienced and according to the (sanskrit) proverb (quoted in the original), it is not improbable (lit. impossible) that this party also should feel financial difficulty. But it must not be forgotten that the public comes

forward to help when a determination is made to carry on the work with perseverance and certainty.

We feel confident that our Party will face all such difficulties and carry on the work which it has undertaken to do and therefore, I on behalf of the said Party, appeal to the public to keep a strict eye on the work of our Party and give it the necessary financial help. If this is done our Party will not fail to effect a revolution in the field of politics. We feel confident that the Indian public will respond to (lit. respect) this appeal. The help to be given may kindly be sent to the following address. Any help great or small will be accepted with thanks. May this be known. This is the request.

Yours' humbly,

Shantaram Savlaram Mirajkar,

Secretary, Workers' & Peasants' Party.

[True Translation].

Meerut. }
17-10-29. }

S. Ezekiel

Matrathi Translator.

P. 1375-T.

KRANTI.

18th June 1927,

Page 2.

WORKERS' UNIONS

AND

OUR PARTY,

(Part II)

The first part of this article written in the issue of the 28th May was concluded with a promise of dealing subsequently with our practical attitude towards Workers' Unions.

We have decided to deal with the question in a more explicit manner. It is only powerful workers' Unions that are capable of waging a war against two such powerful enemies as the owner class

and powerful Political institutions like the courts of law that stand at its back. Unions of tenants have to be formed to carry on a struggle against the oppressive and deceiving associations of land owners and house owners, or co-operative credit societies have to be established to protect ourselves against profiteering money lenders. Such institutions are highly useful to peasants and workers. But there are no such institutions among the workers and peasants, and if there be any they have come into being through the favour of the owners. People working in these institutions are practically (lit, nearly) the agents of the owners (lit, of this class). Institutions established with philanthropic motives are of no use to the workers. Our Party will certainly take part in the institutions mentioned above but since the matter of greatest benefit to the workers is to organise the Workers' Unions our Party will endeavour to make these Unions strong and militant.

Our Party will lay special stress on the following in the matter of (these) Unions:

1. To include everyone in the Workers Unions and to make the Unions cent per cent organised,
2. To make the internal administration of the Unions well-organised and strong.
3. To create brotherly feelings among various Unions and established (friendly) relations among them.
4. To make the members of the Unions literate and to spread such thoughts and ideas in their midst as would lead them to be prepared to take a part in the struggles of the Unions. Now it is necessary to consider these four questions (lit. points) separately.

Let us first consider (the question of) cent per cent membership. To-day strenuous efforts are being made to include all the workers in the Unions. But our Party is determined to carry the efforts further by making use of the only organised power that is at the back of these Unions. Messrs. Jhabwalla, Thengdi, and other members of our Party are doing this work with zest, perseverance and courage, and it is fit and proper that all should help them.

There is no necessity of writing on the urgent necessity of organisation. The largest number of workers are employed in the cloth mills of Bombay. The number of workers employed in them is 150,000. But only 1,500 of these and 1/4 of the Railway workers and 1/3 of the Dock workers are organised. As for the rest only a few men working in the municipal workshops and a few people in the (Printing) presses have formed themselves into organised Unions. All these workers taken together would number several thousands, but those in the Unions are a few hundreds (lit hundred, four

hundred). But thousands of people-Tramway workers, workers *in bidi* works, accountants in shops, clerks in commercial firms are so far not bound together and are unorganised. Only the Unions of Post-men, Government Peons and Telegraph (peons) are in a somewhat satisfactory condition. This is a very bad state (of affairs). Of late the attention of the people is greatly directed towards the formation of Unions, but great efforts are (still) needed in that direction.

But in the present circumstances no more additional work can be done unless those Unions that are already in existence are carefully (well) organised. These Unions should be made more serviceable (or practicable) day by day. Efforts should be made to remove the grievances of members. The funds of the organisation should be carefully fostered, and feelings of love should be created amidst the Unions. When this is effected the workers will realise the importance of the Unions. They will grow rapidly and the working public will grow alive to the interests of its own class. But the workers and those who are striving their utmost for them should not be disappointed. One more thing remains to be done now. So far outsiders rendered help in working these Unions and that was necessary so far. But now we are of the opinion that the administration and working of these Unions should rest in the hands of the workers themselves. It is not implied by this that outsiders should go out of the Unions altogether. The Unions still stand in need of outsiders who are working in a self-less manner. Our Party will adopt this policy and competent men out of the workers will be elected and the management of the Unions will be carried on at their hands.

Therefore a condition has been laid down that every member of our Party must be a member of some Union or other. Moreover, he (lit. they) should do some actual work every day in that Union, according to his abilities.

Our Party will help the individual efforts of its members, spread helpful opinions among the workers through the *Kranti* (news) paper, will realise the importance (lit. responsibility) of educating the working classes and will effect revolution of thought among them by issuing small leaflets (or pamphlets) from time to time. And this the workers and peasants' Party will strive its utmost to secure cent per cent organisation which is the ultimate goal of our Party.

[True translation]

Meerut. }
17-10-1929. }

S. Ezekiel,
Marathi Translator.

P 1375-T.

KRANTI

25TH. JUNE 1927.

Page 3.

THE CHINESE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE.

THE SKILFUL WORK OF THE WORKERS.

(By R. S. Nimbkar.)

The working class is taking increasing interest of late in the movement for national revolution in China. The increasing strength of the working class is responsible for the success of the Comin-Tang Party. When the Fascists gathered strength in October 1924 they were defeated with the help of the workers. In June 1925 Commander Led-chih-bang attacked the Canton Government and at this critical moment the working class rendered (valuable) services for the time being by declaring a strike and obstructing the means of transport.

After the defeat of Bang the Comin Government was established on the 1st. July 1925 by the help of the workers. At that time the workers declared a strike against British Imperialists in Hong-Kong and this strike was of great use in the matter of (determining) the foreign policy.

In order to strengthen the established Government the services of half (trained) soldiers in the army of the Comin Party were dispensed with & the National army was organised. About the same time the workers were granted important rights of voting, freedom of writing etc. They were permitted to keep arms in Congton and Canton. The movement for the organisation of labour gathered great strength on this account.

The strike in Hong-Kong began to rankle in the eyes of Imperialists and so they were disposed to defeat the Comin Government. Two attacks were made on the Government of Canton, (one) under the leadership of Commander Chen-Chih-min and (the other) under the leadership of Pen-pin-ging from the south. The workers at once prepared themselves to give fight. Who was afraid of death? Assurances were openly given every-where that no loot would be indulged in and that no military oppression would be practised on the citizens. The first two promises were fulfilled. (But) the help of the citizens was taken as the means of transport were in a bad state. The workers opened the means of communication for helping the Canton army. They began a movement for creating enthusiasm among the peasants. The invaders were defeated solely with the help of the

workers and the whole of the province of Canton came under the possession of the Comin Government.

The strike in Hong-Kong gave a fright to the Imperialists. Before this 130 (steam) ships used to touch the port but (now) their number was (reduced to) 20. A loss of thirty thousand Maxican dollars began to be caused every day. This benefited the port of Canton and the number of (steam) ships that touched the port every day was increased from 15 to 30.

The workers established themselves firmly in Canton and they rendered excellent services during the invasion of the Canton Government. They did not stop short at working the means of communication and doing propaganda work, but they (also) formed themselves into military troops. They did not content themselves by doing work at Canton or Hong-Kong, but they spread their net throughout China. The Railway workmen in Hankow and Woochang and the Arsavel workers of Hangjang began a terrible strike at Woo-pi-foo. This strike enabled the National Army to take possession of the three above mentioned towns & to establish itself at Woohan. Though the strike at Shanghai was put to an end by high-handed methods it was of great help in breaking the back of Sun-chuan-phan. The same fate befell his heir Changsan-chang: The working classes established their power in an excellent manner with the help of the students, high, caste middle class people and the peasants. They have very nicely humbled the pride of hereditary land-lords in spite of the help of armed forces. The general public has sympathy towards them as they have girded up their loins to fight in the matter of increase in taxation, bribery, increase in the means of communication and commerce and such other matters.

A citizens' organisation has been established at Shanghai consisting of the people of all grades to fight against the Imperialists and their army. The high caste people are helping them though they are aware of the fact that the workers are under the protection of the Communists. All the people joined in the *hartal* (strike) that took place in Canton on the 2nd. March to express condemnation of the atrocities that took place at Shanghai.

At the time when the Unions of workers are helping the National Revolution in China our leaders who have come forward to secure Swaraj are snoring at their ease.

[True Translation].

Meerut }
18-10-1929. }

S. Ezekiel,
Marathi Translator.

P. 1375-T.

kranti.

2nd. July 1927

Page 3.

Present state of Indian Politics.

(' Modern India' by R. Pam. Dutta, publishers: Sunshine publishing House, Bombay; ' The future of Indian politics ' by M. N. Roy, publishers: R. Bishop, London. Both these books can be had at S. Govind & Co Shandhurst Road, Bombay .)

These two small books contain an excellent review of the present condition of India. The writers are members of the International Publicity (Bureau) & are followers of Marx. The writers have made use of the intellectual conceptions of Socialism and their exposition of this subject replete with novelty is (both) interesting and instructive. Mr. Datta's book is written with (lit. has) a more comprehensive view and contains a detailed exposition of the present-day economic and social changes (lit. condition), and their importance for the future. Mr. Roy's book is not so very comprehensive and it deals with nearly political question. However, this does not come in the way of its systematic and scientific treatment. He deals in the first part with the economic aspect of the recent occurrences from the point of view of the mutual relations of British and Indian Capitalists. The second part contains an excellent exposition of politics and the growth of the Swaraj Party dealt with on the lines followed in the first part. He has discussed the question with respect to the direction of continuing the struggle in these (i. e. the present) circumstances in the third part. Though both these books are written from different points of view, it is a matter for consideration that the conclusions arrived at in them agree with each other in all respects.

Mr. Datta at the very outset writes on the question thus:—

“ The Indian National movement has reached such a stage that it has become necessary to dwell anew on its present condition, goal and programme. For several years past it was involved in difficulties and is now at a stand still and a necessity has arisen to-day to continue its progress. It is, therefore, essential to take a review of the position in general ” .

Mr. Datta gives a gist of his opinion in the following words:—
“ The National struggle for independence must assume a new aspect. This struggle against Imperialistic power is of the public in general and it should be so. The National movement merely points the way (lit. is a guide) to the struggle for independence.

This struggle has come into being to put an end to every kind of economic, social, political, communal and religious deception, (or loot) and the more it grows (the more) clear will be the question of the leadership of the working people who earn wealth. The present struggle against Imperialistic Power is (merely) a step in this main struggle. This National movement contains the seed of the ever growing social struggle and its significance can be understood if consideration is given to it from this point of view. Failure to understand this is due to efforts to raise the National movement under the leadership of the ever weakening middle class, (and) efforts to harmonise the orthodox social programme with the progressive (lit. progress loving) [political] movement are at the {root of the present-day weakness of Indian Nationalism .”

In order to support the above statement Mr. Datta has taken a review of the history of the relations between India and Britain and divided the period into three periods. The first (period) comprises of mere loot- the time during which the administration of India was in the hands of the East India Company, and during which the Company made efforts to create confusion instead of order, in order that Indians may be divided amongst themselves. The second period (comprises of commerce; this was the time during which the Indian market was captured and the British factory owners were supplied with raw materials. During this period the whole of British Capitalism turned its attention towards India and British Government took over the administration into its own hands and established order and improved (lit. established) means of communication in order to increase its trade. This period came to an end with the recent war. The third period is one that is now going on when Britain has completed the growth of its trade and has to invest its capital in the colonies and foreign countries. This will result in industrial and commercial progress. The cheating (or looting by deception) of the new Indian working class and making a common cause with the Indian capitalists, “The system of Diarchy forms (lit. is) a political aspect of this new situation.”

In the chapter on “Imperial Power in India and its old foundation” (the author) has dealt with the question of the effects of the British administration in the 19th century and the root (cause of the unbearable conditions we are experiencing at present. He has established with the help of reliable official statistics and reports (how Government) has compelled the increasing population to depend on agriculture, how it has indulged in constant fragmentation of land and reduced it to a minimum, how it has destroyed old arts and industries and has deliberately resorted to an artificial arrangement with a view to making it impossible for an industry, based on scientific principles and which was necessary to solve the whole question in an easy and legitimate way to thrive and how it

has created poverty (lit how poverty is created.) It is an exploded (lit. old) argument of Government that the population (of India) is on the increase owing to the law and order established by the British power. He has refuted this argument by proving that the increase in population in India (lit. here) during the last century was less than that of any other country in Europe except France. He has authoritatively proved that the checks placed on the economic development of this country for the benefit of British capitalists are at the root of all (our) misery.

“The slavery imposed on India as a dependency (lit. colony) to supply the requirements of the industrial capitalists of Britain is at the root of Indian poverty. This old system of Imperialistic power was in vogue till the outbreak of the war. To all outward appearances Britian brought about political unity of India and established law and order therein (but) this was merely an attempt on the part of Britain to pose as exponents of reform in respect of the ‘backward cultural state’ of India before other nations. But in reality it established an (ever) increasing system of loot, stopped the growth of economic progress, created (a state of) starvation and other miseries and as a matter of course the intensity of high-handedness has been on the increase.”

(Incomplete)

Meerut }
18. 10. 1929. }

True translation
S. Ezekiel
Marathi Translator.

P. 1375-T

KRANTI.

2nd July 1927.

Page 1.

REVOLUTION IS THE ONLY WAY.

ADVICE TO WORKERS OF THE WORLD.

In a Russian notification addressed to the workers of the whole world it is stated that the workers should give a reply to the enemies that are making preparations for war by creating a revolution.

Capitalism is making organised efforts to crush the power of the workers. (Therefore), the only remedy that is, in fact, left to the workers is revolution.

[True Translation].

Meerut

S. EZEKIEL.

18-10-1929.

Marathi Translator.

P. 1375-T

KRANTI.

9th July 1927.

Page 1.

COMRADE SHAUKAT USMANI.
APPEAL FOR HELP.

Comrade Shaukat Usmani was sentenced to four years rigorous imprisonment in the famous Cawnpore Conspiracy Case. He is at present in the Dehra-Dun prison and is suffering from consumption. After his release in August (next) he is going to stay at Almorah for a change of air. He is at present in need of Rs. 500. It is, therefore, requested that the admirers of Comrade Usmani and his work should contribute what lies in their power (towards the fund) and send it to Mr. S. V. Ghatge, c/o Dr. Narayanrao, Girgaum, Bombay 4.

Mazaffar Ahmed

Bombay

R. S. Nimbkar

7-7-27.

S. V. Ghatge.

[True Translation].

Meerut

S. EZEKIEL,

18-10-29.

Marathi Translator.

P. 1375-T.

KRANTI.

9th July 1927.

Page 3.

Present state of Indian Politics.

(Concluded from the last issue).

At present industrial progress is advancing in India but since it is due to the advance of British industries the question of India will not at all be solved by it. The industrial progress of the present day is being effected under the guidance of the British. British capital is invested in it, and the share holders of British companies are securing profits. At the same time Britain has completely set aside a small class of landlords, (lit. Zamindars) and directed their co-operation directly towards the capitalists and got them to acknowledge the British power. This principle underlies (the demands for) 'Swaraj within the Empire' (and) 'Colonial status'-such a demand will be gladly conceded (lit. accepted by the British and joyfully accepted by the Indian high-caste people but if any thing of such a kind occurs the real Indian public will derive no benefit from it. But it will tend to the permanence of the co-operation now established between Britain and Indian high-caste people with a view to the cheating of the Indian Public.

Mr. Dutta, therefore, declares that by way of preparation (for the final struggle) the goal of complete independence should be accepted and all connections with the Imperial power should be severed.

It is impossible to give in this brief review in detail the excellent chapters written by Mr. Dutta on "National movement" and the relations between the workers and peasants." But Mr. Dutta has clearly shown in the above chapters (1) The real significance of the leadership of the Swaraj Party and the Congress, (2) Their relations with the capitalists, (3) and how this leads to the failure of their programme. The capitalists of India are afraid of complete independence. But the public can not secure it and therefore, that class of people who have (at present) accepted the leadership of the people will not fail to play them false in the matter of Swaraj. Mr. Dutta then proceeds to deal with the question of the principle needs of the workers, peasants and other similarly situated classes that are being cheated. He has shown that Swaraj would be of no use if these demands cannot be solved thereby and that these demands must occupy a prominent place in the general programme of the movement for real Swaraj. Mr. Dutta has very subtly proved that more attention should be paid

to the formation of the Workers and Peasants' Party 'that' would represent the workers, peasants and high-caste people of the lower grade. Let us now turn to (lit. take in hand) Mr. Roy's book. Mr. Roy has dwelt on the significance of the future struggle in general after showing how the new policy of the British Imperialism is being gradually weakened by the Swaraj Party constituted by the capitalists. He is of opinion that the workers, peasants and educated classes of the lower grade will be able to give a fight to the Imperial Power and the capitalists, big *Zamindars* and 'black beauracracy' will not be able to do the same and so he emphasises the necessity of a representative party uniting all classes that would be able to lay Imperial Power low. Mr. Roy suggests that it would be necessary for the workers and peasants to accept the leadership of this Party, but that they need not be Socialists, and that they should form a Socialist and Communist party of their own with a view to carrying out their independent programme in league with the National movement.

In respect of the workers parties that have so far been established in this country (lit. here) Mr. Roy emphatically declares that attempts to form such parties are designed by British Labour Imperialists so as to give a wrong lead to the real political agitation of the Indian working classes. But on the other hand, as propounded by also Mr. Dutta, the Indian working classes and National agitation should establish close relations with the Redical Section lit. (through) of the British Labour Party for it is only this party that will help the Indian National Independence. Neither Mr. Roy nor Mr. Dutta make any clear statement as to whether this new popular party will come into being in a good state, whether it will spring from the Congress and remain within it or whether it will become independent take the lead (of the country) & absorb the Congress. This is not before us (at present) and will be decided by circumstances arising hereafter. But the work before us is to organise the workers and peasants, to create an awakening among them with a view to (their) carrying on an agitation against the Imperial Power. It is our opinion that every one devoting attention to Indian politics should made it a point to read both these books. No such book has been published for the last few years. Mr. Datta by the comprehensiveness of his arguments and variety, and Mr. Roy by his unerring disquisition on individuals and (their) policy carry us with them for a short while (lit. a moment).

The importance of these books can be realised when (we) take into consideration the fact that both these books deal with minute exposition of the present situation and afford guidance for the feature. The national agitation should be pushed forward on

the lines indicated by them, but if this is not done it would be doomed to failure (lit. it would not fail to be unsuccessful).

[True Translation].

Meerut }
18-10-1929. }

S. Ezekiel,
Marathi Translator.

P. 1375-T

KRANTI.

9th. July 1927.

Page 2.

(2) UNION OF CLERKS.

The appeal addressed by Mr. Mirajkar to the clerks in Bombay has come to us for publication. We can not reproduce it for want of space. There are nearly ten thousand clerks in Bombay, but there is no organisation of any kind in them, and so unemployment among the middle classes is on the increase. Moreover what miseries have the clerks to suffer: They never get leave and there are no such institutions like pension or provident fund for them and this applies particularly to clerks employed in commercial offices, banks and other (private) concerns, and these clerks have to suffer grave hardships in old age. It is, therefore, very necessary for the clerks, as stated in the appeal, to unite and be specially prepared to give a fight to the owners. We hear that there are clerks in certain offices who have their unions but no good purpose would be served by such disunited (lit sprinkling of) unions. It is, therefore, very necessary that there should be a powerful union comprising of all the clerks in Bombay. The present condition of the suffering of the clerks will be changed only when such a union comes to be formed. For what can not be accomplished on the strength of organisation? Therefore, brother clerks arise and set about the task (lit efforts) of organising your power.

Meerut }
18-10-1929 }

True Translation.
S. Ezekiel
Marathi Translator

P. 1375-T.

KRANTI.

16th July 1927.

HOW IS REVOLUTION EFFECTED.

Revolution is never effected by artificial means. The age of revolution begins at the very time when the distracted public gets disgusted with the every day hard mode of living and is prepared to put an end to that mode of living. The hard mode of living raises before them the picture of (lit makes them see) an ugly future. The preliminary signs of revolution begin to appear when the distracted public begins to perceive this future full of darkness. Then the general public which is in majority and which is crushed under the pressure of an irresponsible and powerful minority and which is disgusted with the hard mode of life begins to rouse itself by shaking (its lethargy). This awakening is the firm foundation of the temple of revolution.

Peoples Tribune, Honkow,

[True Translation]

Meerut. }
18-10-1929 }

S. Ezekiel.

Marathi Translator,

P. 1375-T

KRANTI.

6th. August 1927.

Page 1.

Sentence of being hanged (pronounced) upon workers.

The (American) Government has made up its mind to hang Sacco and Vanzetti, (two) Italian workers in America and both of them have been carried to the place of execution. Lakhs of petitions are being sent to Government and the counsel working on behalf of Sacco and Vanzetti are hopeful of their release. If Sacco and Vanzetti are now released in these conditions, who will not say that

it is their second birth?

Meerut }
18-10-1929 }

[True Translation]
S. Ezekiel,
Marathi Translator.

P. 1375-T.

KRANTI.

13th. August 1927.

Page 1.

Prosecution of Malik Kurban.

A person named Fazle Ilahi alias Fazle Ilahi Kurban is being prosecuted at Peshawar and he is charged with (the crime of) waging war against the King. The case is proceeding and Mr. D. Chiman Lal, M. L. C., is defending the case on behalf of the accused.

[True translation]

Meerut }
18-10-1929 }

S. Ezekiel
Marathi Translator

P. 1375-T

KRANTI.

13th. August 1927.

Page 2.

To-day's death postponed till to-morrow!

Sacco and Vanzetti (two) workers in America were to be hanged on the 10th. August. These unfortunate convicts had been taken to the place of execution. But all the workers in America and Europe carried on such a vigorous agitation on their behalf that it has had a temporary effect on the Government of.

Massachusetts and the death sentence has been postponed by ten days and during this time consideration will be given to the petition made on behalf of Sacco and Vanzetti against the finding of the Supreme Court. The attention of the workers of the world is turned towards the decision that will be arrived at in the case. Sacco and Vanzetti are two sturdy workers and they have carried several strikes in America to a successful issue. And it is not at all surprising that they should incur the wrath of a handful but all powerful Capitalists. And with the backing of such a wrath the Government seems to have made a firm resolution to sacrifice these two workers. But if perchance Government changes its mind it will be a great victory of the workers of the world. But if the above resolution (of Government) is not changed, Sacco and Vanzetti will be removed from this world. But there is no doubt that every drop of their blood will be servicable to the movement of the workers and tend to make it stronger. And it is certain that such a strengthened movement will one day lay Capitalism low and burn Imperialism (in the dust).

[True translation]

Meerut. } S. EZEKIEL
 18/10/1929. } Marathi Translator

P. 1375-T
 KRANTI

20th August 1927.

GRAND PROCESSION OF THE STRIKERS.

A grand procession of the strikers of the Apollo-Manchester mills was conducted on Saturday the 14th August. Red flags, buntings and ensigns were seen in the procession in abundance Mr. Mirajkar, Secretary of the Worker and Peasants' Party, was seen with a red flag in his hand walking at the head of the procession in company with (such) leaders of the strike (like) Messrs Mirajekar, Alve, Joglekar and others. Sweet musical instruments accompanied the procession. The procession started from Delisle Road and passed by way of Poibawdi, Parel, Lalbag, Kali Chawki, Queen's Garden and Byeulla and returned to Delise Road, about four o'clock. During the course of the procession Messrs Alve, Mirajkar. Maryekar. Joglekar and others delivered speeches at the corners of roads on the

objects of the procession and the reasons for the strike etc. Mirjekar treated all to tea when the procession reached Kalachowki Road. When the procession reached the place from where it had started a grand meeting was held and the following demands of the strikers were set forth in the form of resolutions:—

(1) Refusal to work on three looms.

(2) Condemnation of the fact that one man in three workers would be thrown out of employment.

(3) Condemnation of reduced wages.

(4) Arrangement (lit system) of getting expenditure during the time of illness.

(5) Full scope and liberty to declare strikers.

(6) There should be no starvation of workers for the convenience of the owners.

Messrs Alve, Mirjekar, Joglekar, Maiyakar and others made speeches on the above demands and the (programme of the) procession came to an end.

True translation

MEERUT

18-10-29

}

S. Ezekiel

Marathi Translator

P. 1375-T.

KRANTI.

20th August 1927.

IT IS A CRIME TO GO TO MOSCOW.

Judgment has been pronounced in the case proceeding against a person called Fazle Ilahi at Peshawar and he has been sentenced to five years rigorous imprisonment. This person was charged with having gone to Moscow and returned from there. who will not say that the punishment of five years for such an offence is like justice in Czardom? Do British Imperialists consider it a crime to go to Moscow? If so, many people in England will be liable for this punish-

ment and several members of Parliament will have to be sentenced to five years imprisonment. But this case goes to prove that justice in India is very strange. Such acts of injustice will be imposed on thousands of young men like Fazle Ilahi so long as wicked Imperialism is not destroyed. Such acts of injustice used to happen every moment during Czardom (in Russia) and it is on this account that Czardom soon came to an end. Cases like the one that has occurred at Peshawar serve as collyrium to the eyes of the young men of India and may this collyrium have its proper effect and may their sight be cleared. We would appeal to them to be to take in hand the movement of the public for the utter destruction of Imperialism.

[True translation]

MEERUT.

S. EZEKIEL

18/10/29.

Marathi Translator.

P. 1375-T.

KRANTI.

27th August 1927.

Page 1.

AT LAST CAPITALISTS BOOK VICTIMS.

WHAT HAD SACCO AND VANZETTI DONE ?

POLICY OF THE BENGAL POLICE.

SIMILARITY OF CAPITALIST CIVILIZATION ALL
THE WORLD OVER.

There were two Italian workers; one was a fishmonger and another a shoe-maker; one of them was Sacco and the other Vanzetti. The fishmonger spent for the expenditure of one month (an amount) that would suffice for a big Lord's dog for a day and the annual expenditure of the other (man) was so much as would cover (the cost of) the gold thread used in the shoe string of a rich man. Such were the two workers. Why is there such an agitation, such a hubub for them all over the world ? They were kept in prison for seven years and then executed and if this injustice exasperated all people, why does not such an agitation take place when more atrocious deeds are done every day ? Only recently in the Kakori case in Northern India ten or twelve young men were kept in jail for two years and then sentenced to 'twenty years' imprisonment (lit. punishment). But no rioting took place in Paris for their sake.

But workers in every country in the world carried on a strong agitation for Sacco and Vanzetti, that is to say, at Paris, Stockholm, Moscow, London and New York. However, the result was what would in the ordinary course be the result of the movement of unarmed helpless people. But the main fact is that an agitation took place and that also all over the world. Why and wherefore did it take place ?

The workers that work in the big factories of America are not all Americans that is white (people). America is full of workers from every country in Europe. Now it would be wrong to call them (nationals) of any particular country. Because just as a Purbhaiya of Baneras, a Punjabi of Lahore has to set aside his manners and customs after beginning work as a labourer in Bombay and he belongs to no province and he becomes a mere labourer; his religion and his language consists in strikes, wages and hours of work; the owner who squeezes him out is his God; the condition of labourers in America is like this. In such a cosmopolitan flood Sacco and Vanzetti accompanied emigrants from Italy to America for the sake of making a living.

They were labourers, they possessed courage, sympathy and dash. People in India are under the impression that the western countries are independent. Yes, there is independence there. But it is class independence and not mass independence. This independence is given to (lit. is possessed by) Capitalists, their servants, their professors, their judges and their President, in fact, it is given to all those who uphold the Capitalistic Civilization. But the labourer is an enemy of Capitalistic civilization. Capital is in danger when the labourer asks for his rights, privileges, more wages, less hours of work, education, organisation etc. What wonder is there if the capitalistic power should be against him ? What wonder is there if the master (lit. owner) should resort to beating and effect retrenchment when clerks ask for more pay and less hours of work ? The state of independence in America is of such a nature. There is independence in America for Mr. Ford, for he possesses the power of millions of money (lit. rupees). There is independence for Mr. Morgan who deals with banks in crores of rupees. There is independence for factory owners, professors and big insurance agents. It is on this account that we say that America is not independent. It is the capitalistic class in America that is independent. The same state prevails in all the European countries. The independence of to-day is not unalloyed. Unalloyed independence is a mere toy (in the hands) of ignorant writers, conductors of newspapers and the capitalistic civilization. In every country and in every age there is and there has been class independence. The Communists are carrying on an agitation all the world over so that this independence may be taken away from a handful of people

(lit. class) and be given to the labourers working day and night and the peasants and poor high-caste people. The labourers of America find it dangerous, may almost impossible, to hold meetings, conduct newspapers, establish unions and to declare strikes. There are no rights of the people under the republican government of America.

Sacco and Vanzetti, two Italian workers, were prominent among those (who took part in) destroying this class independence and in the formation of workers' organisations. The capitalistic government of America used to confiscate books on the rights of workers. It used to burn in post offices pamphlets issued by the organisations of the workers and the Communists.

The Police of Bombay intercept on the way the books and letters addressed to Communists and destroy them, and the capitalistic government of America does the same. The capitalistic civilization dines at the same table (lit. dish) and cuts the throat with the same hand be that hand in England, India, or America. The party of Sacco and Vanzetti tried to work in a constitutional (lit. lawful) manner but the noose of the capitalists on the literature about independence could not be loosened. These Communist workers of America gave up cowardice. They said—"O capitalistic monster you preserve your own class on the strength of the police, post-office, railways, telegraphs, and army and suck our blood. The legal justice means justice to your class. How will you be ready under this justice to take up your sword and cut your own throat (lit. neck)? I shall therefore, disregard your law."

Sacco and Vanzetti began to distribute literature prohibited by "liberty."

On the close of the war in 1920 the capitalistic class was placed in a greatly awkward position as to what to do with the unemployed soldiers and the workers thrown out of employment owing to the closing of ammunition factories. (They thought) that if these people were allowed to go about in this manner and to die of starvation they would destroy the capitalistic power and that they should therefore, be given employment. Orders were issued to capitalistic newspapers, professors and teachers! A cry was raised to send away foreign labourers just as a plot was hatched to drive away Indian labourers from Africa. Mis-guided American Tommies puffed up (with pride) began to beat any foreigner they would come across. It became impossible for labourers to hold meetings and it became dangerous for the wives of labourers to go about alone. Senseless labourers getting high wages, rich clerks like head clerks, sons of rich people enjoying luxuries in capitalistic clubs joined in this hunt enthusiastically. Dacoities began in the distressful condition (prevailing) after the war. In one dacoity one clerk and two watchmen were killed and Rs. 45,000 were looted. A cry was

raised against the negligence of the Police. Had the Police not arrested and hauled up dacoits that were not real (lit. real and unreal) capitalistic power would have been on the point of getting annoyed with them. Just as the police in Bengal had to arrest some people and declare that they were anarchists, the same things happened in America.

The capitalistic machinery is the same everywhere. The Police required Sacco and Vanzetti as Communists. These two workers had brought about very well organised strikes in a very rich, very monstrous and very big mill called 'Plymouth Cordage'. Government had arrested and put into prison all Communist workers who were agitators. Only this shoe-maker and that fish-monger were left out. The police arrested them and held out their hand towards the capitalistic monster-before the purse of independence-saying, look at these murderous decoits; have we or have we not arrested them ?

The dacoits were Italians and these two (persons) were Italians. They possessed a pistol. They possessed revolutionary Communist literature (lit. books). What more proof was needed? The trying judge, Justice Theyer, (who was) an advocate of capitalism and an open hater of Communism had made up his mind beforehand. In his address to the jury the judge left out the nature of the crime and laid emphasis on the point that they were terrible Communists and that they advocated (lit. wanted) the independence of the workers. The jury also was theirs (*i. e.* of the capitalists) and they gave a verdict as was done in the Tilak case and which was (of the nature of) class justice. There are courts of law but these belong to the capitalistic classes. How could these brave Communists get justice there? The bullet that was fired did not fit in the barrel of the pistol found with them. The person who had committed the murder afterwards made a confession but the capitalists wanted to defame the Communists! Sacco and Vanzetti were adjudged as murderous dacoits and were executed (lit. hanged).

Workers have no country and this was exemplified in the agitation that was carried on all over the world for these two Communist workers. We want organisation of workers. Of what use is the religious organisation confined to any (single) country? Just as Capital has no caste, religion or country, and just as Hindu, Muslim, Parsi and European capitalists and land lords are prepared to squeeze out workers (and) peasants irrespective of their castes or creeds, in the same manner there is a necessity of a Communist organisation for doing away with class independence and establishing mass independence in our interest and that of the society for the Communists have no class. Every one will not fail to get the minimum happiness in their regime (lit. social service). The

capitalist power that gives heaps of happiness in the hands of incapable persons for being wasted does not endure. The Communist society enquires into the requirements of every one and takes care of him like a person belonging to the (same) family. The anarchist Communist (government) will not allow such (divergencies) as one man having a mattress, and four servants for the dog at his door, and another man lying homeless in the street; one man a plundering capitalist squandering away on one party (or) banquet ten thousand rupees, and on the other side a clerk labourer keeping his wife and children half-starved on fifty rupees (per month). It will, instead, make ample provision for their requirements through machinery on the principle of ownership of the state (lit. society) and will deal with all by being actuated by family ties and love. It will try to reorganise the society.

Sacco and Vanzetti have fallen victims to capitalism so that these efforts may be successful.

[True Translation].

MEERUT }
18-10-1929: }

S. EZEKIEL
Marathi Translator.

P. 1375-T.

KRANTI

27th August 1927

Page 3 UNORGANISED RAGE.

The capitalists are a (mere) handful (of people) and the poor (and) the afflicted are wide as the ocean. The Capitalists of America murdered two communists who were fighting for the poor (and) the afflicted in spite of the protests (lit saying no-no) of the workers of the world. Where did the capitalists (lit capitalism) get this courage? It is because the capitalists of America or any other country possess the following materials :—

- (1) Organisation of arms.
- (2) Principle means of agitation such as newspapers, books (printing) presses etc.

(3) The tact derived from being habituated to work for years on end.

(4) The folly and selfishness of educated and sensible middle class people and their willingness to be deceived.

We get into a rage but it is unorganised. When our distress becomes unbearable we break one or two factories and that is all. We are desirous of reading but our reading is of the wrong (type). We do not read (lit book to) a single word of the Communist philosophy that points to the art of removing poverty and distress.

In this philosophy and in this agitation there is room for all-clerks, artisens, workers, tenants, labourers, professors, teachers and shop-keepers who maintain a living some how; a way to happiness is pointed out to all. Ask us how it is done.

(True translation.)

Meerut. }
21-10-1929 }

S. Ezekiel

Marathi Translator

P. 1375-T

KRANTI

Page 1.

3rd September 1927

MURDER OF SACCO AND VANZETTI.

MONSTER PUBLIC PROTEST MEETING IN BOMBAY

A public meeting of the citizens of Bombay was held on Saturday the 27th August at 6. 30. P. M. in the Hall of the Marwadi Vyadyalaya under the auspices of the workers and peasants' Party to protest against the legal murder of Sacco and Vanzetti. Mr. Horaiman who was to have taken the chair at the meeting was absent owing to unavoidable causes and so Mr. Jhabwalla was elected to the chair. Mr. Jhabwalla in his introductory speech gave in brief on account of the workers and peasants party and concluded his speech after making a brief reference to Sacco and Vanzetti. After him Mr. Dange in a very critical manner explained who Sacco and Vanzetti were and how the American capitalists satisfied their fondness for meanness by murdering them, and

expounded clearly how the structure of society was based on class interest by giving examples from Indian politics and expressed his protest against the murder of Sacco and Vanzetti in emphatic terms. After his speech Messrs. Nimbkar, Mirajkar and others addressed the meeting and then Mr. Jhabwalla placed the resolution of pretest before the meeting and it was passed.

(True translation.)

Méerut
21-10-1929

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S. Ezekiel
Marathi Translator.

KRANTI

10th September 1927.

Page 2

WAY IS THERE SO MUCH FEAR OF THE COMMUNISTS

Comrade Saklatvalla is a Communist. Some years ago while speaking about the Union Jack he said that that wretched rag was an emblem of slavery. An attack was made on him in Parliament for that statement (lit. sentence) of his. On account of this statement he was not given a passport to go to America. He secured a passport to come to India as the brain (at head) of the British capitalists was in a state of negligence somewhere. Government must have had a faint hope that Saklatvalla would forget his communism on seeing the strength of the doctrine of Mr. Gandhi or it might have been the design of Government that this out and out communist would speak something at random and he would be shown the atmosphere of jail by trapping him in (the clutches) of the law. But nothing of the kind happened. On the contrary he came and went away (from India) and stimulated progress of the communist movement (lit gave the movement the pace of a big art which was going at the pace of a small art). Mr. Saklatvalla had a mind to attend the Madras Congress and he wanted to come again (to India) with a view to taking the Indian political movement out of the whirlpool of the old fashioned politicians (lit those wearing *Pagris* and *Bhetas*) and strengthening it with the enthusiasm and strength of the revolutionary principles of the young generation and rearing on a new foundation the slackening movement for Swaraj. Government had heard murmuring sounds of this. It is but natural that Government should be so disposed that they would tolerate ten Swarajists but could not tolerate this single Communist. On careful consideration and on the recommendation

of the Government of India the passport of Mr. Saklatvalla was cancelled.

The Government is day by day getting very much annoyed with the communists. Government had paid no heed to it till the non-co-operation movement had not reached (the stage of) refusal to pay taxes. There may not be more than twenty-five Communists in Bombay still there have been three police raids upon them and strict orders have been issued to the postal department that they should first take hold of (lit confiscate) any book or letter addressed to any Communist and then give it back at the sweet (lit rosy) will of the Government. The Communists are carrying on their agitation in an open manner in broad day light. Why is then so much strict vigilance exercised over them ?

The reason is this that the roots of the British Government will not last for a day once the people get to understand Communism. The Communists have the backing of all the awakened workers of the world. The religion, race and family, affairs and ideals of Communists all the world over are the same. The British Government gives more trouble to the Communists than to any (lit all) other political party in India because Communism shows new ideals to the poor, the miserable, the unemployed and the starving and shows them the new path of making (an honest) living and new means of happiness. And it is on this account that Mr. Saklatvalla and the Communist books & newspapers are not allowed to come to India. They do not want the (very) name of Communism to be mentioned. It is a matter for regret that even our Indian newspapers and leaders are showering (lit giving) abuses on (lit to) Communism and refusing to publish their articles and (thus) helping this highhanded policy of Government.

[True Translation]

Meerut.

23-10-1929.

} S. Ezekiel;
} Marathi Translator.

P. 1375-T.

KRANTI.

17th September 1927

PAGE 2.

A review of seven years.

The game of hunting down the Communists is not new. The Indian Government has during the last seven years been frightening the Indian public by declaring (lit. proving) Communists to be Bolsheviks and painting Bolsheviks as monsters. The (Kind of) oppression practised on the Communists during the last seven years has never been practised on any new religious cult or movement. There are in India Communists who can be counted on the fingers of the hand but all the strength of a big Imperial power is being utilised in crushing the people belonging to this (political) cult. The history of this oppression commences from 1920. During these seven years upto now, several Communists have been sent to jail. But Indian legislatures, newspapers, leaders and all these have not uttered a single word (of protest) in the matter of this persecuted (political) cult.

In the Congress Khilafat movement of 1920 the Khilafatists had started a new fad that as many Muslims as possible should abandon this dependent country and go to independent Muslim countries that is to say they should resort to *Hjrat*. In this *Hjrat* movement seventy Muslims from the Punjab went to Afghanistan. But on going there they realised that modern political power and social affairs are not administered on (the bases of) religion and that social relations are usually governed (lit tied together) by (quite) different principles.

The harassment of peasants at the hands of the Zamindars, poverty of the poor, prosperity of the rich and such other pieces of injustice prevailed among all the Muslim subjects of the Muslim kingdom of Afghanistan. The religious sentiments of these seventy youths was shocked. The Amir put them into prison. This band of people effected their release some how and proceeded further. The province of Bokhara to the North of Afghanistan was ringing with the movement of the Communist peasants. These brave men reached Russia while fighting with the army that wanted to kill their (workers and peasants') movement. These youths stayed there and made a study of Communist principles on seeing the Communist administration in Russia, the new spirit (prevailing) there, absence of religious differences and the fallen power of the rich.

Education being free they did not feel the necessity of funds

for education. Not only this but the educational institution (where they studied) bore all the expenses of maintaining them during the period of their study. After receiving education and giving a gobye to all the ideas of fanaticism some of these youths came to India with a view to work for Indian Swaraj and the spread of Communism. The Government kept a watch over them, arrested each of them quietly as he came, enacted a farce of (judicial) enquiry in the court of Peshawar and Sentenced them on the charge of (hatching) a secret plot.

There are (at the same time) some men who have not gone to Russia but who have studied Communism in India and who are spreading it here. The big club was raised against them and the Cawnpore (Conspiracy) case was instituted and four men were sentenced (to imprisonment). On account of this case a printing press belonging to this (political) cult was confiscated (lit. sunk) and one weekly English newspaper ceased to exist.

Before the Government stopped after doing this the whirlwind of Comrade Saklatvalla reached India. The slackening movement of Communism was again strengthened by the advent of Saklatvalla. In order to avert this evil the passport of Mr. Saklatvalla was cancelled. The way of Mr. Saklatvalla to India was blocked by the cancellation of the passport. But how are the Communists in India to be dealt with? Government means to steer clear of this difficult situation in a different and farsighted manner. Just as in 1916 Government in order smother (lit kill) the Home Rule movement tried to proscribe all books and lectures on the subject, in the same manner Government mean to play the game of proscribing wholesale books on this (political) cult, newspapers dealing with the subject and speched etc. with a view to completely destroying the Communist cult. All The newspapers and leaders in India are fighting for the freedom of the press, writing and association. Any (political) party may bring this right into effect in its own interest. But since the very foundations of this right are assailed all must show the liberality and courage to give a united front to the danger (lit. oppression) that is facing Communism, whether they like Communism or not, for the sake of freedom of speech and freedom of association.

[True translation]

Meerut. }
23-10-1929. }

S. EZEKIEL.
Marathi Translator.

P. 1375-T.

KRANTI.

17th September 1927.

Page 2.

The Government of India versus Communists.

1921

Two Communists sentenced from 1 to 10 years.

1923

Eight Communists sentenced from 1 to 5 years.

1924

Four Communists sentenced from 4 to 4 years.

1926

1 Communist sentenced to one day.

1927 August

1 Communist sentenced to 5 years.

1927 September

1 Communist sentenced to 2½ years.

On all these cases the Communist Party spent twenty five thousand rupees, while it is estimated that Government must have spent up to five lakhs of rupees belonging to the Indian ryot.

In the post-offices of big cities like Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Lahore, Karachi, etc., "special branches and special clerical staffs" have been maintained in order to search out newspapers and books belonging to the Communist Party. And the 'Central Intelligence Bureau' was established by Government in 1921 for this purpose. The ordinary Criminal Intelligence Department of Government have to take any steps they like against the Communists with the permission of and under instruction from and on the lines laid down by this Bureau. What a great trouble (lit. spread) is being taken in the matter of this small (political) cult doing its work in broad day light: Judge of the burning principles of Communism from the great trouble taken by Government. And then you may if you like make inquiries about it and see (for yourselves) how

straight, simple and happiness giving this religion of the bread is.

Secretary,
Communist Party of India,
Bombay No. 4.

[True translation]

Meerut. }
24-10-1929. }

S. EZEKIEL.
Marathi Translator.

P. 1375-T.

K R A N T I.

24th September 1927.

PAGE 2.

THE COMING GREAT WAR

AND

RUSSIA.

Our patriots and newspapers have fully realised this fact (lit. principle) that there is self interest involved in any thing that is said by English newspapers, institutions of the English, Parliament &c & that there is lack (lit. less) of truth in any thing they say about the interest of the other people. But what wonder is there if in spite of knowing the above principle who have been brought up in the civilisation of a foreign power and who have there by lost their moral independence should place trust knowingly or unknowingly in the reports spread by English newspapers? The English newspapers have been spreading since 1908 views that Russia is going to invade India and our great patriots blindly place trust on it. The year 1927 is coming to a close and there is no trace of that invasion. On the contrary, no one pays any heed to the preparations that are being made for a new great war by the nations that are in league with England. Till the experience of the last great war the people of India were of the opinion that if a war took place out of India any where in the world it had nothing to do with India (lit. what connection has it got with india). But the hollowness of this opinion was proved by the effects made on the life of every individual by the

last great war and the people realised that the country of India is bound down to the wheel of the affairs of the world. But even though (their) eyes have been opened they do not pay attention to the attack that will be made on them in future and have not given up their habit of ruminating over traditions left behind by the past. Such cowardly slave mentality as even if Russia were to invade India and a great war were to begin again how can we disarmed men by any means prevent it still holds its own ground. And there are such national responsible newspapers who would give vent to such prattle as 'to which side would Afghanistan turn if Russia invades India ?

Any one (nation) that has any intention of waging a war makes preparations for the munitions (of war) for that purpose. If we took to the statement of figures in the matter of preparations of war by the nations concerned it will be clear that Russia has no intention to wage war and that it has to maintain a small army simply because other wolves took to it (with an eye of envy).

Preparation of war

	in 1926.	in 1914.
		Pounds.
England	124, 648, 000	180, 400, 000
Japan	161, 440, 000	-----
America	109, 010, 000	-----
France	45, 034, 800	174, 000, 000
Italy	42, 695, 000	-----
Russia	43, 961, 800	197, 000, 000

After the Bolshevik revolution Russia concluded separate treaties and put an end to the practice of dacoity so far as it was concerned. It restored the provinces of Northern Persia to Persia and stopped the loot practised in Northern China by the Czar. The Bolsheviks gave up their portion of Poland which was wounded and partitioned by the nations of central Europe. And it safeguarded the interests of its poor subjects from the attacks of foreign and indigent looter by repudiating the loans taken by the Czar from the European nations for cutting each other throats and refusing to saddle the subjects with them. Will Russia that has reduced its military expenditure from 94 to 43 millions and that has restored countries belonging to other nations to them because it does not want war, invade India to take possession of it from the hands of England that has swallowed it and that has raised its (military expenditure) from 80 to 124 (millions) ? And with whose help will it come ? (Will it come) with the help of such a small (lit. spanful) country

that fights with the arms supplied by England riding on a few (lit. five) mules? Who can conceive of such a foolish notion except our newspapers?

[True translation]

MEERUT }
24-10-1929 }

S. Ezekiel
Marathi Translator.

SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY'S
BRANCH LIBRARY
—BOMBAY

P. 1375-T.

KRANTI

1st October 1927.

SPARKS THAT HAVE FLOWN ABOUT.

1. A dacoit generally plunders rich people. But Government impoverishes the poor and lends a helping hand to the rich that gives it aid in this work of theirs. A dacoit does his work by putting his life in danger but Government does nothing of that sort and all its work is raised on falsehood and deception. A dacoit does not practice high-hardness on any one to force him to join his gang but Government increases its army by the use of threats high-hardness. A dacoit does not intentionally pollute any one but Government pollutes all from young to old harrassing them with the allurements of the spread of false religion and false patriotism with a view to gaining their sinful ends.

Meerut }
26-10-1929 }

(True translation)
S. Ezekiel
Marathi Translator

P. 1440-T.

This Exhibit contains eighteen issues of the Kranti dated the 23rd February 1929. It has not been translated in any of the previous Exhibits.

Meerut
2-11-1929

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S. Ezekiel
Marathi Transator.

P. 1462-T.

A WARNING TO MILL WORKERS.

MR. MAYEKAR HAS BETRAYED THE CONFIDENCE
OF THE PEOPLE.

DARK PLOTS IN THE GIRNI KAMGAR MAHAMANDAL.

MESS IN THE ACCOUNTS OF PUBLIC FUNDS AND

Mismanagenent of affairs

Brother workmen,

Time is unfavourable to us mill workers. On the one hand, the owners are oppressing us and moderate leaders like Joshi, Jinnwalla, Bukhale and others are keeping silent before them while, on the other hand, wicked men like Mayekar are hatching dark plots of their own selfishness by giving wrong advice to people and giving over the necks of the people to the slaughter house of the owners and are barking like dogs towards those who try to put the people on their guard in order that their own dark plots may not be exposed. Messrs Joglekar and Jhabwalla are trying to awaken the people by telling facts to people but we have fallen victims to the false promises of Mr. Mayekar owing to the ignorance and lack of culture of the working classes. On account of our folly we are on the point of effecting our own destruction. Mr. Mayekar has broken the strike of the Sassoon group of mills by misusing the confidence of the people and now the (steam) roller of the owners has begun to pass over the people working in other mills. If we allow ourselves to be thus deceived we shall all go to rack and ruin and we shall never be uplifted. We the undersigned members of the managing committee of the Girni Kamgar Mahamandal are placing before you the affairs

of the Mandal and the pranks Mr. Mayekar has played (in them) so that you may be placed on your guard and would no more allow Mr. Mayekar to abuse your confidence.

There is much truth in what Mr. Joglekar says in the handbill published by him about the autocratic conduct of Mr. Mayekar in the Mahamandal and the mismanagement of its affairs. We blamed Mr. Joglekar in the Committee for having published the handbill when the strike of the Sassoon group of mills was in progress and thus having caused excitement among the people. Be it as it may, the strike at last proved unsuccessful and we realised our mistake and we (now) consider it our duty to put people on their guard. We have no desire to cut the people's throats by raising false hopes (or by giving false promises) through false notions of self-respect or self-respect having been injured. We have been appointed on the managing Committee so that people may safeguard their own interests and we to do our level best in the matter. For this work people pay us their subscription with trust. If, therefore we commit any default and if the work of the people is spoilt we must also place before the people our grievance in the matter of the calamity that has befallen the Mahamandal and all the working classes owing to the rascality of of Mr. Mayekar. It is our duty to protect the people against this rascal.

Since the formation of the Girni Kamgar Mahamandal Mr. Mayekar has insisted upon this that there should be no sensible outsider in the committee of the Mahamandal and it was decided that there should be no sensible outsider (on the Committee) on (Mr. Mayekar) giving reasons for it that such people like Messrs Joshi, Jinwalla and Baptista neglect the interests of the workers and that they do not understand our difficulties being not workers themselves and so do harm to us. We in our simplicity were convinced of it from the experience of men like Baptista. From the formation of the Mandal Mr. Mayekar was considered (the most) clever amongst us and all its affairs were conducted by his advice. All reposed trust in him as he was one of us, a mill worker like ourselves, and the Committee was guided by his opinion having (full) trust in him under the impression that he knows to read and write and he knows everything (about us) and that he would give his advice (solely) in interest. Moreover we did not know as to how to appoint a committee how to conduct a meeting, how to carry on a discussion, how to pass a resolution and such other matters. Thus it nearly came to this that people acted according to his advice and his word became law. There was no hitch as long as we had faith in him and we were under the impression that whatever he would do would tend to public interest. But it so happened that after a while the grievances of the people were not attended to by the Mandal. Mr. Mayekar used to hold over the consideration of these grievances and if anyone

aised a voice of complaint he used to snap at him and say that he had no right to speak in the matter. Though we had not much of understanding all of us had this much common sense to know that the grievances of the people should be removed through the Union. And the members began to grumble and pay no subscription as no work was done by the Union. Moreover, people differed the payment of their subscription on the score that no report or statement of accounts was forthcoming even though a year and a half had elapsed (after the formation of the Mandal). It was then that the members of the committee complained against Mayekar and insisted upon his submission of the report. But Mayekar would listen to no one. He began to disrespect the committee and so people got disgusted and began to resign the membership of (lit leave) the Mandal. Then other people in the Committee got irritated and the quarrels began. Then Mayekar ready to (submit) the report and the committee sanctioned the expenses for the publication of the report. Mayekar drew the sanctioned amount from the Bank and spent it but no report was forthcoming. About two to two and a half years were thus spent and so people became desperate and quarrels began to take place. Mr. Joglekar used to come to help us at critical time at the request of Mayekar since the formation of the Mahamandal. But since he was an outsider he was not told anything about the inner working of the Mandal. But when Mayekar did not listen to their demands for the report and account the committee sent for him. Mayekar opposed this but the committee set it aside and appointed a sub-Committee of some of the members of the Committee under the leadership of Joglekar and ordered the (publication of the) accounts and report of the Mandal. Similarly there were no rules of the Mandal and as we were ignorant Mayekar's word was law and so confusion prevailed in the Mandal. In these circumstances the task of framing a constitution and rules for the Mandal was entrusted to Joglekar.

A Committee for (auditing)the accounts was appointed but Mayekar was not prepared to show the papers, receipts and account books to Joglekar. Then people began to entertain suspicions about his transactions and some people made allegations to that effect before his very face. But Mayekar had all the records in his possessions and so all the past ugly affairs were connived at for want of proof inspite of suspicions and it was decided to prepare the accounts as best as they could be put together and to take measures so that such confusion may not be repeated again. Mayekar came forward to show receipt books, account books and other records after it was decided to white wash and connive at the past. The Committee had to adopt this policy of connivance at the past on giving thought to the fact that the people would suffer if the work of the Mahamandal came to a standstill owing to quarrels going on in it and the Report Committee began to work accordingly.

When the Committee began to work and go through each paper it found that there was confusion everywhere. It was realised that Mr. Mayekar as Secretary had maintained no kind of system in the office. There was no trace of receipts, nor was it known as to how many books were printed, what amount was realised, what was bad debt &c. The accounts were not properly kept. No register of membership was kept. The exact number of members could not be ascertained. Nothing could be known as to how much subscription was paid and how much was in arrears. There were many books bearing the same number and so it was difficult to make any head or tail out of them. According to the people's computation at least 10 to 12 thousand rupees should have been found as credited but according to Mayekar's there were not even 5 or 6 thousand. But as many receipt books could not be found it was decided to write off all the amount falling short under the heading not traceable.

In such a way the loss was accounted for but when the question of the balance of Rs. 5,700 came up the same confusion was to be seen. There were no vouchers. There were no resolutions of the Committee sanctioning expenditure. There was no mention about the meetings of the Committee. There were no reports of meetings. There was no minute book. No correspondence was kept. There was no record. Such a confusion was found everywhere. In these circumstances it was difficult to say what amount was misappropriated and what was rightly spent. But as it was resolved to disregard past mismanagement and to manage affairs properly in future an (audited) account and report was produced somehow. Five months were spent in this and still Mayekar brought as many obstacles as he possibly could. The Committee had to wait for Mayekar for hours together. Even a bit of blank paper was kept under Mayekar's lock and key and the papers were submitted to inspection at the sweet will of Mayekar. We the members of the committee got quite disgusted but we did not give up our grit. In order that the affairs of the Mandal may be done systematically and that there may be no split among the people we had to put up with the obstructions of Mayekar every day continuously for five months and not to care for insults and to take pains and to spend 8 to 10 annas every day for carriage hire and somehow prepared the accounts and the report and the constitution and rules for the transaction of business in future. Just to compensate (lit. to give penance to) Joglekar for the trouble he took in clearing up past dirt Mr. Mayekar has been abusing him for the last two months through the *Kaiwari*. The Committee was made wise by the rough (or bitter) experience of the Report and it resolved that it would not do to rely solely on Mayekar and that they must include, in the Committee some outsider who had the interest of the people at heart and who would teach discipline (or

system) to the people. The members of the Committee become wiser by the systematic work they had learnt by coming in contact with Joglekar. They knew how to hold meetings and how to pass resolutions and what their rights were &c. and they began to ask questions in every thing to Mayekar and so he could not graze on the income of the Mahamandal unrestricted as in the past. He, therefore, was very much annoyed with outsiders and particularly with Joglekar. And since the committee had resolved to make him a member and to include him among themselves he (Joglekar) began to hate him and he was angry with the Committee and in particular with Alve for the systematic way in which the Committee had learnt to transact its business with the help of Joglekar. In the meanwhile the whirlwind of the strike of the Apollo Mill took place. Mr. Joglekar exerted for it personally day and night and with the help of Alve he took matters to picketing and carried the strike to a successful issue. This led to their being popular but this excited the jealousy of Mayekar and he being maddened by jealousy sacrificed the interest of the people. Even though the strike was carried to a successful issue, he created a split among the people and played the people false (or ruined them). Owing to the failure of this strike the recent strike in the Sassoon group of mills was resorted to. He also created quarrels among the people). He misguided the people and created a split among them in order to gain his own ends. Messrs. Joglekar and Jhabwalla exhorted the people to declare a strike in all the mills and to carry on the struggle with unity and issued handbills for creating awakening among the people. The majority in the Committee and other members of the Mahamandal were of the same opinion. But Mayekar's treachery again played us false. In order to remove the thorn of Joglekar from his side he began to say that he was an agent of Russia, that he was disloyal, that he was a Bolshevik, that he got money from foreign countries and indirectly insinuated that Government should prosecute him and he did not allow the people to unite. Not only this but when people were on strike and undergoing sufferings of starvation Mayekar, an office bearer of the Union, used to go to work freely and in his spare time tried to do his duty indifferently. Mayekar used freely to attend work at the time of the strike of the Apollo mill as also at the recent strike. But Alve gave up his work and was doing his best to help the strikers and was even at times taking part in (lit. arranging) picketing when occasion arose for it. But Mayekar freely attended work and did not give any advice to the strikers and was creating obstacles in the path (lit. work) of Alve. He quietly did the work of creating a split among the strikers and giving a stab to Alve in the dark (lit. cutting Alve's feet from behind) and strangulated the people by helping the owners to break the strike. This treacherous act of his (leads us to say that) it is dangerous to allow such a wicked man to move freely

among the people. To-day does not end our troubles about the strike, a great calamity might overtake us tomorrow and it falls to our lot to expose the intrigues of this dangerous man so that people may not be betrayed at that time.

The past sins of this black snake were washed off by the report issued in November last. But a sinner does not give up his sin till he is dead and so Mayekar is still continuing in his irregular and unchecked conduct. He has begun to create confusion in the accounts during the last three months. Rules have been framed but he does not act according to rules and he does not take the permission of the Committee for expenditure. He does not hand over cash to the treasurer but keeps it with himself and incurs expenditure without permission. He does not call meetings of the Committee as laid down in the rules. Now the office of the Union has been transferred to Poibawdi. But Mayekar has kept the records and the furniture of the Mandal hidden at his own place. He does not do any work himself and does not allow others to do any work. Mayekar says that the furniture (tables, chairs, cupboards &c.) all belong to him.

If any mistake is committed probably through mistake it is excusable. But Mayekar is doing the heartless work of doing harm to others (lit. drawing the plough over the houses of others) in order to gain his selfish ends. Instead of creating unity among the people he is creating a split among them and serving the owners and moreover disregards the rules of the Committee and the mismanagement of the affairs and accounts of the institution is going on. No one should consult him in the matter of putting a check to all this for his advice is treacherous advice and it is not the advice of the Mahamandal. No one should hereafter give him the subscription of the Mahamandal. It should, as laid down in the rules, be given to the Treasurer and a receipt should be taken (from him). If any one, in contravention of the rules, deals in the matter of subscription with him, the committee will take legal steps against him.

In conclusion all workers are requested that they should allow no quarters to this dangerous man in the Union. The danger of a strike is confronting us in future and the Mahamandal is trying to face it (boldly) with the help of other reasonable men and all should support the Mahamandal in that (struggle) by becoming members of the Mahamandal; and they should secure success in the fight by resorting to a general strike when occasion arises, as instructed by the Mahamandal. We have firm hope that all our brother workers will help us in this task.

The work of the office is obstructed owing to Mayekar having suppressed the records of the association. Mayekar

refuses to hand over the records of the Committee and (its) furniture and so the Committee is going to take legal steps in the matter. We hope the members of the Mahamandal will excuse us for any deficiency in our work owing to (these) difficulties. Mayekar is trying to shift the doubts that are cast on him to Mr. Alve by making false allegations that he has misappropriated the funds (of the Mandal) and he is doing this with a view to causing a split among the people and putting a stop to the work of the Mahamandal. But all these allegations (lit. things) are false. The people therefore should not allow themselves to be misled by the false allegations of Mayekar. The Mahamandal is making preparations to face the oppression that the owners are practising upon us and the tables that have been turned against us by the split in our midst and also to humiliate the pride of Capitalism. Mr. Alve is going to take a prominent part in this work and is going to create harmony among the people. All should, therefore, help him and should join the Mahamandal and should try to effect unity for the purpose of carrying on a general strike with discipline.

Yours humbly

A. A. Alve.

President,

Girni Kamgar Mandal.

MANAGING COMMITTEE.

1. Khenderao Atmaram Desai.
2. Maruti Mahadev Alav.
3. Babaji Pandurang Raut.
4. Arjun Mahadev Chogale.
5. Bhiwa Tanu Alve.
6. Krishna R. Avsekar.
7. Govind Ramchandra Kasse.
8. Ganu Sagun Satham.
9. Vishram Kanoji Tavde.
10. Bhagwan Ravji Pendaneekar.

[True Translation].

Meerut.

S. Ezekiel.

2-11-1929.

Marathi Translator.

P. 1463-T

Public Notice.

A warning to all mill workers.

The committee of the Mahamandal has unanimously removed Mr. D. R. Mayekar from the post of the Secretary on account of mismanagement and misconduct in the Gerni-Kamgar Mahamandal. Hereafter no one should transact any business of the Mahamandal through him and if such transaction is carried on it will be considered illegal. Mr. Mayekar has (surreptitiously) taken possession of the records of the Mandal and it is likely that he will carry on correspondence in the name of the Mandal and try to mislead the public. The public should, therefore be warned against this. The committee has resolved to sue him for the possession of the records.

Yours' humbly

A. A. Alve,

President,

G.C.M. Mandal and Managing
Committee.

[True Translation]

S. Ezekiel

Marathi Translator.

Meerut }
30-10-1929 }

P. 1464 T.

Gernikamgar Mahamandal, Bombay.

Public Notice.

Brother Workers,

Since the strike of the Sassoon group of Mills the Mahamandal has warned the workers against the impending danger and has requested them in various ways to effect unity. Ever since the strike of the Sassoon group of mills was broken other owners of mill have begun to impose the workers the system of three machines or

two 'frames'. Similarly various kinds of tricks are being restorted to and attempts are being made to effect a cut in wages. There has been a strike in The Textile mill and the Simplex mill will (also) be forced to go on strike. It is certain that such a blow will also fall on other mills. Will our brothers, in these circumstances, be on their guard and effect unity? The owners want to disunite you and then attack you individually and so we workers cannot hope to get along successfully, unless we all unite and declare a general strike. The Girn'kamgar Mahamandal is trying to appoint a separate committee for each mill and to unite them together. If you want to protect yourselves and to secure victory all of you should join the Mahamandal. All (workers) should appoint a committee for their individual mills and become members of the Mahamandal.

Yours' humbly

A. A. Alve, President,

G.C.M. Mandal.

[True Translation].

S. Ezekiel,

Marathi Translator.

Meerut }
2-11-1929. }

P. 1465-T.

(Handbill No. 2)

Girni Kamgar Mahamandal, Bombay.

Warning to Workers.

Brother workers,

You have very often suffered loss on account of splits among you. This very split was responsible for making your success in the Apollo Mill (Strike) of no avail. On account of this very split the strike in the Sasson group of mills was unsuccessful. After that the high-handedness and oppression of the owners have been on the increase during the last two months. The owners are now openly issuing notices of effecting cuts in wages after securing success in their new tactics in increasing the hours of work and

effecting cuts in wages by means of working two sides and three machines. The rates of *burnus* (a kind of cloth) are on the decrease everywhere and very soon notices will be served on the cloth departments. This means to say that the owners are making preparations to take revenge in respect of the success achieved by the workers in the strike in the matter of 20% (cut in wages). Will you, brother workers, lie down snoring when the owners, the enemies of the workers, are resorting to (such) tactics? You must get up, be united and face these tactics. Or else destruction of all of you is certain. Will the workers give consideration to this and will they join the Union for the work of unity? The Girni Kamgar Mahamandal is warning you against this impending danger. You are aware that this danger and the wicked attack of the owners on wages cannot be averted without a general strike. The Mahamandal is making preparations for that. You must secure success in the general strike and it is hoped, therefore, that all workers will become members of the Mahamandal and effect unity.

(Workers in) the Kasturchand Mill and the Simplex Mill have come out (on strike) owing to the publication of a notice today regarding the cut in wages. Similarly (workers in) Textile Mill have struck work owing to the trouble of work having been increased. On seeing the strength and unity of the strikers the owners have had to give in to some extent and to concede some of their demands. But the owners are not prepared to withdraw the notices about cut in wages. The strikers have made up their minds not to allow any cut to be effected in their wages. They have announced their determination to continue the strike by conducting a huge procession on Sunday last. The owners have been frightened out of their wits on seeing this unity. They expected to work the mills by bringing in outsiders but their pride has been humbled by the unity of the workers. They are being humiliated. But as a last resort they are betaking themselves to creating splits among you through the Jobbers. Similarly outside workers should not fall victims to the false promises of Jobbers and go to work in the place of the strikers. They should bear in mind that it is a great sin to take the bread out of the mouth (lit. step on the stomach) of our brethren.

Give your help in the determination of the workers to make the strike successful and all of you are requested by the Mahamandal to join the Mahamandal to conduct the work of the strike and the preparations for the next general strike with perseverance.

Yours humbly
A. A. Alve,
President,
G. K. Mahamandal,
Bombay.

Kondaji Building,
Parel. }
9. 4. 1928.

Meerut

True Translation

S. Ezekiel

2- 11- 1929.

Marathi Translator.

P. 1480-T

BOMBAY

3/12/1929.

Loving salutations to Dada (Brother),

I could not write to you last week on account of illness. I have already informed you about the receipt of John Reed's book. I have finished reading the book. Such a decent book requires to be nicely translated and as the book reached me safely there is no fear of its translation being proscribed. If the translation is to be published in 6 or 8 months it would be difficult for us to do it. (I intend taking also Babus help-he will soon meet you; I will show your letters to him and he will soon communicate with you. Up to now he was at Amraoti and Nagpur).

May I suggest to you the name of an experienced translator? His name (lit. this man) is G. B. Madkholkar. He is a young energetic man. He is a well known literary critic. His style of writing is really praiseworthy. His political views are not yet known anywhere, but his book on Ireland's fight for Independence" will shortly be published. No sooner it is out I will send it on to you and then you can decide for yourself. I do not know him personally, but if required I will communicate with him. Until this is settled we will send our specimens.

I am really glad that you are going to chalk out your future programme after coming here and studying the (present) situation in India. We have not much respect and faith for those like Palme Dutta, who are trying to foist ready-made solutions on the present day India. I intend to write much on Palm Dutts' criticism of the

Indian Nationalist, but this week being busy with (cricket) matches I have just sat down to write this letter and I have got only 15 minutes to write it.

Beg to be excused for an unfinished letter.

Jagn.

(P.S.) I shall arrange to send you cuttings from the *Herald* & The *Times* from next week.

(True translation)

MEERUT.

26-10-1929

}

S. Ezekiel

Marathi Translator

SERVANTS-OF-INDIA SOCIETY'S
BRANCH LIBRARY
BOMBAY

P. 1481-T

BOMBAY, THURSDAY,

29th Dec. 1928.

Loving salutations to Dada (Brother).

As I am most probably going to my aunt at Thana tomorrow. I am writing this without waiting for your letter (till tomorrow). By this mail am sending you this week's issues of *Indian National Herald* i.e. upto Thursday's. From these issues you will be able to read the full report of the 42nd. Session of the Indian National Congress. There are also reports about the National Liberal Federation and the National Social Conference.

This year the National Liberal Federation was held here. Babu and myself were present at the presidential address of Tej Bahadur Sapru. The delegates numbered only 80. The Federation was held at the Sir Cowasji Jehangir Hall. On the whole there was no life in this Federation as was evident in the National Congress.

My reading in progress. I am reading books on (political) economy which I can understand and also on Socialism Bolshevism, &c. I have just completed Bertrand Russel's book entitled "Road to Freedom." The writer is of the Anarchist party, in particular he

is a Guild Socialist. The book contains interesting criticism of Marx's Socialism. French Syndicalism and Kropotkin's Anarchism. His other book-Bolshevism-its theory and practice has been procured by me for reading.

Have you received Raghu's letter? His address is Room No. 5, Deccan Gymkhana Market Building, Deccan Gymkhana, Poona City.

We are all doing well. I feel sure that you must have enjoyed a happy Christmas. Is it not a fact that there is sever cold there this year? Wishing you a happy new year, I close,

Jagu,

(True translation)

MEERUT, }
26-10-1929. }

S. Ezekiel,

Marathi Translator.

P 1482-T.

Loving salutations to Dada.

I have not received any letter from you this week. I have already pressed Raghu to write to you.

On account of the Simon Commission the political atmosphere here has been stirred more than it had ever been during the last 3 or 4 years. All the political parties- The National, Liberal, Swaraj i. e. The Congress, Responsivist & The Peasants & Workers' Party are all united on the question of boycott. Not only that but all the parties are working together to draft a Swaraj constitution. But how to make the boycott successful and effective will be decided by each party according to its own views. For instance, the Congress party will resort to a "Hartal" and boycott of foreign goods and on the other hand the leaders of the Peasants & Workers' Party like Jhabwalla etc., will call a general strike (e. g the Sweepers belonging to the municipality will go on strike on the day on which the Simon Commission arrives).

The appointment of the Simon Commission undoubtedly

affords a valuable opportunity for all parties to unite, or at any rate, to forget their differences and work shoulder to shoulder. Really speaking, if their goal is the same, it does not matter if there is a difference in tactics. Instead of opposing one another and increasing the differences, they should find out on what points they are united and then honestly work according to their individual views. To-day it is not possible for India to get Swaraj and all round progress by following only one programme. No one can deny that the work of the Peasants & Workers' Party regarding mass organisation is the most important one. (I am sending you the programme of work of the Workers & Peasants' Party in the Congress). But to abolish social restrictions like untouchability etc, is also of equal importance. Hindu, Muslim unity is also equally essential. Not only that, but if any national worker (like N. M. Joshi) enters the Council and does some good for the nation, I do not see any reason why he should not do so and if he does it why should people abuse him? To summarise the whole (situation) follow whatever path you like, but do national service at the sacrifice of every thing.

The reason for thinking like this was afforded by the meeting regarding boycott which was held the other day by the Peasants and Workers Party in the Congress House. On the previous day at the same place there was a big meeting on behalf of the Congress. Mrs. Naidu, Ali brothers, Mr Jinnah, Abul Kalam Azad, Mr. Fenner Brockway (I. L. P. of Britain), Mardy Jones, M. P. etc., were present. Com. Nimbkar and others were also present but they did not speak. They however, compensated for that the next day. The next days president was Arjun Lal Shetti, a well known Communist of this place. None of the big folk of the previous day were present at this meeting (because at that time they had gone to a meeting of the Municipal voters.) Com. Nimbkar was the principal speaker. He attacked all the Congress leaders and Sir, Chimanlal, Jivnah Sarojini Naidu etc., at times even exceeding the bounds of decorum. I was disgusted with that meeting. And these fools are going to move most important resolutions in the Congress. The only matter for satisfaction is that a committee consisting of Jawrahirlal Nehru, Com. Dange and 2 or 3 Bengali and Madrasi gentlemen has been appointed on behalf of the Congress. The work of this Committee is to organise the Peasants and Workers after studying their (present) condition.

Who do you think are responsible for getting Com. Nimbkar, Joglekar and other Communists into the habit of attacking all the National leaders? We must be thankful to Palme Dutt, most; most of the writers in "The Masses of India" and most of our Indian Communists in Europe. In this connection there is much to learn from the criticism of Lala Lajpatrai on the writing of Agnes Smedley and the discussion that took place thereon and the way it ended.

All agitations without sympathy are useless. With these (few words) I take your leave.

Jagu.

(P. S.) From next week I will arrange to send you issues of the *People* (edited) by Lala Lajpatrai. Oh yes, I forget one thing. In this week's *Times* there is an advertisement for an M. Sc (in respect of the post of) a lecturer on Physical Chemistry at Bangalore. Applications have been invited before the 2nd. January. I think you had once in the past tried for the very post. What happened to that. Or can even semi-Government institutions not tolerate the small of Communist ideas?

Jagu

[True Translation].

Meerut, }
26-10-1929. }

S. Ezekiel

Marathi Translator.

P. 1483-T.

Loving salutations to Dada.

By this mail I am sending you some cuttings from this Week's *Times of India* and the *Indian National Herald*. Among them Lala Lajpatrai's article in the *People* is very interesting. Let us know what other information and what other cuttings you want me to send and on what subjects.

Can any arrangement be made for me to get the monthly *Masses of India*? It contains fearless criticism on the national struggle here and the leaders. It think it is mostly one sided. Palme Dutt and the other writers in this monthly belong to the same school of thought. This means that they are of the opinion that the intention of the Indian leaders while fighting with Government is to get a share in the exploitation of the poor workers. They consider workers other than those belonging to the Peasants and workers' Party as betrayers of the masses. They, even charged Mahatma Gandhi with class feeling. Where would they stop?

My reading is progressing slowly. I will try to give you an idea of the present situation here (of course according to my views) and will write about the programme.

We are all doing well. I will write to Raghu to communicate with you. Respects to Vera Bai.

Jagu
P. S. Will you be able to send me some cheap editions of some latest German literature? I have read Trotsky's 'Literature and Revolution'.

Aunt Sumati always remembers you.

Jagu.

[True Translation].

S. Ezekiel,

Marathi Translator.

Meerut }
26-10-1929. }

P. 1484-T.

13th. January 1928.

Loving salutations to Dada.

Yours of the 27th. December with the *Masses of India* to hand (duly).

The extracts that you want will certainly be sent from here next week.

Last week I secured for the purpose of reading for a couple of days a book by Rene Fuller Miller entitled " The mind & Face of Bolshevism- A survey of the culture of soviet Russia. " It is a big book containing many illustrations. In my opinion the book contains impartial criticism showing how the Soviet ideas originated and how new ideas and thoughts were suggested under the Proletariate Dictatorship. I think that the original volume is in German and you must already have read it. I could not read it in full, but I think I will soon get it again. After all what Trotsky says is correct. In any case the Proletariate Dictatorship forms a period of transition and is not an end in itself. Naturally it will not endure for ever, but at the most it may continue to exist for a few decades. In such a short time especially when all the energy is utilised for the reorganisation of the social and political agitation it is difficult for any permanent culture to be established. The most

important work during this period of transition is to destroy the old class culture and to introduce universal culture embracing all humanity. I think that this opinion of Trotsky is right and the new Soviet culture is to be studied from this point of view. The new art, new theatrical art and monumental art must also be judged in the same light.

In this way I got a good idea of Bolshevism from this book. Now I want to study the more difficult economic and social problems.

I will send you the cuttings you want.

Jagu.

MEERUT
30-10-1929

[True translation]

S. EZEKIEL

Marathi Translator

P. 1485-T

(No date)

Loving salutations to Dada.

Your letter of the 11th March to me and Babu is to hand (duly). We get to hear from our Communist friends the same sort of criticism as you write and we never say that there is no sense in it. We are fully convinced that the most important thing is the organisation of the workers and peasants; but what we say is this, that until the workers and peasants are fully organised and commence to take a prominent part in Indian politics, it is essential for them to co-operate with the present national leaders, whom we call Bourgeois leaders, and who are at present fighting with British Imperialism however selfish they may be. To criticise them day in and day out and to create factions amongst ourselves is not fit even according to Trotsky's views.-Still it is necessary to criticise them whenever they openly work against the interest of the workers and peasants.

Mainly we have to fight with two classes. Firstly the British Imperialism and then capitalism in our own country. In

the first fight we must have the cooperation of Indian capitalists and the bourgeoisie national leaders. Therefore we must place our ideal as openly as possible before us and for that ideal we must organise ourselves through Trade Unions etc. and whenever necessary cooperate with our Bourgeois leaders. Time to break with them (openly) is yet to come and I do not think that time is very far off when one knows how far the labour organisation has actually been accomplished here (this has been exaggerated in the Masses one would not think it improper, in this period of transition, to cooperate with the Bourgeois national leaders in fact with one's eyes open).

In short in the present state of affairs the above (mentioned) compromise is absolutely necessary. The great agitation in connection with the boycott of the Simon Commission became successful (mainly) through the co-operation of all (parties) as I wrote to you in one of my previous letters.

In these circumstances, to my mind, the spread of theoretical knowledge is of the utmost importance for the future organisation and unity of the workers and peasants. You express the same opinion in your letter. The object of the small circle, which meets every Wednesday and Saturday, is to educate the youths on their duty in the time to come. As you say the signs of this all round agitation, in the matter of literature etc, are apparent at least among 10 or 12 people.

Last week the annual general meeting of the Workers' and Peasants' Party was held. In its own opinion this small institution (it has 15 or 16 members) has done a lot of work. To take a stock of the work of this institution means the completion of the new agitation. At least I know of no other institution which has undertaken to organise labour on new lines as is done by this institution. Every member of this party has started one Trade Union each. Naturally the newly established unions are more militant than the old trade unions of Mr.N.M. Joshi. I will soon send a report of this party together with a report of the work done and a review of the political and economic condition of the present times and the programme for the next year. But if from (the work of) this party you think that there has been an awakening all over the country you will be mistaken. To me it appears that the centre of this new agitation is Bombay at present. In the provincial Congress Committee of this place there is a majority of labour leaders all of whom are members of the Workers' and Peasants' Party. The Maharashtra Youth Mandal is confined to Bombay only and you will have an idea of our leanings from the resolutions we have passed.

This letter has become lengthy and has been written in haste and (so) it may not be well put, but it cannot be helped. Last week the following books were sent to you by books post:—

(2) Marathi book.

(2) English books—"Trade Union in India" by N. M. Joshi and report of the all India Trade Union Congress. In one of the books an interesting cutting has been enclosed. In this there are pictures about the Shuddhi ceremony of Miss Miller (now known as (Her Highness) Sharmishtha Holker (of Indore).

Jagu

P. S. Babu is at present busy with his law examination.

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[True translation]

MEERUT }
26-10-1929 }

S. Ezekiel
Marathi Translator.

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P 1575 (7)-T.

WORKERS AND PEASANTS' PARTY.

A message of love to brother workmen.

(Here is printed a picture of a starved workman and a procession of workers is shown carrying a placard on two poles with the words Bread Bread. Service Service).

This handbill has been published by Shantaram Savlaram Mirajkar, Secretary, Workers and Peasants' Party, at Dwarakadas Mansion Girgaum, Sahakari Press, Bombay.

A pressing request to the working class,

Open your eyes, get up and attend to your own welfare. If you want to destroy the reign of oppression and to secure the happiness of liberty you should unite and organise

This is the only means of self-upliftment.

All brother workers are requested on the occasion of the 'May Day' that they should look to the current of the times and organise themselves. If you want to be freed from the clutches of the Government, the Capitalists and the landlords then the workers, peasants, clerks and others who live from hand to mouth should bear this in

mind firmly that their interests are one and the same and that they should act in concert to safeguard those interests and to secure the human rights which have been denied to them (lit. that have not been secured). They should form unions and make preparations to give a (bold) front to our enemies. Attempts to create a split among the workers are (being) made from various sides, by various means and by various persons. Such attempts will also be made in future. The oppressive power and the officials have no compunctions to resort to threats, inducements and bribes, methods of sweet persuasion and beating. Therefore all workers, peasants clerks etc. should bear this in mind and should think of becoming organised and establishing their own unions.

A new weekly newspaper of the workers and Peasants' Party will soon be started.

An humble request to workers and well wishers of workers.

GIVE ENCOURAGEMENT TO CO-OPERATIVE INDUSTRY.

The tension between capitalists and workers will not come to an end until all the factories in the world come under the ownership of the workers.

The workers can become owners of factories on the strength of co-operation and unity.

An actual example of this is the only institution that is the Sahakari (co-operative) Press, owned by the workers, conducted in the city of Bombay by the workers in the interest of the workers.

Modes of helping the Press :—

To give printing work to the Press, to purchase shares of the Society and to keep deposits in the Society.

Manager,
Sahakari Press,
Near Vincent Cinema,
91B, Parel Road Chinchpokli,
Bombay.

Meerut }
2-11 1929 }

[True Translation]

S. Ezekiel.

Marathi Translator.

P. 1744-T.

*This note rejects
file remains.*

This exhibit comprises of a file of the "Krantī", newspaper from 14th May 1927 to 9th March 1929. Important articles and notes appearing in these issues have been already dealt with in previous exhibits. The file also contains five issues of the "Spark" (English) and one issue of the "Payame Mazdoor" (Urdu).

Meerut }
4-11-1929 }

S. Ezekiel
Marathi Translator.

Saraswati Machine Printing Press, Meerut, U. P., India.

BOMBAY - - III
- - SPEECHES

IN CONNECTION WITH
MILL STRIKES

AND

OTHER SUBJECTS

During 1927 to 1929.

P. 1689

Speaker: Mr. P. Spratt.

Date: 8-5-27.

Place: Students' Brotherhood Hall, Bombay.

Chairman: Burjorji Framji Bharucha.

Subject: "The Congress—What next?"

Auspices of: Students Brotherhood.

MR. SPRATT ON THE CONGRESS.

Under the auspices of the Students' Brotherhood, Mr. S. P. Spratt, a member of the British Labour Party, delivered a public lecture on "The congress—What next" in the Brotherhood's hall, near the French Bridge, at 6-30 p. m., on Sunday, the 8th of May, 1927, when Mr. Burjorji Framji Bharucha occupied the Chair. The hall was crowded.

On the motion of Mr. S. P. Kabadi, one of the secretaries of the Brotherhood, Mr Bharucha was elected to the Chair. He occupied the Chair amidst cheers and opened the proceedings with the following remark—

PRESIDENT'S SPEECH.

Friends, I thank you. You have come to hear Mr. Spratt. I shall not waste words before he speaks, and, so, I will request him to begin his speech.

MR. SPRATT'S ADDRESS.

I had heard Diwan Chamanlal speak here two days ago. I expect that the audience this evening is much the same in composition as that which heard his address the other night. It has struck me as a possibility that I should offer some commentary on what he said. He spoke that the future is in the hands of the young whom he saw before him. I think his was a substantial advice, was as far as possible an admirable advice. It is the youth of any community that are in a position to break free from the prejudices which obsess any society from the earliest stages of its development. I think it is obvious to anybody that the society in India is an advanced state of prejudices and prepossessions which are bound to revolt against the ancient mode of thought—a mode which the young of any community would be glad to get rid of. In many directions it is generally acknowledged that India requires to alter its old mode of life and old mode of thinking, and so on, and it is only the young people who have got sufficient courage to carry out what every-one realises to be a necessary reform in the methods and in the usages. This leads us to the broad question of national future. The idea of national unity was much neglected in former times. It is not sufficient to simply speak

of young men and of new thoughts. They must try to get the new thoughts, which are different from the old ones, which latter are of little use. In any society, people can-not think uniformly. Some of them always think whether there are new things to be thought of and old and conservative thoughts given up. Some think of the organisation set up a long time ago, some think of the new mode of living. One would expect 2 or 3 kinds of thinkers among young men. Young men have to fight for the attainment of the objects that they hold to be essential, and it is this view with which we are greatly concerned. We have to consider the situation in which the masses of the population are to strive in some way to get free from the oppression which, in its saner thought, appears to it to be intolerable, under the British Rule. All efforts in the past:efforts which lasted for many years-have proved a failure. We can now read the position in which that failure has become clear to everybody. It is essential for those, who are able to direct their footsteps in a new direction, to be engaged in the conduct and control of a new movement. For that purpose, merely a new thought is not sufficient, you must have an organised thought for an organised action. It is essential that we should have some idea of what we think of the new situation. The struggle for Swaraj in India is no w an old phraseology. It was an old form of the expression in 1922, when it was a movement of practically the whole nation of India. Some people then thought that swaraj was a mystic phrase. In 1922 practically the whole nation in India was united in the struggle that was then going on. The vital point of the struggle was that it was apparently not successful, because it was not based on *sound basis*. That at least became manifest when the movement broke down on account of certain events and the famous decision that took place at Bardoli in 1922. Since then different interpretations have been put on the Bardoli decision according to the different ways of thinking and everyone believed that fresh action should be taken. Then came the occasion for the crossing of the line. The analysis of the situation shows that the old Indian National movement was a movement of the whole nation-of all classes of the nation. Then there was no struggle between the classes. The classes in society formed an obscure entity. All those who were fighting in that struggle were united for the national struggle in order that national freedom should be attained. During the war-during the period of the crises if success was conceivable to the movement, the nation would have come out united, the success in the struggle would have been attained without anybody's grace. But, after the events of the 1921, and 1922 that seemed to be no longer possible. The critical situation became obvious, as there appeared to be a struggle between the class of capitalists and the class of Industrialists-the class of merchants on one hand and the class of land owners on the other. Then came the various moves made by the British Government, like the Industrial Commission. It was during those days

that the event happened, namely, that instead of carrying through the struggle of Swaraj, the Congressmen abandoned it in 1922. Before they abandoned it, they believed that the whole nation was behind them, and on that ground they were expecting success, but then came the division in the nation, there arose the separate interest of the industrial classes and of the peasantry, on the one hand, and of the national upper classes, on the other. That is the reason why the movement broke down. There were class divisions; the house was divided against itself. The rupture became more obvious in 1922, when we could no longer expect that a united movement will ever come into existence. We have endeavoured since then to keep some sort of appearance of unity, we have maintained the Congress more or less in its old form, opposing, obstructing and co-operating. That has been the appearance of national unity, the appearance of unity behind these people. The appearance was merely an appearance. There was no unity in the rank and file of the national movement. This was the state of things in 1922, when the old movement was not completely dissolved, and we could see one class on one side and the other class on the other. We did not know how to act, the whole future looked obscure, everyone looked at the surface, and in this way difficulties increased and things began to move on very quickly and we were confronted with a situation which everybody realises was desperate. Things were coming to a head. This is the history of the Congress then. As the result of that policy, the Congress reached the position of an "impasse," which it was no longer possible to avoid. We knew the battle had begun, we knew that events were going forward rapidly, and we saw that we had got to take new positions for the future to get over the difficulties. In my opinion-I am speaking as an individual-very few people saw what the new steps would have to be taken. It is only when one could see through the dangerous situation, through the realities of the case, through the war between a class and a class, that one could decide what steps should be taken. After the events of 1922, it became obvious that unity between the classes was impossible. We could not any longer expect unity, expect a united movement, a united national movement. There was disorder in the ranks of the people, a new class of people-the class of peasantry, the class of industrialists, the class of working people and a class of what is called the middle classes. Among these classes there were people who did not want swaraj, there were people who fundamentally differed from people who wanted Swaraj, the people who looked at the surface and who were satisfied with the present state of things, the present concessions the British have given to them. They formed a class of big men in the country, a powerful class. So that there were classes of industrialists, capitalists and land-owners. Well, that was a new situation we had got. Then we had got to deal

with the leadership of influence and of thought. The Swaraj movement was in the hands of all these people, who figured in their own spheres and who lived up to the active principle of independence, but all of them had not behind them a new life or a new influence. Some of them had with them the old cast of thought. That was the case with a great many Congressmen. Confusion arose, the thoughts of the leaders were opposed to the thoughts of the led, the leaders could not be sure that the people whom they led would get their thoughts on the same lines of theirs. The old way of thinking prevailed with upper classes, who had to lead the masses, and, therefore, the masses became anti-Capitalists. That was the situation of the masses, and that is the situation we have present. Then we began to question ourselves whether we could change the situation. We then found that among the classes that were to carry on the movement, there were lower classes; there were the classes of the people who formed the peasantry of the country. We found the lower classes, the social classes, and the middle-classes. At the earlier stages of the movement, they could not be united; everyone was bent on organising its own society, and so the people generally to a large extent became helpless at the earliest stages of the movement to reconcile themselves. Among all the classes there were people who were literate; who were educated, who were capable of thinking. There were people among them who could speak and write and read. Such people in the lower and middle classes were dependent to a large extent for lead on the upper classes. The cast of thought of these leaders was, however different, from the cast of thought of the people whom they led. Obviously, there arose a great danger in the situation. For the leadership it became difficult to control the led. This brings us to the mass movement, the movement of the working-classes. The leadership of the middle-classes was dangerous to the working-classes. This was the situation in Italy. There you have the disturbances of all kinds, which made the situation very acute between the upper-classes and the working-classes and the peasantry. The masses found themselves weak to fight against the other classes, and they wanted to be relieved from the intolerable burden which was placed on them by high prices and by unemployment. The peasantry came out spontaneously, they had no leadership from the middle classes, they had no organised movement, among them there was a certain amount of disorder, and what happened was that Mussolini came to their help with his organised leadership which was essential for success; so that, these classes found their movements being developed through a totally different channel, through the dictatorship of a representative of the middle-classes. Thus you have at first only the capitalists and the Industrial classes, then came the working-classes and then comes the support to the working classes of a middle-class dictatorship. Mussolini found that the mass movement could not stand without

his help. He saw that the position of the masses was such that no improvement would take place in it through any middle way, the only way being to let them be on one side and the capitalists on the other. That was the definite position he had taken up. He foretold the downfall of the capitalists. It has not fallen yet. But here is an individual, an ordinary man, like Mussolini, who worked for the failure of the Capitalists. He opposed the programme of the Capitalists. He felt that the world was outraged, that the situation of the masses was a very difficult one and that it could only be solved fundamentally by the relief of distress of the working-classes. He knew the Capitalists controlled the situation by brute force, he knew that, therefore, the situation was made fundamentally uncontrollable by the Capitalists. He saw that that was the position. I suggest to you, friends, that we shall get a situation of a similar character in India. We have the same elements in our situation. We have the working classes, we have the peasantry, we have the mass-movement: they are led by the people who belong to the middle-class. Therefore, there will be a great danger of our mass-movement being thrown along a wrong track. That has to be avoided. You can avoid that only by the exercise of the freedom and the prerogative that attaches to the youth. Diwan Chamanlal told you about this-that the movement would be successful if it is carried on by your youth of ability and who are without a class bias.

They cannot get rid of the difficulties if they have got class-bias. The class-bias has grown with them. They have to work with ability. Then only they can direct the movement along the right direction, because it requires a great effort and self-abnegation to be able to command success. The important part of the situation is that they have to think of the thing in a sufficiently careful manner. They have to refer to the present mode of thought, they have to find out the way to organise themselves, they have to be imbued with the same kind of desire as the working classes in Italy. They have to create a new atmosphere which would suit them. This seems to me to be the function of the youth. They have to get a clear rid of their class-affiliation and realise what the necessities of the situation are in class-terms, and take the consequences. The consequences are that they should support the programme which is fundamentally and even ultimately for the benefit of the masses of the population in the country, to leave aside the old programmes which they have been accustomed to, which were the fundamental object of the upper-classes. The question of organisation will be even a more difficult question to undertake. I have indicated that there are some people who would rub with the present kind of organisation or measure, but there are others who had to begin with the new state of things, who will have a different sort of control over the movement. In the immediate steps of the progress we may perhaps move rapidly but certainly objectively towards

a favourable condition of things, by preparing ourselves for a new departure along the new line. Everyone realises that the Congress has reached a position in which it cannot go forward any longer except through the path of decay. This state of decay, at present, every one practically realises. That is not a matter of individual will. The new necessity has arisen, and it is a simple fact that the people do not know how to act. They do not know what to do. They are trying to find out the new way of battle. They will feel the road to this new way. They cannot easily get rid of the old way. However, it is only the young people who can get along the new idea and the novelties in the way of thinking—not merely of a destructive criticism but for the unity and for the new organisation. They want for that purpose an organised thought. That is the only way to carry out their new wishes, that is the only way in which people can go forward with the right movement, though they may not go much further. The situation is very awkward. We have to get rid of the difficulties in our ways, but we find that the new way is not in sight. It is most difficult to proceed on the old way, and yet a new organisation which would carry us forward is not in sight. What is to be done? Here is a practical question. Here you come to a very much difficult position. First of all, you must understand what human failure means. It is an element in every situation. Some of us may arrive at a certain solution of a question which will give a better position to our national movement. For the moment, we have to concentrate our attention upon good advice. I cannot presume to give you any advice. People, who can give advice, are there. I am not one of them, but I thought I should like to say to you merely to create a new thought on the subject of "The Congress and its future." I did not approve of this title when your Secretary came to consult me. He has already selected it. I stick to it. The question is of unity—how to achieve unity. Take the case of the Hindu Moslem unity. We want more and more freedom to our representatives in councils. First we had separate electorates, now we suggest "Joint electorates" on the basis of a proportionate representation of the two communities, then there is the other proviso, such as, the separation of Sind, then there are various other reforms and other provisos about the North-West Provinces and Baluchistan. Well, I think, the best way I should approach the discussion of this matter is this. It does not matter really in the least, what happens to the representation in the councils. It does not matter in the slightest degree as to what happens there. Everyone is looking to the Commission of 1929. It does not matter as to what happens in the councils, it does not matter who goes there, who represents us there, I think by this time people do not take any notice of the councils, they do not take notice of what is going on there. They know what happens to our demands, to our grievances constantly aired in councils. At any rate, for the moment, no one takes any notice of what is going on

there. I do not think one in a hundred persons reads or listens to what goes on there. It does not matter in the least what is going on there. But what matters is the proposals coming before the All-India Congress Committee. What is to become of them? There should be a gesture on the Part of both sides to accept the proposals out of friendliness between the two communities. There should be, for the moment, an atmosphere of peace between the two communities—not an atmosphere of war. So that further adjustments can be satisfactorily made. You may not agree to all the suggestions coming before the All-India Congress Committee. Some suggestions one might feel are very inadequate. I do not mean to discuss that point here. It is for the A. I. C. C. to do it. It is an inevitable question to crop up before the A. I. C. C. for discussion before the leaders on one side and on the other. What I do want to say here is only of the struggle that is going on about the Congress, and that is of greater importance and, therefore, it is necessary to bring it before the A. I. C. C. A similiar state of things came for discussion before the Congress, held in Brussels two months ago. At that Congress had attended nearly 200 representatives of independent organisations. It was a Congress which was said to be an organisation against Imperialism. There were present representatives of the Depressed Classes from all parts of the world. China was very heavily represented. There was the Chinese Kaumintang, the Chinese Trade Union Congress, and two Chinese representatives of the army. There were other delegates. India was represented I think, by one delegate, Pandit Jawarlal Nehru there was a representation from South Africa, Persia, Egypt, England, Java and also Ter.itorial countries of that kind, and there were representatives from the British Labour Movement. As I have learnt that the publication of that body's report will not be allowed to be circulated in India, I think it should not discussed now. I do not know what is going to be proposed before the A. I. C. C., but my idea is that India should take an interest in making her organisations with other organisations in the world, who are fighting against Imperialism. Now, there various kinds of bodies and various kinds of organisations who oppose Imperialism. The Indian National Congress is fighting against Imperial domination, and there are other classes and bodies which oppose Imperialism. There is for instance the British Independent Labour Party and the British Communist Party and the British Working-Classes' Organisations which are still called the elements opposing Imperialism. There is the British Labour movement and there is the Colonial Workers' movement. These are all fighting against Imperialism on different grounds and for different reasons, but fundamentally their objective is one-to bring about unification. I think it is most important that the Indian National Congress should seriously consider any proposals to be put forward for India's participation in organisations and movements elsewhere, the Congress should

carefully consider this point, carefully consider Pundit Javhetilal Nehru's Report and take proper action on it. I do not know if the Pundit makes any suggestions in his report, but, I think, it is an important matter that action should be taken as far as possible. There should be a permanent organisation here of that kind, and the Congress has established itself as such a real organisation. There should be permanent representatives here of that League.

They should spread forward ideas which stand as forces which are opposed to Imperialism. The working-classes at Home and in the Colonies are opposed to Imperialism. Then, there is a third subject of considerable importance to be considered by the A.I.C.C. A programme has been put forward before the Congress through the A.I.C.C. by the representatives of the Peasant Party in Bombay. I have read the programme. It is based on the new lines which the Congress is asked to work. The programme denotes a policy of nationalism to be carried on in a new manner, which must be different from the old way, whereby it shall not serve the interests of the upper-classes only, of one branch of Society and give up the other branch. It would represent the interests of the lower-classes, the working-classes, the peasantry and lower-middle-classes of the town, who form 99% of the population of the towns. Experience has shown-it is a most acute experience-that the two classes-the two sections-of the upper-classes and the other classes-cannot be united into one national movement we have to choose between the one and the other. Choose the 99 p.c. who oppose Imperialism. That is the programme put on a new basis-before the congress and the people. It is put forward on the new lines. I do not know whether the Congress will agree to it in part or wholly, though it has been received fairly favourably by the leaders of old school. It is possible, I think, that some suggestion may be put forward because the programme is not quite adequate. As it is it would do for the movement, we cannot expect it to be a perfect one at its inception. Any number of suggestions may be made by the Congress and the people in the direction of complete non-co-operation. In certain part it must influence the masses of the population to non-co-operation. They have to be organised in the way in which they can be organised. The working-classes in towns, will form a vital part of the population for the purposes of non-co-operation. The masses can be organised for Trade Unions. The Trade Unions and the Congress must move forward. There should be a movement of organised Trade Unions which must take part in co-operating with the Congress Trade Unions cannot be inseparable bodies from the Congress. If the new programme is in sufficient it may be properly organised the Congress will not become a part of the trade Union, but will co-operate with that body. It will remain closely tied to the Trade Union. The Congress will become transformed to some extent-more or less

into the peasants Party. It will subscribe to the new programme. The new party will be more powerful. This new programme should be carried on until it gets a sufficient advance. It should be worked for the time being. The congress should formally accept the ideas which should make it work for the masses of the people who are organised insufficiently. The present policy of the Congress is "The old Men's affairs." It works for those upper classes who enjoy a very artificial human life. We now realise how we have been treated and that our position from the human point of view is intolerable. You should realise that we are now in a position to work upon new basis and that we should carry on the programme as far as practicable. If it is accepted now, incomplete as it is, it will be accepted when it is, complete. The programme does not mean individual work. It means a struggle of all on the new basis. Therefore, the youth must come forward to do the work. This is what Diwan Chamanlal told us, and this is what I want to represent and rub into the youth of this country. It is not enough to simply think a thing out. You must move away from the old channel of thinking, you must move along new lines. Organise in a new manner along new basis as the contest is between the freedom of all and the interest of a few. The youth should be at the root of the new movement. They must be able to carry it out. With this very ineloquent peroration, I to beg thank you. (Cheers).

PRESIDENT'S APPEAL.

Friends we have heard a very pointed criticism of the Indian National Congress from Mr. Spratt who represents the views of the advanced Labour Party, I would like our friend Mr. Spratt, to tell us how the Congress movement has been owed by the Independent Labour Party, (Cheers).

Mr. SPRATT'S EXPLANATIONS.

Friends, the Independent Labour Party is a composite body. There are minor distinctions in it. There is the MacDonald's Party and there is the Maxton's Party. MacDonalds' view of the Indian National Congress is that the Congress is a nuisance and that the least notice be taken of it. You can judge it from his actions when he was Prime Minister. His notorious work as Prime Minister is alone enough to betray his attitude towards the Congress. As Prime Minister he was not in power but in position, There is a new section of the I. L. P. which has sympathy for the Indian National Congress. There is also a section of the Independent Labour Party which takes economic interest in the progress of India. It is fighting in England against the Capitalist development in the different parts of the Empire. It works in industrial Centres in Britain and in the Colonies, It is interested in the question of unemployment. It has succeeded in reducing unemployment and enabled people who lived on doles, to get employment. It is called the Left wing

of the I. L. P. Its position has become very important. It can not take up any another work except the economic Problems towards freedom. The British are getting quickly conscious of their neglect of the masses. They do not realise that a few people belonging to the Left wing command a wider realisation of the principles of the I. L. P. I have no doubt that there will be very quickly a much wider consciousness of the interest of the masses of the country. I do not know whether we belonging to the Left-wing shall succeed or not, but we shall go on working until we have the situation in hand throughout the British Empire. The Indian National Congress is fighting against the same economic enemy, We wish the Indian National Congress should represent the real feelings of the rank and file of the country. (Loud Cheers).

Mr. Bharucha said that the lecturer had given him material for his own lecture which is coming on the 12th instant, the subject being "Driving India to Revolt-warning to Government and leaders and earnest appeal to youngsters. "He thanked the lecturer and dissolved the meeting.

P.W.273 J. Macwan.

P. 2237

Speakers . (1) Nimbkar
(2) Others.

Date : 11th May 1928

Place : Nagu Sayajiwadi, Bombay.

Subject : Mill Strikes.

* * * * *

NIMBKER

Nimbker said the Municipal Corporation defeated the resolution of Dr. Choksy to help the strikers to the extent of Rs. one lac. The municipality belonged to the citizens. In England municipality supplied food to the strikers, educated their children and even did not charge rent during the strike period. If municipality really belonged to the people it would have helped the strikers. He read the names of these councillors who had opposed the resolution of Dr. Choksy and said the first and foremost was Petit the chairman of the Millowners' Association, then was H. P.

Mody who the ex-chairman, Sir Dinshaw Petit who was so fat that he required two motor cars to carry him. Sir P. C Sethna and Sir Currimbhoy who were millowners, Arbuthnot, municipal engineer, B. M. Gamadia, landlord, A. T. Janai a Jari Puranawalla J. P., E. R. Hirjeebehdin a newspaperman, D. G. Dalvi, a friend of Joshi, L R Tairsee, who once was the president of the G. I. P. Railway Union but was now a traitor, Vithaldas Govindji, a congressman but importer of foreign cloth and Dr. S. P. Mehta son of Pherooshah Mehta who went to the corporation by votes of the mill hands.

He then gave cheers for Dr. Choksy who was present at the meeting. Continuing his speech, he said, millowners were making the strikers angry, There was not the least possibility that strike would end soon. The Strike Committee had sent an ultimatum to the millowners that if they did not reply to the demands of the strikers within eight days, the strikers would demand wages for the period of strike. Ten days had passed since they sent the ultimatum but nothing had been done by the mill owners. If the strikers demanded their wages for the strike period the fault would be of the millowners. Until the millowners agree to pay wages of strike period the strike would not come to an end and the mills would remain closed. The millowners were ally of Lancashire to kill trade of Japan. The Indian National Congress had resolved to boycott British goods and the millowners were supporting Lancashire. In Russia the Czar was shot down, landlords and millowners were shot down. No vote was given to a landlord or a capitalist. Only agriculturists and workers had votes. Lenin was the worker and he brought about these reforms in Russia. In India too they should do the same thing and establish workers' rule and workers would get justice. Russia had sent Rs. 20,000 to Joshi and "Times of India" said why should the strikers take help of Russia. His reply to the "Times" was if municipality did not give help, they would accept help of Russia. It was the money of the Russian workers and not of capitalists. No one, even "Times" father would interfere in our affairs. Now Joshi was abused because he accepted help from Russia. The mills were paying wages and every mill hand should take his wages and go to his village. If they went to work again not only the millowners would make them work on two frame and three looms but would reduce the wages also to only Rs. 20/- per month. There were some jobbers going to Naigaum chawl and requesting people to go to work. The operatives should not listen to this advice but go to their villages and come during Dussera to see the machinery full of dust.

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Document P. 1689
 pages 1-10

P. 2238.

Speakers: (1) Mirajkar.
" (2) Others.

Date: 15th May 1928.

Place: Nagu Sayaji vadi. | Bombay. |

Subject: Mill striker.

Mirajker said Alwe was indiposed & had also to go to the Strike Committee. He might therefore come late (He did not come at all). He (Mirajker) therefore opened the meeting.

He was glad to see a few people there. This accounted for the large number of people who were going to their villages.

There were some "Dadas" who were misleading the workmen in the Parcel area and the strike leaders would therefore hold meetings every day at Parcel also.

The millowners considered the strikers as dismissed and were going to issue their conditions on which they could take the men back to work. Mirajker said that was a trick to deceive 150000 workmen by a handful of millowners. If 150000 men remained firm and refused to go to work how the millowners were going to bring workmen to work their mills? Even if they opened a factory to manufacture men it would take at least twenty five years for them to get men.

He then referred to the "Evening News" which had given career of the strike leaders who were characterised as mischievous agitators.

He challenged the proprietors of the "Times of India" and "Evening News" that within a short time the strike leaders would influence the workmen of their press to strike and retaliate for the criticism passed on the leaders. The strike leaders would not sit quiet till the government of the country was captured by workmen and there was a real labour government.

They would continue the agitation till the millowers lost all their luxury, motor cars and bank account. The "Times of India" had abused a moderate like Mr. Joshi. The strikers should reply to the "Times by burning a copy of "Times of India".

The strikers had still many enemies in master and jobbers who admitted men in the mills by back doors. Two pickets at each mill would not stop this mischief and it was upto the strikers who remained in Bombay now to parade the mills and stop men going to work.

Mayokar was holding meeting at midnight like a woman. If he was manly enough he should come forward and exchange views in the meetings held by strikers. The war camp of the strikers in future would be besides Nagoo Sayaji Wadi also Dal Wadi where meeting would be held every evening.

The millowners had threatened to dismiss the strikers but that was only a threat. If all the men remained firm the millowners would fall on their knees before the strikers and accede to all the demands.

He then took a copy of the "Times of India" of Tuesday and burnt midst cheers and jeering.

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Macwan

P. 2239.

Speakers: (1) Bradley.

(2) Others.

Date. . 21st May 1928.

Place : Nagu Sayaji Wadi, Bombay.

Subject— Mill Strikes.

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Bradley.

Bradley then said : The attitude of the employers remains the same. I have not the least doubt that they are maintaining pressure so that you may go to work again. I gather from the employers' position that they will have to concede some points. They realise that mills closed for considerable period would mean considerable loss to them. I also want to make reference to the big parties meeting that ended last week in Bombay. Not one leader practically took notice of the strikers. They talk of swaraj but their absence in your midst show how far they take interest in your welfare. You are the people who would ultimately decide the

destiny of this country. It is regrettable that not one man who talked of swaraj showed real interest in your struggle. It is also regrettable that they do not realise that without your assistance they would never achieve swaraj. If they want to frame a constitution of India they could not do so without your assistance. It is the fundamental problem that affects the masses today in India. Just as you workers are struggling to day for living so you will struggle in future when the swaraj comes in the hands of the present leaders. The real swaraj is of workers. They are talking of framing of a constitution but they have not yet laid foundation for swaraj. Let them apply their mind to the problems of the peasants facing them in Bombay, Calcutta and Lahore. By assisting you workers they would lay foundation of the mass movement and will free India from the bond of capitalism and imperialism. Your struggle is the struggle for freedom. You have shown so far wonderful solidarity. Wonderful stand you are making is a credit throughout the world. Workers of my country are watching very keenly your struggle because they realise that your struggle is their struggle. They wish you success in your struggle which will end in your victory.

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Macwan PW 273

P. 2240. 1 & 2.

Speakers: (1) Joglekar.
(2) Bradley.
(3) Others.

Date: 24th May 1928.

Place: Nagu Sayaji Wadi Bombay.

Subject: Mill Strikes.

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P. 2240 1.

JOGLEKAR.

Joglekar said that the police have been disappointed that though they fired at the strikers they have kept on picketing undaunted. So they have arrested a few pickets at Tapidas and

Pralhad mills. The strikers are not going to be cowed down and would show a determined front to the police. Now they would go to jail and if the pickets are arrested and sent to jail their places should be filled up at once by others. The police were harrasing the strikers because "this government is not ours, it is not a righteous government. We will overthrow this government." Today in the British Empire they would celebrate Empire day. The British empire was an unrighteous giant. It gloried in the blood of the poor like the strikers. In the last war sixteen lacs Indian lost their lives and on their blood this empire was built and now they were sending the strikers to jail and arrested pickets. While they were rejoicing in some parts of British empire today millions of Indian starved. "Let us throw off this giant who has grown big on the blood of the poor."

The governor said from Mahableshtar that "we are not your leaders." He said so because he was also unjust and unrighteous.

At this stage Miss Poovaia, late Lady Superintendent of Seva Sadan, Poona, came with her sister in a taxi accompanied by Nimbker. People thought that somebody had come to fire on them and therefore they began to run away and there was considerable confusion. When Nimbker came with two ladies, people laughed and quiet was restored.)

Joglekar continuing said! On Empire Day they should curse the British empire. As pickets were now arrested they should all prepare to go to jail. There was no fear to go to jail because "government was ours" and "government treasury was ours" and "government jail were ours" "we will enjoy it" we will not allow the governor to enjoy at Mahableshtar. We will drive away the mill owners from their mills. Because the mills are ours.

During the war the mill owners made Rs. 58 crores of profit. This money belonged to the strikers. Let ten to twenty thousand strikers go to jail and let us inform the government to make room for them all.

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P. 2240 2.

Bradley

Bradley said he would not speak anything regarding the Empire Day as it would be misrepresented. I have no love for the empire though I had fought for it. Since then I have learnt a lesson. The empire must be International of the workers. The present empire is constructed on exploitation. The passive behaviour of pickets have upset the police who are bent upon creating a disturbance. This should serve to stiffen the pickets to bring the strike to successful conclusion. I had a talk with a mill manager yesterday who was surprised to see me in my present appearance. Perhaps he expected me with a big beard and a dagger. He told me that he would open his mill from the 1st of June. I said I hope before you open the mill you satisfy all demands of the strikers. I am also misrepresented in regard to the national leaders. What I said was that your struggle and splendid stand is a great example to the national leaders. It is the spirit that you are showing that will win swaraj. Remain firm. The solidarity which you are showing today will achieve your goal. Remember what Purcell and Holdsworth said "the labour condition in India is a disgrace to civilisation."

P. 2241. 1 & 2

Speakers: (1) Nimbkar
(2) Bradley.
(3) Others.

Date: 30th May 1928.

Place: Nagu Sayaji Wadi, Bombay.

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P. 2241. 1.

Nimbkar said: In today's paper there are two interesting items. The first is that we are in a state of war and want ammunition. We have only Rs. 32,000. There are some friends who are considering to help us. In Europe the question of our strike is under consideration and Holdsworth and Purcell have placed

our grievances before the British public. We expect to get Rs. 25000 to Rs. 30000 from the unions of Holdsworth and Purcells. Then the International Textile Conference have also promised to help us. So we will get plenty of ammunition to continue our war against the millowners.

The other good news is that the millowners had taken contracts to supply goods. These contracts are broken owing to strike and the millowners have to pay damages. They are now trying to negotiate with us. If you remain firm we will be successful otherwise we will lose our battle. You must remember that the millowners are thieves and robbers. On one hand they would negotiate with us and on the other, they would open the mills, and ask the strikers to go to work. Then as soon as you resume your work, they would drive us out. I will not go to the millowners. I will remain out to fight with Inspector Long. If you want to go to work, it should be by common consent. We will call Joshi from Jamshedpur by sending a wire and open negotiations with the millowners. We will let you know here in Nagoo Sayaji Wadi as to what happens there. You must take care that the strike is not broken. Don't allow anybody to go to work. If any body tries to go to work give him a good hammering. If millowners do not come to terms we will continue the strike for two to four months. We have now ammunition ready. Don't be anxious about your stomach. Be brave. We will give you bread. As we are going to negotiate and the 1st of June is coming soon, more vigorous picketing is necessary. If Long comes to assault our pickets, we will take their places and offer ourselves for arrest. If Long or his father arrested us, you must take our places. The "Times of India" is howling like a pig in the wilderness that the strike is over. Don't believe such canard. "Times" is the millowners' paper.

Then I have to refer to you in regard to our friend Spratt. You know what useful work he used to do in Bombay among the poor people. He is now in Calcutta helping the railway and the jute mills strike. As Bradley is working here so Spratt is working in Calcutta. The Chamber of Commerce of Bengal has represented to the Bengal Government that it is not desirable to allow Spratt to stay in India. The Bengal government has endorsed this view. Spratt is dying for labourers. There are fifty capitalists who want to remove an idol of fifty lacs of labourers. Do you think the government is for fifty lacs of labourers. Shouts of "No." We will tell government that if you are for labourers, do not send away Spratt.

P. 2241 2.

BRADLEY.

Bradley said: The spirit of Atmaram who has come out of jail will free you from the bondage of capitalism and the terrible sufferings you are undergoing today. I read a statement about Spratt today that the Bengal Chamber of Commerce has taken a particular action. I want to know whether the government consider the views of fifty men more important than the views of five thousand men? If they say that certain individual is a nuisance because he is attempting to get better conditions for five thousand labourers then you should consider it a strange doctrine. Englishmen like Spratt, Purcell, Hallsworth and myself are like nuisance to the Barra Sabs because we want to help you in your struggle to free yourself from the bondage of capitalism. The struggle will go on, for every one Englishman removed, a dozen will come to India to better the conditions of labour and to fight their battle. The government and employers understand that they have kept truth far away from you long enough. In Bombay, Bengal and Rangoon the labourers are revolting and they are marching forward for a better life. Whether in Bombay, Jamshedpur or elsewhere the struggle will break out in bigger and bitter form. If it is 150000 now it would be 500000 in the near future and the employers will recognise that they must give humane conditions to the workers. Further, this struggle is not yours only. Financial and moral support is going to come from the Textile International of Russia and the workers of the world. They are going to assist you so that they may get better conditions. If your wages remain low, the wages of the textile workers of Lancashire would come down. You have got to organise a machine from this struggle so that your machine might become a part of the international movement. I understand that the millowners have called a meeting of the Strike Committee. Majority of you are still unorganised. You have to maintain the pressure on the millowners and give the necessary punch to the Strike Committee that your demands be granted.

P. 2242.

Speakers : (1) Dange.

(2) Others

Date : 2nd June 1928.

Place : Nagu Sayaji Wadi, Bombay.

Subject : Mill Strikes.

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Dange

Dange then said: Yesterday after the meeting was over some residents of this chawl complained to me that the strikers went up in the galleries and caused a nuisance. The men residing there had to go to work and women had to move about. If you again go there, they would inform the police. As a matter of fact we are treating them as police are treating us.

I want to make an important pronouncement today. There is a party called Workers and Peasants' Party, The object of this party is to fight for the rights and liberties of the workers and free them from the domination of the capitalists. I was sentenced to four years rigorous imprisonment for identifying myself with this party. We are now fighting for you as members of that party and therefore have incurred displeasure of many persons. We have gained so much strength now that our enemies are afraid. Our enemies try to divide us as moderates and extremists. We have prolonged the strike which our enemies do not like. They have now conspired against us. A well known man is concerned in this conspiracy. We do not get our letters. Even registered letters are tampered with. Letters of Bradely, Nimbkar and myself are tampered. We complained to the post office but no reply till six months. Even money orders are misappropriated. There is a gentleman in Russia who is ready to help you. But our enemies come in the way and do not allow the money to come and do not allow that gentleman send the money. During the Kharagpur strike Rs. 4000 were sent to Mr. Giri from Russia. It came to a bank here but the money was returned with the excuse that the strikers refused to accept the money. A member of our party was favoured with an order for ten thousand roubles. A letter was also sent to us. We received the letter. The letter was received by a member who is well known. But the money has not been forthcoming. This money has been given to another man. This money is received by Joshi although it was sent to us. Date and amount of money sent and the destination tally that the sender of the money is the same man whose money has been received by Joshi. There is a conspiracy against our party.

I am accused of illegal restraint. On the other hand I told you to set those two men free. I am prepared to go to jail. The

two men have not made complaint against me. If you meet those men please tell them to instruct the police that they do not desire to prosecute me.

P. 2243 A & B

Speakers: (1) Nimbkar

(2) Others.

Date: 3rd June 1928.

Place: Nagu Sayaji's Wadi, Bombay

Subject: Mill Strikes.

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NIMBKAR.

Nimbkar then said:—I have received two letters. One regarding the strike and enquiring as to when it would end. The other sympathising with Dange and assuring him to give evidence on his behalf in the police court.

I must also make some reference in re. to Alwe's suggestion that if clerks want to go to work they should take "passes" from us. Two years ago there was a strike in England and trains, trams, buses, docks and every thing was at a stand still. Nothing was done without the order of the Trade Union leaders. Same thing should be observed in re. to our strike, If millowners want the clerks to work they should take our order first. We are governing Parel and Worli sections with 150000 men. We have not demonstrated our power yet but if it is necessary we will show our power and demonstrate labour rule in Bombay. The "Evening News" has misinterpreted my speech yesterday and put in my mouth that "revolution" would occur in Bombay. I did not use the word "kranti" viz: revolution. But if government want revolution in Bombay I am prepared to bring about revolution in Bombay. I have got the power to bring about revolution. The revolution will arise from the persecution of sending us to jail and to gallows. When there is revolution in Bombay there would be no British government and no millowners but all work-

men. If millowners do not come round we will bring about a revolution. Mr. Narayan Becher of Karachi has come today among us. He has resigned his seat in the Legislative Council and wants re-election. If he is re-elected, we will ask him to expose the Bombay police scandal of the shooting of Pharasaram Jadhav by Power and the harrasment of the strikers by the police, Nehru, Gandhi, Naidu call themselves Indian leaders but have not done anything for the workers. Strike is going on in Bombay since five weeks, so workers are out in Calcutta, and Jamshedpur and lacs of men are without work but Gandhi, Nehru and Naidu are silent while Mohmedali and Srinivasa Iyengar have run away to England. Nariman and Balubhai Desai are talking about Bardoli agriculturists. Are you sure that they have real sympathy? In Bardoli there are a number of "jatwallas" of Nariman doing business in liquor. Nariman wants to help them and not the real agriculturists who are Dublas. Balubhai Desai has got a number of friends and relatives in Bardoli whom he wants to help. There is no body to help you. You must stand on your own legs.

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P. 2243 B.

NIMBKAR.

Nimbker again spoke and said: In regard to Dange's speech yesterday I must make the point clear. 10000 roubles were sent from Russia for the strikers on Jhabwalla. But the money was delivered to Joshi. Why did it go to Joshi? The bank and police are responsible for it. A letter was subsequently received from the sender of the money stating that at the request of the Russian Textile Labour Union 10000 roubles were sent and asked Jhabwalla to acknowledge the receipt. If Jhabwalla had received this money he would have at once given for your relief but as it has gone to Joshi he gives by small instalments. Joshi does not want to hand over the money to Jhabwalla.

P. 2244

Speakers: (1) Bradley.

(2) Others.

Date: 4th June 1928.

Place: Nagu Sayaji's Wadi, Bombay.

Subject: Mill Strikes.

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Bradley.

Bradley then said:—Although I am reported to be a member of the Workers and peasants Party, I must correct and say I am not a member of that party. This is the first time that I knew that I was a member of that party although I have watched with interests what the Workers and Peasants Party have done. I see in Workers and Peasants Party, a party that will lead the workers of India to freedom.

Another item of interest I want to refer is that I met some interesting people in Bombay. I was invited by a mill manager to the Commercial Gymkhana yesterday and I was introduced to some mill managers. They were much surprised to see me. When I sat down a crowd of about fifteen mill managers started talking and spoke in quite Lancashire language of the mills. When I talked to them that their fathers and grand fathers struggled as the mill strikers struggle today they saw some difference in their position. When I reminded them that their brethren at Lancashire were facing with a 12½% reduction and that to better the condition of Indian workers was to improve the condition of the Lancashire workers, they could see the logic. These men were brought as mill managers from Lancashire and got fat salaries. If they go to Lancashire they will have again to work in mills as you do.

We will all anxiously see as to what comes out of the negotiation with the millowners. Your strength lay in yourselves. Your strength lay in unity.

P. 2445.

Speakers: (1) Dange.

(2) Others.

Date: 7th June 1928.

Place: Nagu Sayaji's Wadi, Bombay.

Subject: Mill Strikes.

Dange

Dange said: After I came here I heard that three or four persons—our volunteers—were taken to the police chowki yesterday. Alwe told me that they were kept till midnight for enquiry. Like millowners the government are also doing “rat pali” night work. Millowners were doing night work for their profit and so the police are also doing their work for their profit. Is it justice to make enquiry in the midst of ten or fifteen policemen? And if a man is sentenced to six months imprisonment, will you call it a just sentence? The police are now trying to distract us with a view to break the strike. I had warned you two months ago that police will try to break the strike by harrasing you. The strikers are not afraid to go for enquiry but they are afraid of the assault. The Strike Committee have therefore very wisely engaged two pleaders. Let the police take away our volunteers to the police station. After they return from the police station, we will take their photo and take notes of injury on their persons and also mark if there has been any change in their clothes. How long police will continue this “kayda baji” constitutional methods? Until you lodge passive resistance. In 1922 Gandhi launched passive resistance to break laws. You should be ready likewise to break laws. I am prepared to break laws and court jail life. Other leaders would also court jail life and break laws. But in that case, there would be no one left to guide you in your strike and all of you will go to work in absence of the leaders. We can fight with government in two ways. Constitutionally and by revolution. You can not get success by revolution because we have no arms and ammunition. We have only lathis. By lathis you can kill a few people and also by strength of arms you can murder a few men. But this is not success. All on a sudden all the army of the government would stand against you and destroy you in a minute. Therefore until you get and win over Indian army on your side you must go on constitutionally. In police and in army our Indian people only abound. We must try to win our people on our side and then throw away the government. I shall be the first man, when that day arrives, to throw away the government. We will purge the evil out from the police and the government and hand over the administration in your hands. To achieve this end we must be united and be ready to go to jail. I am ready to go to jail.

(At this stage Bradley came and he was received with the usual cheers).

Dange continuing said: While our people are joining army and police and use their strength against us, here is an Englishman, who is fighting for us against his own countrymen. If you have any complaint against the police you must take it to the pleaders appointed by the Strike Committee. The police are interfering in the dispute between the strikers and the mill owners and if we lose our head they would get good slaps.

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P. 2246.

Speakers: (1) Mirajkar.
(2) Others.

Date: 8th June 1928.

Place: Nagu Sayaji Wadi, Bombay.

Subject: Mill Strikes.

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MIRAJKER,

Mirajker said: I must repudiate the newspaper report that I went with Nimbker to negotiate with the millowners. We will never go to the millowners. The invitation to the representatives of the trade unions is also a trick. The millowners think that they are too wise and can dupe the workers. But they are mistaken.

Monsoon is setting but we will hold meetings at Thakersy Hall. Monsoon has upset the millowners as it will make their machinery rusty. Therefore they are anxious to negotiate with us. The millowners would not stand for two months more but we would continue for four months.

There are some swarajists whose photographs you see often in the newspapers are sitting at Allahabad to frame a constitution for India without consulting us. You are the real people of India.

You sleep on torn beddings. They do not. You strave. They live in luxury. You go about scorching in the sun. They require servants to carry umbrellas over their heads. Who are these people to frame a constitution for you? We will tell them, you may frame a constitution but it shall not be acceptable to us. We will snatch our rights from you and your fathers. These people had come to Bombay 15 days ago but they never came to you to speak a word. They did not come to us because we wanted their money hoarded in banks. You would get nothing from these people. Let us stand on our legs and when our time comes we will kick them and even parliament and throw them in the gutter. We have strength to do that. The Indian agriculturists and workers, if united will get swaraj for India. The Workers and Peasants' Party will win swaraj for you. You are poor people. You have suffered a lot. You are the people who will free the country from bondage. Peasants and Workers' party is the only party to speak with authority about India. So far as employers, police, government and millowners exist, we will speak of freedom. We will give our lives for freedom. When we get freedom, there would be no reporter, no police, no government and no employer. In Russia the agriculturists and workers murdered Czar and destroyed his kingdom. They established their own rule. Same thing is going on in China, England and India. Until we get our own rule and power we will fight for freedom and prepare the people for the battle of freedom.

P. 1696. *Revised*

Speakers: (1) R. S. Nimbkar.
(2) S. S. Mirajkar.
(3) & Others.

Date: 14th June 1928.

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

Subject: Mill Strike Bombay.

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Nimbkar.

(1) Last time it was observed that there was a great rush of mill-hands at Tareleo Kamatipura, Madanpura, Deslile Road ctr

and so we are going to open two more centres one at Worli and the 2nd at the Chinchpokli for the convenience of the people. We have now 12 Centres in all. We must stop sweepers of the municipality and beggars coming to the centres for getting rations. So I have made this arrangement: The passes issued to mill-hands on Tuesday last have been cancelled. 4 or 5 men are appointed at each centre and they will visit Chawls and will make enquiries about the mill hands and will then passes of their signatures. Grain will be distributed to these people only. If any one pretends to be a mill-hand and comes to the Centre for obtaining doles will be handed over to the Police. You might remember that before some days ago I criticised our Congress leaders who are merely friends of capitalist. What good had they done for the poor. Mr. Nariman fought out the Case of Back-bay Scheme because rich merchants were entangled in it. They are all at present supporting the Bardoli Satyagraha movement, and they don't care for 150000 people of Bombay who are starving. Some years ago Bombay Provincial Committee had 40 lacks of Rupees out of which Mahatmaji spent 24 lacks of Rs. for Khadi and Charkha movement. Charkhas went as fuel for preparing tea and Khadi had totally disappeared. Out of the remaining amount one or two lakhs of Rs. are spent in buildings and loans; some merchants took a loan from the remaining amount for opening Swadeshi cloth stores and for dealing in motors. Sarojani Niadu who is the President of the Provincial Congress Committee and who has gone to Madras to see her husband who is ill asked the Committee to give Rs. 4000/- out of the Congress funds towards our movement. Yesterday the Committee was to be held for this purpose. According to the rules at least its members ought to be present for the meeting but the quorum was not full and so the Committee could not be held. It seems therefore that the members of the Committee are unwilling to give these Rs. 4000/- for our movement. From this do you think that these Swarajists and Non-co-operators do anything for us? (No, No, from the audience.) We shall have to do two things after our strike is over. 1st thing to form our union and on its strength we must kick out these Swarajists and Non-co-operators from, who are merely friends of the capitalists, from the movement and capture all the institutions. The 2nd thing is that the new election of the members of the Congress Committees is to be held in the month (*i. e.* October) and so we must become members of the Congress in the 9th month (*i. e.* September) and by this way must elect our own men in Bombay. Sometime back I had spoken about Bardoli Satyagraha. At that time I had told that that movement is agai st Govt. Owners and Govt. equally squeeze us and therefore we must also carry on our movement against Govt. quarrel with Govt. as we at present quarrel with mill owners. Really speaking Bardoli movement is not carried on for the poor. In Bardoli Tal. 60 p. c. of lands belongs to the cultivators and 40 p. c. of lands belongs to the capitalists. But most of these 60 p. c. of lands belonging

to the cultivators are mortgaged with the capitalists, and so the capitalists being the losers at present, this Satyagraha movement on the name of cultivators is carried on by the leaders for the benefit of capitalists and hence I call these leaders as friends of capitalists. It is published in Chronicle that Govt. intends to remove Pathans from Bardoli and intends to place in their stead our strikers. I publicly declare that this is quite false and not a single striker will go there to do the work of a Pathan. We are called by the mill owners for the meeting on Saturday at 3 P. M. It is learnt that they have prepared some draft about which I will tell you in next meeting. It is also learnt that some clerks do cleaning work of looms in mills. They must be ashamed of doing this work. You should find them out from the Chawls and request them not to do this work.

Now-a-days we do not see the face of Mr. Long. It seems that he is transferred from the Police St. to some other place by the Commissioner. I request him to behave well or else go home.

MIRAJKAR.

(2) Mirajkar Said:—Mr. Bole says that he is the leader of labourers but has not done anything for the labourers upto now. He conducts a paper by name "Nava Yuga" in which he says that the present leaders of the labourers are "season leaders". (हंगामी पुढारो.) If he would have been a real leader of the labourers he would have come forward and would have done something. He is not an elected member of the Council on behalf of labourers, but he is appointed by the Govt.. Do you call such a man as your leader? (No, No, from the audience). I have already told you that there are two classes of men in the world one class is of capitalists and the 2nd class is of labourers. Capitalists try to keep the labourers under their thumb and make them slaves. National Congress is at present in the hands of such people. How should then we call such a Congress a National Congress? Not a single thing is done in the Congress for the benefit of the labourers and the peasants: It will be a real National Congress when we shall enter into it and will kick out these leaders. He after-wards spoke on Rs. 4000/- which were to be given to them from Congress Committee. Capitalists are murderers. They starve us and ultimately kill us. For this purpose we must form our own union and to attain our object we shall have to fight with the Govt. and the Capitalists. In Russia the same thing occurred and the people there have now become happy. Pandit Motilal Nehru helped Tata Company by thousands of Rupees, but he has not any sort of sympathy towards our movement.

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Sd. R. M. DEOBHANKAR,
S. A. TAMHANE,

Sub-Inspectors of Police,
C.I.D. Poona.

BOMBAY,
14-6-23.

P. 1697

Rejected

Speaker:— S.S. Mirajkar, A striker, R. S. Nimbkar.

Date :— 25th June 1928.

Place :— Nagu Sayaji's Wadi, Bombay.

Subject :— Mill Strikes.

MIRAJKAR.

Mirajkar Said:—

There are many licensed vendors of wine who have not helped us. They got much money from us when we were not duty but they dont want to help us when we are in calamity. So see how their shops will be closed when you would resume your duty. I have to make a charge against the Police also. When we started to collect funds, the Police pursued us since the first day. But we are not afraid of them. But there are some mean Police men who threatened the shopkeepers and tell them not to give us money. Because the Police want to see bring about anyhow that the strike comes to an end. In this way the Police are assisting the mill owners. I know full well that one Police officer made a sign to the shopkeeper not to give us money and naturally that shopkeeper refused to pay us anything. So remember that the Police are doing their best in this way to bring our strike to an end. We always say that Govt. is ma bap. But it is ma bap. We are on strike, since 10 or 11 weeks and during which period we are starving. But the Governer without caring for us carrying on the administration. If the Govt. would have been really ma bap the Governer would have asked the mill owners to compromise and in case of their refusal he would have said that he would open the Govt. treasury for helping the strikers. But the Govt. will not help us. So remember that this ma bap is a Govt. starving their children. But the mill owners should remember full well that though the Govt. has not helped us, we have not lost our strength. Friends sympathisers and the Govt are tested about their sincerity at the time of the men's calamity. If our friends did not assist us at the time of our calamity he is not a real friend. If a mother did not assist her son at the time of his adversity she is not a real mother so if the Govt. did not assist us in our calamity, how can they be called ma bap? I therefore call those who say that they are ma bap are big fools. These people have come her to make us more miserable labourers. It is said that one should go from one place to other with gold tied to his stick from Rameshvar to far away to the south. But where is the gold with us? They have carried away gold to England and did not keep a stick in our hands. The labourers and the poor people of India should remember this thing and begin to work jointly. The 3rd thing that I want to tell

is about picketting. We are going to commence picketting from Wednesday. A rumour has reached my ears that about 50 or 60 persons are going into the mills for work. We want your help. Henceforth Picketting will not be carried away systematically by 2 volunteers because 50 persons can go to the mills by making them aside. I therefore ask you whether you wish to continue the strike, and if you really wish to continue it you must all help the volunteers in picketting. It is not necessary for you to stand near the mills. But you should stand at a long distance and must tell the persons going to the mills not to go and also tell them that if they would go to the mills by making aside the volunteers, our strike will end soon and the mill owners will not come to terms. So you should entreat them not to deceive these 1½ crore of people. Tell me you are going to help the volunteers in picketting in this way or not? ("Yes" was the reply from the audience) you know before some days a resolution was brought in the congress committee about granting 4000 Rs. to the strikers as an help. But by this resolution the hearts of Khadiwala were torn and only 1000 Rs. are sanctioned. Their hearts are not torn when they spend lots of amount on motors and such other items. But it went hard with them to sanction Rs. 4000/- to the starving strikers. The persons in whose hands the Congress is at present are from our enemies' party. If they would have been of our party they would have sanctioned 40000 Rs. instead of 4000/. They are so much rich and monied people that they could give 40000 Rs. in a mement, but they don't want to assist the poor people, but they want to boast that they are the friends of the poor. At the time of granting this amount one man asked me why you used red flag? I told him that it is the flag of the labourers and they have made use of it in their movement. Remember that the labourers will carry on their movement vigourously and they will hoist their flag in place of the Govt. flag which is at present. Because the labourers are the real producers of money. Red flag is an emblem of labour movement, & the labour movement is bound to flourish day by day. The labourers are now realising their rights and priviledgs. They were ignorant of them for so many days. They are now understanding in what way they are deceived by the rich people. The more they become cognisant of these things the more their movement will flourish and the red flag will be unfurled. It will also be unfurled on the Delile road Police station. The President of the municipality has called our leaders to day. You know the history of grant of Rs. 10000/- by the municipality. I do not want to tell it to you at great length but I want to tell you the mischief played by some men at the time of its sanction. You know that a committee was appointed in this respect. That committee referred this question to a legal adviser. I never thought that we shall get this amount. But the legal adviser opined that the grant of Rs. 1000/- to starving mill hands is not illegal. The present law is of capitalists and the Govt. It is not

of labourers and the peasants. At the time of framing the law neither the labourers nor the peasants were consulted and therefore there is no harm for me to say that the law is not ours so long as we were not consulted. Perhaps the legal adviser might have thought that the ill feelings of the strikers might be harmful to his family and so I think he must have opined so. Again some of the members of the corporation played some mischief. They anyhow want to postpone the granting of these 1000/- Rs. They care more for money than the lives of the labourers. I want to tell them that if they want to give they may give immediately or if not, they may say so. But they should not delay any longer. The president of the corporation has invited the members of the strike committee to tell him how long we are going to continue the strike so that they may settle for how many days the grant should be given. My request to the members of the corporation is that at present we are in need of help and if they have any regard for mankind. They should immediately help. The money of the municipality is not of any individual's father's money. We all Labourers pay it. We pay house rent and the owners of the houses pay the taxes of the municipality and therefore there is no objection for the municipality to spend this amount for us. Let us see what the president of the corporation settles in this matter. Yesterday mill clerks held their meeting at 3-30 P. M. in the Damodar Thakersey Hall. But in my opinion it was not the meeting of clerks but of women. If it were of the men they would never have asked the help of the police. We are holding meetings here for the last 3 months. Thousands of people attend it, but have we ever asked the help of a single police? Our meetings are really of men. Yesterday the clerks had called 100 police men for their safety. Were we going to murder them? If they want to hold meetings they may, but why should they take the help of the police? Hold meetings speak what you want, give us replies, we shall also reply, we are brave men, you should also become brave let us have a fight of words, we shall point out your mistakes, you should point out ours and in this way let us carry on the movement systematically. But these timid people had taken the assistance of the police. So I want to tell the clerks that you are our brethren and so you should be bold. You are little bit educated and so you have become clerks while we being uneducated are working as spinners and weavers. They work in the mills, not only as a clerk but also assist the mill owners in cleaning machinery, as if they are the step-sons of the mill owners. We would not have felt sorry if they would have performed their proper work. But we feel much when they do the work of a coolie and assist the mill owners in prolonging our strike. We had issued passes to them in the beginning for going to the mills, but we are required to complain against them when they mis-use those passes and allow many persons to enter the mills on the same passes. We are in need of money at present and the strike committee is considering

over that matter. I have already told you about picketting which is to be commenced from Wednesday. Some newspapers publish false rumours about us and our strike. So we are going to publish one newspaper by name " Kranti " on behalf of the labourers which will contain the true account of our movement. Don't believe in the news published by other newspapers and get your minds prejudiced. If there are any persons in your chawls, lanes and in the vicinity who try to induce you to break the strike tell them quietly that if they were to break it, the mill owners will crush them, and they will be dishonoured every where. Your strike is a sort of battle and just as the commanding officer concentrates his mind upon success not minding any loss so also you should concentrate your mind upon success and get success in the end.

ONE STRIKER

He said:— Continue your strike till you get success. Don't mind the hardships you are put to.

NIMBKAR

Nimbkar said:- Yesterday Alve told me that many of you have got some doubts. So before I commence to speak ask me your questions and I will answer them. (Reply from the audience " no doubts and questions ") It is a good thing that you have no doubts. We have commenced our fight, and strike is the only weapon in our hands you must resolve either to win or to die in the strike. If you behave with this determination, I am sure you will get success. At present it does not appear that we shall get success. But just as a soldier fights with heart and soul when he becomes hopeless of success, in the same way you must fight out the struggle.

I had told you in the beginning that this strike will not come to an end within a month or two. When the rains set in I had advised you all to go to your homes out of Bombay. No body is helping us in our strike. So I want to tell you to keep unity till you get your demands. The present strike may perhaps last for a week more or even it may prolong till Dāsāra. We have no funds and therefore now let us continue our strike by dividing one bread amongst four. I am going to the president of the corporation to day if he sanctions Rs 1000/ daily for the assistance of the starving people it is better, if not still better. We are going to the mill owners to-morrow. I and my friends have settled to tell them that if they wanted to compromise they should do it within a day or two, if not, they should state plainly accordingly and then we have Bombay city police and shop keepers. On the 1st day we obtain some fund. The next day we got more money and on the 3rd day we got still more money and in all I am glad to tell you that our labourers obtained 750 Rs. when the British people were at war with the Germans, they even ate flesh of the horse. Mr. Long has

himself told me that when he was on war he himself has eaten the flesh of the horse. Let the Congress or the corporation help us or not, only stick to your one determination and i. e. to continue your strike till your 17 demands are fulfilled.

MIRAJKAR.

Mirajkar said:- Don't listen to other people and allow your unity to break. We are trying our best to bring you success. Your present hardship, is the future hope of your success.

Sd. R. M. Deobhankar

Bombay)

Sd. S. A. Tamhane

25-6-28)

Sub-Inspector of police C. I. D. Poona.

P 1698.

Rejected

Speakers : (1) S. H. Jhabwala

(2) Others.

Date : 5th July 1928.

Place : Damodar Tharkarsey Hall.

Subject : Mill Strikes.

Jhabwala.

He said:—

I strongly support what Dange has said. The first thing is that there should be no outsider in the meeting of the labourers. We have committed a blunder in allowing the outsiders as well as C.I.D. reporters in our meetings. I am of opinion that they should not come to our meetings. Some people ask us when our strike will come to an end. Uptil now we were telling them that it will come to an end within a fortnight but now I (them ?) that the strike will never come to an end and the mill industry in Bombay city will cease to continue. The reason of this is that the mill owners are stubborn in their terms. What they do say-that they are at a lose is false. 1927 agent got one lac and 41,000 Rs. as commission i. e. even more than a Viceroy's pay. Our men are trying to provide corn to you some of the men have gone to Ahmedabad for brining money. We have

worked hard in these mills and these mills are ours. These mills do not belong to the fathers of the mill owners, nor share holders but they belong to labourers when you will have nothing except clothes on your body and also on the bodies of your wives and children we shall consider about doing satyagraha, in opening the mills. Satyagraha is of two kinds. One is passive and the other is non-passive. For example go to the mills but not to work. Let Government put us into jail. If once 10,000 men are sent to jail they will not get even food to eat. In Non-passive satyagraha you will be the losers. It is not the Government who only by standing aside look to the starving people Does not Governor see this. Mill owners have won over Government. From to-morrow we shall say that the mills are ours and we shall shortly do satyagraha. If you do it I think within 15 days you will get what you want.

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Bombay

5-7-28.

(Sd.) R. M. Deobhankar

S. A. Tamhave

Sub-Inspectors of Police

C. I. D. Poona.

P. 1699.

Revised

Speakers: (1) Alawe, and others:

Date: 19th July, 1928, from 8 a. m. to 9 a. m.

Place: Damodar Tahkersey Hall.

Subject: Mill Strike, Bombay.

Alawe.

He said: Our strike has lasted for three months and fourth month will commence but up till now no decision as arrived at and all are eager to see its end, and for this purpose we hold our meetings, but I think it has become very difficult for us to hold our meetings. Our struggle is going on peacefully but the people have now

become desperate and because they are starving without food. So I think that Bombay Government or say the Commissioner is quite unfit to rule us. It is not just for them to see the mere play of starving of 1½ lacks of people who are starving in the Bombay city of 5 or 6 lacks of population. These are unjust rulers and it is sin to live under their rule. They are sinful authorities. There are 82 mills and for their protection they have kept their Police. This Government is shameless, and they have more care for the machinery of the mills. The Government not being true to their salt has no value of the lives of three or four lacs of people, who are starving. May he then be a Commissioner or a Governor, they are our enemies who do not know this powers. Why should they not interfere to-day, one and half lacs of people are starving and they are keeping the guard for the protection of the machinery of the capitalists. If there be any despotic and unsympathetic Government in the world it is this many Governors might have come and gone but we never found a cruel and demon-like Governor like this. Therefore it is the duty of every labourer to drive away such authorities and take their reins in his hand. Where is the harm if we begun our fight with such despots than to remain starving. We must begin our fight for the sake of our belly. They must tell the mill-owners that they will not give them Police. We dont ask anything more. We only ask them not to curtail our pay. Should they not tell the mill-owners that they should grant our demands or else they would not give them Police. Governor and Commissioner who are the agents of Capitalists are earning their pay from money which we have earned by our sweat. These dogs who are fed on our food have begun barking at us, you should now consider our strike is just and for that 4 lacs of people are starving. It is good on the part of British Government that they should not do anything in this matter? This is question of our belly, a labourer is a gold mine. (कामधेनु) Just as the whole city of Bombay earns money on the machinery of the mills so is the case with the labourers. We can not live and make both ends meet with scanty pay of Rs. 10/12. Capitalist have no intelligence in them as well as the rulers. How should we manage within this pay when these big men come to Paré from Fort they consume petrol of Rs 14. The trade of the capitalists have stopped by our strike. This is what their agents have begun to say. We ask these donkeys to consider over this. You are fools like you. What we ask for? We ask them not to curtail the pay which Rs. 15 or 16. By this curtailment we can not pull on in the city like Bombay. Increase our pay at the time when you want, but for the present do not curtail our pay. This being our demands, the merciless Government and these rascal capitalists are playing the game of starving us. For this purpose, if any crime is committed by labourers being infuriated why should it not be pardoned? If they were to commit a riot or a loot in starving condition why should it not be pardoned? If the two parties are alike to you why should the Police are sent

for their protection. If you are really rulers both the parties must be equal to you. Why should they have wicked thoughts about us in their mind. Government servants are shameless (प्राज्ञी) men. They begin to beat the labourers through the instigation of the capitalists. The flames of starvation are coming out from my mouth as I am a labourer like you. I warn them to give up their demon-like attitude. Withdraw your police that are sent for the protection of the mills. We are going to make such arrangements that there not a single police would remain. These (near the mills) men in the service are ours, and if they are once enraged, the present rule will disappear and in its place labour Government will be established in Bombay city. In this meeting I declare that uptill now all the things have passed peacefully, but this peace is becoming the cause of our ruin. When we go home we find our children are starving and dying for a cup of tea and bread. Our strike is just and it is for our rights. How should we manage within such pay? Will you consent to the terms that are offered? Strike is not declared upon the teaching of 4 or 5 persons. 1½ lacs of people are behind at their back, the reason of this is the labourers are unable to make both ends meet within a pay of 10 or 15 rupees. House owners are also the agents of capitalists. Capitalists curtail our pay by two rupees and house owners increase our rent by two rupees. Labourers and capitalists must be equal to Government all are men and everybody wants something to eat; the only difference is that rich men may eat ghee and cake while we eat vegetables and bread. I warn these reporters of Government. The labourers must overthrow the Government and every labourer must determine to do so. Merchants also are in one way labourers; and they must also assist us. Every labourer must be ready to bring this Government to senses. The rulers are foreigners and they envy us as children of co-wife. They have no care for Indians. They only care for their own men; though we are children of co-wife still India is for Indians. We shall die like our forefathers in the fight with the Government than to bear miseries in India. If they did not take care of the labourers within 4 or 8 days we shall commence rioting. We have continued our strike peacefully up till now. Up till now many men died of starvation this is the strike of capitalists. Why should there be so much support of Government to them (Capitalists); this is the rascality of the capitalists. Government have not upto now used their influence on the capitalists. They should hand over the reins of Government in their (capitalists) hands and walk away. But if the capitalists are willing to listen the Government they should consider these things. Government should compel the mill-owners to accept their terms and if they are unwilling to accept them they should withdraw their Police. If the Police are not withdrawn within 8 days there will be anarchy in Bombay City. Government take care for the machinery of mill-owners we have earned the money of the mills. These mills are therefore ours. We are hungry;

withdraw your Police, from tomorrow, within a week we shall practise satyagraha and we shall commence fight between the Police and labourers. This is the way that I would point out to you instead of starving. I speak these things and I take the responsibility of it on myself. If the Government wants to do anything in this matter they should arrest me, and take away and do anything with me. Municipality has accumulated some money only for publishing it in the newspapers. The newspapers publish that the leaders of the labourers do not wish to take that money. But where is that money? In the municipality a resolution about the grant of Rs. 1,000 for the starving children of the labourers but the resolution failed. Dr. Chokshy has raised another fund for supplying milk to the children of labourers but when are they going to supply milk? after the death of children? this is a mere nominal fund that milk will be useful for the tea of those who have raised it they ought to have handed over that money of the fund if they have really raised it through philanthropic motive, but they have not yet handed over the amount; the labourers have themselves raised some funds and made arrangement. Do not allow yourselves to be deceived by false promises of people. I have learnt that one mill is going to commence its work shortly. It is also heard that some jobbers and head jobbers still go to mills for work. See them at their homes and tell them not to do so. Until you get your 17 demands. We shall prepare the list of those jobbers and head jobbers who are at present going to mills for work and we shall drive them out of the mills first, after our strike is over' In the meeting of jobbers this sort of resolution was passed and this will be our 18th demand. You should also pass this resolution in loud cheers. Though these jobbers are our camp comrades they are treacherous. They tell the mill owners that the men have now become penniless and they will soon join work. In a fight if a person of one side becomes treacherous and joins the other the first party suffers. These men are treacherous to their society. Government know these things. It is our duty to see that they do not get service any where in Bombay city after the strike is over. We have no power in our hands and we must try to obtain it. The mill-owners are now trying to divide us. We shall see that such men will not get service in Bombay, anywhere else and this will be our 18th demand.

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Bombay

19th July 1928.

(Sd.) R. N. Deobhankar

S. A. Tambane.

Sub-Inspectors of Police

C. I. D. Poona.

P. 1700. *Rejected*

Speakers : I. Mirajkar & Others.
Date : 21st July, 1928.
Place : Damodar Thakarsey Hall.
Subject : Mill Strike, Bombay.

MIRAJKAR

Mirajkar said: Brother, it is now past 8 and we must begin our meeting. I learnt yesterday that many men had assembled in this hall for the meeting. But in the day before yesterday's meeting it was settled to hold our meetings on alternate days. Besides if we were to hold our meetings daily, we shall have to undergo an expense of Rs. 10/- per day for paying the rent of this hall; hence I came here rather late yesterday after supervising the work of picketting. So then we could not hold our meeting yesterday. But the newspapers published that the leaders of the strikers have become now tired of attending meetings and delivering speeches. But you know the real state. But the reporters of the newspapers go to the Police Office and the sahib there tells them anything false and these newspapers then publish it. In this way they are trying against you. So also the mill owners have sent their men amongst you to spread false rumours. Now remember that we shall be holding our meetings in alternate days. If you were meeting tomorrow, we shall hold it and after that there will be no meeting on Monday. We shall have our meeting on Tuesday. The second thing is that in Girgaon a gentleman lives who gives instructions in drill. He is a drill master. There are no trained men amongst us who can keep "bandobast" in our meetings and processions and keep peace, without being afraid of the Police. Day by day our labour movement will be increasing and we shall feel the want of such men so we are going to arrange to have a core of 100 men from amongst us well trained in drill and lathi. Of course we want in the core quite young men of 25 years of age. So those amongst you who wish to learn drill and lathi should enlist their names in the army of labourers. Instructions in drill will be given on every Sunday. We must not stop our movement as soon as the present strike comes to an end. We must learn more things, We must strengthen our Union. We must drive out the police who come amongst us and we must make "bandobast" of false rumours. For this purpose a core of 100/- men well-trained in drill will be formed. The third thing is that the president of the corporation has raised a fund of about 36000/- rupees from Monday they are going to distribute milk to the children and women of the strikers. They are going to distribute food to the children of the strikers about 12 years of age. For that purpose they have opened 5 centres 1. Lalbag, 2. Worli and some others. We shall obtain the information about their centres and will tell you

tomorrow. So we must all send our children and women there and consume all the food and milk. They are going to engage a Brahman cook who would cook rice and curry. So you must all take the advantage of this facility. Remember that their money is ours. They have robbed us of this money. That money is returning to us and so we must all take the benefit of the facility. You must not understand that that money is not useful to you. If some one says, say he must be slapped on his face. This money have been robbed from you by them cunningly. They are giving you some part of it. So you must send your wives and children and take the advantage. You must consume their 35000/- Rs. within two or three days. If you did so and if they (mill-owners), have any sense in them they will again raise a fund of Rs. 10000/- for you. For fear of shame they will have to continue this distribution of milk and food so long as they are starving. No body should think that the money they give is theirs. It is our money and they have cunningly taken it away from us. Every day we weave 20 yards of cloth. They give us a daily wage equal to the price of one yard of cloth. The price of 19 yards cloth goes into their pocket. In this way they have accumulated wealth. From this they are now giving us back 10000/- 5000/- You must declare in their presence that they are not giving this as charity. After this I now tell you a story; You know that there is a country by name Russia and in it Labour Govt is established. Men like you and myself carry on the administration there. The labourers there have got the control over the Police, army and every thing there. There are members ministers of labourers. They have control over the railways and in this way they are carrying on the administration there. In that country there was a private telegraph company. That company promised the clerks to give them promotion in some specific days. But when that time came, that manager of that company was being very cunning like the British, refused to give them promotion. As soon as he refused to give promotion, the union of the clerks there, sent an ultimatum to the manager that they would go on strike if the promotion is not granted within two days. But that manager thought that they would not struck work. The people according to their ultimatum struck work after two days and stopped the whole work of the company. In other countries, the capitalists get assistance from the Police as soon as the men go on strike. Here also the mill-owners got assistance from the Police as soon as we went on strike Mr Long came to their assistance, all the white and black constables began to flatter them and approached them for their assistance. In the same way, that European manager thought that the Russian Government would help him in beating the strikers. Accordingly, he sent a letter to the Russian Govt. and asked their assistance. Do you know what reply that Russian Govt. gave him? They wrote to him that he would better investigate the strike & remove the cause of discontentment of the clerks; otherwise they can't say what steps they shall have to take.

As soon as that manager was remonstrated like this, his eyes were opened. Has the Governor of Bombay remonstrated the mill-owners like this? On the contrary he is sleeping over the matter. He can not give us a threat. He knows full well that if he were to give us a threat we shall also return it to him. But we are not concerned with this. There is a great difference between the Govt. in Russia and other Governments of other countries. In that country (Russia) there being labour government they sent such a threat to that manager and the strike there, came to an end within two days, and the clerks were given promotion. Remember that as long as the reins of Govt. do not come in the hands of the labourers, nothing will happen. We must therefore strengthen our union. The whole labour class must be united. we must trouble the mill-owners like any thing. The labourers of India must do this. The power of the Govt. must also come in the hands of the labourers. As long as this does not happen all our other movements will have force in them. The strikes in Russia come to an end early because the labourers there, have got the support of Russian Govt. If such Govt. would have been in Bombay, our strike would have come to an end within 3 days. They (Govt.) would have told the mill-owners to grant the demands of the labourers within three days, otherwise they (Govt) would have told them (mill-owners) that they (Govt.) would throw them (mill-owners) in the sea near backbay. We are required to suffer because there is no such state here. Govt. do not care for us nor the mill-owners care for us nor any other else care for us. Remember only that you must strengthen your Union. Remember that if you 1½ lacs of labourers were to be united the bungalow of H. E. at Mahabaleshwar shall begin to shake and will fall into the sea. After the strike comes to an end, you must try to strengthen your Union and through it attempts will be made to acquire the powers of Govt. in our hands. Day before yesterday a very big strike has occurred on the railway. That Bengali Babu and that Madrasi old man had sent a notice to the agent that if he did not remove the grievances of the labourers, they would stop the working on the whole line. That Agent thought that the men would not sruck work, as the manager (of telegraph company) in Russia thought. But on the night of 18th instt. the men went on strike and the working of all the mail and trains were stopped. In this way, there has occurred a very big strike on railway. Remember why such strkikes occur. Railway is the most important factor of Govt. Railway ought to be under the control of the Govt. if Govt. wants to administer the country. The Railway authorities tried their best to lessen the force of strike by dismissing some of railway servants taking part in that movement. Strike on railway is a dangerous thing to Govt. If to-morrow the strikers and the Railway labourers become united and went on strike Govt. won't be able to bring their army here from Poona and therefore the railway is the most important organ of Govt.

Therefore the railway authorities are trying their best to prevent the strike on railway. Messrs. Jhabwala and Bradley are fighting with Govt. here while Mr. Spratt is working in Bengal. In this way a very great movement is going on railway. Remember that if the mill labourers and railway labourers were to go hand in hand, half the power of the Govt. will be lessened and the Capitalism will be no more. Therefore you must strengthen your union. Lastly I want to tell you only one thing. Rumours are in afloat outside that you are going to break your strike within 8 or 4 days and join the work. This means that you are making your efforts and starvation of yourselves, of your wives and children futile. But remember that the value of the shares (of mills) has gone down in the market. At this time you must continue your strike. Efforts are going on to divide you, but you must resolve not to pay heed to those efforts but to continue your strike till your demands are fulfilled.

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BOMBAY
21st. July 1928

Sd. R. M. Deobhanker,
S. A. Tambane
SUB INSPECTORS OF POLICE
C. I. D. POONA.

P. 1701.

Speakers : (1) S. H. Jhabwala
(2) S. A. Dange.
(3) S. S. Mirajkar
(4) Others.

Date : 21st July 1928.

Place : Marwadi Vidyalaya
Bombay.

Subject : Aid to Mill Strikers.

* * * * *
S. H. Jhabwala

Jhabwala said:—

President and brothers, Nimbkar had told me that only Bradley will speak in English. But I tell you that my marathi is

not for the Girgoon people. My marathi is labour marathi. Chavana is called bafoon of corporation. All the members of the corporation speak in English while he (Chavana) in order to make a joke of labourers speaks in marathi, and so he is called bafoon of the corporation. My friend Mr. Joshi has already told you about the mill strike. Middle class people ask us as why the labourers have struck work ? They ask this because they do not know the real state of affairs. We serve them (labourers) with the intention of making some good to them. We do not censure anybody and we are not worthy to become leaders of 1½ lacs of labourers. You middle class men must assist us in frustrating the plans of the mill owners. You are shareholders of the mills. But they (mill owners) swallow the money and they tell you that they have closed the mills because those communist people have raised an agitation. We do not even know what bolshevism means. But I tell you so much that out of 12 lacs of people, 10 lacs of people go to bed half starved. It is our religion to assist the poor. When we begin to do this, we are removed from service. I have been removed from my service day before yesterday. They don't give me any profession, and they tell the public that we are communists. I had met a Parsi, gentleman who began to say to me that we are in close touch with the Japan and British cloth merchants, and they give us money and therefore we have raised this agitation. The capitalists say that they are very much oppressed. This is not the movement of communists. Times of India has kept a separate page for labour activity. In keeping this what is their intention ? Their intention is to show that the movement of bolshevism is going on and people intend to destroy India in consultation with the King of Afganistan. I assure you that such is not the case, The real state is that poor people—masses—are very much oppressed. The policy of the Govt. is on the line of imperialism, & the masses have now begun, to say to throw the Govt. in the ditch of Maha Laxmi and the mills in the Arabian sea, and ask the people to take the joint action to throw off Govt. As long as the labour Govt. is not established till then they wont get sufficient bread to eat. You read the reports in India. There is an awakening in the masses and the strikes are the signs of it. These are the expressions of the mass movement and we are showing these to Govt. Brothers, remember that we have none become ready. If you do not reply us in this preparation one day we shall overthrow your rule. I assure you that this is not the struggle of one man or of one subject. It is the struggle of mass action and mass revolt in India and if Govt. & capitalists did not give its reply then we are going to cut the necks of them both. The origin of strike is Tariff Board and Currency system of Govt. and the selfishness of owners. Our Jahangir Petit is the President of the asociation. He is also an agent of manakji Petit mills. The report of 1927 which is called the worst year is published; and in the worst year he earned a profit of one lac and forty one thousand

rupees. That has all gone in the stomach of Jahangir Petit. One man swallows the amount of one lac and forty one thousand rupees and he tells the people that they are in loss and they must make reduction. They take commission on all the articles in mills. Those who are shareholders should attend their meetings and tear off their stomach, which has grown very big. You do not do this. You help to Bardoli movement. Why don't you help us in the mill strike? But what the people do is this. They rally round where they are told to break the mouth of Govt. But it is good and we want it. Don't give up your principle. The principle of Swaraj is this, that the voice of every man of a town who works hard must reach the council and he must get full meals. This principle is also embodied in Bardoli movement, and here too. Don't forget mill labourers when you assist Bardoli. If you really want Swaraj you must assist the movement of the mass action which is going on. We do not ask for your mercy. You must have a share in this movement. Otherwise time will come of cutting your throat. Now the masses are coming forward. Break the class barriers and break the Govt. With these words I take your leave.

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DANGE (SPOKE IN ENGLISH)

He said:— We are accused of the charge that the communist leaders of strike are destroying the industry of the nation. When such editors of the news papers make such charge it must be taken seriously. When the labourers of the mills go on strike they are charged with destroying national industry. This means that 84 mills in Bombay includes the whole nation the mill owners of 84 mills are alone a nation. That means 50 companies and 60 lives are a nation while 1,50,000 people are not a nation. You know that Sassoon has got some mills in Lancashire. When the Khilafat agitation was going on, what was happening at that time? Greece army was financed by a millionaire of Greece and Sir Rufas Isac i.e. Lord Reading who was then the viceroy was a partner with that millionaire. Lord Reading was interested in the Turkish war, because they both were interested in Smarna harbour. Let 84 mills be transferred to Govt. then they will be looked belong to the nation. We are not fighting with a pack of squandrels who made starvation of middle classes. I am charged for being a communist. I am a communist and my friend is also a communist. Let the nationalist Govt. understand that I want the strike to last. Loss of strike means more sphere for our movement. In Bardoli they give help and we are fighting with mill owners who have coalition with British Govt. They never stood for the good of the people. The revolution is betrayed by these (Mill owners) people. When we continue our strike we are preparing a double edged sword one for revolution and the other for the good of the people.

MIRAJKAR

Mirajkar said:—Uptil now all the statistics of Govt. have been put forth before you but I will now tell you about the internal management. We are trying our best to continue our strike. This govt of the mill owners and the Police of the mill owners have troubled our labourers our volunteers, our picketers much. This Police is also of the side of the mill owners. They after taking bribe from the mill owners try to break our strike. News papers publish false rumours about our strike. Have they ever published the attacks made by Police on us? Never. When you take this into consideration you will find that Govt is not "ma bap" but they are our enemy like capitalists. Labour Govt. will not be established here unless the capitalism and imperialism are cut to pieces. Get this thing known to you. The Govt. who is considered as "mabap" should bear in mind that the Police beat our men enters our chawls rooms and beat not only men but women also while we are fighting for our maintenance. Such is the rascality of Bombay Police. The strike of the labourers is very just. Our demands are very moderate. We have carried on our strike so much peacefully for 3 months. We are charged that we are extremists communists and agents of Russia. Even though we are charged like the above we have not done any wrongful act. Police through the instigation of the mill owners are trying to break our strike. This fact, newspapers do not publish. Times do not write a single line about this. Remember this fact. Labour movement is an increase in India and Jhabwala has told you that times has reserved 2, 3 columns for this. Remember that the movement of the labourers and the peasants is increasing, and when the movement of these two classes becomes one be sure that Govt. will die and capitalism will perish. To destroy capitalism and drive away the Govt is what we have to do.

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Bombay

Sd/-R. M. Deobhankar

22nd July 1928.

S. R. Tamhane

Subinspector of police

C. I. D. Poona.

P. 1702.

Rejected

Speakers: (1) Mirajkar, & Others.
Date : 22nd July 1928, from 7. 35 A. M. to
8. 45 A. M.
Place : Behind Gokhale's Hotel.
Subject : Mill Strike, Bombay.

MIRAJKAR.

Mirajkar said; To-day our Strike Committee got Rs. 10/-. Today there is no rain and so it has given us a grant of Rs. 10/-. If there would have been rain, we would have hold our meeting in the hall and would have required to spend Rs. 10/-, for it as rent. So let us thank the rain. I don't know whether half the number of men are sitting in Nagu Sayaji's Wadi. Some of our men had gone to the meeting in Marwadi vidyalaya yesterday and they had witnessed how the meeting of the educated people goes on there, There is no "Maidan" i. e. open place. There is a big hall, four fans. 5 electric lamps etc. and with all such equipment the business of the meeting is conducted. This is all the story of Clerks' Meeting. But they are also labourers like ourselves. They think that they are the sons-in-law of Sahibs. But every day Sahib kicks them. I was myself a clerk for seven years. Labourers will not tolerate such treatment; because they know that we have strength in us. Clerks are the men who live on "Alu" vegetable. They cannot form their unions just as we labourers do. They have no strength in them. They will live there though the Sahib gives them any amount of kicks. They clerks, educated people, teachers, professors and students in colleges wonder to see you, who are not educated, carrying such a big fight since 3 months. But they don't know the strength of the labourers. They ought to have seen our strength when we held our meeting in front of the corporation. Our strength lies in unity. After seeing our unity they became convinced that the newspapers publish false rumours about us. They became wonder struck to see our unity. When we 30,35000 people went in procession by the roads in Girgaon we have showed that the labour class has now awakened to crush the friends of the millowners. The public were convinced about our struggle since that day and they began to say that our strike is right. If you would continue your strike I am sure you will get your demands. The people were convinced about the unity and strength of the labourers and they began to realize that our labour movement is not like their "Swaraj" movement and an empty talk, but it is a revolutionary movement and it is a movement which will crush the mill-owners. Yesterday's meeting was held in order to convince them about our movement. Though in that meeting there were only 100 or 150 persons still our yesterday's meeting was very forcible. Yesterday's meeting was befitting the revolutionary party. There we

collected subscription in our caps and in all 16 rupees were collected out of which 12 rupees went as rent and we got only 4 rupees in our yesterday's meeting. That 4 rupees plus Rs. 10/- that we saved today in all 14 rupees were sent to the Strike Committee. Yesterday I had told you to observe the picture of the clerks. We shall consider over the two picture of clerks and another picture of revolutionary labourers. The picture of yesterday's clerks was a picture of weak people. The Indian labourers have resolved in their minds to strengthen the labour movement in India as well as in Bombay like other countries where such movement is going on. If you bring such picture of yours, in your mind it will give you courage. We all are advancing on the strength of our unity. We are going to bring the owners to the mills to their knees tomorrow and if you keep such a picture of yours before your eyes, you will be convinced that you are men who would succeed in your strike. The mill owners are in a bad plight and their business has fallen into the deep ditch. They had created a great misunderstanding against us by floating false rumours to the effect that mill industry was running in loss. But you know that truth always conquers and in this case also a day will come when the falsity of these rumours will be exposed. Yesterday's meeting has considerably removed the mists of misunderstanding amongst the minds of the people of that locality. Now the people have begun to say that the demands of the labourers are just and are not irresponsible and they must get them and they are convinced that the mill owners will have to bow down before your feet if you only hold on, for a few days. There is no other alternative opened to the mill-owners. Their citidal of strength is shaking on its foundation. The strength of the links of the strength of chin' is weakening, and some of the links have fallen asunder and if you hold on for 8 days you will be successful. Some of the Mill-owners are reparing to disassociate themselves from those who are not prepared to admit the demands of the mill operatives. The whole world is congratulating you upon your continuing the strike so systematically and so ppeacefully. We are convinced that we are to win in the long run. Pressmen say that your strike won't live beyond 15 days. Our reply to them is that they are men whose business it is to advise others, we shall make arrangements for their lectures and give them opportunities of speech and they should try to end the strike just in the same way in which some 3 or 4 of us accordingly as they say have induced the mill operatives to go on strike. To expect that 3 or 4 persons would be able to induce 1½ lacs of labourers to go on strike is as foolish as expecting to get the moon from the sky in our hands. They say that they cannot see their starvation we ask them to provide the necessary funds. They won't do it but they only pretend. The people in Girgaon have now begun to say that the termination of the strike is drawing nearer. This is an indication of the justness of our demands. When the mill-owners say that they are in loss what harm is there for them to show their account books to the labourers?

Convince us of this and we will then tell the labourers that this is our national industry and they should continue work on reduced salaries. To say that the business is running in loss is sheer folly. We had deputed 4 of our representatives to Mahatma Gandhi Anusuya ben and other big bellied persons. They said that our case was just. How do we know that your demands are just and that you are starving for 3½ months. It is samelessness incarnet on the part of a man like Mahatma Gandhi to say so when we are actually starving for 3½ months. If our cause were not just the strike would not have continued so long. There is no reason why such a Mahatma should be living in this world when he does not know such a simple thing. He sent one devotee of Khadi to make enquiries. He came here and made the necessary enquiries. We supplied all the information required by him as we had nothing to conceal. He then went to the Mill-owners and told them that he had come to find whether the strike was just and so he asked them to explain their case and called for the account books. One of the mill-owners asked him to assure that the industry was running in loss. He returned to us and told that he had collected the necessary facts and would explain them to Mahatma Gandhi & the matter would then be considered there and then the money will be sent within about a fortnight or so. By the time the money arrives the wives and children of the labourers will almost have been dead by starvation. Our jobbers and head jobbers are moving amongst the labourers of Ahmedabad who very well realized our difficulties and are contributing 4 annas or 8 annas according to their means to relieve our misery and thus the sum of about 1000² Rs. have been collected there. The miseries of the labourers can be very well realized by the labourers. They cannot be realized by stuffless Politicians. But when the power will come in the hands of the labourers, these men will be made to work as weavers, sweepers, and soldiers and then they will come to know the difficulties of a labour class. Then they will come to know in what way they should manage within Rs. 13 or 15/-. Then they will know the difference between the rich and the poor. Remember that this time is rapidly approaching. The labour-class of the world has raised its red flag for crushing down capitalism. That red flag will declare the unity of the labour class and by that unity revolution will occur and at that time, labourers will get more power. When the administration of Police, revenue and educational departments of Govt. will come in the hands of the labourers then and then only administration will be carried on which would be beneficial to the labourers and the peasants, and at that time the life of the labourers would be happy. We shall carry on that strike with that direction. It is the privilege of the labourers to demand. These rich men marry on the strength of that wealth produced by the labourers and move in motor cars. They must get the right share from that wealth. We are demanding a most moderate demand. We do not ask for any

thing more. But a time will shortly come when we shall tell Patel Sahib and Fazalbai Sahib to quit the mills and go away and we shall tell them that the mills are not yours but are our fathers'. The time is not such today. Giving us a living wage. Just as a teacher foretells about the future of a boy when that boy takes a pen and begins to write, so also the labourers have taken a pen in their hands and from which it can be foretold that the labourers will demand that the mill-owners should quit their mills and go away. If the mill-owners think that this demand should be postponed for some years more they should not act like asses. They should immediately grant our demands every time we shall add one more demand. I have already explained to you the 18th demand which we want to ask for with our 17 demands. It is in the hands of the mill-owners to end the strike. We are ready to end the strike as soon as the mill-owners say that they are ready to grant us the pay that was curtailed. If they did not do this early we shall consider that they are compelling us to remain on strike. They must also give us the pay of the period of our strike, because we did not go on strike willingly. If we would have gone on strike willingly we would never have for it. In this way the number of our demands will be increased as the strike prolongs. Our 3rd demand will be that we shall ask the mill-owners to drive out those men first who were doing work in the mills during our strike period. Unless they do this we shall not resume work. This will be our 19th demand. Our demands are very insignificant. They should grant them immediately. When one man obtains one lac and forty one thousand rupees as profit by way of Commission what right have they got to curtail our pay? Formerly our labourers were ignorant. They were ignorant of the strength of unity. They were ignorant of the weapon of strike. But now they are understanding it very nicely. They now began to realize in what various ways the mill-owners rob them and add to their profit. All the labourers have now come to know that they won't have better days unless they crush Capitalism. Now revolution has set in and before it every thing will be carried away. I therefore warn the mill-owners that they should be alert & should not allow the discontent amongst the labourers to spread. These labourers have suffered great hardship during 3½ months. They have sustained the blows of - the Police. They have endured abuses, and we were required to suffer all this on account of our miserable state. I therefore request them to grant our demands within 8 days. They should remember that their life will be long early they break the strike, while the death of Capitalism and imperialism and the Police will be nearer if the strike is prolonged. Tomorrow they (mill-owners and others) are going to distribute ration to our wives and children. Take advantage of it though the distribution of ration and milk is not according to our will. They think that if the milk for the children allowed to be taken home the labourers will consume it for their tea.

They think that the labourers as if have no sense and regard for their children. If the producers of wealth lose their temper in their miserable condition and commit crime, the responsibility will be with those that live in luxury on the earnings of the labourers. Two of the strikers were charged with theft of 5lbs. of sugar before the magistrate. In their statement they stated that they had to resort to steal it because of starvation. Magistrate was confounded. They ought to have stated that they would remove the contents of his safe before his eyes. They have compelled us to go on strike, they do not educate us, they don't make suitable provision for our residence, they do not provide sufficient food and clothing for our wives and children and if in result some of us turn to be bad characters, they are not responsible for the same. Educate us, give our wives and children sufficient food twice a day, give us some means of cheap enjoyment, and if even after this we are riotous and take to drinking like some of you punish us. Has the British rule of 150 years made any provision for our education? The neighbouring nation of Japan resolved to educate its population and within the period of 30 years, educated all its labourers. The British Govt. has earned the fame that anyone can travel from one end of the country to the other with gold tied to the rod without any molestation. But the pity of it is that there is no gold at all. The so-called upper classes like Brahmins and others have done nothing for the uplift of the masses. Not only this, but whenever we have tried to improve our status obstacles have been put forth in our endeavours. We are going to remove all these obstacles henceforth. We will have our unions and we shall have our schools managed by our unions where our children will be educated like yours. All the employees of the mills, railways, docks municipalities etc. will unite and will shake the very foundations of Capitalism and imperialism. So long as the details of our revolution are not properly arranged we will take in our hands minor movements. A day will come when we will take to arms and fight with you and exterminate you completely and drive away the Govt. and the labour shall assume the reigns of Govt. We want to bring it to the notice of the world that the labourers are brave and they are not cowards. Resolve to achieve all this and remember that every day the strike is drawing nearer to near to the successful termination. Rest assured that the mill-owners will come to their knees shortly. Think over all this. The advice of outsiders is of no use. Mill hands must think for themselves. There must be thousands of Alve of the mill hands. Mahtama Gandhi cannot carry on labour movement. It must be conducted by labourers themselves. He who suffers knows where the shoe pinches and he only knows how hard it is to live within 20 rupees a month. Prepare our

young men to carry forward our movement and let us hoist our red flag in India.

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Bombay
23rd July 1928

Sd. R. M. Deobhankar
S. A. Tamhane
Sub-Inspectors of Police
C. I. D. Poona.

P. 1703

Rejected

Speakers: (1) K.N. Joglekar, (2) S.S. Mirajkar,
(3) B.F. Bradley, & Othere.

Date: 24th July 1928. from 7-50 A.M. to 9. 25 A.M.

Place: Damodar Thakersey Hall.

Subject: Mill Strike, Bombay.

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JOGLEKAR

(1) He said: It is very wonderful that these men should not know the things which ordinary men could know. We were saying that the labourers will not accept cooked food. They never wanted to raise a fund for you. But at the time of raising it it was simply declared that they are raising this fund for the starving children of yours. Thereby many people were deceived. But you know now about the charity of the mill-owners. At the time when they began to raise this fund, I had told you, if you would remember that that the fund will be of no use to us even though the amount in it goes to 50000/-. Many people took objection to it. But that fact has now become clear. The curtain of raising the fund under the name of starving children of labourers has been removed. Susakura a servant in the mill of Toys-Potdar collected Rs. 1000/- from his friends and sent that amount with rupees 1000/- more of his own to Dr. Deshmukh. At that time he wrote a letter to him that he should not give the benefit of this fund to the children of strikers; but it should be made use of the other children. Dr. Deshmukh replied to him that that fund was meant for the stray children and it is not meant for the children of the strikers. Remember the cunningness of members of the Committee of this fund. If they want to distribute ration to us, they should do as we shall dictate them.

They should distribute rice. The labourers will cook them for themselves and eat. You know that there are some "Bhayas", i.e, up country men who do not eat food prepared by the others: and we also do not eat food prepared by the people of other castes. Therefore they should give only rice and we shall cook it in our own way. If you want to do sure charity to the children of strikers, open 14 or 15 centres. If you want, you can distribute ration with your own hands but do not play such games. But you are playing tricks. Many people who have subscribed towards this fund have been deceived. They thought that Dr. Deshmukh is a good man and therefore they paid some amount. I will call their cunningness as theft, decoity and rascality if they were to deceive the people. They should remember that the fund which they have raised must be utilized for our cause. They should distribute the ration with their own hands in a way which the Strike Committee will suggest. If they would not do this I shall never remain silent without blaming them. They have deceived the people by their rascality and I shall ever say so. I shall never sit silent without charging the Mayor's fund like this. I have heard that not more than 100 or 200 men had been to Poibawadi Centre for taking ration. So, come to your senses. We shall have to make known the public throughout the city your cunningness. From this you will see what sort of tricks the mill-owners are playing. They raised this Mayor's fund and in this way they are playing tricks. Our strike has put them to a great loss. We have resolved to continue the strike. We shall not bring this strike to end unless we get our pay. It is the intention of these mill-owners to squeeze the public as well as the labourers. It is a gang of thieves of mill-owners and Govt. Govt. which is the owner of G.I.P. Railway is also oppressing the labourers there. They are also doing the same to day on South Indian Railway. Do you know what sort of agitation is going on there? Look to the men on South Indian Railway who are carrying on their agitation without caring for their lives, and starvation. Our strike is nothing when compared with their strike. They had no many unions. They had no many leaders, still they carried on their strike. Such time will also come upon you. Nobody is required to advise the men when there is starvation amongst them to the utmost. Men are required to work on Rs. 8, 9, 10 a month there. Can any human being live on such scanty pay even by drinking soup of rice? When a man is required to work for 12 or 14 hours a day and when he does not get sufficient even for the soup of rice how should he remain quiet? Why should he not be desperate? Is the rule of Govt. is like that of Rama; It is a Satanic Govt. The movement at Bardoli was undertaken because the assessment should not be increased. They ought to have demanded the curtailment in the assessment. By that Everyman will have 500 Rs income and it will be sufficient for his maintenance. I suggest that they should undertake such sort of

movement. Vallabhabhai says that he won't take back the movement. While the Govt. says that they are Govt. and their word must be obeyed. How should the labourers pay your assessment when they are starving. They want to deprive the labourers of their soup of rice and say that it is law and you must obey them. This is not the law. Governor made a speech that the law should not be broken. Law ought to be for our welfare. Law is called a law, when it is contemplated for the welfare of the public in general; but it is not called a law by which all the people are required to starve. It is an unjust policy and the public in general of this country are not ready to accept such policy as law and I, on behalf of labourers tell this to the Governor. Governor says that it is the Emperor's law. It depends upon our will to make any Emperor. If the Emperor manages for our maintenance in good way, he is then Emperor. Emperor is not our king. He is in our service. It is his duty to manage for the welfare of his subjects; and is the duty of the Emperor and his subordinates to do it. All these men are not our masters nor owners, but they are the servants of the labourers and the peasants and they must act accordingly. It is their duty to keep such "bandobast" by which no body would find any difficulty in his wordly life. He who was a servant has become a master; and Governor shamelessly advise that it is the Emperor's law and it must be obeyed. Therefore the movement is carried on in Bardoli not to accept unjust law as law and it is quite just that our peasant brothers are taking part in that movement, and if Govt. were to take drastic measures we shall not approve them. We are ready to fight shoulder to shoulder with our brother labourers. Mr. Patel had censured us once. But to day he is in difficulty. Governor has threatened him. It is the test of Vallabhbhai. I am sure he will now take back (movement). If he were to step back he will be considered as coward. If he were to stick to his movement, we shall all congratulate him. We labourers are never of the side of Govt. Our fight is just. We shall never help for doing injustice to others. We ask him to step back. We tell him that if he requires 10000 volunteers, we are ready to provide them, to obstruct the ways of the owners. Our men are even willing to go to jail. Though he (Patel) had insulted us before still in the end we are one. We shall remain one when we are required to fight with Capitalists and Govt. But he should remember that if he were to retreat it will not be tolerated. Last time Mahatma Gandhi stepped back. Our brothers are there. Stick to your word and don't take retreat. We are ready to come there with 10000 volunteers for fighting with capitalists and Govt. Lastly I tell him that labourers will not take back in any work in which he takes part. They are prepared to die. On S. I. Railway our brethren are fighting desperately. They stop the trains. Strike are occurring all over the country. When you would take this fact

into your consideration you will come to know how the Govt. servants have become arrogant and imperlinant. We have continued our strike for 4 months. If the millowners now would not grant our demands which are just they will have to suffer bitter consequences of their injustice. They might be thinking to be rich by curtailment in the pay of the labourers. But we not remained fools. Our heads are now turned by starvation and we shall not remain silent without destroying our enemy and this is the only thing that we are going to do.

MIRAJKAR.

Mirajkar said: Brothers, I am late in coming here because I had been to supervise the picketing work. I am going to speak before you about the Mayor's fund and about the milk that was distributed to the strikers' children yesterday, and by which the children have become fat. Yesterday the children drank milk and this morning I found them to be fat I thought that if the children of the strikers were to get flesh so much they will shortly crush the mill-owners. You have seen yesterdays' arrangement of distributing milk; and we immediately held a meeting and expressed our protest. They have opened 5 centres. Do you know how much milk they have distributed. They had sent one maund of milk to each centre and 13 bags of rice. On our centres though we used to send 400 bags of rice on each centre still they were insufficient. We have no money now, while they have got 40000 rupees. They know that if they would spend some money to-day they will obtained more after some days. I tell them not to tell stories about charity to the people. They ask us to sit quiet They tell the people in Girgaon and also tell the pleaders and barristers and other educated people that how they have raised a fund of charity and how we distribute it to the starving children of the strikers. But what is the state of affairs here? Not a single child of a striker gets assistance there. It is useful to stray children and beggars. Let them eat for some days. Why are they beggars? They do not get any employment, there is no arrangement for their education. If we have no means for our maintenance and no employment we shall also be beggars. So let them eat a day. We will tell the public that it is a false thing that they have raised a fund for the children of strikers. They do not distribute the ration and the milk to the children of strikers. One ass was there (i.e. at the centre) and he told that the ration and the milk is not for the children of strikers. They have hung up a board there and on it it is written that "For the children of the Poor." We are rich men. They call us poor. Who have created so much richmen in Bombay? Who worked in the mills? Who created so much profit? Who have woven the cloth? and you call us poor? You are beggars. They want to put us to shame

by calling poor. Never mind. You come to our door for begging and take away alms. We shall now be after you with a "Paran" in our hand. We tell the mill-owners that if they were to put us to shame after starving us we shall not remain silent without taking revenge. I want to tell the mayor that if he wants to distribute milk to our children he first should remove the boards at the centres and he should plainly declare through the newspapers that this fund is not meant for the children but for the poor and if he does not do this we shall burn those boards in their presence and also in the presence of the Police. They should not play joke with us and ask us to remain aloof and if they do this we shall drag them out and give kicks. They raise the fund under our names and utilise it to others. I therefore ask them to stop cheating the public in this way. I tell Dr. Deshmukh that he should take care that the fund raised by him is not misappropriated. If these people have purchased milk they must have got some commission in it. These people are so much accustomed to obtain commission that they even obtain commission on the sweetmeat purchased for their children. They not only get commission in the mills but also get commission from the funds of National Congress and such others. But no body looks to them. In this way are man had swallowed the money in Tramway Company. He was then recognised as a leader. But now he has lost his influence. It is a wrong notion of the public that the women and children of strikers get help from this mayor's fund. Mayor should do only one thing and that is to remove the board, and if he did not remove it we shall consider that he is purposely insulting us. The Bardoli question has become of so much importance that it is necessary for the labourers to express their views. Because the labourers have to fight with the Govt, hand in hand with peasants. The peasants at Bardoli practise Satyagraha and refuse to pay the increased assessment. I had already expressed my opinion on this question before. Keep aside my opinion for a time. But now Govt. have adopted a policy of recovering that increased assessment with the aid of all available means, and H. E. the Governor has delivered his speech in the Council accordingly with great pride.

This Govt. is going to recover the increased assessment with the aid of the Police and Military, by terrorizing the people, by killing the people and by sending them to jail. I challenge them that they should resort to these means. They will see then, how we labourers run to Bardoli for fighting with the army of Govt. We shall never sit quiet without assisting our peasant brothers. The struggle of Bardoli is on the B. B. & C. I. Rly. line. We shall block the whole line of the B. B. & C. I. Railway when the Govt. will take their army there by this line. We shall see that not a single soul is obtained by them from driving the

train. On whose labour they are enjoying? It is on the labour of our people who through starvation enters in the military and fights for the Govt. Our relatives are in the military. We shall go amongst them and spread our views. We shall tell them that to-morrow they will have to open fire on their peasant brethren and they should not do it. Govt. is going to tell you to open fire on your brethren and kill them with your own hands. Therefore they should not do it. Therefore this movement ought to take a new turn. There ought to be only one cry throughout India and that is not to give any assessment to Government. Such a sort of movement was going on in Pen for some days. After this strike the labour and the peasants party will take into its hands the movement of non-payment of assessment for crushing the Govt. and for bringing down their national flag if the Govt. persists in following such aggressive policy. Accordingly the time has now come. The people of Bardoli ought to tell the Governor then and there that they do not pay, not only the increased assesment but they do not pay any assessment. H. E. the Governor has most arrogantly delivered his speech in the Council yesterday regarding Bardoli. H. E. Governor might be thinking that the movement of the Congress is in the hands of a few barristers and pleaders who are quite impotent like the neuters in Nal Bazar, because these impotent men do not know how to bring force in the movement. H. E. Governor thought that his speech would be approved by the impotent persons in the Council. If the members of the Councils were to be really men they would have immediately left the hall after requesting the Governor to remain silent and would have asked him as to why he insults the Indians. The politics of the educated and the pleader class is impotent. Not a single brave man came forward there. The Governor should remember that the labourers in Docks, B. B. C. I., G. I. P., S. I. Railways etc. are all brothers. If you were to use force or make use of bayonets or open fire on them we all labourers shall join together and will fight with you with whatever things we shall get in our hands. Government should remember this fact. The movement in India is now going into the hands of real men from the hands of impotent persons. All the labourers on the world will run down to Bardoli for their help. We shall practise Satyagraha and break off the line of B. B. & C. I. Railway if the military was taken by that route. Governor is not aware of the strength of the labourers. Strike movement in England terrifies the Governor there much. Governor does not know that, the labourers in Bombay, Madras and of all the world who are revolutionists when they will go to Bardoli, will not return without getting victory. The Satyagraha movement of Bardoli has become all India question. All the people in India will assist Bardoli and will fight with Government and will show to the Governor which power is stronger whether that of the Govt. or that of the people.

I shall now speak about our strike. Yesterday evening I learnt from a reliable source that upto now only two mill-owners, one Sassoon and another Fazalbai were against the granting of demands; but now it is a satisfactory thing to learn that Sassoon began to say about mitigating of strike and this talk has been going on in the group of Sassoon. You know that we have resolved to continue our strike and we do not care whether it lasts for a month and a half or more. We have approached very near to our goal. Keep up your unity. To-morrow is the day of the distribution of dole, We cannot afford to spend more than 4000/- Rs. a week at present as we are short of funds. You must drive out those who will try to break your strike by inducing you to join work. Remain alert and observe how the mill-owners and their friends try to bring the labourers in clutches. In 1928 we have learnt one thing and i. e. to bring before the public the cunningness of the mill-owners. Think calmly over these things; also think over how it is necessary for you to go to Bardoli for helping the peasants there. Unless you do these things you won't have better days. Come forward like soldiers.

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Mr. Bradley (spoke in English and Mirajkar translated it to Marathi): Labour brothers, as I have got to do some other work in connection with our strike I cannot attend your meetings daily. At present I am engaged in fighting out the case of G. I. P. Railway workmen. Your struggle and the struggle of those of G. I. P. Railway workmen are similar to each other. Both of you are fighting with the Capitalists for getting equal pay. G.I.P. Railway workmen are fighting with Govt. and Railway Board and you are fighting with the mill-owners, i. e. Capitalists and cunning-fellows. You are fighting out your struggle very nicely; and if you carry on your movement in this way I am sure you will be successful. The fund which the mill-owners have raised by making a tool of Mayor in their hands, is misguiding the public. The mill-owners are thereby creating such impression on the minds of the public that they have raised this fund for the women and children of strikers. This is their knavery and it has come to light. We must continue our fight with the mill-owners till its end. You must strengthen your strike as far as you can. We must continue our strike though Government were to try to break it with the aid of military and the Police. Because the Government today is helping the Capitalists and it does not help the labourers. Who helps us? Our labour brothers in England have sent some money to our Strike Committee here but Government has not paid us that amount. I think money from the labourers of other countries might have been received here but that money is not given to us and it is a true fact. In this way Government is trying to break our strike by troubling us from all

sides and this fact shows that the Government is of Capitalists I have declared this fact thousands of times. We must carry on our struggle vigorously even though Government is trying to break it. We must carry on our movement further inspite of all the difficulties that come in our way. Before 15 days, the mill-owners had held a meeting and I think that they will hold another meeting within a day or two. At that time you will notice that there are two parties amongst them and two cocks fighting with each other. From this it will be clear that the mill-owners are taking their retreat. You have got unity amongst you and they will have to take back upon its strength. The leader of these mill-owners is Mr. Sasson and he had given courage to the rest of the mill-owners. But remember that the strength of your unity will compell the mill-owners to retreat you are carrying on your strike most praiseworthy. We cannot see such sort of strikers, even in England. The Capitalists Government there also tries to break the strike. The strike which you are carrying on is in no way inferior to the strikes in England. Therefore on behalf of the labour brothers in England I congratulate you upon your struggle. Remember that when you determine to fight out your cause boldly, you are sure to get success.

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Bombay, 24th July 1928.	}	Sd. R. M. Deobhankar, S. A. Tambane, Sub-Inspectors of Police, C.I.D. Poona.
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P. 1704

Rejected

Speakers: (1) Mirajkar. & Others.

Date : 26th July 1928. from 8-5 a. m. to 9 a. m.

Place: Damodar Thakersey Hall.

Subject: Mill Strike, Bombay.

Mirajkar

Mirajkar said: Brothers, yesterday was a day of our distributing dole of rice and we have distributed dole of rice of 5000/- Rs. as settled by our strike Committee. It is a true fact that day by day

the condition of the strikers is becoming worse and it is also true that the dole of 5000/- Rs. which we distributed was insufficient. We know this fact. The Strike Committee has concentrated its attention to curtail the expenditure in order to prolong the strike and so we are distributing dole of 5000/- Rs. which we were distributing before 3 weeks to the extent of Rs. 10000/-. The reason of this reduction is to suffice the money that we have got in feeding the poor strikers till the strike comes to an end. If we were to spend the whole amount that is with us, the strike is likely thereby to come to an end soon. One day while I was going out of this hall heard some people speaking that many outsiders from docks take advantage of the distribution of dole. As you do not manage properly the women of Manggarudis take advantage of the dole. Therefore it is your duty to see what men take dole by moving at the centres. Yesterday what happened is this that one woman took dole at the Chinchpokli centre and after hidden it under her armpit again came here for taking dole. It was detected by one of our volunteers and we drove her out. If our own men were to do this, we shall not be able to distribute dole to those who really deserve. Some of the men take away dole 3 times. In order to prevent this you must keep proper order at the centres and see that none else except strikers get the dole at the centres. It is very bad thing that one should obtain dole 5 times and you must not do such thing. From the next time you must see that our dole is distributed to strikers only. Times of India has today written one article on our system of distributed dole. It says that that the labourers have no sufficient money now and therefore they should fall at the feet of the mill-owners and try to mitigate the strike. In this connection I want to make suggestion to the Times that it has got ample money and it should be given to us. I therefore ask you whether you like the suggestion of the Times that you should fall at the feet of the mill-owners. (Cries of No, No, from the audience) The Mill-owners want to commence the talk of compromise and accordingly they have suggested the newspapers that are under their thumb to suggest like the above. They (mill-owners) think that the leaders of the strike will go to them for opening the talk of compromise if the newspapers were to suggest them (strike leaders) likewise. The millowners are in critical condition. They had commenced the talk of compromise but afterwards it was stopped. Now if they were to open the talk of compromise the whole world will say that they have now come round and so they are not prepared to tolerate this and therefore they are making this suggestion through the "Times" newspaper. Now if the mill-owners want compromise, they must write a letter to our Strike Committee, accordingly. It is not that we are against compromise. But we ourselves won't go to the mill-owners to fall at their feet. We also tell this to the Times also. If the Times is really feeling for us, we ask him to send today the cheque of Rs. 5000/- to us, so that we shall be able to dis-

tribute doles of 10000/- Rs- again next week. If the Times had a good motive in writing this article it would have also written a second article requesting the public of Bombay to go to the assistance of the strikers and thus helped in strikers in securing money. Times might be thinking that we do not understand its knavery but we tell it that all its such attempts will be futile. After this I want to tell you one thing and it is that Governor while delivering his speech in the Council day before yesterday told that he is a great friend of India. You know the experience of it. It is now since $3\frac{1}{2}$ months, that we are on strike and our women and children are dying of starvation and this so called great friend of ours who was enjoying himself at Mahableshwar is now enjoying the breeze at Ganeshkhind and is moving about in a motor car. Remember that such is our great friend H. E. the Governor, He may be a friend of Capitalists in India but not of the labourers. If he would have been a true friend of labourers he would have at least come one day while 3 to 4 lacs of men are sitting without employment. He had come here once from Mahableshwar after the murder of Parashram Jadhara, but he saw only capitalists. Joshi also saw him and he went away after discussing with the mill-owners. At that time we requested him to see the miseries of the poor. Remember what sort of friend he is. In spite of this if he presume himself to be the true friend of India I would request him to send his two months salary to our Strike Committee. If he thinks himself to be the real friend of India he should immediately put a stop to the harrasment of the Police under which we are Labouring, he should immediately remove the Police from the mill gates, he should come in a motor to Damodar Thakersey Hall and witness our hardships. It is the duty of the Governor to come here and see the condition of the poor ryots who are the producers of wealth and who are at present starving and dying in his own Capital like a big city of Bombay. If he does so, then and then only he is called the friend of the poor and the friend of India. Otherwise not. Otherwise he will be considered as a friend who has come here to crush the people in a "Charka". If he would have been a true friend would he have threatened the people of Bardoli that they will be crushed with bayonets? If he wants to show that he is the real friend of India he should do two or 3 things which I have just told you. Our strike is going on for the last $3\frac{1}{2}$ months or $3\frac{3}{4}$ months. It was the duty of the Governor to compromise the strike. Has he done it? He is not the friend of ours who are poor. We won't get any sort of help from him as he is a friend of Capitalists. As soon as the Mayor's fund started H. E. the Governor immediately sent Rs. 1000/-. We do not get any help from this fund and he knows this. Has he ever thought of sending a cheque to the strike Committee who is managing for the starvation of the people? This Governor is not our friend but is our enemy. He is a representative of a soldier, a big officer and a clerk of Capitalism and imperialism and

is sent here to swallow big salary and to make the people of India more poor. Beyond this he has no value. The labourers must declare this fact that they shall never trust him though he talks that he is a great friend of India. It is the most critical time for us. Tell me plainly and with one voice whether you want to continue the strike or break it and join the work as some of the men are doing at present (reply "We want to continue the Strike" from the audience). Tell me whether you are going to stick to the strike or not? If you would stick to the strike unitedly, you will not remain without getting the fruit of your hardships which you have undergone for the last 3½ months. It will be a very bad thing if you would now go to the mill gates; thereby your hardships which you have undergone for so many months would prove futile. So consider over this and resolve that you will bear even more hardship till you get your demands. I am sure if you would continue your strike for one, two or three weeks more, the mill-owners will begin to speak about compromise. You should not mind whether the corn is distributed or not. We ourselves have proclaimed this fight in order to lesson our miseries. Resolve that you will stick to it till you get success.

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Bombay

26th July 1928.

Sd. R. M. DEOBHANKAR.

S. A. TAMHANE.

Sub-Inspectors of Police

C. I. D. Poona.

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P. 1705. *Rejected*

Speakers : (1) Bradley. & Others.

Date : 29th July, 1928 from 8 A. M. to 9. 15
A. M.

Place : Open ground near Spring Mills.

Subject : Mill Strike. Bombay.

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Mr. Bradley (Spoke in English) & Joglekar translated it into Marathi. He Said:—

Comrades, The Mill owners tried their utmost to break our strike and spread false rumours. All their prediction proved that, they have no money, they have no energy and such proved futile. They thought that our unity will not last long. But in that connection they are required to lock down. They also became hopeless in point of our resources. They began to raise a cry that our fund is exhausted but still we give "Kanji" to our men. They thought that nobody will help us. They are also deceived in this respect. A cheque of rupees 3000/- has been received here today for your help from Mr. Saklatvala who is in England. In short we are managing all the things in proper order slowly. Remember that no harm will be done to us even though they raise so much cry. I want to tell you that it won't do if you sit quiet. You must help in bringing our strike to a successful end. You must come forward to collect funds for our strike committee. Though the mill-owners do not care for us still the labourers have got sympathy for us. You know that last month the labourers in G. I. P., Docks Municipality, B. B. C. I. have helped us and they are also going to help us in the coming month. In order to collect money from them 8 or 10 persons of the strike Committee will fall short. Many men from amongst you must come forward and become volunteers. The volunteers will have to go in batches, and they must carry the boxes and collect funds. By this way you will get more energy to continue your strike to a successful end. Some outsiders have commenced their agitation against communism. Their intention is to show that it is a very dangerous thing. Tersi is a president of the Merchants Chamber of Commerce. By our strike, all of them are suffering a heavy loss, and so they are enraged and begin to say that you do not give them profit nor allow them to live in luxury. Yesterday I had a talk with a pleader. He asked me as to what is this going on. He said that the action of the mill-owners in oppressing you is legitimate. It is called the Company's Act. I told him that the Company Act is mistaken. It is a weapon of robbing the labourers. It is a legitimate way of committing theft and of starving the labourers. This law which is connected by the British Govt. and their hirelings ought to be changed. They have not enacted the law for our benefit, it must be changed. If they are not amended, we shall have to get them amended on the ground that it is mistaken. How should we call that law is a law which starves the men? They have enacted this because they should enjoy luxury after our death. We won't obey such laws. We want such a law which will provide for our maintenance. In this way the whole world is thinking and all the people are awakened. British Govt. and the mill-owners have fallen in great anxiety and they think why the people are so much excited? The capitalists had no time to think over this. They were accustomed only to enjoy themselves in motors. Govt. and the mill-owners had no idea that we were starving. But now when began to say angrily that we shall not remain starving henceforth it has terrified them. We must inform

them that they should not talk any more about law. We have got strength in us to get this law changed by which every labourer will get sufficient food. That strength is now beginning to be centralized in us and we will never remain contented till we have improved our status. Mr. Terzi asks us to end the strike, but a compromise amongst a thief and a person enjoying on that loot is an impossibility. Till the mill-owners have stopped their habits of exploitation and have ceased utilizing their huge profits in purchasing motors and other costly indulgences without paying any regard for our belly a compromise between us and the owners is not possible. May be that our strength has not yet been fully united to-day but a day is sure to dawn when the owners will be astonished to find the unity of our strength and tremble down before it and will mix with the dust and the labour will win. If they want compromise they should provide for our belly. A critical time has now come. Desperate attempts are being made by the millowners to break our strike. Their condition has become very miserable only one Sassoon is trying his utmost to put you down. If you are put down you will have to live in misery for 10 years further. At this time you must also do your utmost to increase our funds of the Strike Committee. Our men are going to grain market for collecting funds. The people who were against us in the beginning have also become wonder struck by looking at your courage. You are getting help from all sides slowly. At the time of the pay of labourers in other departments, we are going to send our boxes for help. To-day our Strike Committee has got so much funds on which it is able to distribute ration to you for a month more. We shall also give help to those who have become more weak through starvation. We must not lose this last opportunity. Keep up your unity within a fortnight you will see that you are successful. There is a split amongst the owners and they are blaming Sassoon. Don't let your firmness to give way and endure patiently for a few days more.

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Bombay }
29th July 1928 }

Sd/- R. M. Deobhankar
S. A. Tamhane
Sub-Inspectors of Police

C. I. D. Poona

P. 1706.

Rejected

Speakers : (1) A.A. Alwe
(2) R.S. Nimhkar
(3) Others.

Date - 31st July 1928.

Place : Nagu Sayaji's Wadi.

Subject : Mill Strike.

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Alve

Alve said:—Brothers, it is my duty to thank the merchant who has just spoken before you and I hope you will thank him by giving cheers. (Loud applause of cheers) Why such merchants join us ? All the national leaders in India are also going to joining us. Yesterday I heard in poona that the strike in Bombay came to an end and the mills are opened. Since I heard this news, I became very much uneasy and became eager to come here. Bombay police had followed us there. They might have thought that the strike will be strengthened if these people get sympathy from Poona public and the capitalism will be ruined. So the C. I. D. people became volunteers & spread rumours there, that these people have had unnecessarily come there. The strike had already ended, and the mills are already opened. They (Police) thought that if these strikers got sympathy from poona public, the whole nation also will be sympathising with them. It is published in today's " Nava Kala " that some 2 or 4 mills be opened in Parel part. But we must find out who are going to open them. I had already told you before that the mills will not be opened until Dasara or Dipwali. Leave off all hopes about the end of our strike within a day or two. Every patriot must now come forward to help us. What was the state of the labourers upto now was this that had no newspapers of their own, they were not educated any so any man should come and call them fools. But all the people are astonished when they saw your bravery, and they now began to say that these are the people who would win swaraj and if they are helped they will get swaraj. They also began to say that if tomorrow a time comes to fight with Govt. there these are the people who will fight, with them. Every one began to realize now that it is only the labourers who will drive out foreign Govt and the capitalists from India and it is very natural for them to think so. We are the descendents of the same 'mavalas' who established swaraj here. We know how to fight. It is you who faced the Germans in the war of 1913. The man who fights upon his self confidence is really a labourer. Every one began to realize that these labourers are really

fighters and they must be helped. What was the state up to this time is this that these patriots had become the slaves of foreign capitalists and they used to speak always on the side of the capitalists if any question arose about them. They had no courage to speak against the Govt. for fear of being sent to jail. In this way those leaders had two fears (i. e. one of Govt. and the other of capitalists) in their minds. But the present leaders are such that they have no fear of any body and so they speak quite plainly. I ask you to declare whether you want to continue the strike or break it. There rumours are afloat in the city that the mills are going to open from the 1st and the strike is going to come to an end. You should now show how the strike is going to come to an end. Those who want to get a defeat they should raise their hands (None raised his hand) Now those who want success in the strike and obtain their demands should raise their hands (All raised their hands) Now I am satisfied. Now I shall speak about our strike. It is 4 months that we are on strike. Now we have no fear of it being broken. We shall get more help. To-morrow is the day of distributing doles of rice. To-day Nimbkar's case will be decided. Our strike committee has got funds to distribute dole rice to those who are really in misery. Uptil now you had help of others. Now the people will really help you. Dont take back at such a critical time. You remember this if you want to drive away the foreign Govt. Our state is reduced to object poverty on account of foreign domination. We must now become independent. As long as the labourers will not stand upon their own legs they will not obtain freedom. If you want happiness you must stand upon your own legs. The strike is not meant for obtaining more money but it is for obtaining more rights together with money and happiness. To day we are under foreign domination and we are being crushed under it. To day Govt. has become afraid of these Police as to when they would turn their faces. In this way the Govt. will be afraid of them and the movement will progress. This movement will last so long as our nation gets some permanent rights. We must think as to who should be sent to council and such others. There are no days for you to sleep now. Foreign Govt. and foreign capitalists are ruling over you because you were sleeping. Every one should there fore leave aside his timidness. It is our duty to see now what happens in the world and who are our friends and who are our enemies. Leave aside all talk about "Mukadams". They have not done the agitation which they ought to have. It is an account of their threat that we were tied down. They were our masters. They had not taught us a proper lesson. Leave aside all fear of managers and weaving masters. They have framed the rules by which they intend to put round your neck a ticket like a prisoner. So dont trust these masters and Mukadams. You must approach the union for getting your anxieties and miseries redressed through it. If a man is slapped by any body he must immediately inform the union and union will

take necessary action. Immediately Master (in the mill) is himself a slave and makes you slaves. He should not do so. From to day every one should remain alert. I had been to Poona and a meeting was held in the Kirloskar Theatre, another was held in Sarvajanik Sabha hall. There I narrated the account of our strike. There were many learned patriots in the meeting. They told that it was their folly that they did not pay attention to the movement of the labourers and they ask us to be pardoned for it. They said that upto now they did not think that the labourers are the foundation of a nation. Upto now the capitalists and the Govt. had put on a curtain over their eyes and said that we have removed it. They promised us to help as much as they can. In the Kirloskar Theatre rupees 500/- were accumulated. The students in colleges have become volunteers. And they have told us that to call them here for picketing if we could not do picketing properly. They have become volunteers and are collecting money from every shop. Our strike is just and all the people now know it to be such. Our strike will shortly come to a successful end. Continue our movement so long you do not get any right and Swaraj is established take care of yourself. Think over within your minds and you must not sit quiet unless there be labour Govt.

NIMKAR.

Nimkar said:— Brothers - Perhaps my speech before you to-day will be the last, or if I am acquitted I will come amongst you to morrow morning. I consider that my speech about our strike will be the last one. The first thing is that when I saw my friend Mr. Virchand Panachand I began to laugh i. e. I was delighted. Alve, Dange, Mirajkar and myself are all in this fight from the beginning. We are poor people and only stones of Ratnagiri have come to our share like yourselves. My friend Mr. Shaw is a big merchant and he has a great influence in the mercantile part. I therefore request him that he should help the labourers by providing them with ration at his own expense and at the expense of his friends till they get their demands. As regards our strike our friend Mr. Mirajkar has already told you. The mill-owners are now playing a new game in order to disunite us. They are shortly going to open 5 or 10 mills and going to see whether men enter the mills or not. You must also remember that when we went on strike the mill owner gave a notice to us; that no relation now exists between them and the labourers. After that they prepared a new scheme in which they curtailed the pay of weavers by Rs. 10 or 12 and the spinners were given more work and also increased the working hours from $8\frac{1}{2}$ hours to $10\frac{1}{2}$ hours. At that time we told the mill owners that they should burn their scheme with a match from our pocket and also told them that not a single labourer will accept that scheme. They told us that they then cannot compromise with us. We have continued our strike for so many days. The mill owners thought that the labourers will return to duty after 2, $2\frac{1}{2}$ or 3 months or so and they will work for 10 hours even. After $3\frac{1}{2}$ months

after our strike they thought that they have committed a mistake. What has happened now is this that our labourers are not even ready to see the face of the mills they thought they are on strike for the last 3½ months. Nowhere such a strike of so many people and of so much duration has occurred on the world. You, by continuing your strike so unitedly and so much peacefully have given a lesson to the other labourers on the world. Mr. Shaw has already told you that you get very little pay. We labourers get only Rs. 20 or 25 a month and are required to live in dungeon like rooms and manage our affairs in a city like Bombay. With the curtailment of our pay here the mill owners at Madras, Cawnpur, Sholapur, Ahmedabad and other places will also be curtailed the pay of the labourers there. If the pay of the labourers is curtailed today the pay of the clerks and Govt. servants will also be curtailed. Mill owners say that they know what sort of unity the labourers have. In this way the mill owners have now come in a fix. They still think that if they again play a game they will still be able to cut the necks of the labourers. They have decided to put up notices on 5 or 10 mills and the police are also going to assist them. Remember this and then settle chalk out your programme. You should not take notice of the notices if they are put up in front of the mills, but you should only take out those notices and hand them over to our strike committee and ask it to see what has written in it. So also you must settle to join the mill all at once together one day just as you have left the mills all together. It is my request to you to imbibe this on your minds I now speak a second thing as an hint to the mill owners. I tell the mill owners that if they have any sense in them they should not do so. We are able to distribute dole to those who will stay here in Bombay even though some of you were to go to your homes. This strike will last for 2 or 3 months more. I ask the mill owners whether their mills will work if they are opened. In the Textile mill weavers went on strike and the manager closed all other departments within half an hour. All other departments in the mills will work but if there are weavers, the mills will go into liquidation. I have become a physician and tell you that unless you get your 17 demands and unless you go to mills, the mills will not work. Though some of us who do not attend our meetings and who do not understand the importance of our fight, through ignorance, were to attend your mills, your mills will not work without weavers. Our weavers who are maharashtrians are clever; and as long as they do not go to mills, the mills will not work even though the ancestors of Sassoon and Petit were to descend from heaven some people might go into mills through ignorance but so long as spinners and weavers who are 30 to 40,000 do not go to mills, the mills will not work. Though they are opened I therefore tell mill owners that they should take the risk of opening the mills. I now want to speak about the Police. I want to give a message of love through love to the commissioner of

Police. Commissioner sahib is a liar and very cunning and shrewd. When we go to him he chit chats with us for hours together and says that he is also a labourer and is of your side. In this way he chit chats. Commissioner knows full well what Mr. Long does. Though we complain against him he is not transferred. Commissioner has told the millowners that they should open the mills and he would assist them. If he were, to assist the millowners you would thereby create affrays amongst the labourers who have remained peaceful for 3½ months. You wout be able to do any thing more than this. If you were to help one man against the other you will thereby create trouble in Parel and the responsibility of it will lie upon you who is the protector of law and order in the city. I publicly declare this. It is not the duty of the police to create troubles. We have kept our heads quite cool though we are starving for 3½ months. We have not committed any affray upto now. But if the police were to take the side of the millowners we cannot tell whether we shall remain peaceful though we are peaceful today. I therefore publicly warn the Govt. that in such case if riot, affray of blood shed occurs in Bombay city the police commissioner will have to go to the gallows. If in jail I heard that our strike had come to an end, I shall presume that the demands of the labourers are fulfilled and they have joined the mills. I now speak about today's affair. It is my wish that there should be no riot amongst you. I am not against the riot but it must be committed on such day when we shall be able to kill more men of our enemy than they kill ours. If we were to commit a riot to-day we shall be killed and the police will remain arrogant and strong as they are now. I wish from the bottom of my heart that there should be no trouble till our condition is improved and the volunteers are well trained. Therefore you should remain peaceful. I had been to Poona. You know that Kesari'' had commented on us and had written on the side of the mill owners. But Kelkar who has occupied the chair of Lokmanya Tilk after seeing our strike continued for 3½ months has admitted that he has written on the side of the mill owners not of your for which he expressed his regret begged to be excused. We labourers have got a right over Poona. We are all from Maharashtra or at least the majority of us is from Marashtra. We are all from Ratnagiri, Colaba, Satara Solapur and Poona and therefore the same blood of Kelkar is running through our veins. In the year 1907 when Tilak was sentenced to imprisonment at the time the labourers in parel, after learning about the conviction of Lokmanya Tilak became ready to fight with Govt, and sustained bullets. If you would remain peaceful you will get your demands, and then you should go to mills. It is my wish that you should not come to the court. If you were to come to the court Mr. Gole is ready there with his whip. If at all you come to the court, behave peacefully there. I shall be glad if I am acquitted. If I were to go to jail, Alve, Mirajkar, Pendse are with you for

work. Remember all these things. Don't look at the mills unless you get success in your strike. Beyond this I have nothing to say to you. After the strike is over continue your meetings in Nagu Sayaji's Wadi on every Sunday, to strengthen our union, to know as to what is going on in the world to know as to what work the labourers of Bombay are to do, to consider what action should be taken to decrease the hours of work from 10 to 9, to consider as to what men should be sent to the municipality and council who will fight for us, to find out as to who are our friends and enemies. We must remember in what way our union will be strengthened though it might be weak in the present strike. Therefore strengthen your union. Make every labourer a member of the union and strengthen it as much as you can. With these words I take your leave.

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Bombay }
31-st July 1928 }

Sd. R. M. Deobhankar
S. A. Tarmhane

Sub Inspector of police

C. I. D. Poona.

P. 1707.

Speakers : (1) A. A. Alwe
(2) Others.

Date: 3rd August 1928

Place: Nagoo Sayaji's Wadi.

Subject: Mill Strike.

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ALWE

He said: Brothers that there is nothing left for me to speak as my friends has already told you all. I have learnt that on the 6th inst. the mills that are of foreign capitalists are going to be opened. Some people say that it is a national industry and we have struck work in order to crush that industry. I tell you that this industry is of a foreign nationa. If it be a national industry we shall accept Rs 2 less, but we do not want to send our money to

Japan and other foreign countries. This foreign Govt. is not ours. In the way these two have united. The owners are foreigners and the Govt. which helps them is also foreign. Now who would help us just as foreign Govt. helps foreign capitalists in the same way we all labourers are one. On the 6th instant if the Police and the foreign Govt. were to help foreign capitalists you must also call your labour brothers for your assistance. If the force is used the people in Tadwadi must render you assistance. If their assistance fell short take the assistance of Tramway men and labourers in docks. They are also our brothers They have promised us to help us. We are 1½ lacs people who are starving. There are several labourers in Tadwadi docks municipality and such others and every one of them must try to support one labourer, and it is the duty of every labour brother to help us in bringing this strike to successful end. It seems that this strike will prolong. We must get our demands. Every labourer in other department must therefore support one labourer till this strike comes to a successful end. We shall distribute grain as long as we have money, but it is not sufficient for your maintenance. There are our several labour brothers request them to give you food at least once a day. We are fighting for our rights. We are not prepared to become slaves of foreign capitalists. We would have done so if it would have been industry of this nation. It is not our duty to pull in misery by accepting Rs. 4 less, in order to support the industry at Lancashire and to make the children of the European strong and stout. I have already told you that if the Police were to oppress you on the 6th 7th or thereafter you should immediately inform the other labour brothers in Bombay to come to your assistance. If the Govt. helps the capitalists we must also like help from the labourers. When the capitalists require help we also require help. We must also take these men in our strike. If we all become united let us see what capitalism and imperialism would do. One day is to come, when capitalism and imperialism will be no where. The holding of meetings is of no use. Those people who sit idle at home are very bad people. They play jocks with those who attend meetings. So you should visit every chawl request them not to join the mills. You must carry on such a propaganda. Those who might be in great distress, should go to the houses of your labour brothers and tell them that they are on strike and so they should give them food. We shall get our rights. You must get the rights for the welfare of your Children, and this is my earnest request to you. Your children will blame you for not obtaining rights, and will also blame you for accepting 10 or 12 rupces for working in the mills. So allow this question to be decided once for all. Though you may not get happiness still your children will say that their fathers had went on strike and so upon their labour they are eating, Give up all bad ideas if you really wish the welfare of your children, and therefore every one must take part in this strike. It is our demand that we must get more pay.

It is no offence to ask for food for our stomach. We are also men and human being must live. We do not ask for any thing more unnecessarily. We work from morning till evening. The mill owners are enjoying themselves in foreign country on the money which we have earned for them. We are thinking over to put a stop to this and to bring, that drain of money towards the labourers. Therefore it is the duty of every man to help in bringing this strike to success. Some people blame the leaders if any trouble is occurred. I am also one of your leaders. I am also a man like yourselves. I have no more money nor a man of distinguished abilities. I could do nothing. So, what should a leader do if the man were to go into the mills? This is not the work of one man. You all must assist him. If you were to break the strike you won't be happy. You are ignorant people. Capitalists, deceive you, and therefore the leaders are trying to make you wise. It is you who are to suffer the miseries, and you must think over it. We leaders will try our best for you but you must assist us. You must be able to recognize who are your friends who are your enemies, what mills are opened and who have joined them. In carrying out this you must take part with great enthusiasm. It is very easy to sit at home. You must have some work for getting meals at least once in a day. I shall now speak to our Dada men. Explain to your brothers that they should not cut their throats at such a critical time. Those people, who do not attend our meetings do not understand the importance of our work. They play jocks with you when you return home. Warn them that they should not put obstacles in our strike. There are many envious people in our society. Those who have got food to eat, hate us. The clerks are our enemies. They are hating us more than the foreign Govt. These jobbers uptil now used to fall prey to the selfish dodges of the mill-owners. The mill owners have now called them. These ignorant people have cut our throats uptil now. I therefore warn them that by doing so they are eating the necks of 1½ lacs of people and are mixing dust in their food. They should therefore even sacrifice their lives but they should not fall prey to the dodges of the mill owners. You are not only 25 or 30000/ men, about 2½ lacs of men have gone to the villages and they have resolved not to join work until the demands are fulfilled. So you should not be treacherous to them. Consider over this full well at night. If you now break the strike, there is a possibility of the occurrence of strike, again, and at that time there will be quarrels amongst yourselves.

Your officers will give you more kicks, and they will try to be-little you by saying that you had made strike and held meetings. Our demands are 18 ; We shall not join work unless we get at least one month's pay.

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Bombay } Sd. R. M. Deobhankar
3rd August 1928. } S. A. Tamhane

Sub-Inspectors of Police

C. I. D. Poona

P. 1708.

Speakers:—1(1) S. S. Mirajkar.
(2) Others.

Date : • 6th August 1928.

Place: Open ground near Cement Chawl
Desfile road.

Subject: Mill Strike.

MIRAJKAR.

Mirajkar said:—Brothers, our fight with the mill owners which is to take place for 14 days has commenced this morning. Fight took place between the mill owners' army and ours, and the mill owners' army was defeated and we got success and in this way first day of our fight came to an end. The mill owner had opened their mills but not a single man nor a single dog went inside. The mill owners are repeating the same programme to morrow; and you are to observe peace to-morrow also just as you observed it to-day. To-morrow morning our volunteers will go as usual and we also will go there as we had gone to the mills at 4 A. M. and shall take proper precaution that not a single man enters the mill. But the precaution which you ought to take is this that you are to sit quiet in your chawls and observe what the volunteers are doing. Beyond this you are not to do anything. In this way we are to face the programme of the mill owners and frustrate it and we shall make them understand that we shall not tolerate their arrogancy. Realy speaking.

they ought to understand this to day. If the mill owners be wise they ought to have taken a lesson from this morning's incident and ought to have closed the mills for some days and night to write a letter to the strike committee for compromise. But if they are not wise enough they may keep the doors of the mills open for 14 days and we shall try our best that not a single man enters the mill. The reason of this is that the labourers are not prepared to accept the humiliating conditions. But if the labourers were to say that they are ready to join the mills we shall tell them, that they may safely go, accept the curtailed pay and put on the number like a prisoner. But know full well that the labourers are not prepared to accept those terms, so we shall fight with the mill owners for 14 days and frustrate their plan; some people say that the mill owners are going to close the mills for ever. Alright let them close the mills. We shall commence to work. This is only a rumour and we shall not be frightened by it. This is only a "Guttar" news and we shall never believe in it. We do not ask any increase in our pay but we ask them not to reduce our pay. The mill owners have been profitted by the loss of wages and we are prepared to prove it from their reports. When this is the case what harm is there for them to grant our pay. This is our question to the mill owners. This is a "Tamasha" which the mill owners have commenced for 14 days and they have brought their wives to dance in it. We shall see it. On the 15th day we shall ask them (*i. e.* mill owners) to stop their "Tamasha" and ask whether they now come to the terms or not. The labourers are much wiser than mill owners. Our strike Committee is considering the matter well in what way we are to fight out our struggle and they (*i. e.* mill owners) should remember that we shall go a step further. Today the mill owners are puffed up with pride. They and their newspapers are telling that the labourers in spite of the advise of their leaders would not join the mills to-day. But they have experienced that they could not get a single dog to enter their mills. What a great disgrace is this? Even a dog is not ready to look at the mills. When I had to go to the mills at 4 A. M. even the dogs were crying in the name of the mill owners and were telling the mill owners to be wise otherwise their time will come for them to be bankrupt. But the brain of the mill owners is rotten. They have no sense in them. They don't realize as to what a great loss they are put to by closing the mills. The mill owners are incurring loss themselves. Do we ask them to keep their mills closed? They should give in writing that they would pay the pay of 1925, to-morrow the men will enter the mills. But they are trying their best to frighten us by showing all sorts of terrors like repression, guns and the Police. Last night I had slept in our house at Parel. When I got up at 3-30 A. M. I saw lorries after lorries of the Police moving. But went to do one thing and occurred something else. The Police came to assist (?) the mill owners but instead of that they assisted us. At this our labourers thought that it is better to go to the mills as many Police men have arrived there. Those

who used to go stealthily to the mills even thought that the Police would beat them and therefore they remained at home. In this way the Police assisted us. They have done a very nice work. I therefore Congratulate them. You should not be over zealous at your success on the first day. If you would now take a sleep to-morrow you will spoil your whole case. The mill owners have decided to continue the fight for 15 days but we are ready to fight with them for 17 days. Police go to the mill gates at 4 A. M. while we go there at 3-30 A. M. Police sergants come there at 5 A. M. while our sergants go there at 4-30 A. M. If they were to take a step further, we shall go 3 steps further. You must behave to-morrow in the same way in which you behaved to-day. We shall keep our pickets on the mills which are to be opened to-morrow like to-day so that not a single dog may look at the mills. Day after to-morrow in Madanpura on " Sat rasta " some mills are to be opened and we shall keep our picketing there on that day so that no oilman or a fireman may enter the mills. But you must abide by the advice which I have just given to you. You are not to fall out from your houses. But if you fall out remember you should make a crowd on the street, and if you do this it will be a great help to our fight. In this way we are to carry on our struggle for 14 or 15 days. The mill owners will have no other way then but to become bankrupt. This is one remedy for them. The second remedy is that they should say that they have agreed to pay the pay of 1925. I must tell you that the Police behaved well this morning. But there is no wonder in it. We people behaved better than them. If we would have given them an opportunity, they would never have refrained from using their lathis. All the new recruits were brought there this morning. However it must be admitted they acted very nicely this morning. But I have to make one complaint against the Police and it is that we say that they assist the mill owners. But the police say that they would also help us as they help the mill owners. Uptil now we did not require any help from the Police but it is doubtful whether we shall get help from them if we require it. I wont take the help from the police if I am beaten by you with stones. You may beat me and I wont lodge any complaint with the Police. If you were to beat me I dont think that the Police would held me. The Police say that they do not help the mill owners but they try to keep order and peace. I ask them if they try to keep ordered peace why should they take lorries from the mill owners ? I have got sufficient proof to show that Sassoon company supplied the lorries to the Police. I therefore tell the Police Commissioner that he should atonce stop this practice from to-morrow. Why do you accept such a bribe from the mill owners ? Has Goyt. no money ? They should otherwise be bankrupt. Come to us to beg for money. We shall purchase a lorry for you, use of lorries of the mill owners is in one way a sort of bribe. If I were to go with any body

accept a single cup of tea from him, I shall be required to salute him when I would meet him. In the same way when you use the lorries of the mill owners, you are required to work in favour of them. Therefore I advise them that they should stop this ractice of using lorries of the mill owners. This is my suggestion to the commissiner of Police. Govt has got money. They should purchase from it. If you did not get it from Govt. we shall raise a fund and subscribe a pie each to it and from that fund we shall purchase lorries for you. I am irritated at this conduct of the Police. The Police commissioner may kindly take a note of this. One European had told me that such sort of business does not reach the ears of the Police Commissioner. The reporters should take it down. Let us see what the Police Commissioner does. It is also heard that some "Dada" men (i. e. gymnasts) are going to help the mill owners at the time when the mills in the part of Deslile road and Ferguesson road will open. I think that they will not help the mill owners. Because this morning when I was taeking a round in the part of Kala Chowki I meet 4 or 5 Dada men, and they all told me that they are all ready to help us and not to the mill owners. When the Dada men of that part of the city have become ready to assist us, what harm have we made to the Dada men of this part that they should be ready to assist the mill owners? I don't think that such a thing will happen. But if they are going to help the mill owners I request them that they should come for the help of the poor. It is the duty of the strong and robust men to help the weak. After we became successful we shall give them one bottle of liquor and not 9 taka. They should remember that they are all fed on the exertions of the poor. In the fight of Kavaravas and Pandavas this morning, we Pandavas have killed much army of the Kavaravas and not a single soldier of our side is killed. In this we have obtained success. To morrow don't fall out of your chawls. Remain peaceful, and don't give any opportunity to the Police to interfere. They are waiting for the opportunity to use their lathis and would also resort to firing. Remember Parashram Jadhve who was killed by our power in the beginning of our strike. So let us behave in such a way that such a sort of thing may not happen again. Remember that our strength lies in unity and peace; and if we keep these two things, even the uncles of the Police and the fathers of the mill owners will not be able to break our strike. They are trying their best to break our strike. All their attempts have failed. Day before yesterday one of our brothers advised us to observe mourning of the mill owners for 14 days. We must observe it peacefully and just as we perform the obsequies of the dead on the 13th day of the mourning in the same way we shall perform the obsequies of the mill owners on the 15th day. If you keep peace, which is the key to success remember that success is ours. The persons who were against our strike in the beginning after seeing that our strike is becoming

successful, have now began to publish hand bills advising the people not to join the mills. Such a sort of hand bill has been published by Mayekar. Remember what I have told you. Keep proper "bandobast" in Chawls.

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Bombay 6 & 7th August 1928	}	Sd/- R. M. Deobhankar S. A. Tamhane Sub-Inspectors of Police C.I.D. Poona
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P. 1709.

Speaker : (1) S. S. Mirajkar.
(2) Others.

Date : 7th August 1928.

Place : Open ground near sheep market (Chameli Wadi)
at Chinchpokali (Delisle Road)

Subject : Mill Strike.

MIRAJKAR

Mirajkar said:—

Brothers, as I had some other work of the union of docks I was late in coming here for which I hope to be excused. I will first of all tell a story as to the fight between two boys. A fight took place between the two boys and in which one boy beat the other very severely. At the time of running away, the boy who was beaten said to the other that if he were to come to his lane he would beat him with a big stick which is kept in his house. The state of the mill owners has become like it. The mill owners were thinking that the men would resume work as soon as the mills are opened. But we fought with them to day and yesterday and gave such a slap on their face that by which their cheeks have become red and they are applying turpentine on it. When this has occurred the news papers have published that the mill owners have not understood the true situation. Besides it is also published that the mill owners are going to close the mills for ever and in this way they have threatened us with a big rod. But remember that it is the foolishness of the mill owners. The mill owners, finding that

they have no other remedy left in their hands to induce you to join work, have threatened you like this. We are to tell the mill owners from this place that "Oh, unachs of Nal Bazar, you have no spirit in you and we shall not be deceived by your such threats. Tell us whether you want to open the mills or not. Otherwise go away from this place with your wives and children for asking for alms. If they would do as they tell, within 6 months they will have to be bankrupts. They are enjoying so much on their business and they earn a great profits on this mill industry. If they were to close the mills their bread will be stopped and they will soon have to go for begging. Therefore we are confident that even the fathers of the mill owners will not be able to keep the mills closed. They are only trying to terrify us by their threats. I publicly declare that if the mill owners want to close the mills for ever they should do it and show us if they have any strength in them. Then they should remember that they will see quite a different situation within 3 months. I tell Govt. police commissioner, Govt officers, Viceroy and the Govt in England that if the mill owners were to make a lock out by closing the mills, then the labourers in India will bring about a revolution, and we shall declare the revolt. Because if the mills are closed then $1\frac{1}{2}$ lacs of labourers in Bombay will be deprived of their food and will remain unemployed. If these $1\frac{1}{2}$ lacs of labourers in Bombay are kept unemployed we shall bring to their assistance all the labourers in railways, Docks, Tramways and all the labourers on all the railways in India will make a great dead lock on the whole of India in which not only the mill owners will be crushed but also the Govt. I do not speak this only as a threat but we shall do it. Disaffection has prevailed in the whole of the labour class of India. They are very much oppressed and they are put to various troubles by Govt, mill owners and the Police. If the mill owners want to be crushed early, if they want to be killed early they should carry out their threat if they have got strength in them. I challenge them that they should show it by carrying out the threat. The mill owners cannot close the mills. Remember that it is only their dodge to attract you to join the mills. Uptil now the mill owners decision was regarded to be final. But as henceforth the labourers are not prepared to believe even a word of mill owners as they knew them to be rascal and knaves. The labourers are not prepared to trust them as they know perfectly that they are like *Jalu* (i.e. जलू) which sucks the blood. They say that they get no profit. But these fools have earned a profit of lacs of rupees last year. But they are trying to show to the world by putting forth false things that their side is true. But the people are not prepared to believe them but they are prepared to believe every word of what the labourers say. The labourers are also getting help more and more day by day from the people. Our labour brothers in England have sent rupees 10,000 to us for continuing our strike. The people in India are also telling that they

would help the labourers. The people in Bombay have begun to say that the mill owners are knaves and they would help the labourers and they have started collecting funds for us. So you should not be afraid of the threat of the mill owners but to carry out your programme of 14 days as settled. If you do this not a single man would go to the mills even though they opened the gates of the mills. It is therefore my request to you to carry out your programme. If the people of Taddve, sat rasta, madanpura, Worli carried out this programme some new situation will crop up from it. Some of our national leaders were saying that this was a national industry and the industry of the whole of India. It is not so. Do you get any share in the profit of the mills? You weave 30, 40 yards of cloth. Do you get anything from it for your wives and children? To say that this industry is national is nothing but a slavery. I want to tell those who say that this industry is national. They should now see that it is the mill owners who are killing this industry. The labourers are ready to resume work to-morrow if they are given their previous pay. I tell publicly to Bombay Government India Government and the Parliament in England that if they do not interfere in this and if the mill owners adopted the policy of closing the mills, we shall make a revolt in India and we shall crush you and the mill owners both. If they want they should arrest me tomorrow and launch a prosecution. The reason of telling you is this that it is a question of maintainance and if this question is not solved by Government we shall be required to say that Government is unfit to rule in India and Governor is unfit to rule in Bombay and to-morrow we shall send him back to England and day after to-morrow we shall send Viceroy of India back to England. If they don't want to settle the disputes, they are themselves crushing their feet under a stone. By this bad result will occur. From out point of view the result will be good because we shall be independent early and we shall be free soon from the net of the mill owners, Government and the Police. This result is good from our standpoint but it is bad from the stand point of Government. This is the suggestion which I wanted to give publicly through this public meeting. We have already warned the mill-owners that they should not deceive us. We have already chalked out our programme of 14 days. It is a fight of "kavaravas" and "Pandavas". We shall defeat and kill the army of "Kavaravas" and obtain our demand as regards pay of 1925. To-morrow the mills on this side are to be opened. Don't look at them even. Remain quiet in your rooms. Keep peace. There is no harm to break the peace but I tell you to-day to keep it. If to-morrow the mill-owners were to intend to do anything then I shall come forward and tell to break your peace and will advise you to fight with the Police and the capitalists openly. Keep peace for

14 days. Our fight is still to last for 14 days. With these words I take your leave.

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Bombay

7 and 8th August 1928

(Sd.) R. M. Deobhankar

S. A. Tamhane.

Sub-Inspector of Police

C. I. D. Poona.

P. 1710.

Speakers: (1) R. S. Nimbkar
(2) B. F. Bradley.
(3) Others.

Date : 9th August 1928.

Place ; Open ground near Cement Chawls Deslile
Road, Bombay.

Subject : Mill Strikes.

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NIMKAR

Nimkar said:—Brothers, yesterday was our day of distributing dole of rice and dal and I learnt that many men at Chichpokali centre were required to return home without getting ration. Those men who have obtained tickets from strike Committee get the dole without any hitch and they are served first. Those who have not got the tickets are usually supplied after persons holding tickets. I had gone to the Chinchpokali and I found 400 or 500 men who have no tickets waiting for dole I told the authorities there to purchase grain and distribute it to them. But in a hurry they forgot and the men were required to go home without getting ration. I therefore request them to excuse me for it. Now the mills are being opened by groups and it is possible that some labourers would be repared to jcin the mills through the pinch of hunger. I tell

them that they should come to our strike Committee and we shall give them sufficient dole. I am on picketing duty at Khatara Mill. If you approve of the curtailment in your pay, you should come there and join it. But I am sure you wont come. The mill owners say that the labourers are mad and the leaders must be sent to jail. They threaten us by saying that they would keep the curtailment in pay and men. You know all the things about it. You have learnt the farce of Ghorupdev side. The mill owners threaten us outwardly but inwardly they are terrified. One man sees Dange, and one man comes to me and ask us as to how this strike is to be brought to an end. We give them our plain reply that they should give us our 17 demands and also tell them that if they would not come round soon we would ask for the pay of the period of strike and that will be our 18th demand. We ask them to come to us openly and to talk with us openly. Yesterday I met one mill owner and asked me as to why I prevent men from joining the mills. I told him that as you curtailed their pay by 30 percent they dont come to your mills. What has happened on Monday, will happen on Friday. Then he said to me that when this is the case he would not spend rupees 500/—in coal in opening the mill. I told him that he should better lock it. I therefore ask the mill owners that it is better if they would come round early otherwise they and their wives would be required to go into civil jail. If we demand our pay of the period of strike the mill owners would be required to go into civil jails. There are also strikes in other places and though we are not directly connected with them still they have got connection with our labour movement. During the last 3 or 4 months strikes occurred in the whole of India. Calcutta, Jamsedpur, Bombay, Madras, every where strikes have occurred Govt. was frightened. I tell you true thing that Govt is not afraid of big national patriots, mahatma Gandhi, Vallabhbhai Patel, Congress but it is very much afraid of labour movement. Because if you 1½ lacs of men are united and if the guns of the Police were to come into your hands Govt. knows full well that not a single white man will live and there is a unity amongst the labourers and they are prepared to die. Govt, Capitalists and mill owners are afraid of the labour movement which is increasing day by day. Govt. after observing this state was frightened and began to think as to what would they do to save their rule if these labourers are united and if they strike work in Telegraph Posts-railways and how they should bring their army for opening fire, and so Govt is going to introduce a law to punish and send in jail those who would commit strike and who would abet the commission thereof; We tell Govt. to put us who are 1½ lacs in jail, but they have no so many prisons to intern us. If the Govt. be wise, they should not enact such a foolish law. Give the people what they want. There would be no strike if what the people want is given. If they want bread, give them bread and then no strike would occur. If they want sufficient place to live in provide it to

them. When there would be no strike. Give them medicine, give education to their children and then strike would not occur. You squeeze the people, you compell them to work much and curtail their pay, you make them starve and you do not give what they want and so strikes occur. I therefore request Govt that there would be no strikes if the demands of the people are granted. There would be no strike if the men are given sufficient food. I therefore tell Govt that if the Govt be wise they should give sufficient bread to the people and stop the drain of lacs of rupees to England and utilize it for the welfare of the people. If they were to enact such law they would be driven within 5 years instead of ten. If the people are unnecessarily threatened 33 crores of people of India would awake and would drive out Govt. first and afterwards capitalists. Therefore take back this enactment. If this enactment is passed we shall give our reply to Govt. by a very big wave of strike from Calcutta, Simla to Madras and Lanka and Trichanopoly. Remember what I said and also remember and Ferguesson road is a very bad road. Dont fall out from your houses to-morrow you should give the same response to the mill owners which the people of Ghorapdev gave.

* * * *

BRADLEY.

(Spoke in English and Jhabwala translated it into Marathi).

Brothers, I am going to stand near a mill to-morrow for picketing. I have got the experience of picketing. I was doing it in England. I was at Madras when I received a wire that though the mills gave a whistle and invited you you did not give a response to it. You have done a very good thing, and if you do it for some days, the picketers will have no trouble. On our way back I stopped at Sholapur with my friend Mr. Joglekar, and observed the condition of the labourers. There the condition of strike is good but the leaders are not good. The leaders being not competent, nearly 2500/- men still go into mills for work though the others are on strike. This shows that the foundation of the strike is not good. We have therefore decided to send two men there on behalf of our strike committee. The labourers there have resolved to carry on their strike till their grievances are redressed. These workers should have stopped the work long ago. The condition of the mill owners their is just like that of Bombay. We must therefore help those labourers in carrying on their strike. Govt. is now going to appoint a conciliatory board. Your strength of unity will be tested in that committee and you will get your demands. Govt. has also brought a bill in the legislative assembly. That bill is infurious to you. You must tell Govt. that as there are no proper representatives of yours

in that legislative Assembly it is the legislative Assembly of capitalists and not of labourers and if any bill is passed there it is not binding on you. You must also start a big union and you must have also your assembly for fighting with that legislative assembly. Let Govt. mill owners, Khansahibs, Khanbahadurs pass any law there. Our law will be put forth through our union. In this way create two Governments in India, one of Govt. and the the other of labourers. The mill owners play various sorts of games to deceive you and to make you to join work. To-day they go to legislative assembly, to-morrow they appoint arbitration board and day after to-morrow they appoint conciliatory board, on the 4th day they go to the Governor and on the 5th day they go to the Viceroy you know that your strength lies in unity. Dont break your unity even though Govt. and the mill owners were to try to break it.

Bombay,)
9th & 10th-8-28. }

Sd. R. M. Devbhanekar,
S. A. Tamhane,
Sub-Inspectors of Police.

C. I. D. Poona.

Saraswati Machine Printing Press, Meerut (U. P.) India.

BOMBAY - - II
- - SPEECHES

IN CONNECTION WITH
MILL STRIKES

AND

OTHER SUBJECTS

During 1927 to 1929.

P 1711.

Speakers : (1) S. S. Mirajkar
 : (2) Others.
Date : 10th August 1928.
Place : Open ground near Kesari Hind Mills.
Subject : Mill Strike.

MIRAJKAR.

Mirajkar said:— Brothers, you will know how the mill owners are knave from the fact that we are required to change the place of meeting. The meeting was to be held in Narari Wadi but it was required to change that place hold our meeting here. That place was a private one and in order to prevent the holding of our meeting there, the mill owners pressed the manager of that place, and thus tried to prevent our meeting. But you know that we shall not fall prey to the dodge of the mill owner. If we did not get that place of any other wadi to hold our meeting we shall over (?) our meeting at the door of the Police Station and we are confident that Byculla Police would not prevent us from holding our meeting there. We have upto now given 3 slaps on the faces of the mill owners. We gave first slap at Kala chawki, the second at sat rasta and third at Fergusson road. After we gave these 3 slaps their cheeks became red and the whole set of their teeth became loose. As their set of teeth is going to fall down they are not going to open the mills on Monday. Their cheeks have become red and all their friends in Bombay applying butter to the cheeks. They are going to stop the opening of Mills on coming Monday. Police men began to say that their trouble is saved and we began to say that our trouble is also saved and the labourers began to say that their trouble is saved. The mill owners are now trying to open their mouth with us through some one. I tell you this much only and not beyond it. Because my friends has asked me not to speak more on this. I tell the mill owners that though we are boys, still we have got sufficient intelligence to teach you by pulling your ears. We labourers have arrived to such a stage that we shall not be baffled by such dodges of the mill owners. Our labourers know full well how to reply to the dodges of the mill owners by playing the same sort of game with them. Henceforth the labourers are not prepared to become slaves of the mill owners. The labourers have learnt to behave in equal terms with the mill owners. The mill owners ought to know that the labourers will not be cheated henceforth by their tricks and false rumours. The labourers were upto now in slavery there were no good teachers amongst the labourers to teach them. But now the situation is quite changed; and on account of this

change of situation the labourers are prepared to fight with the mill owners and to give them smart replies. Day before yesterday I had gone in to the municipality. There the labourers in Madanpura told the mill owner on his face that he is a knave and that he curtailed their pay. Were the labourers prepared to give such replies to the owners before 3 years? So also were the labourers prepared to sit on the chair by the side of the mill owners and to tell him on his face that he curtails his pay and that he is a knave? Every labourer in Bombay have learnt this thing within 3 months and by this the mill owners have now began to purge. To-day the mill owners are terrified and banias especially are greatly frightened. You should remember that success has come quite near. Remember full well that the garland of success will shortly fall round your neck. Remember that we shall never rake back. Our first demand is that we must get our pay of 1925. We shall not accept a pie less in it. Our second demand is that we ought to get the pay of the period of strike. In respect to this demand we say that we remained on strike and we remained starving for so many days simply on account of the arrogancy and foolishness of the mill owners. The mill owners had thought that they would bring us round within a month or a month and half when they would come to mills of their own accord. But the time is changed and the mill owners are convinced that the labourers have not remained what they were before. The labourer by name Sakha ram has to-day become Sakharam Shet upto now the mill owners were considering the labourers as slaves but to-day the labourers are supposing themselves of higher status than the mill owners. The reason of this is that the labourers have learnt that their strength is extra ordinary. If we be here the industries and mills are conducted. If we be here the mill owners enjoy and if we be not here the mill owners began to purge. The labourers know this fact full well and so there is amongst them a new sort of awakening. They are prepared to fight for their rights. The enemies of the labourers and Europeans swallowing big salaries from the mill owners (?) say that there are 4 or 5 leaders of the labourers. When they are arrested the strike would come to an end. But they should remember that though the leaders are arrested their vacancies will be filled up by various leaders from amongst the labourers, who are able to conduct meetings and conduct strike. Today new situation is created and new and pure blood is running through the veins of the strikers, and remember that by this situation the garland of success is sure to fall round the neck of the labourers. That day of success has come quite near if you wait for two or three weeks more as you waited for so long remember that we shall be half the masters of the mills. This strike of 1928 will give us half the partnership of mills and if you were to threaten the mill owners with a strike they would be terrified. They would remember 1928 when the labourers would begin to threaten them with a strike. They know

none full well that if the labourers were to go on strike again they would be reduced to poverty. I therefore tell the European friends of the mill owners that they should remember that the labour movement will not be stopped even though we are sent to jail, at Yeroda. The labourers have now awakened. The labour class is on enormous strength. Labourers and peasants are the greatest strength in the world. If you keep aside the labourers and peasants from the people in the world the remainders are corpses. These men (i.e. remainders) can not produce the corn and prepare cloth required for consumption of the world. This being the case this labourers and the peasants occupy the most highest seat and this the labourers have understood. The peasants of Bardoli fought with Govt; & gave a good slap to Governor, if their leaders would have been true & good and if they would have in them strength and if they would not have been eunachs they would have compelled the Governor to rub his nose there. They have become successful. They have got their conditions accepted and if their leaders would have been faithful Governor and viceroy would have required to go to the doors of the peasants of Bardoli and would have required to rub their nose. There being no strength in the leaders of Bardoli their successive is defective. We labourers are always forward. We want to take the leadership of the peasants. The labourers in the cities are now awakened. Their backward brothers live in villages, and they must be taught and made them prepared for fighting with the owners who try to keep them in slavery, who do not give them schools and also with Govt which do not give them schools and education & which confines us devours us & which sucks the blood. We shall be prepared to fight with these two enemies. Our strike will come to an end to-morrow though not to-day. After the strike is over we want to commence our further work. Every Sunday we shall be holding our meetings in Naga Sayaji's Wadi. We shall strengthen our union. If we would have our union and sufficient fund, the strike which is continuing for 4 months would have come to an end long ago. We must try our best after the strike is over to form a vigorous union. Further we want to fight for our political rights for obtaining education and for fighting with money lenders and Khots who are reducing us to poverty. Before some days one labourer took a loan of rupees 30/- from a Pathan. He paid the pathan 4 times the amount he borrowed from him as interest, but still the debt of rupees 30/- remained as it was. One day pathan came there and began to beat him. At that time that labourer committed suicide. Look how the money lenders are. We want to fight with Pathans Bānias and with marwaris. We must open co-operative societies from where we would get money at lone interest. Hence forth we are to fight with money lenders with land lords, with Khots. We are also to fight with Govt. for our rights.

Remember that we are to commence this work as soon as

the strike is over. On Monday most probably the mills will not be opened. The mill owners are now exhausted. An expense of rupees 200/- is required to be made for opening a mill. The coal is required to be consumed. But there is none to look at the gates of the mills even. So remember that if the mills are opened on Monday don't look at them even. The day of our success has approached quite near. We shall celebrate that day most joyfully. That day will be the day of our Dewali Dasara. On that day labourers will raise their "Gudyas" (i. e. गुडिया) at every house, and in this way pass that day joyfully. We shall perform several worship of Satya Narayan as we performed last night. We shall bring batches of "Bhajani" men and enjoy. The labourers are to get that day very soon. This is not an empty promise but it is substantial. I am quite convinced that labourers will win. I never speak in order to encourage you but I always speak about future after observing minutely all the conditions. So give up your disappointment, and pass peacefully two or three weeks more. The Govt. at Simla has decided to pass a law in order to put a stop to the labour movement. That law is this. Those who commit strike without giving notice and those who abet the commission thereof are to be punished with imprisonment for six months. We the labourers in Bombay have not committed strike without notice. The mill owners curtailed our pay and thus gave us the notice asking us to go on strike and so we went on strike. Now Govt. wants us to give one month's notice before we go on strike. This is a law which our labourers will not understand for 5 years. Let your law go to dogs. Let it remain in the fort. But if it is made the labourers would not be able to abide by it for 5 years. If we did not obey that law, the question of our maintenance is solved. Because the Govt. lays down that the strikers and the abettors both would be sent to Jail. Then we shall not require to collect funds nor to hold our meetings any where. If you commit strike, the Police would arrest you. We would go to Jail and hold our meetings there. Let us see how many men Govt. puts in jail. Let the Govt. pass this law and let them see how we tear it to pieces. We would compel them to throw the law into the latrines. Govt. should pass wise laws if they want to pass any. But if they were to enact the laws like fools, it would be disposed of in a way which I just narrated. Mr. Sawyar, a European friend of the mill-owners when I call Swine, said that if this law would have passed a little earlier we would have sent the leaders of labourers to jail. Mr. Sawyar has no intelligence in him. If the labourers were to fall out with "Latnas" and blowing pipes, English men would run away. The public being asleep, dodges of English men would run away. The public being asleep, dodges of Englishmen are going on. If the public were to fall out with pestles they would run away. They are one lac of men. We are 33 crores. It is a great foolishness that such a small number rules over us. The reason of this is that the

majority of the public is ignorant and has no education. If these men were awakened, if you are awakened and if the peasant in a village is awakened and if they were to fall out with their Lātānis, pegs, and blowing pipes Englishmen would run away leaving these women. If Govt wants to enact any law for the benefit of the labourers, they should enact such which has some sense in it; otherwise its disposal is destined. Keep peace as you have maintained upto now. The 1st day of the new year of labourers is approaching near, and on that day we shall raise our 'Gudis' in Parel part, Sewri, and Madanpura.

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Sd. R. M. Deobhankar

BOMBAY

S. A. Tamhane

Sub-Inspectors of Police

10 & 11th. August 1928

C. I. D. Poona.

P. 1712

Speakers : (1) Kasale, and Others.

Date : 12th August 1928 from 5 P. M. to 5-30 P.M.

Place : Open ground near Moon Mill, Sewri.

Subject : Mill Strike, Bombay.

KASALE.

Kasale said: Brothers, as I have got some urgent work we must finish the proceedings of this meeting early. Our leaders are engaged in other work. So I wish to finish the work of this meeting within 10 minutes. If we would not have come here you would have blamed us. You should understand that the leaders are engaged in other work if they absent for any meeting. Every labourer must understand that he must be able to conduct the meeting if the leaders are absent. As long as the leaders from the labourers do not come forward, our fight will always be in suspense. For this purpose leaders ought to come forward from labourers. Every labourer must stand upon his own legs to solve this question of our maintenance. We must not believe others; as long as we believe others we shall not be able to solve this question. I received a telephone

from our leaders to come here and conduct the proceedings of the meeting. I have also got some urgent work. One dramatic company is performing the play of our help. I have come here from that place. So long our labourers do not come forward, it is impossible for us to get success. The capitalists who are 50 are 60 in number are trying their best to break our strike. We must also be prepared to frustrate all their attempts. So long you do not do this, the capitalists who have become arrogant will not be defeated. So long you do not unite capitalism will not be perished from this world. Every labourer may he then be in railways, municipality, docks, or in any other department must remain with unity. They must put forth their grievances and get them redressed. We say that capitalists are rich. But they are rich on our exertions. Look at the condition of mills. So long as we do not go there for work they are lying like dead bodies. This can be construed that the Capitalists are dead. Brothers, it is a thing to be rejoiced at, that you have conquered upto now so many forts, and this is a thing worth to be remembered. Upto now no where on the world, such a strike like that of Bombay as occurred during the last 150 years. Such a peaceful strike has not occurred any where. Every one of you must take a part in it and get your grievances redressed. Swami Ramdas has said that those who believe others, their work is spoiled. So long you are not prepared the capitalists and Police will trouble you. But when we would be united, they would then think of not troubling us down. Till then they would try to crush us. How long you are going to fear them. There is no reason for you to be afraid of the Police and Government. This is the fight for our bread and this is the question of our maintenance. We must not be afraid of cruel capitalists. Every labourer must be prepared to frustrate their dodges and so long you are not prepared this arrogant and knave capitalists will be playing their games. Every labourer must be prepared to crush Capitalism. Brothers, the time of our success has come quite near and it is certain that we shall get success. The capitalists are ashamed because a time has now come for them to cut their nose. If they were to grant our demands, in the whole of India there will be a row. They are trying to create disturbance to break our peace and strike. In order to put a stop to this rascality of theirs we must remain united. Our police who are our brothers throw stones at us. You all know the incident near Swan Mill. The man was beaten inside the mill. When the manager was asked told that the man was beaten outside. Every one should remember how meanly they act. Upto now managers, spinning masters were thinking that it was below their dignity to sit by the side of the labourer. But now the labourers are sitting by their side on chairs. But these foolish men do not understand that they hold their positions on our lives. (Pointing to the mills) Look these dead bodies. I ask those men where has their managership, spinning mastership and

weaving mastership gone now? So long as there are no labourers, these men cannot earn their bread. If head jobbers think of bringing men into mills we challenge them to do so. We are not men who would be afraid of guns, canons, prisons or hanging. If every labourer were to be prepared, their guns and canons will be of no use. All the labourers, may he then be in Police or railways, will join our movement. So long our movement is not successful, they would remain aloof. But a day will come when we would unite all our country brothers, and we shall do it. Europeans came here from England and get salary of rupees 2000/- but this would continue so long as the people of India are not united. But a day will come when we shall drive them out. Brothers, I have no time and I must go to the drama. Dont go into mills as long as the hand bill of our Strike Committee is not published, you should not join mills.

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Bombay

Sd/- R. M. Deobhankar,

S. A. Tamhane.

13th August 1928.

Sub-Inspectors of Police

C. I. D. Poona.

P. 1713

Speakers: (1) R. S. Nimbkar.

(2) Others.

Date: 14th August 1928.

Place: Open ground in front of Spring Mills, Naigaun.

Subject: Mill Strikes.

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NIMBKAR.

He said:—Brothers, tomorrow at 2 p. m. 4 labourers and 6 leaders are going to Govt for settling now to appoint a conciliatory board. To-morrow 6 owners are also going to come. Messors Sassoon, Petit, Stone, Sawyer all these sahibs are going to come.

There discussion will take place & if our strength would be sufficient enough we would get the committee appointed as we like. After the appointment of the committee we would tell them that they should take into-consideration our 17 demands upon which the conciliatory committee would consider over them, then we shall tell you to consider over the matter for 5 or 6 days and give your decision. If after 7 or 8 days it (i. e. committee) were to give its decision in favour of us, it would be a good thing, we shall consider over it and will join work. But if the decision be unfavourable to us we would be required to carry on our strike further vigorously. I wish that such thing may not come to us but if it comes, we must boldly face it like a man. You should remember this. Now I shall tell you as regards our picketing. On last Monday, Wednesday, Friday last Monday again, the Millowners opened nearly 50 mills and they did not get a single man. Coming to their mills, you know that when the mills at Ghorapdev was opened, there was an appearance of a battle. All the Police in Bombay was there. For 8 days the Commissioner waited and during that time not a single labourer joined the mills. At that time Commissioner wrote a letter that they (i. e. mill owners) opened the mills and the Police assisted them. But not a single labourer joined the mill. Therefore he (i. e. Commissioner) could not give them any assistance from Monday. On last Monday when the owners opened the mills there were no police. The assistance of the police was decreased. The police knew that the labourers are not prepared to join mills unless they get their demands. Though within 8 days nobody joined the mills still they (i. e. mill owners) did not stop the further opening of the mills. On coming Wednesday the mills near Paraba Devi at Dadar are going to open. What has happened at Ghorapden, the same thing would happen there. So there will be picketing as usual. Days have not come to break the determination of the labourers. I am sure that this week will also pass safely as the last week. On 20th Inst. remaining last mills will be opened at that time we ought to give a forcible reply in that part. In Morbay there is a jobber by name Laxman. This man brings some men from Dharavi. I want to (tell) ? the people of Dharavi that they should pay attention to Laxman. As regards jute company we are going to have our meeting there to-morrow evening. If gymnasts men are bold enough they should come round. It is learnt that men used go for work in Madhavrao Shinde Mill. For the last 2 or 4 days we used to go there and we stopped the men, who used to be taken by jobbers, temporarily. It is my request to jobbers that they should give up such behaviour. A Mitha Luxmi there is woollen mill. We never took notice of that mill after we declared strike that mill was working. But the mill owners have no intelligence. They had given the name of that mill in the list of mills which are to be opened on Monday coming. We immediately despatched two volunteers of red belts. When they went there, strike was occurred there and all the

men came out. Then the question came before us whether we could apply our strike of cotton mills to woollen mill. We began to brood over that matter. Manager went to the houses of men and brought 150 Bhayas (i. e. up country men) for work. I warn up countrymen that they should not forget that they are to live here for work. They have come here from thousands of miles for earning their bread. They should therefore take notice that they should behave in the same way in which $1\frac{1}{2}$ lacs of men in strike behave in Bombay. Otherwise they would have to go home. It was decided that there should be no picketing near woollen mill. Men of century mill came to us and asked permission for taking coolies inside the mill. We told them that if they would not take strikers inside, they would grant them permission. Their work was finished and we cancelled our permission. In the China mill they were constructing a shed over looms. They came to us and asked permission for taking bricklayers inside the mill. We told them that we would allow their bricklayers, but we shall withdraw our permission if they were to take strikers inside the mill. Now the millowners began to open the mills. We told the engineers that we have now nothing to do with them. We withdrew our passes 50 or 60 in number granted to men for going into the mills. Now we ought not to allow any one to go inside China mill. Some construction work is going on in the mill in new Byculla. They came us and told us that they are doing construction work. We told them that as millowners have now begun to open the mills without granting our demands we do not care for their construction work. If they might be taking men inside that mill in New Byculla men of Ghorapdev should keep a watch over them. Now as regards our strike it is now four months that we are on strike and during which time I think I must have spoken before you, 400 or 500 times and so there is nothing to tell you anything more about the strike. We are to continue our strike till we get our demands. We must observe peace and to attend meetings. There is nothing more to tell than this. But I have to tell you, 2 or 4 things about our future work. In this strike we have an experience that no one else except labourers help the labourers. 75000/ rupees were collected for our strike committee; and our of this amount remember that we have received 60,000 rupees from the labourers in England and rupees 15000 from our country. You have now fully realized in this strike that how your countrymen do not help you when you die in your struggle. Clerks gave us subscriptions, municipality did not help us. Congress gave us rupees 2000/- Mahatma Gandhi did not come for assistance. The followers of Lokmanya who praise him much did not come for assistance. But it is only labourers who helped us and not any outsider you should remember this. Henceforth if we want to do any work and accomplish what we require we must bring forth everywhere labour movement. There is another way than this. If this fact convinces you, I

would tell that we have done a great work in this strike and you would also agree with me in this respect. I know that after the strike is over and when you would join mill your pay of one or two months will be spent in paying the bills of grain merchants, house-owners etc. and and you would be in difficulty. But you must remember that you must every one of you ought to become a member of the union in spite of all your difficulties. And pay its subscription. Every one of you must remember this thing. When our labourers were beaten two or 3 times in which the ear of some one was cut and when they went to this hospital no medical aid was given to us. When this hospital was built, our Governor collected subscription for this purpose from us through mill-owners and our money is spent in building this fine building. The present doctor who is working there is not true to his salt and he has forgotten as to from whom he gets his pay. When a labourer goes there after he was beaten by the police, medical aid is refused to him. This hospital is erected at the cost of the labourers and these such condition prevails. The reason of this is that the hospital is not under our control but under the control of the Municipality. If we have our union and if we have our sufficient funds we can open night schools. If there be no union you have no medical aid and hospital but if you have union we shall have our own paid doctor who would be able to give you any medical aid. That mean union would work for you in everything even in civil matters. It would provide you with a lawyer for fight at your case. We have to do another thing and it is this. On two occasions we were beaten by the Police. As soon as a Police gives us a lathi blow our men begin to run in all directions. If they were to give us one blow, we have no strength to return two strokes. Such is the state. I have therefore resolved to form a band of 1000 volunteers better than Police. In the present volunteers there are 5 or 10 men of the Police: but instead of keeping these police men in volunteers, we intend to form a band of 1000 good men from labourers and to give them training in lathis and pattas on holidays and thus keep them prepared for any occasion if any labourer is assaulted. After this you must remember that every one of you must go to gymnasiums that would be opened on behalf of our union and then there learn how to use lathis. The brother of Mr. Pendse who has shown exceptional bravery in Hindu Mahomedan riot at Baroda is expert in lathi drill who would be able to give you training. If our labourers were to be experts in lathi drill no one would be able to do injustice to them. We are to do all these things within a year or 6 months. Man should not become proud if he gets success nor he should be disappointed if sustains defeat. You know that after two months congress election is to take place and we are trying that the men of the labour class may enter that institution. At that time you will have to come forward to help us. In coming February Municipal election is to take place. At that time we are

going to some of the labour leaders are going to stand for election. Those labourers who pay 10/-rupees as house-rent should remember that labour leaders are going to stand for election and they should not give their votes to the mill-owners if they were to stand. I myself Mirajkar and Alwe are going to stand for Dadar Ward, Jhabwala for Parel and Mr Pendse for Girgaum. The mill-owners would bring lorries to carry you to the Polling stations. But you should not care for it. Whatever I wanted to tell I have told you. Remember what you have to do further. Take up courage to do the things. Keep up your unity.

Sd/- R. M. Deobhankar.

Bombay

„ S. A. Tambane.

15th August 28

Sub-Inspectors of Police C. I. D.

Poona.

P. 1714.

Speakers: S. S. Mirajkar, and Others.
Date: 15th August 1928, from 4-15 p.m. to
6-10 p.m.
Place: Open ground at Lalbag.
Subject: Mill Strike, Bombay.

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MIRAJRAR.

He said: Brothers, our men have gone to Government house for breaking the heads of the mill-owners. They all are thinking of finding out a remedy to end this strike. I do not know upto now as to what has happened there. Because I was not one of those who went there. Some of them would come here and will tell you what has happened there. But if they did not turn up now, we would hold our meeting to-morrow in Nagu Sayaji's Wadi and will inform you what has happened there. Our labourers are not mere speakers but they are becoming poets. This is the 2nd good thing in labour movement. It is an easy way to express our thoughts by means of poems. At the time of

Shiyaji there were also poets. They including Goudhalis also used to make an awakening amongst the people by means of their poems, and ballads. You also know men who sing "Powadas." The same sort of people are amongst us now and remember that this shows that our movement in increasing the movement of the labourers and the peasants is increasing in India and by it the friends of Government are becoming sorry. Today's Times of Bombay has given a warning to Government, capitalists and owners about the increasing movement of labourers and peasants in India. I make an invitation to the editor of that newspaper to attend our meeting and then he would get proper idea as to how much movement of the labourers and peasants has increased. Because there is not an outsider except myself in the meeting. The labourers themselves have come forward to carry on this movement. Remember the direction of our movement. It is my firm conviction that we would not remain without getting success. But after the strike is over we are not to stop there but we want to go a step further. Why the labourers have come to such a state? Why the labourers are in misery? Why the labourers and the peasants, who produce grain, who weave cloth and who produce wealth have come to this state? The reason of this is that handful *badmash* men, handful rascals capitalists keep under their control the wealth which they have robbed from the poor labourers. They keep under their control all the houses and large pieces of land, upon which they erected mills and this is the cause of the starvation of the peasants. The labourers cannot get sufficient clothing even though they weave cloth. We cannot live in our own house even though we build it. Such is the condition that has prevailed all over the country. The whole labour class in the world has become prepared to make a revolt against this condition and they have therefore raised a new flag of revolt to crush handful of mill-owners, house owners and Zamindars, as the whole wealth is produced by labourers and all the houses are built by labourers and all the fields are sown by labourers and they (i. e. labourers) want to bring the ownership of all houses, fields, workshops, trams and railways to them. Not only the labourers in Bombay or India about all the labourers in the world are inspired with this idea to bring the ownership of all the fields and wealth which handful of rich men have kept under their control by robbing the poor and they are all trying in this way, and all the labourers in the world have become prepared to crush 2 per cent of men, who are mill-owners, owners of workshops, owners of railways and who are big Zamindars and to establish their own Government. The labour movement in the world has come forward with great energy. When this movement commences, it commences in form of small strikes. This movement started in Bombay in form of small strikes as pay are curtailed; and you all have come to know that it does not serve

your purpose to stop your movement even though you got your curtailed pay. In 1928, the pay was curtailed and we went on strike. If we become successful in our strike, that success would be a temporary one, and we would get back the curtailment in pay and rates temporarily. But what would happen if we were to stop there and settled not to go further? The mill-owners will again curtail pay in 1930, again they will curtail the rate and they will try to bind you down by new rules and you will have to go on strike again. If you were to become successful in your strike of 1930, in 1933 the mill-owners by playing various dodges would compell you to declare strike again.

You know that within the last 10 years you were on strike 4 or 5 times and every time the Mill-owners had defeated you by various dodges. The heads of the mill-owners is filled with dirty notions and with those notions they always think as to how they would be able to destroy the whole world and all the labourers. So what should be done to remove this dirt permanently? The class of mill-owners who are just like serpents and mosquitoes ought to be crushed; and unless this class who keeps in his hand the maintenance of crores of people is crushed, the grievances of the labourers will not be removed. Remember this. Therefore to obtain success in our strike ought not to be the goal of our labour movement. After the strike has been brought to a successful end the labourers in the world and in India have to crush capitalism and imperialism and their means and thus to destroy the poison. The people in India, in Bombay and other provinces have taken up this work in hand. The people have now begun to realize that if one labourer is hurt, the other must go to his help and it is only in the strike of 1928 that this idea has convinced the people. In this strike other labourers have helped us much. The labourers in railways have helped us by giving 1000 rupees. The labourers in Tramway, Docks, Nagpur and Sholapur have helped the mill-workers Bombay. The reason of this is that they have now begun to realize that the miseries of one labourer are the miseries of theirs. The labour movement will flourish in the degree in which this idea progresses. The mill-owners have now become terrified. The poet has described in the poem also that the mill-owners are terrified. We have come to know that the labour movement is not only confined to obtain curtailed pay and rate but it has gone so far as to assert the ownership of the labourers over the mills and workshops as the labourers know that they produce the product in these mills and workshops. Looking at this the mill-owners have realized that they cannot continue their enjoyment for many days and so they are much frightened. So I want to tell you that if you keep up further the same unity which you have kept in 1928 and if you would work hand in hand and shoulder to shoulder with other labourers, within a few days we the poor labourers would be able

to establish our Government and by the wealth and means which would come in our hands we would be able to give good clothes to our women, good education to your children & replace good clothes on our body in place of the torn clothes which we are at present wearing and we would be able to solve the question of our maintenance. Remember that we would be able to do all these things then. Don't forget this. If any body wants to see how much progress has our labour movement made from 1925 to 1928, he should come to our meetings and see it. If there be any difference in the previous strikes and the present one it is this that the labourers are keenly awakened now. The mill-owners are now cursing those handful of men who have done the work of awakening them. Let the owners do any thing they like. They may open fire or put the leaders in jail but they should remember that the awakening which has occurred will not be stopped henceforth by their father or even by their forefathers even though they were to come down. Have you ever seen any meetings in which the labourers themselves were carrying on the work of their meetings? But to-day's situation is this that the labourers are prepared to carry on the work, of their meeting without the help of any outsider or Nimbkar Mirajkar, and others. The labourers are also prepared to carry on the work of their union. The mill-owners have fully realized that this is the preparation of injuring them by affecting their means of subsistence. The Europeans who are the friends of the mill-owners and who enjoy on the exertions of others have also become terrified. They say as to what these people are doing. The people are doing the work of breaking the teeth of those who are oppressing them and who are starving them. They (i. e. people) are doing the work of giving a blow if they have strength in their arm to vomit blood. We know that several labourers amongst us would be killed while doing that work. In China when the labourers there carried on the movement against the capitalists, the agitators there were shot dead in streets. They have even killed a girl of 16 years of age. We know that to-day you have all sorts of means. You have got Government by your side. Government have military and military has got pistols and in the pistols there are bullets and bullets have got strength. But we know their strength and also know that one day we would lose our life. Many men die of cholera and starvation. Even though some of our men are killed still we labourers shall make a revolution, revolt to drive out the oppressors who try to crush us. The Europeans who are the rulers and the owners, their friends, their hirelings, the mill-owners, the owners of tramways and railways and the owners of workshops from this country and would raise the red flag of revolt. We know what we are doing. Out of 33 crores of people 30 crores are labourers and peasants and we are making a revolt against the oppression of starvation by two crores of British people on the major portion of

the population who are labourers and the peasants. I am declaring this publicly from this. Government should listen to this. I tell 3 times that we the peasants and labourers have raised a flag of revolt and so long Government, mill-owners and their hirelings use their weapons against us we would not remain without killing them so long as there is strength in our wrist. The mill-owners in Bombay are killed to-day. They have now fully realised that labourers would not leave their tail unless they rub their nose before them. Though the labourers are starving for 4 months, still they have caught hold of the tail of the mill-owners fast and they are asking the mill-owners not to curtail their pay and men and burn their new rules. So long as these mill-owners do not give up their stubbornness and grant our demands the labourers will not allow the mills in Bombay to commence the work. The demands that we have put forward are very reasonable. We never demanded the whole profit of mills. We have only requested them to give our pay and rate which they have foolishly curtailed. Why should we take back on this point? Our side is just and true. We shall not remain without making our strike successful. If the mill-owners might be thinking that we would join work for the sake of 8 or 15 days after having starved for 4 months, they should clear it out from their dirty heads. The mill-owners have no intelligence. They do not even know how their mills are working. After 3 or 4 days of the strike when we had been to Mr. Fazalbai, he told us that he had not curtailed the pay. We told them that he only sits on bed and asked him whether he pays his attention to his manager and agent as to what they are doing. Still he maintained that he has not curtailed the pay. After 3 days he came to us and told that he has curtailed the pay. Such is the intelligence of the mill-owners. They are very much frightened by looking at our unity and peace and the way of conducting our strike. Even Government servants who would never be on our side even praise us in this strike and say that they had never seen such a strike in their life time nor they have heard of any occurrence of such a strike in the world. There is no disorder in our strike. You have not looted onions or potatoes upto now and we have carried on our strike with utmost peace. We have done the work of helping the labourers as far as we can. We have collected money and spend it in providing as much ration as possible to starving labourers in this strike of 1928. Only one thing must be in your mind when you go home and is this that you should resolve to continue your strike for a month or two more if required to obtain your demands from the mill-owners. If you were to sit with this determination some other way would be invented and we would be successful. If there would have been no unity amongst us they would never have come to attend Government meeting. When we had gone before to see Government then the mill-owners thought that the labourers would come round

within 15 days and would join their mills and the leaders would remain aloof and then they would be able to break down our strike. The mill-owners have fully realized their foolishness and therefore they have attended this meeting. I think that some new way would be found out by looking at our unity. We shall hold our meeting to-morrow morning in Nagu Sayajis's Wadi to inform you what has happened in to-days meeting at Government house. You should attend that meeting to-morrow. You must brood over day and night on your unity and union and with these words I close the proceedings of the meeting here.

Bombay

Sd. R. M. Deobhankar

S. A. Tamhane

16th August 1928

Sub-Inspectors of police

C. I. D. Poona.

P. 1715.

Speakers:— Joglekar, and Others.

Date:— 16th August, 1928, from 4-20 p.m. to 6-30 p.m.

Place:— Open ground near Cement Chawls, Deslile Road.

Subject:— Mill strike, Bombay.

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JOGLEKAR.

He said: When the people came here they thought that something might have happened in the committee and this struggle would end. But this was the dodge of the mill-owners. They failed in the dodge of opening the mills and they played this new game of appointing a committee. The mill-owners have not a single drop of truth in them. If they would have, they would not have continued their dodge of opening the mills. They kept continued the opening of their mills and played a new game of the appointment of the inquiry committee. They ought to have stopped the opening of the mills. But as I knew full well about their dodges, I was certain that nothing would come out of the present conference. The dodge of the Committee was only to threaten us. In the share-bazar many

companies of the mill-owners have suffered a heavy loss and cotton business has completely suffered. On the 25th of this month they would again suffer a heavy loss. As you cannot read the newspapers, they want to take advantage of your ignorance and they wanted to draw you inside the mills through the committee for manufacturing some goods till the decision of the Committee and afterwards to cut your neck by its decision. This was their dodge. They also thought that as the men are starving they would prefer the idea of Committee and join work. The pay of the labourers is curtailed. In 1925 the labourers made agitation and got their pay. They could not curtail it openly, but they wanted to rob you of success, without your knowledge which you have obtained in 1925. This is the cause of the present strike. They have no authority of curtailing the pay of the labourers which they have obtained with great exertions. In order to misguide the people the mill-owners sent an application to Govt. through Corporation to interfere. They thought that Govt. would not interfere. But when Govt. took up that question in hand then they were terrified. They did not want any committee to be appointed for fear of being exposed about their knavery in account books. When the representative of Govt. came here they could not then refuse to attend the conference. They first told to withdraw the strike. Our men told them that if they would give pay of 1925 they would immediately take back the strike. They refused to do so and taking advantage of this situation they dispersed the conference. Should we not tell all the facts to you regarding your strike? It was our duty to place before you what had happened in the conference. But as we told all the facts to you the mill-owners became enraged and on slight cause they dispersed the meeting. They would now try to break your unity with the help of Police. But I tell them on your behalf that their attempt would be futile and the mills would remain closed. The mill-owners might be thinking that though their mills are closed still other mills at Chalisgaon, Jalgaon, and Sholapur are going on. But we are now going to awaken the labourers of those places also. I am going to Sholapur to awaken the the labours on Saturday and Sunday and thus to stop the provision which comes from there to the mill-owners. We would ask them to join us in our fight with the Capitalists. Not only this but we would also stop the working of the steamers of the mill owners. Narottam Shet has a steamer by name "Shindia". We would tell the labourers there that they are the brothers of the mill strikers and it is their duty to help them now by joining in their struggle. We shall also make an agitation amongst the labourers in Docks and Sailors and ask them to join us. We are going to do this work henceforth in order to bring pressure on the mill owners. The mill owners might be thinking that they have got the support of the Govt. but they should keep before their eyes the history of France in 1780 and they would then know what bravery is shown by the hunger stricken people. The mill owners as well as

Govt. should keep before their eyes the bravery shown by the hunger stricken people of France in 1780. They should also keep the example of Russia before their eyes where the revolution was made by hunger stricken people and established the rule of labourers. You have already declared your determination not to join work unless you get your demands. Go to your houses now by railway or steamer by batches. After you have gone there try to create awakening amongst the minds of the peasants there. It rests in the labourers to create awakening amongst the peasants who are their brothers and form unions. The eyes of the advanced people would be white when they would see the awakening in the peasants. If the labourers were to bring about strikes in villages owners and Government would both be terrified. The Mill-owners have found that our unity is firm. On 25th of this month and 1st of next month mill-owners make agreement with other merchants for the supply of goods for next year and so they are sure to entreat you to join work before that thing. Dont you be disheartened by to-day's incident. But show your determination to the mill-owners by your agitation that you have resolved, to make an awakening amongst the masses and hoist your red flag. We would place before you all the things that would happen. I want to know from your own mouth whether you liked the thing which we did in the morning after consulting you. (Reply "yes from the audience). Are you willing to break the strike? (Reply "No" from audience). So you have determined not to break it till you get your demands. Should I then go to Sholapur tomorrow and make an awakening there on your behalf? (Reply "yes" from the audience). Tomorrow when the mills will be opened take care that not even a dog goes there.

Sd/- R.M. Deobhankar

S.A. Tambane

Sub-Inspectors of Police

Bombay,

18th August 1928.

C.I.D. Poona.

P. 1716.

Speakers: Mirajkar and Others.

Date: 17th August 1928 from 4-25 p. m. to 6 p. m.

Place: Open ground near Dadar Railway Station. .

Subject: Mill Strike, Bombay.

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(1st Supplement to the report of the meeting of Mill Strikers held on 17th August, 1928 on the open ground near Dadar Railway Station.)

Mirajkar.

Mirajkar said: Brothers, To-day our meeting has become little bit small. But yesterday and day before yesterday our meetings were very great and by speaking there very loudly my throat has become dry. So it is a good thing that our meeting has become smaller to-day. In to-day's morning newspapers the leaders of the labourers have been blamed for the break down of the Conference and they have charged us for having broken it. They have not blamed the mill-owners for that and I would give a reply to that charge from this place and while giving that reply I will explain to you how the mill-owners and Government in consultation with each other wanted to play a dodge. Day before yesterday our men had gone to the Secretariat and for two hours discussion went on and afterwards it was settled to appoint one committee. The same evening the mill-owners told our men to withdraw their strike. We did not authorise our men to tell them that we would withdraw our strike, but we had only authorized them to see that if any inquiry committee is appointed be appointed. If they want they may appoint 25 committees. Our men told Government as well as mill-owners that they would consult us and obtain our opinion and then would tell them the next day. The mill-owners refused this and pressed our men to tell them there and then whether they want to withdraw the strike. In this there was dodge of theirs. There was a dodge of the mill-owners as well as of the Government and it was this. They thought that people being hungerstricken would be prepared to break their strike if the mill-owners and labour leaders were called together in Government house. The mill-owners had informed Government accordingly. They had decided to tell first that they should withdraw their strike. We have continued our strike for the last 4½ months and we have already declared our determination not to break it till the last decision. So we had sent our men there and told them that they may appoint a committee but we are not prepared to withdraw our strike till we get our pay of 1925. It was the dodge

of the mill-owners as well as Government to get the strike broken by bringing pressure on them and by threatening them. When this is done once they thought that there was no fear then to appoint a Committee or 50 Committees. When the strike is once broken we labourers do not fall out on strike again and then the labourers would be required to accept the decision of the Committee whatever it may be. We have frustrated that attempt and we shall never fall a prey hence-forth to such dodges. Government and the mill-owners came to know that the labourers would not fall prey to their dodges. Thus the attempt of the Government and the mill-owners to put us in ditch and bury us in it has gone to dogs. On the contrary the mill-owners have fallen into the ditch and the labourers have determined to bury them in it by continuing their strike. The mill-owners have become very arrogant. The mill-owners thought that the men who have starved for 4½ months would come and lie at their feet within a week or fortnight. But the mill-owners should remember full well that the labourers in Bombay who are prepared to fight with them, would not care for their starvation, for the starvation of their wives and children and for the death of their children through starvation, but they would continue their fight with them and would not break the strike unless they bring the mill-owners round and unless they get their pay of 1925. While our men were returning from the conference that lame Sassoon who has got 1½ legs said to our men that why should there be an interference of Government but would settle amongst themselves. As soon as he said this, the other mill-owners pressed him a little bit. The king of these mill-owners Mr. Petit is not yet convinced. He would be convinced when labourers would go to his bungalow and after giving a slap tell him that they (i. e. labourers) have not given up their determination and would not give up in future to break the strike. We shall break the strike when he would go to the High Court with a cocoanut shell in his hand. At that time we would break the strike if we think. This fight of ours is the last right. We don't want any strike further. We don't want to have any fight henceforth. At this time we shall either be killed or shall crush the mill-owners. We want to fight out this desperate fight. Yesterday I have already told in the meeting of Deslile road. We must continue our fight as we have declared our determination. For continuing your determination I have already told you a remedy. I would tell you the same here. As soon as the steamer communication is commenced after the cocoanut day you are to go to your villages. You should go even without tickets. In your villages corn has grown there. You are to live and feed your men on this corn without giving assessment to Government and without giving anything to money-lenders and Khots. In this way after you went to your villages, our strike Committee would solve the question of maintenance of the few men who would live here. Our Strike Committee has begun this work. There is only one work before us and it is to send as many men out

as possible and we would solve the question of maintenance of the few men who would remain here. Our Strike Committee has paid attention to this question. It has also paid its attention to collect funds and it would use all possible means to collect funds and with the aid of that fund we shall provide ration to those who would stay here. I give this promise to you publicly. The mill-owners think that in the next week the money that is with us will be exhausted, the men would return to work either by the front door or by the back door. But the mill-owners ought to know the tendency of the mind of the labourers. The people have now realized that the mill-owners have robbed them of their money which they have produced by working 12 hours in mills in Bombay and by weaving cloth. They have also realized that the mill-owners have begun curtailment in their scanty pay and thus robbing them of their wealth. I promise you that our Strike Committee would try its utmost to get back your curtailed pay and use all possible means for it. The mills will be opened on that day when our Strike Committee would declare that the mill-owners have granted their demands. On that day the gates of the mills will be opened and the mills would whistle and the men would enter the mills. Our Strike Committee is the mouth of 1½ lacs of labourers. You must remember this. We, who are fighting with the mill-owners on your behalf promise you that we shall carry on the fight for you to bring the mill-owners round, so long as there is life in us and so long as we can speak, some men would try to spread false rumours amongst you and some would try to break your unity. So don't pay heed to them. Some men have begun writing in newspapers that the mills would be opened after coconut day. Don't allow yourselves to be deceived by such false publication. If you want to read true facts about your strike you must read them from our own newspaper. That newspaper is our "Kranti". You must remember that the facts published in "Kiriti" newspaper are the true facts. Some men buy "Lokshahi" for two pies and read it. But in it some false things are now being published. In it one Narayan Roy Kulkarni suggests that the mills should be opened after coconut day and men would resume work. But I tell him that he should do his Kulkarni-ship in his village and not in Bombay. God knows, what ass has told him so. I tell him that after the coconut day the labourers will be going to their villages to crush the knaves. He should remember that the labourers in Bombay are going to their villages to crush money-lenders and khots and to fight with them. You should not therefore believe in such false rumours that are being spread in the newspapers. You will have to adopt the remedy that I suggested. As soon as the steamer communication commences you must turn your faces to your villages. Just as there is oppression of the mill-owners dacoity and knavery of the mill-owners in Bombay and other cities; so also there is oppression of some another form in

villages. The labourers in cities are clever and they know what oppression means. So when you would return to your villages you must not sit quiet there but you must hoist your red flag of your fight there also. There the khots and money-lenders and landholders have become dacoits. Patils and Kulkarnis oppress us. You must learn to fight with them by carrying on your movement there. The labourers in cities are considered to be more shrewd. They can understand the importance of the movement. They must now begin their fight with capitalists in their villages hand in hand with peasants. As soon as you go home, you should not only pay attention to filling your bellies but you should begin to fight with the men who oppress you. Begin to raise our red flag against that oppression and this is the hint that I give you. The second thing that I want to tell you is this. That question was discussed just this morning in our Strike Committee. There is one our national leader who is called a patriot and who wears Khadi cap, and tells the people that he is doing great service to the country. But when he speaks of doing good to the country he has before his eyes only 2 per cent of the people of the country. These two percent means rich men, Capitalists, some educated people, pleaders and doctors. Beyond this he has no idea of the country. If he would have an idea he would have done something for the starving 1½ lacs of people in Bombay. We have criticized Mathama Gandhi in our meeting held yesterday and day before yesterday. This white cap is called Gandhi cap. Some of our men were sent to Mahatma Gandhi at Ahmedabad for obtaining some help. Our man told him that they had come there to ask for any help for the starving labourers. Mahatma Gandhi told that he was against strike and would not give them a single farthing. We have criticised this in our meetings. Have we committed any mistake in doing this? Tell me. (Reply "no" from the audience) We strikers are starving and fighting for our rights. We are fighting for putting a stop to the oppression of the mill-owners and so we had sent our men to mahatma Gandhi for obtaining some help. You have become labourers because owner have deprived you of your lands. Why have you become labourers? You were once peasants and you were working in your villages. But you were deprived of your lands by Zamindars, Khots and others. You were required to leave your villages and come to cities and live as labourers. Therefore you are brothers of the peasants. Mahatma Gandhi who fights for peasants is not prepared to give a single farthing as help to the starving brothers of the peasants. This we spoke in the meetings. By this criticism one man was enraged. I told him that if he is enraged he should better eat two bread more. Because every public man is liable for criticism. If some men were to do any public work, they are liable for criticism. When Mathama Gandhi is considered as a public man he ought to have shown his sympathy towards our strike. But as he has not shown it, naturally we

criticized him. There was nothing wrong in it. There is one patriot in Bombay who is a very fat fellow. He one day came to us with a mill-owner to open the talk of compromise. He asked me to compromise the matter. I told him that we are ready for compromise at any time and asked them to tell us what they want to say in respect of our 17 demands, and as regards our pay of 1925. He asked me to accept some less pay and told that this is a national industry. I told him that the mill belong to 22 mill-owners and not of ours. These 83 mills are not ours and it is not national industry. We want to make it a national industry. We want to make them of the ownership of $1\frac{1}{2}$ laacs of labourers. We have not demanded anything more. We produce all the profit and the mill-owners enjoy themselves in Rolls Royce motors. We don't say that they should not use motors. But they ought to give us our pay and then the labourers would join work. That gentleman then asked me whether I know him, as to who he was. I told him that I know him to be a very big patriot and a national leader. He told me that if he were to take into his head to go before the labourers and tell them that they should join work on less pay the labourers would accept it and would join the mills. I told him that if he wanted to get experience of this, he may come to our meeting when he would see in what way he would be received by the labourers. Then that gentleman sat silent. I don't want to give out his name and there is no use of giving it out. Such are the patriots and national leaders and their idea about the welfare of the country has not gone beyond 2 per cent of men of the population of the country. 98 per cent of the population of India are in darkness of ignorance. That class is pulling on its days in misery and its life has become very laborious. That class cannot solves the question of maintenance of 2 times. These national leaders have no care for this class comprising of peasants and labourers and they are enjoying on our exertions. This is the thing that I wanted to explain to you. We pity such patriots and national leaders, and it is our goodness that we do not beat them with shoes. I say that those who work against labourers and peasants by their action and speech ought to be *beated with shoes*. Let any newspaper criticize me I have nothing to say about it. I have given you an example of those who call themselves as patriots and national leaders. If you like to hear that man you may accept less pay and join the work, thereby you would be benefitted. The assertion of the mill-owners that the failure of the negotiations was entirely due to the labour leaders, this is not true. We were ready, we are ready and we will be ready for negotiations at any time. But at the time of making negotiation we would say one thing that we would not break our strike but we would break it on the day on which the mill-owners would give us in writing under their own seals and signatures to our Strike Committee that they have granted the pay prevailing in 1925, and would put up boards in front of the mills accordingly. The mill-owners might be thinking that our money is

exhausted, but I tell them that it is not exhausted but would increase like the tail of monkey God. Dont think that the money which is with our Strike Committee would be insufficient for two months more. It would increase like the tail of the monkey God. On the contrary the money in the treasuries of mill-owners is decreased by 5 crores and if our strike is continued for two months more it would be decreased by 10 crores and they would be required to go to the High Court on 61st day with a cocoanut shell in their hands and then they would be required to cry and all their enjoyments would be stopped. Some educated people blame the labourers for continuing their strike. We ask them whether they would work if they are given 30 rupees in place of 50 which they were getting before. They would also struck work. But the educated men are weak. The pay of the clerks in Bombay are also curtailed by 30 or 35 percent. The pay of the clerks and school teachers and other middle class men in Bombay are considerably curtailed. They say that their condition is worst than labourers. When this is the case I ask them, as to why do they do not go on strike like labourers. They should struck work. They should form their unions and give a good slap to those who obtain profits of lacs and crores on their exertions. We labourers are strong and stout and we could form unity and union and we have shown to the whole world that we can fight with the mill-owners with unity. The mill-owners are also puzzled by looking at our unity. The mill-owners have now become mild. If we now continue our strike within a month or two the mill-owners would suffer a loss of 2 or 4 crores of rupees in addition to the loss of 5 crores of rupees they have already suffered and a time would soon come upon them to be bankrupt and Sassoon would purchase all their mills. Sassoon is thinking of becoming the owner of all the mills. The other mill-owners have no sense in them and the foolish mill-owners in Bombay have no intelligence in them. These mill-owners do not know even how their mills are working. But whole time they are absorbed in the enjoyment of their motors, bungalows their wives if they have and their keeps. They do not know what happens in their mills and do not know much about their profit or loss. But they pass their time in enjoyment. But one day all of them would be required to be bankrupt. I suggest that there are two or three mill-owners who are prolonging the strike. They must be ejected from them. If they are not ejected the other mill-owners would require to go to the High Court. We wont cry if the mill-owners are dead: We would eat sweet balls of their 13th day. They have earned the profit of crores of rupees by sucking our blood. Henceforth we would not allow them to do so. We shall continue our fight so long as our pay of 1925 are curtailed. Our Strike Committee is engaged in finding out ways of opposition. You should

only hold on carefully and those who want to go to their villages should go away when the steamer communication would commence.

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Sd/ R. M. Deobhankar

Bombay

S. A. Tamhane

Sub Inspectors of Police

18/19th August 1928

C. I. D. Poona.

P. 1717.

Speakers: (1) Mirajkar.
(2) Alve.
(3) & others.

Date : 18th August 1928.

Place : Open Ground near Moon Mill- Sewri.

Subject : Mill Strike, Bombay.

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MIRAJKAR.

He said:— Brothers, day after tomorrow some mills on this side are going to whistle. This meeting is held here in order to tell you that what you should do on that day. You already know what you are to do on that day and it is not necessary for me to tell again. You are fighting for the last 4½ or 4¾ months and there is a hope that some way would come out of it and therefore I hope that you wont allow your strike to break. The mill labourers in Bombay must take care that your unity does not break. On Mondry Dr. Deshamakha has called a conference of the representatives and of mill owners and labourers for considering over the demands. On Monday evening we are going to attend that conference and going to see to find out some way to end this strike. We would also see that it does not break like Govt. Conference. There is also a possibility that Dr. Deshamukha would get success which Govt. officer could

not. There is also a possibility that the representative of the people would be successful in which Govt failed and some good way would be found out. But I can tell you so much surely that the mill-owners have become of opinion of keeping the talk with us continued through the medium of somebody. They have become of opinion that compromise should not break. I have got strong evidence about this. You should not care now as a new way would be found out from this conference. We, the mill labourers, in Bombay, who have suffered hardship for the last 4½ months, are not prepared to throw it into the sea for the sake of a fortnight or three weeks without getting any thing in return for it. On Monday when the mills of Shewari side would be opened, give your reply to it in a good way. As the people in other parts have given their reply in the same way, you should also give your reply. And just as your brothers in other parts kept up their unity and executed their duty, in the same way you should do. This is my request to you. Though Dr. Deshamukha has invited us for the conference on Monday, still when we will go there, we would place our true side before him. But we would fight once with the mill owners and place before them our side. Because our side is true, we are ready to place our side before any millowner whether he may be of heaven or hell or of underground. We would place our side before Dr. Deshamukha or even Governor or even before the uncle of Governor, because our side is true; and we shall see whether any way is found out. Therefore I want to tell you first that in order to find out that way you must strengthen your unity which is an outward remedy. I have to speak about one thing. You must have read today's issue of "Nawakal" In it one letter has been published it is such. In England there is one man by name Roy. He has written a letter to the leaders of labour movement, in India. In that letter it is written to form secret societies and make a revolt against Govt. From this place I publicly declare that we the leaders of labour movement in India, have not received such a letter. Govt has purposely drafted this letter in order to misguide the people. Today in India the labour movement is increasing and in order that it may not increase and in order to put obstacles in its way Govt are trying their best. Govt is going to enact a law in the council at Delhi in order to pluck the wings of the movement. Govt have begun to bring into action all their dodges in order to get this law passed with the consent of the representatives of the capitalists, by misguiding them, that the labour movement is increasing in India. The representatives would give their consent to this law by raising both their hands. For this purpose Govt have prepared this false letter purposely and got it published in the news papers in India. I challenge the Govt and tell them that if they want to rule over India for some years more, they should give up such deceitful tricks and wicked deeds. Such things would be digested in England. Before

4 years when the labour movement was increasing in England, the capitalists there had prepared such a sort of letter in order to suppress the labour movement, at that time and threw dust in the eyes of the public. Govt is doing the same in India. But Govt should understand that the labourers in India would not be deceived by such deceitful means. By such deceitful tricks they won't be able to rule over us who are poor for many days. They should remember that if they were to play such deceitful tricks they would be thrown into the sea at Sewry very early. What harm is there if it be Govt exists on whose existance? You and we honour Govt & therefore the Govt is there. When red antimony is applied to a stone, it becomes God, otherwise nobody cares for it. So long as we subjects honour Govt, they have got the prestige. Governor has prestige so long we salute him 3 times. & so he has got a big prestige, but there would be no prestige if we were to give a slap. The people in Bombay were uptil now afraid of Police very much. But now the time is changed and even a labourer tells the police to keep silent and says that he is fighting for rights. Before 10 or 15 years a man was used to be sent to jail for taking the name of Shivaji or Tilak. But to-day we raise our cries in their names. The reason of this is that education is spreading amongst the people & with the spread of education amongst the masses the prestige of Govt would be lessened. I want to tell Govt publicly from this place that if they are going to enact a law by preparing such hundred false letters & by spreading false rumours and going to kill our increasing movement and if they are not going to do which the labourers are doing for solving their question of maintenance then the labourers would make a revolt in this country & then they will have to run away leaving their women here. Though the labourers are Poor are in appearance still - even an ant attacks and bites if a foot were to lie on it. You know that ants bit serpant and killed it. A poor cow if it be troubled by anybody, it thrusts its 2 horns and brings out intestines. If they are oppressed, if they are charged with various accusations and if they are troubled while they are fighting for their rights, then labourers and peasants in India would make revolt and they would compeil them to run away leaving their wives here. The letter which is published is with regard to the programme of communists. I have nothing to say about its programme. The programme of the commuunists people is this to help the peasants, to crush money lenders, to destroy capitalism, to incrtase the pay of the lobourers, to decrease the land assessment of the peasants, to give more comfort to peasants, to give money on less interest to peasants. This is our programme and I dont want to say about it. In it what the Govt has said that communists in India who are there in my opinion, are trying to make agitation amongst labourers & are forming secret societies

is utterly false. Why should there be secret societies? Where is the necessity of working privately or secretly when the labourers are so much awakened. We want to prepare bombs and guns here. When one peasant or one labourer is well-trained they are our bombs and guns. When these bombs are thrown then they would die. Therefore we are not in need of secret societies. Govt has prepared this false letter. I give them hint from this place. I give them hint of their advantage that if they want to pass 10 or 20 years more in India, still, they should not act foolishly and they should not do such act dastardly. They should remember that by this they are cutting their own neck. You should remember that Govt has played a stratagem in preparing this letter. In order to obtain the consent of the people by spreading misunderstanding about us. Such stratagems would cut their own neck & that is to our advantage. If they want they may do it. If they want to live for some years here & if they dont want any revolution early in India and if they want that the peasants and the labourers be not awakened so early, they should no do such things. I want to them such a hint publicly. On Monday you must keep peace as the people of other parts have kept. Some people have begun to say that leaders advise to keep peace, but, what is the good of keeping peace. If you dont want, to keep peace, dont keep it. But first take air guns from the hands of soldiers who are in fort, take guns from Police in your charge, induce men from the Military & tell them that they are your natural brothers and ask them to fire on the Police on your behalf and then I will ask you to break your peace and if this can be done then I would advise you to break peace cut those who are working against preservation of peace by firing on them. But there is time to do these things. Today we cannot do those things & therefore we must keep peace on our behalf; and you must not allow Police to break peace. After the conference was broken Commissioner had gone to mill-owners to see them. I have received this news from a reliable source. This very fact shows whose friend Commissioner is. Governor Sahib, Viceroy Sahib and all other Sahibs are the friends of the millowners, of rich men, of Jamindars and owners of houses. They are not friends of the labourers working in spinning & weaving departments. But they are the friends of those people, and remember that he is a man waiting for an opportunity to take advantage of any disturbance amongst us in order to help those men. So on Monday dont commit any disturbance on roads. After this I want to tell you one thing in respect of Police. If they were to create disturbance by entering your chawls, then make such a good bandobust that he does not go out alive. Because even the father of the Police have no right to enter Chawis. You are not to make disturbance on roads. Nobody takes objection if the Police were to create disturbance on road, but if they were to enter the compound or Chawls, or houses, do not sit quiet without

beating him, I wanted to tell you are not to create disturbance on road or a crowd. But carry out the day like other people who carried their programme, and in this way carry out this marriage ceremony of your Sewri men on Monday. If you carry out this marriage ceremony we would arrange for their coffin, and we shall arrange how to perform their obseques and what Rama bhat, is to be called. Do not care in that respect. Our strike Committee is caring for it. The expense of it, will be made by strike Committee. You should carry out the marriage ceremony and we would make arrangement for coffin. We ought to prolong this strike for as many days as we could. Some people might say as it is now 4½ months that they are on strike, and therefore they should go to the mills. But do not do it. There is saying in Marathi that unless a stone suffers the blows of a chisel, it is not turned into an idol of God. In the same way you are being tested. It is the time of the test of the labourers Your sleeping God is taking your test. If you pass this test you would obtain the place of God, and all the labourers in the World would look at you in that way. All the labourers in the world say that British people tell them that there is no unity amongst the Indians and Hindoos and Mohamedans always fight and none unite. But they say that they have not seen anywhere in the World a strike like that of Bombay carried on for 5 months by 1½ lacs of labourers so vigorously. So they are convinced that the people of India must either be Gods or what was told to them by the British people ought to be false. The labourers in other countries know full well that if your pay is curtailed by the millowners in your country, there pay would also be curtailed by the millowners there. Because the millowners would say as the labourers in India live on low wages, why should they not accept less wages, and for this reason the labourers in other countries are backing you and have sent money to you, for winning your struggle. We must show them that we are men of great dignity, and there is unity amongst us, and we are fit for Swaraja. If you pass this test you would get reward. Wait for sometime more, and suffer little hardship and then you attend the stage of God.

Alve will follow later on.

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2nd supplement to the report of the meeting of Millstrikers held on the open ground near Moon Mill Sewri on 18th August 1928.

ALVE.

He said:—Brothers, after many days I am standing, before you. Perhaps you might have doubt as to why I do not attend the meetings, but as I was sick for the last two or four days I could not come. Though you see me day by day becoming fat still I am getting fever: and i. e. due to some trouble in my stomach which has

grown fatter. If I were to speak for a long time my throat becomes choked. I am glad to see our movement increasing in this Bombay City I was bowling out for labour movement, But nobody from the mill hands took the lead. But what happens now is this, that if there is any meeting our labourers without waiting for any leaders can carry out the proceedings of the meeting. There is much awakening amongst you for which I thank you. On Monday mills are to be opened. It is heard that there is one Mukadam by name Joshi, who says that he would go to the mill with his wife & children work on spindles. When the mills, on the Desfile Road, were opened there was Long Sahib. I therefore challenge Joshi that if he does so, would kill him and go to the gallows. There is also a man by name I Datta Ram Master, who tells the labourers that their leaders are to be put in jail. Leaders are always ready to go to jail. The leaders knew that when they had taken the movement of 1½ lacs of people in their hands, there would be firing. This Master tells that the leaders will be sent to jail. He should entertain the fear of jail. There is no necessity for him to show the fear of jail to leaders. We dont know how to particularise these foolish men. The present leaders are not afraid of jails or of the power or the oppression of British Govt. Persons likely to run away, are not there. It is just the same whether they are arrested or not. Our condition has become very miserable. You come to meetings, and here many people assemble to see when this strike ends. Really there is no food in every house. It is the fate of the labourers that they are born with poverty. We have therefore gone on strike in order to remove this poverty once for all. Our demands are very little. All the mills in India and the powers of all the capitalists & bureaucracy must come in the hands of labourers and for this purpose the strike of the labourers is going on for 5 months: This strike is not with the desire of obtaining 2 rupees increase. All these workshops ought to come under the ownership of the labourers. We must receive money from the workshops money which we produce in it, to cover our expenses. Have we continued our strike for five or six months for an increase of a rupee? But it is continued for abolishing poverty in India. India is our own country. The labour class, which was sleeping, is awakened and has declared this strike for obtaining that power. You will have to undergo much hardships for obtaining this power. If it would have been for an increase of a rupee and eight annas, it would have ended within 8 or 15 days. You would find that the strikes in 1925 and 1923 were quite different. I was taking part in those two or three strikes on your behalf for the last 8 years. Though I was taking part in it, this strike is of great importance. You are taught day and night as to how you should behave at this time in this movement. This movement is for removing the poverty of India. Every labourer ought to remain alert. Alert means, attempts are being made to break our unity. You are starving for

the last 5 months. Every brother should remember this. You will have to suffer hardship if you want to destory capitalism & Imperialism. Your children will have to suffer. Remember that every labourer would remain striving for power so long he is alive. and so long this power exists. I therefore request you to make all the labourers happy by establishing labour rule in India so that your Children may not require to suffer hardship. Never mind if you die now, but destory Capitalism. Our rulers have no compassion, you must therefore be prepared to quarrel with such foolish men who are not true to their salt. Leave off your timidness. You were thinking them to be ma bap. This is a mistake. They are butchers. For this purpose their power must be removed from India. If this strike is continued for one month more it cannot be said, what the labours, whose heads are turned, would do in a bit of anger. But see what happens by remaining peaceful. What would come out if you sit at home? You must show what your strength is and so long you do not show it, nothing would happen. But if the strike does not come to an end in this fifth month, we will deprive the power of the British in India and would establish labour Govt of our own, and I trust that the labour shall achieve this.

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20th August 1928 BOMBAY	} Sd. R. M. Deobhankar S. A. Tamhane } Sub-Inspectors of Police } C. I. D. Poona.

P. 1718

Speakers: (S. S. Mirajkar, & Others.)
 Date: 19th August, 1928 from 8 A. M. to 9. 20 A. M.
 Place: Open ground Chameli Wadi, Desfile Road.
 Subject: Mill Strike, Bombay.

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MIRAJKAR

He said: Brothers, yesterday evening we made preparation

for the marriage of the mill-owners, by holding a meeting. After this Ramchandra Joshi met them. He is a Maratha by caste and he has undertaken to do the work of 'Joshi' to celebrate the marriage by receiving some pay. He is going to join the mills tomorrow with his wife and children. In this way there will be a preparation of marriage of the mill-owners. But we have made preparation of performing their obsequies. These mill-owners have become very arrogant, our women also have commenced to speak in the meetings and we tell them that if they want to live for five or ten years more, they should grant our demands. They should use their intelligence and if they have no intelligence, they should purchase it from the labourers. I want to tell that the labourers, are more intelligent than them. Afterwards I want to tell you the dodge which the Government is playing. You might have read yesterday's issue of "Namakel," in which one letter is published. On account of that letter, they are going to bring a bill in that legislative Assembly. In that bill it is said that if you went on strike and if we were to tell you to go on strike both of us are to be punished by 2 months imprisonment. Government is going to do that law within a few days. This bill won't get the support from the public, and so Government have begun their preparation to obtain the support of those members who have occupied chairs in the council. Yesterday they prepared such a letter. Government have under them many such knaves and got such letter prepared. To-day in India there are representatives of the labourers who fight on behalf of labourers. That letter which is published contains that these people are making a revolt and revolution, and form secret societies, bring bombs and guns and in this way misguide the people by telling them false things about labour movement. This false letter has been prepared by Government in order to frighten the middle class men who are the members of the council and in order to obtain their vote for passing this bill. I am going to repeat this thing in every meeting. Labour movement is increasing and Government has raised their arms to attack it. Capitalists have assistance of Government and Government have the assistance of the capitalists and in this way they are acting hand in hand. The labourers want to crush them both. There are two classes live in the world. Imperialism means Government and capitalism means rich men, Zamindars, monied people and owners of mills. As long as these men live, you can not live comfortably in the world, and for this purpose we have commenced our struggle. Government have commenced to use their scissors of law to crush the labour movement and to pluck the wings of its flying. If they are going to kill the labour movement by such false and mean remedy, it is not possible for them to do so. Because the movement of all the labourers in the world has started. All the labourers in the world have resolved to have a control over the whole world and to hoist their red-flag. We the people of India want to drive out

capitalism and imperialism and to drive out the gangs of thieves and decoits—one of capitalism and the other of imperialism—and in its place we want to establish such a rule by which poor labourers would get two times to eat, by which they would be able to make arrangement for the education of their children and by which they would be able to provide clothing to their women. You must not forget that though the aim of our movement to-day appears for getting back curtailed pay, still we want to go a further and attain the goal of our movement,—the Delhi of our movement—you must not forget that you want to reach that Delhi. So long as you do not attain that Delhi, so long as you do not attain that longest ideal, you will have to make such thousands of such strikes. You will have to continue your strike for 4 years even instead of 4 months. Till then the poor people will have to live in prison and pass days without clothing. Who maintains all in India? Peasants. But what are their difficulties. Just as owners crush labourers in cities by curtailing their pay, in the same way, there are leeches in villages who drink the blood of the peasants. Money lenders, Zamindars and Khots are the leeches of the peasants and police, capitalists and money lenders are the leeches of labourers in the cities. All these men are the enemies of labourers and peasants. In order to fight with them we want to increase our strength and i.e. to begin to lay the foundation of our Government and this you should remember. I have not the least doubt about the success of our strike. Some might be thinking that it is now 4 or 5 months to our strike, now what to do. But I tell them they should not doubt so. It is a critical time. We take an ordinary stone and the artisan prepares an idol of God of it, in the same way it is also a test of our labourers and you are to be tested whether you are fit to attain the stage of God, and to establish labour Government, and to procure all sorts of happiness. If you get sufficient marks and pass this test then you would be considered fit for further work and you must prove yourselves fit to establish labour Government. Mill-owners give no value to the labourers. On whose exertions they are enjoying themselves in motors, and other enjoyments and prostitution? It is on the exertions of the labourers. When this is the case they don't want to give value to them. If they would say to labourers that they are of no use, the labourers also would consider themselves superior to the owners, and when you would begin to think like this there is no harm for us to say that we have become successful. The labourers in Bombay knew this full well. These owners are the greatest enemies of ours and the labourers have resolved to crush the capitalists and their friends who are enemies of the labourers by struggling with them. To-morrow Dr. Deshmukh is going to call a conference because we are ready at any time for a compromise. Some of us will go there. We must give notice to them that if they would ask us to call off our strike first then compromise would be impossible.

We are not ready to put down our weapon. Our strike would continue. They should talk about compromise. If compromise were to take place to-morrow we would join the work next day. But if they want only to play dodges to break the strike they would be futile. Labourers have more intelligence than they have. The labourers understand full well how to carry on their movement and in what way they would be benefited. As the labourers have become wiser the mill-owners are irritated. If you would not have understood this, the owners would have broken your strike long ago. Just as you waited for $4\frac{1}{2}$ months, in the same way wait for a few days more. This is your examination. Pass the examination and prove yourself fit for becoming God. Our strike of $1\frac{1}{2}$ lacs of men is the first strike in the world. All the labourers in the world have become wonderstruck. The British people who go there tell them the people of India are credulous and they have no spirit in them and they would never be united. But looking at your unity, the people of the whole world are astonished and say that they even could not sustain for so long time even though labour movement is there in existance for the last 100 years, and say that as the labourers in India who have no money pulled on their strike for last five months, shows what the British people say about them is quite false, and those people are looking at you with reverence. Therefore wait for some days more and become successful. Some 400 or 500 men have gone home, and they have done a good thing. Those who can obtain any employment here can obtain it and in this way if you carry on your strike for a few days more you would be successful.

BOMBAY
21st August 1928

Sd. R. M. Deobhankar

S. A. Tamhane

Sub-Inspectors of Police

C. I. D. Poona.

P. 1719.

Speakers: S. S. Mirajkar and Others.
Date: 23rd Aug. 1928 from 4-30 p. m. to 6 p. m.
Place: On open ground at Tank Bunder.
Subject: Mill Strike, Bombay.

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(2nd Supplement to the report of the meeting of Mill Strikers held on 23rd August 1928 on open ground near Tank Bunder).

MIRAJKAR.

Mirajkar said: Brothers, when we declared our strike we were required to come here for conducting the proceedings of the meetings every day 4 or 5 from us used to come to conduct the proceedings of the meeting and at that time all the plays of jugglery were ours. In this way the proceedings of the meeting went on. But in the last four months our labourers became trained and now though the jugglers did not come still they perform correctly the performances of jugglery. All the labourers have begun the work of beating the drum. The labourers learnt within 4 months as to how they should carry on their movement with order and peace. You should therefore consider as to how much more the labourers would be wise within 4 years when they are so much trained within 4 months. If you consider over this, you would find that Government and mill-owners both would be bankrupt. It is the wish of Government that labourers should not be wise. Within the last 150 or 175 years Government have ruled over the country, but no attempt was made for the educating of the lower classes who are starving. The owners also did not make any arrangement for their education. Because if they would have made arrangement for your education you would have been able to think more. You would have demanded more wages; that means they would have been required to give you the profit spent in their motors and your condition would have been improved. For this purpose, they have purposely kept you in ignorance. But now the labourers are becoming wiser day by day. Men from the labourers have come forward to take the leadership and this is the pleasant thing. In this way we the labourers in India would create amongst us more wisdom day by day and this is what I have to tell you in the beginning. After this I will now speak about our strike. I had told you in yesterday's meeting that some telegraphic machinery is going on about compromise in respect of strike. It is still going on. They (i. e. mill-owners) come to us and see us. But we did not go and see them. We would

go to see them openly on the day, when they would invite us. With this determination we are sitting. The mill-owners are trying to bring about compromise through their various agencies, and it appears that compromise would soon be brought about. I tell you that we are to make compromise for some time. I would tell you as to what labourers should do before making a compromise. The labourers ought to get the pay which has been curtailed. This is the first condition. It is the first condition that the mill-owners should give us curtailment in our pay back which we were getting in 1925, 1926 and in which the mill-owners have made curtailment by 30 or 35 per cent. The 2nd condition is to throw into the sea all the new rules which the mill-owners have framed and which are known as standardisation scheme, whereby the pay, rate and badges of slavery in the necks would be equal every where. The 3rd condition is to stop the system of working 3 looms and 2 sides. After this the same arrangement of working hours is to kept as before. There should be no increase in working hours. The mill-owners were thinking of keeping 10 hours as working hours, when these 4 conditions are accepted by the mill-owners and when they would give it us in writing, then our strike Committee would publish a handbill and then after reading it you are join work. Remember this. The compromise is to be brought about on these conditions. We are not to come down below these conditions. The owners should remember that this is our ultimatum. We have told these conditions to those owners who had come to see us. If they would accept these terms our strike would come to an end to-morrow. I tell you that 75 per cent of the mill-owners means, 75 owners out of 100, 3 men out of 4 men are prepared to accept these terms. Because there is no other way for them except to accept these terms. Some are about to go to the High Court. Several people are going to their pleaders and are asking them give them the form of insolvency. I assure you that the mill-owners would not remain without accepting our terms. With this I must tell you another side. Just as you carried on your strike for so many days $4\frac{1}{2}$ months or $4\frac{3}{4}$ months, in the same way you must keep up your unity till the publication of an order (Khaiita) from the strike Committee. Remember that you must hold on as you held on upto now. It is such a critical time, that at this time we must strengthen our unity. You must not allow those to enter the mills who from us might be trying to enter. Because a very critical time has come. The owners are trying make hubbub. They have also tried to take opinion of God by using buds, but of no use. The owners are exhausted after trying all their attempts. They also offered cocoanut to Ganapati. They also cried before their women they also went to temples, but all in vain. Because the labourers are sitting with full determination that they would not enter (the mills) unless they get success in their strike.

Upon this determination they are sitting with endurance and so remember that the owners have no other remedy. Uptil now we were under the impression that the owners are our "mabap" and our God and he gives us food. We and our wives and children live because owners are there. We were dancing before them; You should wipe out this idea from your minds. You must learn that owners are not for making obligation upon you. The owner is only for his profits. The owners are meant to carry on their enjoyments. They are meant to enjoy themselves in motors. They are meant to carry on their prostitution and he is meant to obtain much money for doing all these things. Owner is not a "mabap" of labourers; but owner is an enemy of labourers and the labourers should remember this well. Uptil now we were taught that owner is our God, mabap and our father's father. Clear out this understanding. So long the owners are there on earth till then the labours would not get happiness. So long the workshops are in the hands of one man till then the miseries of the labourers would not go away. The miseries would go away on that day when labourers and peasants would be owners of mills, railways, tramcars and the lands. To-day owners are very few and they have the power in their hands. They have created their Government. That Government have guns, military, weapons and Police and this Government is utilizing these things against labourers and peasants. You every day, morning and evening hear that this strike is not made by you labourers but by some leaders. 4 leaders have made this strike. Do you think that 1½ lacs of labourers would listen to 4 leaders? They would throw them in Tank Bunder. We say that if the labourers have no grievances or miseries then for what they have continued their strike for the last 4½ months by starvation and pulling on in miseries? Can 4 men or 3 men hold out strike? Two men or three men can not hold on the strike of 1½ lacs of men. If 1½ lacs of men were to bring into their mind to break the strike to-morrow and not to listen to the leaders then nothing would happen even though the father of the leaders were to descend from heavens. There are grievances of millhands, labourers and the people in Bombay. Their pay has been curtailed, they are being oppressed and you want to make them slaves and so the labourers are prepared to make a revolt against them and crush them, and are prepared to take the ownership of their mills in their (labourers') hands. They ought to have realized this thing. Many people have realized it. That lame Sassoon, day before yesterday began to tell the labourers did not hold on with such endurance. He told that till then there were good people amongst the labourers. They were all "pagadiwalas". Their shoe was of Poona pattern. They used to come in motors, deliver lectures and go away; and they used to show their faces again after 15 days. There were strikes in last 10 years, but have you heard about holding of meeting every day? (Reply "No" from the audience). Have you seen within

the last 10 years anybody coming to your meetings every day and telling you something new, giving education to labourers and explaining them the things of their welfare and explaining them their rights? Such not being the case and the things which were not happened before have happened in this strike and they produced electric light in their heads and they realized that the owners and Government who have kept them in ignorance upto now, are their real enemies. They began to realize the labourers peasants and poor men ought to unite and declare revolt against their enemies and ought to crush them. This light fell into the heads of the labourers; and on account of this light there has become an awakening amongst the labourers who work on looms and they learnt to deliver long speeches. They have learnt to tell you as to how you should conduct the strike. New knowledge is created in them and if this knowledge remained increasing within a few days you would find that the labourers in India who are dying for want of food and clothing would be fit to carry on the administration in the country. Remember this thing. Labourers in other country, labourers—Chinese having flat noses—are trying their utmost to establish labour Government in their country. They have driven out Englishmen. Remember this thing. There Englishmen have committed many outrages and fired bullets on their wives and children in their (i.e. China) country and beat them and put them into jail but still the Chinese were not frightened. Chinese labourer fought till end and is fighting to-day. A Chinese a neighbourer of ours has become ready to establish labour Government. We the people of India are far superior to the Chinese.

We have earned our name in the world. We have shown to the world that the people of India are very strong and militant. In the last war the soldiers of India had gone to Europe for fighting. After seeing their valour Germans, English, French were wonder-struck and they began to say that the people in India are very great militant people. Why have we come to object poverty? We did not recognized the men that were against us. To-day we have recognized that thing. I have therefore to tell you that let us fight unitedly 1½

lacs of men in jail? Will they keep in Governor's bungalow? If they want they should keep in Yeroda Jail, and we 1½ lacs of labourers would go there and we would drive out the jailor there and would establish our rule in prison. How many would they take into Jail? They would take into jail, whom they are showing fear? Before 5 or 10 years if the name of Shivaji Maharaj is uttered he sent to jail. People used to fear. If the name of Tilak is taken, he is sent to Jail. People are sent to jail. People used to tremble at the sight of Police.

Now Police are no where. Even the boy of a labourer tells the Police to go away. We people are not afraid of jails. By removing the leaders nothing would happen even though the father of Patch Sahib were to come. The labourers have now become communists. Communist is that those who fight with the owners by giving a slap and bringing down their 32 teeth. Every labourer is prepared to fight. Every labourer has become a communist. Henceforth the owners would not do anything. One day they would lift the coffin of the owners. One day the owners would be collected and their coffin would be burnt in Nana Shankar Wadi. The owners are to lifted and thrown away. It is a very difficult task. We labourers striving for stomach have been awakened. Our strike is on the path of success. Strike is bound to become successful. I have no doubt that you would carry on as you have carried on it upto now. I have to tell you this much that you should take the strike which we have carried on for 4 or 4½ months or 5 months to success. When we commenced our strike, at that time the owners thought that our strike would break within 8 days. They were saying that within 8 days you know the playing cards and children build a house of it and it falls down...in the same way the mill-owners were saying that your strike would break. But the time and opportunity have come such that we have become enemy (i. e. Kardan kal) of owners. Even the father of Mr. Petit had not seen such a strike. The owners did not know that the labourers have become so wise. The owners did not know that so much unity has occurred amongst the labourers. They are after the drinks and the drink consisted of English liquor. They used have pleasure strolls in motors and to make merry. Sassoon owns 80 crores of rupees. This is the possession of a single man. Why this should be kept with his fathers? The meals of 1½ lacs of men are in the hands of Sassoon. No such condition would be allowed to go on in the society. One man should starve and another man should eat much. The money and profit ought to come to those who weave cloth and work in workshops. 80 crores of rupees are with Sassoon. Has he ever worked on loom in workshop? Then from where he brought this money? He has filled his treasury with money by robbing you and us. But a day would come when his neck would be twisted and his money would be taken out, and the labourers in Bombay are prepared to do this thing and they have no any sort of fear in their minds. The other labourers in the world and the labourers on railways have shown us the way. This is the road of the peasants and the labourers and by this way the labourers are to go. But how far are we to go? So long our rule is not established, till then we are to go. Czar oppressed the labourers and peasants in Russia so much that he put many persons into jail for 30 or 40 years. He also put officers into jail. He scolded women with cigarettes and in this way he oppressed

much. The people became so much enraged that they all became ready to make a revolt at once. They brought about revolution and they killed the king like a hen, and at last they established their rule. We want to bring the same condition in India. Government may launch 50 prosecutions and put into jail 51 times and send to gallows 52 times we have no fear about it. There is no doubt that we would do this thing in India. We won't sit quiet so long the rule of labourers and peasants is not established in this country. We would go to jail for 10 years but when we would come out we would follow the same thing. We shall continue this thing till our death. We would do, and our children would do the same. So long our rule is not established in our country, so long the power has not come in our hands in this country so long the workshops have not come under the ownership of labourers, till then we are not to sit quiet, till then we have to fight out small 100 strikes and bring about unity and to form unions of the peasants and the labourers, and remember that the labourers and the peasants are to fight out till end hand in hand. Then it would be considered that you have laid the foundation stone of the temple of rule (Rajya Mandir). You have begun the work of laying foundation. You have planted the auspicious pillar, hung cocoanuts, tied umbrellas and to bring stones and to build walls and at last to establish our rule and to raise pinnacle. This is the thing which the labourers have to do. Make preparation to do this thing. Be prepared to do this thing for the welfare of our children and our country. With these words I take your leave.

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Bombay

25 August 1928

Sd. R. M. Deobhankar

S. A. Tamhane

Sub-Inspectors of Police,

C. I. D. Poona.

P. 1720.

Speakers: (1) S. S. Mirajkar, & Others.

Date: 23 rd Aug: 1928 from 4 30 P. M. to 6 P. M.

Place: On Open ground at Tak Bunder.

Subject: Mill Strike, Bombay.

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Mirajkar said: I am going to close the proceedings of the meeting. Meeting will be held to-morrow at Morbag and you should attend it. After this I would tell you one thing. We must carry on our struggle as peacefully as we have upto now. You might say that I tell you big big stories of taking rule then why I tell you to remain peaceful. I have to give you the reply to it. You would ask me what I meant when I say to fight with the police and beat Sahib and to remain quiet. If we want to pinch the enemy it must be done in orderly manner. If we want to fight with Government we must prepare good and well disciplined army like Government. If you were to attack them at once, you would die and run away. We don't want to do such disorderly act. We must do all the things systematically; and till we get discipline amongst us peace must be strictly observed. What is the reason as to why our strike has lasted in a good way? Though we carried on our strike peacefully still we acquired hardness amongst us. We have lost fear but still we did not do any disturbance. When confusion, disturbance and struggle are to be done they are to be done systematically. If the affray were to be committed then 200 men are to be selected and sticks are to be given in their hands and then the affray is to be committed and in such systematic way the struggle is to fight out. So long as that situation has not come till then we must hold on with peace. If you would not observe peace, the strike would come to end within 3 days. They would use force in any way they like. We have left our bamboos in konkan. We have no money to purchase bamboos. We won't be required to use bamboos. But on that day we would like beams and then tell that they have their bamboos and we have beams (' musal '). Till then remain with discipline and peace. With these words I close the meeting.

Bombay

Sd. R. M. Deobhankar

25 August 1928.

S.A. Tamhane.

Sub-Inspectors of police

C. I. D. Poona.

P. 1721

Speakers : 1. Mirajkar
2. Bradley
3. Others.

Date : 25th August 1928.

Place : Open ground in front of Petit Mills.

Subject : Mill Strike, Bombay.

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MIRAJKAR.

Brothers, we are marking one thing in the strike. We asked the rain with one vow to go away and it has gone. This we have marked one or two times. This is due to the strength of our unity. If any body were to doubt that the mill owners would push us back he should clear out that doubt from his mind. The rains come down from God and when we stop it, what of these monks (i. e., mill owners).

We would never remain without pushing them back. This you should remember. There is paper of Mr. Petit owner by name Daily Mail, and it has published in its issue of yesterday's evening that the owners have now become weakened so also the labourers, and so the labourers and owners ought to make a compromise now. Remember that such facts are now being published by the paper of the owners. If you would look at this thing, you should determine to yourself as to what would come out from this. You should consider within your minds as to what would be the result of strike and keep up your unity. Remember that when we push back even God, we don't care for these monkey owners. Therefore keep up your unity, and obey the order issued by our Governor, Nimkar. Coconut day is not far off. If the owners did not grant our demands, by coming to their senses, you must be prepared to lift up your boxes for going to your villages as soon as the coconut falls in sea. Remember that when the fact that the people are going to their villages reaches the ears of the owners, we would come round. Because so long as you do not press the nose the mouth would not be opened. If we were to press their nose they would be suffocated. Therefore we must carry on the movement of pressing the nose. This means that the labourers should leave this city. Other people maintain themselves on the lives of the labourers. The other people enjoy themselves in motors on the lives of labourers. Our question would not be solved unless we convince the other people that all these things would be stopped in future. Therefore it is the message of this meeting that you should go to your villages.

Henceforth this very message would be declared. After this Nimkar told you about the new law. This new law is going to be enacted for only two men. By this law they are going to deport to England Mr. Bradley and Mr. Spratt who since 2 years by remaining with us are carrying on this systematic struggle. At present Govt has no such law. Govt has no other means. Govt does not understand what to do. Because Govt knows that Krishna is coming in Dwarka just as state of "Kansa" happened and he began to see Krishna everywhere, in the same way Govt has understood this. They see communists every where. They no not see any one except communists carrying on the movement everywhere. Uptil now they had no any law in this respect. They are going to enact the law and are trying to drive out our two friends. The Govt should understand that if they were to make such a law, it would remain in their books. It is not possible that labour movement would stop henceforth if Bradley and Spratt are deported to England if Nimkar, Dange and Miragkar are sent to Jail and Ghate to the gallows. Because the labourers have understood that owners are "badmash", wicked, dacoits, and are prepared to twist the necks of the labourers. The labourers will carry on their determination. They should send them to jail. The labourers have already learnt this. They would make leaders from themselves and would carry on their struggle. So their law is worth throwing into the sea and it has no value of even 3 pies. Remember this. The curtain of ignorance from amongst the labourers has been removed. The labourers have now become wise. They have made the law very late. The work which was to be done is done. No work is left to be done, henceforth. This is the thing that I want to tell Govt. Govt has named that law as "Public Safety Bill" i. e. safety of the Public. They are enacting this law for driving out the Europeans from India. But I tell Govt that though they say that it is for public safety, still it is for driving out the men from India. This is not meant for the Safety of the public. Because the labourers and peasants have become wise and they began to realize that their collector, Commissioner Governor, viceroy uncles and maternal uncles viceroy and brothers. They should remember that the labourers and peasants would not remain without driving out the owners henceforth if they were to conspire with Governor, Viceroy and Govt officers, and so it needs to be told that they have enacted such a law very late. Now what you are to do is already done. The ignorance of the labourers has been removed. The labourers had no knowledge uptil now. The lamp of knowledge electric lamp has been shown to the labourers. The labourers are now seeing their further road. By the light of this lamp of knowledge the labourers have understood in what way they should carry on this movement. Therefore you should make use of that lamp and then there is no reason to be afraid of if hundreds of Mirajkars, Spratt, and Bradley are removed from you. Bradley, Ghate,

Nimkar would come forth from you and at last your movement would end in establishing your rule. You should do this thing you should begin to do the first thing which is told to you in respect of your strike. Let us give time to the owners up to coconut day. If the owners like to be wise till that time, let them be wise otherwise the labourers the glory of Bombay is going out of Bombay. Bombay city would be like a widow who has lost her husband. Afterwards the owners and mills should remain fighting with each other. With these words I take your leave. If the mill owners want that Bombay city should not lose its husband they should at once bring about compromise, otherwise Bombay city would be white.

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2nd supplement to the report of the meeting of mill strikers held on open ground in front of Petit mills Lalgab on 25th August 1928.

Bradley. (Spoke in English and Nimkar translated it into Marathi)

He said:—Comrades, I am a very bad man and a "badmash". Because Govt is required to enact a new law for driving me out from here. When the strike commenced, the capitalists and monied men in Bombay raised a cry that Bradley is the cause of declaring strike and Bradley is a Bolshevist. He is sent by the mill owners of England in order to see that the goods of England is sold here. But if Bradley would have a friend of the capitalists in England he would have been a friend of Govt and the Govt would not have enacted the law which they have enacted. From this, you would come to know how the cry of mill owners here is of "badmashgiri". They also tell you that Bradley is a Bolshevist, but it is not so. Bolshevism is not bad. The meaning of this is the rule of the people, the rule of labourers and peasants. The rule of all the people means Bolshevism. Bolshevism is not a bad thing. But if they want to send men like myself who have commenced the strike, Govt will have to send out many men. Their names are very big. If our attempt of improving your condition for obtaining full meals and for obtaining sufficient accomodation for you be a crime my reply to Govt is that they may do anything and may enact any law, but so long we are free, we shall remain doing this. Now as regards our strike I would say that mill-owners tried to open the talk some way or other but the mill-owners do not understand, as they have no knowledge of accounts, as to what was the pay of 1925, 1926, 1927. They (i.e. mill owners) say that we should give up our talk of our previous pay and ask us to accept their scheme and also ask us to suggest any alternations in it. From the talk of mill owners you would find how much there is

confusion in the dealings of the mill owners. The 2nd thing that I want to tell is this. One of the mill owners had invited me for a dinner and he spent much for it in order to induce me. The labourers ought to get pay of 1925. I told him that we would first scrutinise their scheme and see whether it satisfies all the demands of the labourers and then we shall accept it. The condition of the bazar is such that many men are on the point of being bankrupt. Wait for some days more and the labourers are sure to get success.

Bombay the

Sd/- R. M. Deobhankar

28 August 28.

S. A. Tamhane

Sub-Inspectors of Police C.I.D. Poona.

P. 1722

Speakers: 1. S. S. Mirajkar
2. Others.

Date: 2nd September, 1928. From 8 A. M. to 9.15 A.M.

Place: Open ground Chameli bag known as Bakar-yacha hadda.

Subject: Mill strike Bombay.

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MIRAJKAR.

He said :-Brothers, we have assembled on this "bakaryacha hadda" after many days and we have assembled here in such a state that some of the men have lost their courage and the owners have also become mild. They are trying to break our unity by hook or by crook. Some paid servants of the owners are engaged in this work. There are no to opinions that the strike should come to an end. We hear that the owners are going to put up notices within 2 or 4 days that the pay of 1925 is sanctioned. When the men would once enter these they are lords. Mr. Stone, Lame Sassoon and Mr. Petit would rule. After 5 months strike men do not come out again when they have once entered and they accept the pay which is given to them. So you must remember that when these boards would be put up, correct information about rates and pay is given in it. You must remember that you are to break your strike when the owners would give the condition in writings

and under their own signatures and when the strike committee would publish hand bills and not before that, otherwise if you have to enter the mills as soon as the boards are put up, your condition would be just like a goat taken to the slaughter house. I want to give you a danger signal, that we should not fall prey to the boards that would be put up. Talk is going on in connection with the compromise. Our strike committee has appointed a new compromise committee for compromising the matter, in which I am a member. We are prepared for compromise at any time. But I am off opinion that labourers after five month's strike, would suffer a loss by compromise for the sake of a month, half month or 1½ month. We are also not prepared to accept the terms of the owners for the sake of a month or one and half month. The terms of the labourers must be enforced on the owners. This is the thing that I want to tell you. There is no harm if we are required to carry on our strike for six months more or 1½ or 2 months more. There is no doubt that we have starved. Some men in Girgaum say that the labourers have starved much so it is better that the strike is broken. I told them that they should better advise the labourers to accept the terms of the owners and join the mills. I am not ready to tell them and put them to loss because I am not prepared to advise them in that way. We have struggled for five months and starved for the same period, and so we are not prepared to take back for the sake of a month or two without getting any fruit. We have resolved to fight out the struggle to the end. Do you think to join the mills after five months' struggle on the owners conditions? (Reply no from the audience) So I take it for granted that the reply I give to the men in Girgaum and to the friends of the owners is correct and is in accordance with your opinion. You have continued the struggle for five months by complete starvation. But you also know that if you at this time were to enter the mills by breaking your strike your condition will be still worse and it would be permanent. So, remain starving for two months more, as you have remained for the last so many days, and hold on your strike till you get success. The labourers also concur with my opinion. I put forth the opinion of the labourers there plainly, without caring for the abuses of any body. The owners say that we three or four persons have continued the strike and the labourers are prepared to brake it. The same cry is echoed by the friends of the owners and the news papers of the owners. Then they made a farce of opening the mills. Then you gave them a slap and brought their mistake home to them. We have endured the abuses from the owners for the sake of labourers. What would the three leaders do? If the labourers take in to their heads they would kill the leaders with five stones, so three or four persons can not continue the strike. The labourers have already known that the owners are trying to enforce their oppressive terms on the labourers and they are also enforcing upon them permanent starvation by curtailing their pay.

and therefore the labourers have resolved to fight out this struggle to the end even though they are required to starved for month and half more. This being the case I ask you all to take up your way to your villages if the owners did not open the talk of compromise within four or five days till 5th or 6th instant. This is what I wanted to tell you. Some men have already commenced to go to their villages, yesterday I had been to Bhor's Dhaka where I saw batches after batches of men going to their villages. The majority in those men, were of labourers. In the same way men are also going to their villages by train. In this way many of the labourers have adopting this 2nd way for fighting out their struggle. Those who have not yet adopted this course should after waiting till 4th or 5th try to adopt it, because this is the better course for continuing the struggle. There is no other course than this. Many people were saying and still they are saying that the money is exhausted and the strike would break. But in the case of money, it is increasing like the tail of a monkey like the tail of Maruti. The money is increasing day by day. Before two weeks we were in great anxiety as to how should we distribute grain. But we got money from some where and made arrangement of distributing grain. We made arrangement in the last week and in this week also we shall arrange any how, and in the next week I give you promise that we shall not sit quiet without making any arrangement. But you should remember that you must try to go to your villages as far as possible and not to live in Bombay. Begin to pack up your bundles. If you were to pack up your bundles and if the talk of compromise is again opened then we shall tell you that you should again unpack your things and wait for some days more. If such signs are not visible you should take up your bundles on your shoulders and begin to walk. There is no other way open to us than this. If you want to continue the strike it is impossible to lessen the starvation of so many people in Bombay. To-day the rich men in Bombay do not give us any sort of help. Mayor has raised a fund but it is eaten away by the children of Vaghri and Mahars. Even the friends of capitalist are not prepared to give us assistance. It is your wrong impression that they would help you. So concentrate your attention only on one way. I promise you that so long as we are alive we would not allow anything to be done which would put the labourers to loss. We have obtained your opinion first in things that are happened in the strike. We obtained your opinion by coming before you. It is our principle to obtain your opinion first and then to act according to that opinion. We are not leaders of the labourers, but we are mere speakers. If 1½ lacs of labourers were to speak at the same time the owners would run any from Bombay. Therefore there is a necessity of 2 or 3 speakers and we have taken the work on our selves of putting forth your miseries and grievances. This means we have taken on ourselves the work of a pleader. The work of a pleader is to speak.

what his client would tell him to speak. Therefore I assure you no compromise would be brought about on behalf of our committee which would be detrimental to the interest of labourers. If this thing were to happen, I tell you that you should not accept the decision and I am sure you will not accept it. I have to tell you one thing in the beginning that you must learn to consider independently. Don't believe the thing because a certain leader tells you. Don't believe, because Mirajkar or Dange tells you. But henceforth the labourers and peasants ought to learn to think independently, in the same way they must learn to speak independently. After considering independently and when you would form one opinion, you must learn to behave according to that opinion. You should consider over all the things which I tell you. Give us your opinion in respect of compromise. The owners had prepared their scheme. But we do not agree with that scheme and new rules prepared by them. We have thrown it off. After that there was some talk of compromise and there the question arose that we should prepare our own scheme containing our demands. The owners took 2 years to prepare their own scheme. For two years, at Stone sahib was preparing that scheme. They have told us to prepare our own scheme. We told them, never mind. We told them that within 3 days we would give them our scheme containing the demands of the labourers. It will be ready by the evening. Upon it the committee will think over. Every night compromise committee holds its meeting and thinks over the scheme. After the scheme is ready, it will be printed and copies of it will be distributed amongst you for your information as regards the rate, pay and the rules that are demanded therein. Your suggestions, if any, will also be invited. Some figures have been published in "Kranti newspaper" today. If you want to make any suggestions. You should send them to Mr. Dange; and we would bring about such compromise, which would not be detrimental to the interest of the labourers, but it would be beneficial to the labourers, and in this way we would finish our talk of compromise in respect of strike. After this I want to tell you one or two things. To-day I am going to speak again in what way Govt. are going to enact new laws, by assistance of the owners. On the 4th of this month that bill would be taken for consideration. All the experts in law have gone there. Mr. Joshi of our side has also gone there. The Govt. is going to enact this law for

1st Supplement to the report of the meeting of mill-strikers held on the open ground chameli bag known	crushing our movement and for preventing the commission of strikes, and to break our unity. If they are going to enact such laws, the determination of the labourers would reach to such a climax that if there be such 50 laws which would be detrimental to the interest of the movement, they would be shown the way
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as Bakaryacha Adā of W. C. The 2nd law is about deportation of on 2nd Sept. 1928 Mr. Bradley and Mr. Spratt to England. from 8 a. m. to 9-15 a. m. These men also get trouble from the Capitalists like Sassoon and Petit there. Our Mr. Bradley who looks Sahib here is also a labourer in a workshop in England. Just as there is a workshop of G. I. P. here in the same way there is a workshop in England in which he is a labourer. The Capitalists in England are like tigers in England. They also consume sheep and goats. Just as there are tigers in England in the same way there are tigers in India; just as attempts are going on there to kill the tigers, there, in the same way attempts are going on in the whole world to kill the tigers i. e. to crush the Capitalists. It is not that the labour movement is going on in Bombay, Sholapur and Ahmedabad only but it is going on in the whole world and the labourers know full well that so long these tigers, capitalists are in existence they won't get happiness, they won't be able to give education to their children, they won't be able to purchase good saris for their women. In this way all the labourers in the world are convinced of this fact and an account of this the movement has commenced everywhere. If a man like Mr. Bradley were to come from England for the assistance of the labourers in India Govt thinks that Bradley comes here and excite the men to declare a strike. If the labourers have no grievances and miseries would 1½ lacs of men go on strike even though 300 uncles of Mr. Bradley and father of Mr. Bradley were to come down? But the people have got grievances and miseries and they would not be lessened even though all the Capitalists are cut down. All the hearts of labourers are burning to-day. All the labourers and peasants in India have therefore carried on the movement for crushing Capitalism. We would not allow our movement to be stopped by their weak laws. Govt. has prepared a law to deport men like Mr. Bradley if they were to come and assist the labourers. I therefore ask Govt. if they want to deport the friends of the labourers why should they not deport Mr. Stone and others, the friends of Capitalists. They should first throw them into the sea. It is fat Stone who first began to curtail in the pay. If there be anybody who might have been the cause of strike in Bombay it is Mr. Stone and not Mr. Bradley. Bradley came here yesterday. He arrived here before 8 months. The fire is kindled by this knave Stone. I therefore tell Govt. that by enacting a law they should deport Stone first and all other knave sahibs and then consider of deporting Messrs Bradley and Spratt. Even though Mr. Bradley and Spratt are deported we are sure that the movement of the labourers and peasants would not stop. So long as we have not driven the men who have come here to assist the Capitalists, zamindars, money lenders, khots and so long our grievances and complaints are not removed till then our movement would not be stopped. Our movement would go increasing

further. Our movement would stop on the day on which we establish labour Govt. Before that it is impossible to stop the movement. Day before yesterday someone told that the Police also have declared strike. I told him that to-day Police and Military fire bullets on us. But a time would come when the labourers would fall out with this in their hands and then the lacs of military would join them. here is a country by name Russia. In that country the labourers have established their rule. In that country when the labourers started their movement and resolved to establish their rule, at that time they had no military. All the army was with King. The soldiers who were in that army had uncles and maternal uncles in the labourers, there. In the same way you have relatives in the Police. Uncles and maternal uncles in the Police. To-morrow if the fight commences, they would apprehend whether they should kill their uncles? They would take their guns and say that they would fight on your behalf. The labourers there (i.e. in Russia) after crushing the King, Capitalists, rich men workshop keepers established their labour rule and hoisted their red flag in that country. Though our movement is for putting a stop to the curtailment in our pay still so long as the Capitalists are in existence, after 4 months, after a year or two, they would again curtail our pay and would force us again to go on strike and again we shall have the bother of distributing rice, strike committee, and the speeches of Nimbkar, Mirajkar etc. Such strikes would occur always so long as the Capitalists and Govt. are not driven out and so long as the poor persons get no power in their hands by establishing their rule which is the last Delhi of the labourers. I therefore tell Govt. that why would they unnecessarily enact such laws? The labourers and peasants would not obey such laws. Such laws would be obeyed by weak minded people. A true labourer would behave boldly before the Commissioner. A labourer is not afraid of their laws and Police and of lathis. The labourer is such a man in the world that he is not afraid of lathis and he does not mind such laws. They should therefore do not take the responsibility upon themselves of enacting such laws. In the Assembly there are men who want Swaraj for India. Now the time of their test has come. They are all followers of Gandhi and Tilak and they deliver long long speeches. We tell them that we shall see what they would do at the time of passing this law. We would come to know what sort of these people are if they were to assist Govt. in passing this law. I hear that on the day when this law would be taken up (in council) some men are going to sit at home. This is also a sort of help to Govt. They have no courage to speak openly there. These people make only empty talks that they should do something for the people of India. A time of their test has come whether at the time of passing the law, they Assist Govt. or labourers or the friends of the labourers. If the law is passed Bradley will go away

within 15 or 20 days. There is no harm if he goes away. We would promise him that though he goes away still so long as we are alive we would carry on the labour movement and we would continue our work of driving out Capitalists and Govt. and their friends till we establish labour rule in this country. We would carry on the movement so vigorously that in the end our enemies will have to retreat. I want to tell you in this respect is this that Govt have declared their policy of assisting the owners. They prepare laws and give them the assistance of the Police. The owners suggested Govt to arrest the leaders. But what is use of arresting the leaders? There are some men of our side and I hope they would oppose Govt. at the time of passing this law. If the law is passed we have already settled as to what have to do. We are to form a big union of 1½ lacs of labourers in Bombay. There must not be a single labourer who is not a member of the union. Day before yesterday a meeting of the women of strikers was held in the hall and they told that the owners have become very arrogant. They are trying to spread thorns in their worldly life and they have told to fight with owners, shoulder to shoulder with their males and would not join work till the labourers get all their demands. Should the men run away where the women speak that they would beat the owners with blowing pipes. So you must take care to carry on the strike to a successful end. You should go to your villages. Don't allow yourselves to be deceived by the notices that would be put up. Remember that the owners are great knaves. We have surrounded the fort of the owners. We must crush the wall by dynamite. If you go to your villages the owners would know then that the mills would not now work for 4 months more, and then they will have to go to the High Court with a cocoanut in their hands. We shall not feel for them. Why should we feel for them even though their wives and children died, when they are trying to put us into miseries? We would not feel anything for them. There is no need of owners. We would go into the mills and would appoint masters and managers from labourers. We would weave cloth and sell it and would distribute the money among the labourers. Therefore try to go to your villages and make this movement successful. Try to pack up your things. The owners would be terrified by it. With these words I take your leave.

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Sd. R. M. Dcobhankar

Bombay

Sd. S. A. Tamhane.

3rd Sept. 1928

Sub - Inspectors of police

C. I. D. Poona.

P. 1724.

Speakers: (1) S. S. Mirajkar,
(2) Others.

Date: 4-9-1928.

Place: Open ground at Chikalwadi Taddeo Bombay.

Subject: Mill Strike.

MIRAJKAR.

He said I am going to tell you what a patriot is he who wears Gandhi cap, and who talks a great deal about Swaraj and freedom. These patriots boast that they are fighting for the cause of the country. You have during the last 5 months experienced their patriotism. May he be Gandhi or any body else. None has helped the labour class. The strikers are starving and are fighting against the Mill-owners. But none of these patriots have come forward to help these country men. They have never had that thought that it was their sacred duty to help them. I have come across with a specimen of these so-called patriots. He said that "our fight against the mill-owners is a domestic trouble; but we never commend or encourage domestic quarrels within our households" I said yes we do not want any quarrels within ourselves. But if a senior member of the family began to eat three breads out of four and expected other members to remain starved with small pieces of slice, can this be tolerated in the house-holds. The rest of the members will certainly quarrel. Same is the case with the country's house hold. This country is a big household and a senior member of this hold hold is eating $3\frac{1}{2}$ breads out of 4. Where is the necessity for a single Sassoon to pocket crores of rupees? As no member in the household will not be allowed to consume $3\frac{1}{2}$ breads out of 4 cooked for the whole family. Similarly these capitalists who can be counted on fingers' feed upon the wealth produced by the labourers and compel them to starve to death. This is the house hold affair of my friend the patriot. He remained silent I further added "These handfuls of the capitalists are trying to make us slaves. We wish to drown them in the sea; that will rather save the mud required for the reclamation scheme." These patriots are trying to bring "Swaraj to the country. What is the meaning of Swaraj? At present the ruling power is in the hands of white men. Governor is a white man. In his place a big-bellied Bania will wield the power. The power will be transferred from the hands of white babies to that of black babies. They will then crush the poor labourers. This will be the future Swaraj. We don't want it. We want that kind of Swaraj wherein we and our children will not remain with empty or half empty-

stomachs, whereïn our boys will have all facilities for education; wherein our women can have fine clothes and will wear ornaments. We want that kind of Swaraj wherein we can have all sorts of comforts and facilities. In short the future Swaraj must be a labour Swaraj. The agriculturist, labourers and the mill hands will join together and snatch away all the power from the hands of these 2% of the population who would be usurping this power. These capitalists are thirsty of our blood. We have therefore no other course open than burying them at Mahā Laxmi. We will bury them under mud and then will ask them to sleep. When they have thus slept, we will have our question of maintainance solved. We are making previous preparations of the battle we have to give later on. This strike is not only meant for increased wages. We will get them no doubt. But this strike is a preparation for the further battle. These capitalists will grant you increased wages but they will increase the rates of food stuffs & other necessaries of life. They will be giving us by one hand and would be snatching away by other hand and the labourers will be where they were before will not bring us permanent happiness. If you want this permanent happiness, you will have to join the Labour Movement of the world which is trying to crush the capitalism and Imperialism and establish Labour Government in its place. This Labour movement is a world wide movement; it will establish the rule of masses all over the world. The Indian Labourers have to join hands with this movement and the Labour strike, Railway strike are but mere preparations of the world wide battle of the Labour class. I dont think that a compromise will be soon arrived at though it is hoped that the strike will come to an end within a week. You will welcome it no doubt and will be disappointed if it is continued. But I think you must be given a clear understanding of the situation. This will help you to find out some other way to achieve our goal. I am giving you bird's eye view of our movement so that you will realize where you are and what further action you will have to take. I dont think there will be an immediate compromise; and therefore you are being told to go to your homes as we will have to carry on this strike for some time more. I have no objection if you have to resume your work for half the bread. I am told that one Malekar has prepared 2/3 hundred mill hands to accept half the bread. Myself, Alwe or any leader will not advise you to be contented with half bread. But if you don't want to act up to our advice, you are your own masters. No one can force you to do this or that. If you don't want allow the victory to garland the Mill-owners you will have to carry on this strike further. To go home is to carry on the strike. If you want to benum the mill-owners you must go home. Either you must surrender to all dishonourable terms of the mill-owners or carry on the strike to a successful issue are the only alternatives before. You are your masters to choose this or that. The strike committee has appointed the compromise Committee and

they have prepared a scheme. Dr. Deshmukh the president of the Bombay corporation is going to bring about the Round Table Conference of the representatives of the Mill owners and of the mill-hands; and then the compromise will be effected. But we have become sick of these compromises for the last 5 months. The strike must now come to end within eight or ten days or these capitalists must go out of Bombay. Know that the strikers have returned wholesale to their native places. Then they will come to terms. 1½ lacs of the strikers in Bombay are not ready to accept the terms of the Mill owners; and they must show this by going out of Bombay. Even the women of the strikers are willing to continue this strike. In a meeting of 500 women in the Damodar Thakasi Hall and they declared their determination to help the strike. The women are ready to compel the Mill owners to come to terms. Now when women are ready to continue the strike the Mill hands will have with energy to be prepared to continue the strike. In order to protect your rights and maintain the prestige of your women you have go on with the strike. So don't idle away your time in B'bay. Please be ready to go back to your native places. Lastly I have to request you to attend another meeting to be held this evening as it is to be convened to protest against the Government measure to crush the labour movement. With these words I take your leave.

(Cheers)

P 1725.

Speakers : (1) B. F. Bradley.
(2) Others.

Date : 10/9/1928.

Place : Open Maidan near Dinshaw Petit Mills
Lalbag, Bombay.

Subject : Mill Strike.

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BRADLEY

(Spoke in English Mirjkar translated into Marathi.)

He said "Fellow workers, my opinion is that much importance has been given to Mayekar. Who is he? What right has he

to interfere with the strike? He had come to the meeting at the instigation of some hidden influences who want to prevent these meetings as they are the only means of maintaining your solidarity. Mayekar takes along with him hundred men and goes to Dr. Deshmukh and tells him that he wants to close the strike Mayekar is making a mistake. He is putting the strikers to a serious loss. The time is so ripe that the mill owners will have to accept the standardising scheme of the strike Committee. But as the mill owners wish to force their scheme on the mill hands they have made use of Mayekar as their tool. But now they will realize that Mayekar is not backed even by a handful of men. He cannot break the strike. If you are anxious to arrive at a settlement you will have to accept the scheme of the mill-owners. Are you willing? (No No) when Mayekar says that he is able to close the strike, he means that the owners' scheme will be forced on the mill hands. Now you have to declare again to Mayekar and the mill owners that you will never accept any scheme except the one drafted by the strike committee.

Now the dodge of our enemies is to prevent our meetings. The object is clearly seen from the happenings of this morning. They want to break your unity which has been so cemented owing to these meetings. I can say that this morning Mayekar had Police support. He was sent with the object of creating a disturbance which would facilitate them to disperse the meeting. If you had not given permission Mayekar to speak in the meeting the police would have dispersed the meeting. Knowing this object I advised our men to allow him to speak. If Mayekar had honest intentions he would have disproved the allegations made against him. But he had come there with evil intentions and therefore from the beginning he tried to create troubles with the object of preventing our meeting. The Police were waiting for an opportunity and under that excuse they wanted to prevent your meeting. The Police will now try by hook or nook to prevent your meeting as they are a means of maintaining your solidarity on the strength of which the strike is going on. We have therefore to guard against this calamity. For this purpose you must keep your volunteers to watch the enemies entering our meetings with the purpose of creating disturbances you must therefore maintain your solidarity and compel the mill-owners to accept your standardising scheme, instead of accepting their terms. With these words I take your leave (Cheers).

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P. 1726

Speakers : (1) S. S. Mirajkar.

(2) R. S. Nimbkar.

(3) A. A. Alve.

(4) Kasle.

(5) Others.

Date : 11th September, 1928.

Place : Open Maidan Opposite the Spring Mills Naigaow
Bombay.

Subject : Mill Strike.

MIRAJKAR:—

He said "Friends, I have often told you that the business of distributing rice is like the tail of God Maruti. We had no money for the rice distribution tomorrow. We were in great anxiety, but the Russian Labourers sent timely help. They had undergone the difficulties created by the capitalism and the Imperialism. They had to fight with the capitalists and the Russian Govt. They have the consciousness of the hardships of the labours and therefore they have sent this timely help to you to carry on your fight against the capitalists with this provision. You go on with the strike until the owners submit to you (cheers) They thought that the money was exhausted there will be no dale on Wednesday. The strikers will starve and resume to work. When they will come to the mills they will be butchered as in the slaughter house at Bandra. But this labour movement has been started for the complete ruin of the copitalist. It is a settled fact. These 15,000 Rupees reached Bombay 15 days ago in the name of Mr. Jabbwalla. During this time I think there was some Correspondence going on between the Bank and Government, who might perhaps wish to withhold this help. Because Government's existence depends upon these capitalists. Our success in this struggle will give a nice blow to the Government also. Therefore they are always trying to prevent any help coming to us. The organs of Government like the Times of India began to raise a cry, when they knew that the Russians have sent a help of Rs 22000 to us, that the money was sent by the revolutionaries the Red Men and that a Mutiny was under contemplation. One Shivrao from Madras is also one of these men. Now we will tell him that we have received another instalment from the Red Men. There is one European Lady by name Beasant. She is talking a great deal about Swaraj for India. The poor people in

India are going on strikes and this old woman is enjoying motor drives. Can this old dame bring Swaraj to India? Mr. Shivrao is a disciple of this dame. He poses himself as a leader of the labourers. When we were holding a meeting a few days ago this leader of the labourers was seen by me sitting in a motor by the side of Murarji Gokuldas a mill-owner. You know how your leaders behave. We must congratulate our Russian friends, who have established the Labour Rule in Russia and are carrying on the Labour movement for establishing the rule of the Labourers in all parts of the world and by ruining capitalism, and by capturing their mills and factories and by making the labourers their masters. (Cheers) We have to congratulate them for today's help in loud cheers, (Cheers) On the strength of these 15 thousand rupees we must carry on our struggle to the last, and no sooner this money will be exhausted you will get another timely help of Rs 30000/-. The Russian labourers have their rule on Russia which extends over 1/5 part of the globe. They are ruling over the biggest country in the world. They are our friends and fellow-brothers. They know your difficulties full well. If the strike will not end and if these 15000/- rupees will be exhausted, our Russian friends will send you more money. They will be thus sending you money until you have crushed the mill-owners (cheers) Men like Mayekar say that they will break the strike in three days. I will tell you how? I will break it to-morrow. I will ask you to agree to the terms of the owners and go to the mills. The strike will then be broken. The strikes comes to an end the moment you accept the scheme of the mill owners. Now if you do not want to accept their terms you have two things before you. You must carry on the struggle until you get your demands or you must accept their scheme. In your meeting you have declared your determination of carrying on the strike. You have now received a fresh help. Then go on with your strike. This morning I met with a gentleman. He was telling me that the Railway strikers made much damage. I replied that it was not enough, they ought to have broken all the carriages they ought to have at one stroke killed the managers and their owners. They committed a mistake, if they have not done so. The conditions of Railway staff is very bad. They are getting low wages from 5 or 6 rupees. While the managers get from 2 to 3000/ rupees per month. Now under such circumstances the strikers would not have committed any mistake if they had killed the managers and devoured them up. The man got terrified with this arguments their conditions are getting so bad that one day they will surely take such revenge. The Bombay strikers are perfectly silent, because after this strike they have another —propaganda in view. But the time for it has not yet arrived. We will then keep all the Political centres under our control. The Police and the military will come to our side because most of them are our relatives. Even they also do not get adequate

salaries. The yellow turban gets 15 to 20 rupees and the white men get 20 to 300/- rupees. Our men feel this pinch and therefore when times comes they are sure to join us. We will then give a battle to the government and the capitalists. That time is yet far off and therefore we are maintaining peaceful attitude in Bombay. Government must bear in mind that when that time comes, we will give them a battle. Now we have received the necessary material for the strike. Let us carry on a terrible fight with the capitalists. We will then give blows on their backs we will tear their stomachs and draw out their intestines and place them on their hands. I have to tell you this (cheers) you have therefore to carry on a systematic struggle. Mayekar's father's in heavens—can not break the strike. The police help Mayekar but they must bear in mind that all of their attempts during the last 5 months have proved futile. The strikers are acting on their compact unity and they are not prepared to suffer their troubles any longer. Let us carry on our struggle vigorously and throw the mill owners overboard with these words I take your leave.

NIMKAR.

He said:—Brothers we had learnt a month ago that the money which Jhabwalla received yesterday had reached Bombay 3 weeks ago. But they were withheld by some agency. The times of India last week published that Jhabwalla received the money, when in fact Jhabwalla had no idea of it. However instead of entering into further details I tell you that Jhabwalla got money yesterday and we are thinking how to utilize them and for what purpose. I am of opinion that 3 or 4 steamers should be specially engaged for the strikers going to Konkan (cheers), but the matter is under consideration. Since yesterday I was thinking and thinking how Mayekar intends to stop the strike within three days. But in the evening papers I read a fresh announcement of the mill-owners' Association that the mill owner say that there will be a reduction of 10000/- labourers in a spinning departments and in other departments there will be a wholesale reduction by 20 to 40 rupees in the wages. In this way the strike will never come to an end. The strikers are now ready to continue the fight till death. Another thing I am going to bring to your notice is about Dr. Desha-Mukha's suggestions. He proposes to appoint a joint committee to consider both the schemes. In the meanwhile the strikers be given their wages as they were receiving in March 1928 before the strike and 10 per cent increase in the wages should be given to those mill hands working in those mills, whose wages were reduced in some mills. I do not express my opinion on this point, as the matter is under consideration of the Strike Committee."

ALWE.

He said:— I have learnt that Bradley is taken to be an agent of the Lankashire Capitalists but that is not a fact. He is a communist and Govt. have framed a new law for his arrest. He has given us a great deal of help and he is now on his way to England. As per our traditions it is our duty to express obligations and give him a reward as a token for all the troubles he took for us. I have therefore to suggest you to contribute one quarter of anna each for his Congratulations. Don't injure his feelings and give him ungrateful reward by taking him as an agent of the British Capitalists. It is a fact that you have given much importance to Mayekar and if you go on like that people will consider him a terror. He is a mere store keeper in the Kolaba mills. He has nothing to do with the strike nor had he really worked in the strikes of 1925 and 1927. It was I who worked hard and in the present strike I am working with you. Mayekar has no credit for conducting the "Kamakari" paper, as other persons contribute articles to it. But although he is an insignificant creature, he is our enemy. A serpent, fire and enemy though small or little ought not to be spared, and therefore in the interests of our strike, we have to criticise him. In yesterday's meeting he is reported to have come with a knife but I think that it was a plot of the Police to prevent holding of our meetings. But the plot failed owing to your calm attitude. It is told in our religion that there is no happiness without calamities and difficulties. So difficulties may come in your ways you have to surmount them for your final victory. The mill-owners considered us as hollow bamboos, but these bamboo sticks are now hitting their heads. You can make hot for them by going in thousands to your native places. The jobbers and head jobbers have decided to stand by our side so try to return to your villages at any cost. Don't keep your burden on the strike committee, although it may make some arrangement for your free passage with these words I take your leave"

KASALE

He said:— I am sorry to see none of you coming to the platform to make speeches. If tomorrow your leaders are hanged or sent to jail, what will you do? Will you go on lagging behind like this? Yesterday the meanminded Mayekar and Power Sahib made an exhibition of their mean mindedness by stopping our meeting-

which was being carried on in constitutional lines. Are you going then therefore to make an exhibition of your cowardly spirit to this superintendent? But, my brave comrades bear in mind that there ought to be the labour rule the labour power and labour Govt. The Police must be the labourers. You cannot therefore show your cowardice, but you must trample them down & establish your rule. This is the duty of every labourer. Yesterday Mayekar & the Police played a game but beware, never fall a victim to them. Suppose that the capitalists and Govt. are dead gone. From tomorrow try to go back to your villages.

Bombay

11th September 1928

Sd/- S. S. Deshpande

S. A. Tamhane

Sub-Inspectors of Police

C. I. D. Poona

Saraswati Machine Printing Press, Meerut, U. P., India.

P. 1727.

- Names of the speakers: (1) Kasle.
(2) And others.
- Date: ... 13th September 1928.
- Place: ... Nagoo Sayaji's Wadi, Bombay.
- Subject: ... Bombay Mill Strikes.

KASLE.

He said: "Brothers, our country will be soon liberated if the labourers become bold and take active part in meetings, like my friends who just now made speeches. The labourers have one caste only—whether they may work in the mills or elsewhere. The Brahmins, the Marhattas, the Mahomedans, the Parsis and the Christians work in the Mills without any distinction. No racial distinction is observed even in their wages. I am not advising you to do away with the caste system. What I want to impress upon your minds is that labourers without any caste or race distinction are members of one unit or household. In meetings or in mills the millhands are of one caste, as labourers. The capitalists, whether they are Marwaris, Parsis, Bhatias, Christians or Europeans, are of one caste. A Marwari will never say that Rs. 10 more may be paid to the labourers, and so on. The Capitalists is one caste and the labourers is another caste. So the labourers have one God. The Allah of the Mahomedan labourers, Ramkrishna of the Hindoos and so on of the Parsis and the Christians is the Labour Union. Labour Union is their God. By God I mean the power of organization. Before this power of yours the Capitalists and the bureaucracy must give way. These rascals have circulated a pamphlet that the strike will be closed within ten days. It is meant to deceive the strikers, to come back as they are departing to their native places. In so doing they want to exhaust our funds and make us helpless. Do not get perplexed by this trick and postpone your departure. In days of famine we have passed our days at our native places. We have to maintain our firm solidarity in order to revenge those who have put us to lot of troubles and misery. Those who were not willing to speak with us are now coming to us for a compromise. The reason is that we have begun to depart from Bombay. Mayekar says that we will get no maintenance at our places. In pass strikes he had said that the labourers have sufficient means of subsistence and now he says the contrary. The fact is he has no home or land at his native place. He conceals this fact and pretends to say that the mill-hands will have to starve at their villages. You have to consider how far to believe him who is trying to break the strike to the disadvantage of the labourers. He charges our leaders of dishonesty. But they are

honest gentlemen. They have succeeded in getting Rs. 5,000 from the Congress. We got money from Moscow and England through the attempts of our leader Mr. Bradley. They have maintained clear accounts of this fund and every labourer has a right to check them. So please do not rely on false, rumours and false representations and spoil our game. Success or defeat of the strike depends upon you. We have now reached a critical moment. Are you then prepared to go back to the Mills? (No.—No). If the Mills are started what will you do? (we will not go). You will then starve of hunger (We will die). No No. a labourer will not die. The capitalists will have to die. Any labourer can earn his wages anywhere by hard labour. But I challenge these capitalists to earn as much as a labourer can. Like Laxmidhar (a character painted in the drama Raxashi Mahatwa Kauksha) they are accustomed to roll in beds with their big bellies. When these mills are ruined they will have to starve really. So declare by loud cheers your determination of carrying on the strike. (cheers). Our friend Mr. Bradley is now returning to England. We have to garland him as a token of our gratitude. Our Ma Bap Sarkar is going to send Mr. Bradley and Mr. Spratt to England—as they are afraid of them. They teach you the principles of Communism. Will you then in their absence break the strike? (No. No.) I hear the leaders are going to be arrested on the 18th. Will you then break the strike? (No No) I challenge this Government that if they kill us, hang us or send us to jail for life the labourers will not close their strike until Labour Rule is established. (cheers, This Government is ungrateful to our services rendered by us in the Great War. When Govt. were in difficulty they praised us 'Marhatta Marda Marhatta-Bahadur' and begged us for help. We sprinkled our blood on the battle field for this Government and now they are dragging their sword against us in order to defend these capitalists who were of no use to them on the actual battle field. This Government have no sympathy for the labourers. What we then care if this Govt lives or dies exists or vanishes from the face of the earth. It is just the same to us. (cheers). Ramchandra one striker rose to speak but rain commenced so Kastle garlanded—Bradley on behalf of the labourers for the help and advice he gave to the strikers and exhorted he said that ' Mr. Bradley expects a reward from you in the form of Your Union. After garlanding Bradley he closed the meeting. All along the road when Mr. Bradley was driving the strikers shouted Bradley-ki-Jay.

BOMBAY,
13-9-1928.

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Sd. S. S. DESHPANDE,
" S. A. TAMHANE,
Sub-Inspectors of Police,
C. I. D. Poona.



P. 1728

Speakers : Bradley, & Others.

Date : 14th Sept: 1928 from 8. 15 to 9. 30 A. M.

Place : At the Cement Chawl on Delisle Road.

Subject : Mill Strike, Bombay.

Bradley (Translated by Mirajkar).

He said: Fellow workers, I thank you for the honour you gave me yesterday. I have also to thank you for your kind expressions regarding me. Brothers, there is an awakening of one important principle in you. You have realized the importance to share in the world-wide struggle against the capitalism and you have learnt how to behave in an organised and well-disciplined manner. To what is this awakening due to? Owing to this strike and you have proved it by it by maintaining the strike for 5 months by your firm solidarity. The capitalists whether native or foreign have realized the fact that this Labour Movement must be checked and therefore they are trying to get some new laws passed for that purpose. They have brought in two Bills in the Legislative Assembly and if they are passed into law I may perhaps be deported to my motherland or I may be thrown into jail. But although I may go back to England, you have to continue your struggle against the capitalism on a firm basis. I will be keenly watching your progress and if I read in papers that you are acting your part well I shall consider myself rewarded for what little I did for you and then I will think that all your kind expressions regarding me were genuine and real otherwise not. You must carry on your struggle against the Capitalism at any cost. Men like Mr. Joshi have begun to say and Mr. Joshi in his speech in the Legislative Assembly has said that the capitalists in India are unwilling to open terms of settlement with Indian leaders but they do so with the foreigners like myself. This remark of Mr. Joshi goes to prove that he has not yet understood the keynote of your movement. I think when Mr. Joshi made this remark he was labouring under impression he formed regarding the G. I. P. Railway Traffic Manager's interview with Mr. Jhabvala and myself. We had a discussion with him regarding the grievances of the railway workers. Why this manager sought our interview? Not because I was Bradley and Mr. Jhabvala was some influential man, that he sent for us. We had behind us the great force of the railwaymen's strong organization I mean the Railway Workers' Union. They were able to give an ultimatum to the Railway authorities that from to-morrow they were going on a strike for such grievances. The authorities got terrified and opened terms of settlement with us.

You have therefore to take a lesson from this and organize your Union on the strength of which the Mill-owners will at once come to terms. The struggle between the possessed and dispossessed, between the Capitalists and the labourers and so on in going on everywhere, and your strike of 5 months is your struggle of the labourers against the Capitalists. The labourers in this struggle are penniless and powerless, the Capitalists have all resources of wealth and power at their command. You went on a strike when the mill-owners reduced your wages. In future you need not wait for an attack of your enemy. But under the force of strong organization in the form of Labour Union you must attack the mill-owners first and then they will offer terms for settlement. However you have not made a hopeless bargain. You have proved all the attempts of your enemy to break your strike futile. Now after the strike is over, you must at once establish your Union with the aid of your present leaders. As for myself if the Bills are passed into law I may be deported to England or may be imprisoned here. I know not for certain which of the two may likely happen; They may imprison me for some grave offence; and what is this offence? My offence is that I have taught you the principles of Communism, Trade Unionism or Socialism. The Capitalists, whether they are Sassoons or Indians, must bear in mind, that they cannot check this movement by sending one or two communists to jail. The Indian legislature can only check this movement when they will drive out the conditions, which have brought the labourers and peasants of India to the extreme state of poverty, and the Capitalists who force these conditions on them (Cheers). These movements take their root in countries where the peasants and labourers are thrown into harassing conditions and they cannot be checked by any efforts of the capitalists. Lastly I have to thank you again for your kind expressions and when Mr. Spratt and myself return to England with pleasant and unpleasant memories, I promise you that both of us will attract the sympathy of the Communist leaders in England to your movement in India and we will try to defeat the moderate Labour Party in England and thus strengthen the real labour movement in India. I am confident that after our departure to England you will establish your Union upon the strength of which you will ruin the capitalism with these words: I take your leave. (Cheers).

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Bombay;	}	Sd/—S. S. Deshpande
14-9-1928.		" S. A. Tamhane.
		Sub-Inspectors of Police.
		C. I. D. Poona.

P 1729.

Speakers: (1) S. S. Mirajkar.
(2) B. F. Bradley.
& Others,

Date: 16th Sept. 1928. 4. 30 P. M. to 5 10 P.M.

Place: Behind the Gokhale Hotel at Poibawadi.

Subject: Mill-Strike,-Bombay.

S. S. Mirajkar said: Communism cannot be driven out of India by deporting one or two Europeans. I can suggest the way by which this Labour or Bolshevik movement can be checked. I say to the lame gentleman-I mean David Sassoon-who is making long speeches against the Communists and who has dragged us into this strike which has lasted for five months and a half, to bear in mind that the Communist movement will be growing on and a day shall come when these labourers shall not remain content until they have cut him off on this Maidan of Parel. (Cheers) He is a master of Rs. 80 crores. From whence has he amassed this wealth? I tell him that he has obtained this money upon the strength he gained by drinking the blood of these labourers whom he has so squeezed out that these men who once looked healthy and strong built were reduced to skeleton and premature oldage by putting them to a bone and flesh reducing hard labour. You, labourers came to Bombay as strong-built young and brave men. He put you to hard labour. You, worked hard and produced cloth for him. He pocketted the profits he earned by selling that cloth, and thus he got Rs. 80 crores. He drank this blood in the form of these eighty crores, of the labourers eighty crores in number and as a punishment for this crime the labourers will carry on the Bolshevik or Communist movement in this country and will send him to gallows. (cheers). The Communist movement is not going to be stopped if Messrs. Bradley and Spratt are deported to England. This movement is going to grow rapidly so long the grievances of the labourers are not redressed? So long they are not given full and adequate wages, so long their working hours are not reduced and so long their blood is squeezed out of them. The Madras Railway labourers are given Rs. 5/- as their wages each. Is it fair? I ask therefore these gentlemen as to why they should not take up this movement. The Capitalists are rolling in wealth. Why should not the labourers, therefore, agitate for more money for the maintenance of their wife and children? I have to tell this government to withdraw these Bills before they are passed into law. However if they are passed into law we will hold a meeting here and burn the books of this Law. (Cheers). Mr. Bradley is is now on his way home. So in our meeting we will assure him to

carry on this movement. We should request him to carry our message to the labourers in England and Russia who sent us Rs.80 or 90 thousand so that we may not starve in our struggle, that the Indian labourers are now awakened, that they are bent on whipping the horseplay carried on by the Capitalism and Imperialism in India (Cheers). We have to send them a word with Mr. Bradley that they should ruin the Capitalists and imperialists by their agitation in England. Their agitation in England and our agitation in India will hoist the red flag of the Labour Rule all over the world. (Cheers). You have now understood the principles of Communism during the last five months of the strike. If anything has come out of this strike it is this advantage that the labourers have begun to realize their elementary rights and how these capitalist leeches are growing fat by sucking their blood. These capitalists are not only leeches but they are serpents. You have now determined not to allow these leeches or serpents to suck your blood hereafter. Let us go on with the struggle and we will find out a way out of it. But do not rely on any early settlement. Go back to your villages to strengthen our strike and vanquish the mill-owners. (Cheers.) Go back to your villages and distribute the labourers three lac hand-bills given to you and in this way make your struggle successful. (Cheers.)

Bradley made a speech in English and Mirajkar translated it into Marathi.

He said: "Fellow workers, I do not want to keep you long in the rain. Several meetings are taking place between the Strike Committee and the Mill-owners which will develop into some sort of settlement. Since I came to India and joined your movement all sorts of abuses were levelled against me by the Indian and British Capitalists here. First they charged me that I was a Lankashire agent came here with the intention of destroying the Indian Mill-Industry to the benefit of the British Capitalists. Next charge they levelled against me that I was a Bolshevik agent and lastly they abused me that I was making money at the risk of the strike fund by carrying a speculative business in the Share Market. But all these charges were levelled to the ground. But these things take place in all the countries where struggle between the Capitalists and the labourers has taken place. However I would like to see the strike finished before I sail for England: As in that case there will be an additional charge levelled against me that Bradley is gone and the strike finished; and therefore the strike was engineered at my instigation. The Mill-owners are spending a great deal of money in distributing misleading pamphlets. But you have to take no notice of them. You have to be very much cautious at this last stage of the strike when the fruit is coming to your hands. Like a skill-full captain of the ship who most skillfully leads the steamer when coming near the coast, you have to lead this strike. The mill-owners are trying to

create obstacles in your way and therefore you have to maintain your solidarity at the last moment. I have to tell you earnestly that after the strike is over, you should not suspend this movement. It is but a beginning of the big battle you have to fight in the future. So in order to gain sufficient strength you must have a very strong organisation behind you. You must establish a strong Union of 1½ lac members. I came to India to teach the importance of the trade-unionism and establish large unions of the labourers here. There must be Unions of the railway workers, of the mill-workers and so on. You have realized what force remains in the organization. The capitalists and Govt are required to pass new laws to check your movement. Establish your Union and carry this message of mine to all the workers in India and thus establish Unions of labourers all over India and then the Capitalists and Govt will realize your force. (Cheers). In order to prevent your organization Govt are passing some laws. But you can fight out these laws through your Unions. Do not allow the outsiders to run them. The personnel of the Union must be of the workers from amongst you. Outsiders like barristers, pleaders and others are not in a position to realize your difficulties and they accept any terms which are not favourable to you. The leaders of our Unions in England are workmen. I myself am a workman like you for the last 14 years, and am running a Union. So lastly I have to congratulate you for all what you have done and for having carried on the strike with solidarity. When I go back to England I promise you to explain your grievances to my fellow-workers there, and gain their sympathy for you. I will send you all possible physical, mental, financial help from them so far as British labourers are concerned. (Cheers)''.

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Sd. S. S. Deshpande

Bombay

„ S. A. Tamhane.

16/17-9-1928.

Sub-Inspectors of Police.

C. I. D. Poona.

P. 1730

Speakers: (1) Jhabwala.
(2) Bradley.
and Others.

Date: 18th Sept. 1928 from 4-30 p. m. to
5-50 p. m.

Place: At the Cement Chawls on the
Delisle Road.

Subject: Mill Strike, Bombay.

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Jhabwala said: Mr. Dange spoke to you regarding the account matter I will now refer to other matters regarding the strike. Mr. Dange has burst open the Donger (bubble) of Dongersing. Now I am going to do way with that of the mill-owners. At a meeting held near the Spring Mills on the other day I told you some facts. To-day I will tell you some new facts. We have to consider two main points regarding the strike. First how to arrive at an early settlement and secondly how to help you under your starving conditions as you are out of employment. As regards the first question I have to say this. No man can say that the strike Committee are sitting idle over this question. Our great friend Mr. Mayekar had once given a challenge to this committee to bring about a speedy settlement of the strike within three days, that the Strike Committee was incapable of doing that and that he would see his way to do it within that time. I was not present, then, to give him a reply. I will give it now. The Strike Committee meets every two days and considers the pros and cons of the speedy settlement. Every one of the Committee is troubling his brains to find out a cut short way to arrive at a settlement. I am not the only man sitting over this Committee. Some one may come and say that it is run by a few Communists. Men like Messrs. Joshi and Asawale who represent the Moderates are its members. There are some members who represent the Extremist Party. These are ten members from both the parties. The rest i. e. 20 are directly from the labourers. So thirty men are seriously and in right earnest thinking over this question. They are ready to close the strike even to-morrow but these mill-owners have become extra-obstinate. So we are trying to find out a way to bring them round. In this way the strike went on for five months and a half without any amicable settlement. Now next point for our consideration is how to maintain you in strike days. But through Gods favour we got money from countries abroad more than what we got in our own country. Our leaders, our patriots, our friends, our rich men never offered a helping

hand to you. They never cared to protect the Indian industry which was under a dead lock. If they had helped you, we would never have welcomed the help that came to us from foreign countries. In this way we had to depend upon the foreign help, Recently we have got a help in Rs. 14,101 out of which only Rs. 4,000 are in balance.

Rs. 4,000 were spent on dole on last Wednesday. Rs. 4,000 will be spent to-morrow for grain distribution.

Rs. 2,000 are spent to Charter two steamers for your free passage. In this way Rs. 10,000 are spent already. We will spend the remaining Rs. 4,000 for necessary requirements most carefully. In this way the Strike Committee is trying its level best but these mill-owners are rescals and wicked men. They have handicapped us owing to their unpardonable obstinacy, and tightness. Mayekar gives you a false hope to close the strike within three days. Do not rely upon him. The strike will, the, come to a close when the millowners will be willing to say that the demands of the strikers are granted. Now therefore there is a serious problem before you as to how to return to work, with empty hands after a struggle of six months. I think not a single labourer will be willing to resume the work. The mill-owners and their hirelings are trying their level best to break the Strike half way. So you have to remain firm to your words that you will not go back to the mills until Divali Holidays. So hold on till Divali by which time the mill-owners will be thrown overboard. (Cheers) If God and your fortune favours, and if we get another instalment of help from countries abroad, we will try to charter more vessels for you to send you back to your villages. If you get still more additional money we will be able to carry on our grain distribution hereafter. So you have not to lose courage on any account. Our traders merchants and other rich persons are dumb deaf and blind to our strained conditions but if they take into their heads to stand by our side, I think the settlement will be speedy.

Our friend Mr. Bradley is soon going from our midst. So we have assembled here to-day to garland him. I will, therefore say a few words in this connection. Another big meeting is contemplated to do honour to him. But I don't think he will leave us. (Cheers). If Govt. Bill is not passed into Law, we will keep him here. He is no longer a European. We will convert him as a Hindi or an Indian (Cheers). It is not certain whether Govt. succeeds in passing this Bill. But if it passes into a law, we will have to send him away the next day. In any way we have to honour him. Many people have mis-understood what Mr. Bradley is. Some say that he an agent of the British Capitalists and he has been specially deputed to India to misguide us and thus to kill the Indian Industry and thus secure a market for the unemployed

labourers in England. Others say that he is swallowing strike fund and collects wealth for himself by speculating in the Share Market. But I tell you honestly that he belongs to neither of these things. One year ago he joined our Party. He is our friend. He feels for the Indian Labourers. He expressed his desire to move in our circles with a view to get himself acquainted with the conditions of the Bombay Mill labourers. We took him in our fold. He used to attend our meetings and advised our men to make a strong organization to better their conditions. He has not uttered a single word against the Indian Government. We young men might have spoken some angry words against this Govt. We must have said to vanquish the Police and bring about a revolution in the administration of the country. Mr. Bradley spoke not a word about the political revolution. He never said to overthrow the British rule. He never said to drive away the Britishers from India. He only preached that the labourers should be awakened to their grievances and their inherent rights and make their Unions to get their grievances redressed. Has he preached any thing beyond this in all his speeches in Bombay? The Police are watching him openly and secretly and they have not been able to find any thing suspicious about him. Under these circumstances is it not shameful on the part of Govt. to deport him? He is only trying to uplift the masses. Critics say that Jhabvala and his party are being guided by Mr. Bradley. But it is a fallacy. We require no Bradley or any European gentleman to help us in our cause. We Indians are sufficiently bold and courageous to fight out our grievances. We are capable of setting things right. So do not believe for a moment that we require a guiding spirit from a European gentleman. We have a sympathiser in Mr. Horniman. Similarly he is one of our sympathisers. So think not for a moment that it is because of Mr. Bradley that we are fighting this struggle. His views and our views are the same and therefore he is our friend. Some say that he is feeding himself on public money. But I tell you on my word of honour that to-day he possesses not a farthing to pay for the tram car. His mother sends him pocket money and that money is withheld by the secret agencies of Govt. for which they must be ashamed. The Police ought to feel shame for this. He is helping the cause of the distressed. When short of money, poor Bradley does not even ask for a loan. He is beyond suspicion. We will be losing in him a great friend and a sympathetic worker. I feel for this, and I assure him on behalf of you all that we will carry on the struggle. They may call it a Bolshevik or Communist movement or an anarchical or a revolutionary movement, but we will carry on the fight, we will throw overboard the Capitalists and the Govt. also and get our grievances redressed. After his return to England, Mr. Bradley will hear that we have got our demands in full and that the wife and children of the working classes get sufficient food and clothing. Lastly on behalf of you all I thank Mr. Bradley for the services

rendered by him to us all, With these words I take your leave."
{Cheers).

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Bradley spoke in English. His speech was translated by
Dange.

"Fellow workers, I have to tender my apologies first to the Mahabharat Cricket club for having kept them waiting yesterday for me. But owing to rains yesterday we had kept all our functions closed so it became impossible for me to come. Then I have to make a request to the Govt. in this country. I cannot say for certain that they will deport me. But under that excuse I can accept the garlands if offered to me. The methods of this Govt. are very strange. They will make a show of one thing and bring into execution another thing. They will make a show of deporting me and perhaps may even send me to the Arthur jail. Therefore I cannot say for certain that I will be soon going away from here. But though they may remove me out of India, they cannot remove the struggle between the Capitalism and the labourers from India. My friends here will carry on the struggle if I am removed from India. So I have to make a request to the Government that they should not remove me until this strike is over. During my stay of one year in India I could not do much as regards the mill-workers as I was able to do some thing as regards the railway workers. I have to thank Mr. Jhabvala for affording me an opportunity to become a member of the Railway Workers' Union. After my entry I was able to affiliate the 2/3 unions into one and thus organized a huge railway workers' Union for the whole of India. The railway workers in future will be a source of great trouble to them more than what they had to face in case of mill-workers, if they fail to grant them their demands as they demand them in full. They will have to repeat hundred times more than anything else. After 4 or 5 months later I joined your movement. You effected a general dead-lock of the Bombay Mills. So I have to make them a request that they should remove me after the demands of the strikers are granted. Because I am charged that I was the initiative of this Strike and after my removal the strike came to an end. I make this request for one purpose. I was taken to be an agent of the English mill-owners in England although Govt. knew that I was a labourer myself and was working in some mills at home. The suspicion that I was a secret agent will be strengthened by my removal before the strike is over. If they had a knowledge that I was an agent they would never have trouble themselves to pass a law for my deportation. However to outwit their undertaking, you must make a strong agitation & get your demands in full before I am removed from your midst. I will then enjoy the pleasure of seeing you enjoying your demands. After I have enjoyed the fruit of success, Govt. may

then deport me. As regards the Cricket Club, I have to advise you to encourage your boys to pick up the agitation as they are the future soldiers of the struggle against the Capitalism. Because every boy of a labourer will soon be an apprentice in the working field. So you must from their childhood inculcate in them the spirit of revolt against the Capitalism. Now I have to give you my last word however I hope it may not be a last one as I wish to remain amidst you for some time more if I go back to England I assure you I will rouse and gain for you the sympathy of our fellow-workers there and send you all possible physical, mental and financial help. The labourers there are busy in preparing a revolution. In 1926 they had arranged a plot for revolution. But it failed owing to the deception of some untrustworthy leaders. But this fresh attempt will not prove futile. So the labourers in England are going to bring about a revolution and it is certain that it will be successful. Till that time, whether this strike may end in success or otherwise you must establish a huge Union of the mill-workers of the whole of India and thus you must make all necessary preparations to keep the capitalists under your thumb. I again promise you to send you all possible help in your undertaking with these words I take your leave." (Cheers).

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Bombay:
18/19-9-1928.

Sd/- S.S. Deshpande.
,, S. A. Tamhane
Sub-Inspectors of Police
C.I.D. Poona.

P. 1731.

Speakers: (1) Kasale & Others.

Date: 2st Sept. 1928 from 8 A. M. to 9 A. M.

Place: At the Cement Chawls near Delisle Road.

Subject: Mill Strike, Bombay.

Kasale said: " Fellow workers, it is my duty to congratulate Mr. Nimbkar who is my guru, i. e. teacher. Mr. Nimbkar has his

Lion's share in educating the workers. Mr. Nimbkar has taught you the methods of the labour movement, he has convinced you of your inherent powers, and he has awakened you to acquire your birth rights. I need not repeat his teachings to you now. Secondly I have to congratulate my fellow brothers and sisters for the undaunted courage they exhibited yesterday. When they heard the news that a mill was reopened they forgot that they were starving, they abandoned the centres where they were receiving doles and hastened to the stop to spot the mill-work & by their undaunted courage they compelled the capitalists add the bureaucracy to bend their necks before them out of shame. The Government and the Capitalists thought that all the workers will resume the work if a show was made of one mill being at work. But they have now realized that they had misjudged the situation. They have now fully realized that the strikers will never resume the work although they are starving. They will not remain contented unless their demands are fully granted. So you have to strictly bear in mind that their struggle is not only limited to their wages. They have to carry it on until the Capitalism and the imperialism is driven out of India. By imperialism I mean that imperial Government which oppresses and torments the people. You have to snatch away the power of this Government which harrasses the people and crushes them to fill their own pockets. This agitation is to demolish this sort of Government. This Government only knows to fill their pockets, they are not mindful that the poor people are put to starvation thereby. They have come here from a distance of 5 thousand milles and they are ruling over our motherland. They are dominating us. They only look to their conveniences and comforts. They want Rs. 3000 as their monthly salary and 5 or 10 peons for their domestic affairs. The people of India have not yet realized that the bureaucrats are getting their salaries of ten thousand rupees per month on the money created on their labour. We have to carry on the agitation to put a stop to their grazing, to drive them out of India and establish our Raj in their stead. The capitalists and the bureaucrats will be putting thorns in our ways so long we have not established the Labour Rule. So the peasants and the labourers of India must carry on this agitation to such an extent as to drive out these bureaucrats out of India, who are crushing the people, who are oppressing the people who are impoverishing the people, who are putting us and our children to starvation, they are not supplied with sufficient clothing, they do not get a drop of milk. It is this Government who have forced these conditions on us and therefore they ought to be driven out of India. All the factories and industries must be our possessions. The administration of the country must come into our hands. There must be the rule of the labourers. The capital or the wealth of the nation must be in the hands of the labourers. We have to carry on this agitation not haphazardly. We must have a strong

organization. Every labourer must be able to make speeches. Every one must realize the advantages of the freedom of speech. They are afraid of the Police—Reporters who will report their speeches to the Commissioner of Police. But I ask you who is this Police Commissioner? He has come here to feed upon our money. I have to tell the Commissioner of Police and the Governor that the labourers are rendering services to the nation by working ten hours a day. I challenge this Commissioner and the Governor to work hard like us for eight hours. Our Police men have not as yet earned wisdom. They are dying for Rs. 18 or 30 and for the sake of 4 or 5 rupees promotion they are prepared to use their weapons upon their own men, their country brothers, men of India. I have therefore to tell these Police men to direct their guns against these men and not against their own men. I ask them to use their arms against the Capitalists and help us to establish the labour Rule. Our friend Mr. Dongersing Ramsing is a Patel and a Maratha by casté. He is a Rajput and the Marathas are Rajputs. I have to tell him that inspite of his traditional greatness he has stooped to cut throats of his own men. Though he bears a great name as Dongersing, i. e. lion of the mountain, but I tell him that he is a rat coming out of the mountain. Now I tell him to be wise enough to desist from barrowing men to start the mill. But if he persists on I assure him that he will not only be killed but his lions will be crushed to pieces. Never mind if we are killed, but we must see that he is wiped out of this world. I declare that I am wreckless of being sent to gallows or if I am shot to death but I will not share him if he comes in my bounds. (Cheers) So every worker has to bear in mind to find out such rascals to drag them out of their houses and kick them to death never mind if he dies in the struggle. Watch these men who are going to the mills and leave them not without being hammered. Do not be afraid of the Police and if they intervene give them also a good rubbing if they assault you. (Cheers). Because we have not become helpless. We have become penniless. We have lost our homes. We are deprived of our clothes. We are in extreme conditions. We are now prepared for death. Blow for a blow is the motto of the labourers. You must now be prepared for the worst. You should not be afraid of jails, gallows or the Andamans. Jail life is our brithright. God Krishna was born in jail. The Pandawas had to go to jails. Freedom comes out of jail. You cannot drive out these Capitalists and the Government if you do not give blow for a blow. You can only set them right by giving blows for blows. Make your strike a success with your united efforts. Kick them out who are going to work. Find them out through the Chawls, drag them out, kick them and make them roll in mud. Try your level best that they do not go to work. Make

your strike successful. With these words I take your leave. "
(Cheers)

Bombay:

Sd. S. S. Deshpande.

21-9-1928.

S. A. Tamhane.

(Sub-Inspectors of Police)

C. I. D. Poona.

P. 1732.

Speakers : (1) S. S. Mirajkar.

(2) Others.

Date : 23rd September 1928.

Place : Lalbag Opp. Dinshaw Petit Mill.

Subject : Mill Strike.

MIRAJKAR.

He said "After a short speech, I will close the Dock. Mr. Nimbkar has already proceeded there and he requires an assistant. Before closing the meeting I have to say one or two things to you. There is a proverb in Marathi () i.e. "difficulties beset a timid man." You have behaved all along in a sober way but now attempts are being made to press you down. For the last 5 months and a half you maintained a peaceful attitude. You have not done any illegal act. You carried on the strike in a most decent manner. But these wicked men are trying to take its undue advantage, and are trying to wreck the strike by deception and coercion. Now we must go a step further. As they are after us, must show them our chest and not the back. If you show your back to the tiger he attacks you but quietly goes away if you face him with a bold countenance. So you have to face them boldly. Let them circulate as many handbills they like. They have distributed 3 lac hand-bills but I am sure they will not get even 30 workers. So you have to maintain your unity and the victory will be yours. I am always an optimist and every labourer must be an optimist. Because the class of the labourers will never die or go to ruin. Because they know that the whole world is full of them. It is

theirs. They have to conquer the whole world. They have to become the masters of all the abundant resources of the world. There is nothing with them of which any body can deprive them. They know they are bereft of every thing. The whole world is before them for any kind of achievement, for them, and therefore they have to be always optimistic. The labourer is always inspired with the idea of the conquest of the world, and therefore he goes on with a redoubled energy if obstructed. You are in the same conditions today. I know your difficulties but do not show them to your enemy and allow them to take advantage over you. Be bold and courageous like warriors. Then the victory is yours.

In Russia there is one province by name 'Yukren'. It is under water by floods., and 8 lacs peasants are without homes. But you know there is a Labour Rule in Russia and this labour government is sending food and clothing to these helpless creatures. But look at our Government. You call them Ma Bap Sarkar. You 1½ lacs in number are starving for the last 5/6 months. Was this not the duty of this Govt to look to your needs and comforts? They have failed to do it. The reason is that it is a Govt of the capitalists: it is a Govt of the educated masses: it is not the Govt of the labourers. If it were a labour Govt they would have come for your help. I have therefore to tell you not to stop this movement, but to carry it on until you have established the Labour Rule. You have to do this and for this purpose you must increase your strength and power. In our struggle some of you will be required to go to prisons, some will be hanged but you have not to take back. Make a firm determination we establish labour Govt on the lines of the Russian Labour Govt in India and then and then alone the question of your bread will be solved. I do not wish to detain you any longer. Think upon what I have spoken to you. Do not be misguided by these handbills. They are meant to effect a division in your compact unity. With these words I close the meeting."

Bombay)

Sd/- S. S. Deshpande

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„ S. A. Tamhane

23-9-1928)

Sub Inspectors of Police

C.I.D. Poona.

P. 1733.

Speakers : (1) G. R. Kasale
(2) Others.

Date : 24-9-1928.

Place : In front of Edward Memorial Hospital
Parel on 24-9-1928.

Subject - Mill Strike.

KASLE

He said "Brothers very few persons seem to have been attending this meeting. I can, therefore, say that the city of Bombay has become desolate. Five to ten thousands persons used to attend our meetings. The marked decrease of their number in attending this meeting clearly shows that Bombay has become destitute of its population and I am glad to see this.

Mr. Kolhatkar had once published a story of three thieves of Maharashtra. You will know them if you read that story. The first among those thieves is our Gopal-Krishna. The second is Laxmibai Maharani of Zansi and the third is our Raosahib Shiwaji Maharaj. These are the three thieves of Maharashtra and I am going to deliver a lecture on them. Gopal Krishna was called a thief because he knew the real thieves. The Europeans have come to India for thieving purposes. Similarly in his times one Pootana, a devilish woman came at Gopalkrishna's place of residence to poison him to death. She came in a disguise and was so dressed that she looked like a herlot. The townsmen considered her as a most loving woman greatly attached to Gopal Krishna. They wondered how the milk from her breast ran in floods for Gopal-Krishna. But he knew her dishonest intentions that she had come to poison him. He knew how to kill the woman. When she held him near her breast for sucking he bit her so severely that she had to give up her life: she was required to go to London. Gopal Krishna was thus well-acquainted with the dishonest intentions of the thieves in his times. He was more than a match to them. He punished them. He killed them. The wicked Kansa was like the English white people who have come into our country and are keeping us under their bondage. Gopal Krishna knew that this wicked Kansa was harassing the people. It was the life mission of Gopal-Krishna to kill this wicked Kansa who was terrorising the nation. Gopal Krishna is therefore, the first thief of Maharashtra.

The second thief was the Maharani Laxmibai of Jhansi. She was an independent ruler. These English whites had made a treaty with her that they would never interfere with her kingdom. But these English whites, these white-skinned thieves are great rascals,

cunning and 'badmash', they broke the treaty and declared that they were the suzerin power and that they were the rulers of her territory, and that she should abdicate the throne. Laxmi-bai determined to establish her right to the throne at the point of the sword, and fight to the last. She declared war against them. This is our heroine Laxmibai. If men and women of her mentality are created in us no time will be required to vanish these white-skinned people out of India. I have to say this most joyfully because these men did not hesitate to open their arms against a woman. They did not allow the chiefs of the native states of Gwalior Baroda and the Nizam to give her assistance. The British Government are so cunning thieves. But our Laxmibai was more than a match to them. She determined not to abdicate the throne but to give a battle to them. She did not care for her little son. She had never become visible to the people but she threw off her 'Purdah', she drew sword and stood for battle. She said the kingdom of Maharashtra is independent. She will not lose its independence without a fight she faught with them and therefore Maharani Laxmibai is the second thief of Maharashtra. The English papers or writers have not published her real story. But these white skinned ungrateful rascals call them thieves who tried to rescue the independence of Maharashtra. The third thief is our Raosahib Shiwaji Maharaj. He is called a rebel, and a dacoit. These thieves and rascals gave Shiwaji these bad names. They came here with balance and weights and carried on their trade. They established their empire here. But they established it through treachery. However they call them thieves who had tried to save the independence of Maharashtra by driving them out of India. Those who were real thieves have become worthy gentlemen. The Europeans are the real thieves, robbers, badmashies, most cunning, rascals, crafty, oppressors, blood thirsty, ungrateful wretches. They give bad names to others. How rascals they are.'

Who are the thieves and robbers among the strikers? Nimkar Dange, Alwe and others are the thieves. Because they educate the labourers. A time shall come when they will make it penal to utter the name of Nimkar. This badmash Government and the capitalists call them thieves who are trying to unfasten the fetters of the bondage of the labourers and their country. But who are the real thieves? Government are the real thieves. India is our mother land. We are the rulers. Maharashtra belongs to us. But they come from distance of 5,000 miles and say that they are the masters and dominate us 33 crores in number. The European are only 3 lacs in number. They are sucking the blood of these 32 crores and enjoying luxury. When they are in England and they and their women have to work on two looms. These Bhosadecha do not get sufficient food except the potatoes. In their country potatoes are the only food stuff for them. Their history of 8 hundreds years back tells us that they were feeding themselves on vegetables.

These rascals come to India and say to us that the Indian are "badmashes" when India is their mother land. They have deprived them of their Raj and therefore they call them "badamashes" you must understand the real meaning of the word "badmash". Badamash is he who understands the ways and methods of these real "badamashes". As a matter of fact we must have our independence back. There must be the labour rule in India. The labourers in India must get sufficient food. This Govt. will never give good names to the leaders of the labourers. The rule of this Govt continues here so long none of us try to overthrow them. When persons who understand their policy will come forward to approve them then they will realize who are the real thieves. If I were to commit a theft, I will surely call my companion a thief as he would bring my theft to light. Now they must consider that they ruled India for 150 years. Now they must be wise enough to give us back our freedom and they should go away bag and baggage. If they fail to do it of their own accord, time shall come when they and their women will be driven out of India, in a naked condition. My brothers bear in mind, these Europeans would never have come here if Rs. 150/ were offered to them but they do not get even this much in their own country. But when they come to India they get thousands of rupees. They are under starving condition just like us in their own country but when they come here they make yes and fes in a lordly way. This is the state of things. Same is the case with our Indian Police. If an Indian Police Inspector is asked to do a little thing for us, he will defy, us but if a Long orders them to fetch water he will run wagging his tail like a dog. They are "badamash" and we are innocent but we must prove more than a match to them. Every one of us must try to secure for our men the posts of fat salaries from 2 thousands to 10 thousands which are enjoyed by them. For this purpose you must educate your children and carry on our agitation and drive out these Europeans, the capitalists, the Governor, the Superintendent, Long and Power out of India by giving kicks on their buttocks (cheers) None of us should be afraid of jail, imprisonment, gallows and the Andamans. Every one must take part in this agitation. The first thief among the labourers is Nimbakar because he knows and brings to light the foul ways and means of these rascals. He struck the labourers and therefore the Commission says that Nimbakar is badamash. In India there were three thieves mentioned above so unless such thieves are created in us we will not be able to

establish our rule and therefore we must give a kick for kick and blow for a blow and we must give kicks on their buttocks. Every one must do this because unless they are driven out of India there shall be no Rule of the labourers. With these words I take your leave.

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Sd/- S. S. Deshpande.

„ S. A. Tamhane.

Sub Inspectors of Police.

C. I. D. Poona.

P. 1734.

Names of the speakers :— (1) Kasle.

(2) & others.

Place :— Near Cement Chawl, De Lisle Road, Bombay;

Date :— 25th September 1928.

Subject :— Bombay Mill Strike.

KASLE.

He said :—“ Brothers I thank with great delight the labourers for having maintained their firm grip over the strike notwithstanding the hardships they and their children are put to. I have to draw your attention to the fact that you quit your places if rain begins, or the leaders finish their speeches. When you are afraid of little showers, I am afraid how you will discharge your further responsibility regarding the labour movement. The responsibility lies on your shoulders and not of the leaders. Every labourer has to work for it and if you lag behind you will spoil the game. It is no use simply hearing the speeches and sitting at ease in your houses. It will be beating about the bush. So every one of you must take part in this movement, every one of you must learn to make speeches and every one must try to discharge his responsibility. It is no use quitting your places for a little pelting of stones or for a petty disturbance or for the showers of rain. It is the rule of the meeting that none can leave this place although bombs are thrown or bullets are shot. In the

first strike of 1918 myself and Achut Balawant Kolhatkar were attending a meeting at Mandavi when some goondas pelted 25 stones but neither Mr. Kolhatakar nor myself left the meeting. Until it came to a close. I spoke aloud in the meeting that I will not leave the meeting that if even anybody were to break my head. At this bold spirit of mine the "goondas" meekly left the meeting. So it is the duty of every one who attends the meeting not to leave the place although he is shot or crushed under a bomb. If you observe this rule then you will be able to carry on your propaganda in future. Your agitation is not limited to this strike of few days it may end today or tomorrow, But in future you have a tremendous work before you. You have not to be daunted if any of your leaders are sent to jail or killed. You have to kick such calamities and make your headway. The labourers are a great power. The power of Govt before it is nimbled down, The Govt is in your hands. The capitalists are at your mercy. The bureaucracy and the capitalists will dominate over you so long you have not established your different unions such as mill workers' union, municipal workers' union Post office workers' union and Railway Workers' union and concentrate them into big one big union. What do you think about Govt? Govt is the only head of the body politic. The hands and feet of this body are the labourers. If the hands and feet refuse to work the head will be soon cut off (cheers). I am sorry when I see you taking to your heels at the sudden appearance of a Police Inspector or a Pathan. Can you in this way carry on your labour agitation? The teacher gives only a lesson to the school boys but it depends upon them to thoroughly master it. The teacher gives the student a lesson in A. B. C. and if the boy throws away his slate and whiles away his time he will lose his lesson. The leaders have taught you the principles. It is not their agitation nor it is sympathised by the bureaucracy or the capitalists. It is the labour agitation is for the labourers and they have to take the bureaucracy and Govt into their hands. This is therefore the struggle of the labourers and therefore every one of them must be possessed with a weapon. Perhaps you will think of a gun or a sword. But the labourers have not to take a fancy for such weapons. Because the edge of the sword becomes blunt, the chamber of the gun becomes cold before the power of organisation of the labourers and before the unity of the labourers. On the strength of unity we will conquer them all. Do you think that because you are dispossessed of arms you are helpless before them? In a hand-to-hand fight with the Germans the muskets and the sword were thrown away and who won that fight? These Britishers, these white skinned fellows, these white-footed fellows, these rascals, these wretches, these sinful creatures did nothing. It is the Indians who won that fight, although they had starved 10 days previous to it. Owing to their success the British Govt was saved; otherwise they would have left India bag

and baggage. But this ungrateful Govt is using their force against the labourers who saved their lives and empire. I say them dishonest stupid because their dragging their swords against those who saved the reputation of the nation and who saved their empire. Brothers, in the heat of speech you think to see when they are crushed. Because you remember that millions of your sisters and mothers have become widows as they lost their husbands in the War. I ask the bureaucracy whether these wretched Capitalists have sacrificed their lives in that battle. I ask this Govt when they were under difficulties they praised the Marathas as "Samashers Bahadurs." Some of my friends who had been to England tell me that the people used to say "Marathaki jay." This very Govt now defies the labourers, but beware, that a day shall come when you will be hanged on this open ground with the Capitalists (cheers). Even if I am shot or sent to transportation for life I am sure the labour agitation shall never cease until the labour Govt is established in India. Now I behold before me the two reporters of the Commissioner taking notes of the meeting; They are Hindoos. I see two Inspectors and six Policemen I tell them that their Commissioner does not come here to give up his life nor the Superintendent attends the meeting to take notes, as they know how to set one man against the other from our own folds. These white skinned, white-footed creatures know full well what sort of fueds can be created in us. Our own people are ready to hang our own men. When questioned these bureaucrats they reply that such and such Kala Adami says so and so against Kala adami. But I ask these Policemen that a native constable gets Rs. 30/- and an European Sergent of equal status gets Rs. 200/- because he is a white sepoy he is given Rs. 200/- as if he has his ancestral claim over it. Our Inspectors gets Rs. 90/- But a European because he is a sahib of white feet, of their caste, and creed, and because he got his birth through their sexual inter course () (Laughter) he is given Rs. 200/-. If a European constable commits a murder he is not punished but a native constable is dragged into the court for a similar offence. An European constable committing a theft is let off but a native constable is punished for the same. The British Government have cunning laws. We do not want such unjust laws. We will trample them under our feet. The children of the Europeans are provided with motors veichles but for going to school and colleges but the children of the native officers have to go on foot. We are the masters of the country, this land is ours but these badmashes have come here and carry on loot and plunder in order to norish and feed their children. But our children dying early. We are carring on this agitation to protect our children and kill theirs through starvation. We want equal rights and fascilities with them. We want our children more educated than their children. These Badamashes

have given bad names as thieves to three great persons of India. Yesterday I spoke in brief about the story of these three thieves. I am going to elaborate it further. My Mohamadan brothers here should not get offended nor my Hindoo brother should think them insulted. But these Britishers are calling thieves to our three great men, because they know the theft of the real thief and they punish them and therefore these rascals call them thieves. But these real thieves came to India for trade with scales and weights in their hands and deprived us of our Rule. In what way they got the Rule of this country? They set the Nizam against the Maharaja of Kolhapur, they set the Gwalior Sarkar against the Nizam and they set the Holkar of Indore against Gwalior Sarkar. In this way they created mutual feuds. They told them all to abdicate their thrones. In this way they usurped their Kingdoms. Who was the first badmash of this gang of robbers and dacoits? He was Lord Clive. He was in his childhood a great badmash. His parents got tired of him and was deported to India as a vagrant. He thrice committed an attempt of suicide but was saved thrice. He was then enlisted in the Army. He got victory in the first battle. This Lord Clive is the founder of the British Raj in India. But it is to end in the way in which it was got. And the labourers will have it.

Who were those three thieves. The first among them was Gopal Krishna. Because he knew the real thieves in the world. He also knew unless he proved more than a match to them, he would not be able to vanquish them. The wicked Kansa who was a demon, sinful, rascal, like these Europeans coming from England who do not hesitate to co-habit with their sisters and mothers. This arrogant demon deputed one Putana like a Miss Mayo with poison in her breast to kill Shri Krishna. Kansa knew that Krishna was more than a match to him and as he could not vanquish him he arranged this plot to murder him and thus to deprive him of his realm. This Miss Mayo was extremely delicate and beautiful. She fascinated the eyes of the people who began to say what a beautiful this European woman is. They thought that though Gopal Krishna looked black and was a son of a milkman yet this Miss Mayo out of affection for him has come to give him a sucking of her breast. Our people being simpletons took a fancy for Miss Mayo. But Gopal Krishna being a great knave recognized evil intentions of this Miss Mayo, that she was coming to him to give him a poisonous sucking in order to take his life. Shri Krishna took a bite of her breast so severely that she died immediately. Krishen is therefore the first thief of India.

The second thief is Maharani Laxmibai of Zashi who fought for the freedom of India. This British Govt has dethroned many native chiefs. They had given a promise to Laxmibai after the

death of her husband that they would not annex the kingdom. They had made a treaty with her. But afterwards they proved faithless to her. How treacherously they broke the promise; How sinful this Govt is! I place before you both the sides for your consideration. They gave her a notice to abdicate the throne. Laxmibai was a woman. She had never come out of her mansion. She was a lady in zanana. She had never come in the midst of the people. After the death of her husband she had skilfully managed the administration of her kingdom. No sooner she received the ultimatum she threw away her padada and drew a sword with a vow not to abdicate the throne until she had killed them and herself in the fight. The history of the battle she fought is most instructive. The story will convince you that this Govt is a blaggard sinner. For the sake of passing their hunger the kingdoms of others, this brutal Govt dragged their sword against this woman. For the sake of money they carry on a kind of loot and plunder. How treacherous the Govt is! They who used the arms against a woman would never spare the labourers. They prevented the princes Gwalior, Indore and the Nizam of Hyderabad to assist her with a threat that they would deprive of their thrones. The story of Laxmibai's death and annexation of her Kingdom is not published. Those who publish it are made liable for 6 months imprisonment. The British Govt are calling her a thief although she was a great heroine, this history has no place in the curriculum of the university examination of B. A. They are intentionally keeping out of our sight the stories of our illustrious historic persons, as they had brought to light the treachery, and fraud of this Govt Maharani Laxmibai knew that this Govt was badmash and plunderer and therefore she fought with them.

The third robber is great Shivajee. He was a deceiver of first water. These rascals used to send gifts to Shivajee Maharaja but now they call him a great thief and robber. Because he knew that they were villains and therefore they should be crushed. The Mahamadan Rulers were then great thieves and Shivajee had crushed them. Therefore they called him a thief. These badmash, treacherous thieves coming from England are giving bad names to the liberators of our mother land. In the same way they have given bad names to our leaders of the labourers. I had once attended the funeral of Lokamanya Tilak when I was worker in David Mill. The engineer asked me where I had gone. I told him that I had been to the funeral of Tilak. He said "Oh you went to Tilak funeral and I made myself merry with milk and rice." I got angry and beat him with shoes. So these badmash and rascals should never be trusted. I request the Govt servants who are my countrymen that they are getting smaller pays. They should tell them that India is our mother land. We create the wealth of the nation. This being the case these rascals are depriving us of everything.

I have therefore to request my fellow workers to carry on this movement even after the strike is over. Every Sunday evening they must hold their meetings and discuss their grievances and find out several ways to remedy them. Many of you are dying but you are firm and resolute in your determination. If you carry on this agitation in future, I am sure you will establish your Raj and on one day these Petit, Sawyer and Sassoon will be hanged to gallows. For this purpose you have to make a strong organization. You do not require any arms. You have at your command strong organization of labourers under the strength of which you will one day crush the capitalists and bureaucrats. (cheers).

P. 1735.

Speakers: (Joglekar & Others).

Date: 27th Sept. 1928 from 4. 30 P. M. to 6-30 P. M.

Place: Near Spring Mills at Nagaon.

Subject: Mill Strike, Bombay.

Joglekar said: You have heard many speakers. I stand to tell you some important facts. Our strike is taking different shapes and hands during the last 4-5 days, as regards the settlement. Since yesterday evening the Strike Committee is busy over the settlement. Although I am not in a position to give you a definite idea of what is taking place in the discussions but I can tell you openly that some of the mill-owners have taken a mild stand. I need not tell you what made them to assume a mild behaviour. The mill-owners, being baffled in their attempts owing to your compact unity, are completely overpowered. If you maintain the same solidarity, the same peaceful attitude, the same skill and wisdom, I am sure, and since yesterday the wind blows in your favour, that you will reap the fruit of your penance which has come within your easy reach. (Cheers). Parshram has told you that the morsel is coming to your dish. The cooks have full of dishes in their hands and they are hesitating to serve little or more you have only to give them one jerk and the whole dish will come in your place. (Cheers). You know the story of one Khajgiwala a famous warrior in the times of the Peshwa. He was gluttonous fellow. The Peshwa one day thought of fooling him. He invited him for dinner and instructed the servants to serve piecemeals to this warrior. Once

twice and thrice the servants passed him serving little quantity of the dainties. Khajgiwala got annoyed at this and when the servant came to him with a full dish of the jilabi he give him a jerk and managed to have all the jilabis in his place. (Laughter). We have to do like Mr. Khajgiwale. You must maintain that you want full meal. why some of the mill-owners are befooling you in asking you to accept 2 or 3 or 10 per cent increase over your reduced wages? You have once more to declare them that you want your wages of 1925 and will not accept a farthing cut in them. We have to give them a little jerk and compel them to grant our demands in full. The winds are blowing in this direction since yesterday. At any rate a settlement will be soon arrived and the strike will have a happy ending. They are discussing over the conditions on which the settlement should be declared. However when the negotiations are over I will be able to give you a detailed account. But I can repeat that the end of the strike is nearing towards its success and the trend of the discussions shows that the mill-owners have abandoned their defiant attitude and are really actuated with a spirit of a favourable and a sympathetic mentality to come to a speedy settlement of the strike and are now showing their willingness to concede to your demands. I cannot give out anything further on this point as we have to wait until everything comes in black and white on paper and is stamped with a seal of approval by the Strike Committee. Then we will have to hold a meeting at the Chaupati and in that big gathering the message will be required to carry through phones. Perhaps we will have to use more phones than what we have used in the meeting held at Chaupati on February 3rd (Cheers). With these words I draw your attention to another fact. It is the new dodge the Police are playing since 6 or 7 days. On the one hand the mill-owners are showing a change for the better, but on the other hand the degree of the thermometre of the Police high handedness is raising. In the beginning they tried to imprison some of the leaders under lame excuses. But they failed. Then they tried to create disturbances, they tried to create divisions among the strikers but they failed. Now they are playing a fresh dodge. They have anticipated that the strikers must have got tired and become sick of the prolonged strike and that they must have been losing their confidence in their leaders. Assuming this stand they have contemplated this plan. You know some of our colleagues are trying to instruct you through their speeches to educate you, to make you grow wiser and make you bold and capable to organizing your Union on foundation of compact unity. They are trying to give you ideas re Labour Unions and so on. In their heat of speeches as they are not accustomed to trained speaking they give out some out-of-the-way words and for such meaningless stray words the Police call them up to their quarters and give them threats. These leaders are not familiar to balanced words-words which would not come into the purview of the

law. (They do not know to dance on the edge of the sword of law. Those who know the law) can do so. As they are not acquainted with the law they are not trained to make balanced speeches. They give out their hearts. The Police then pick up an excuse to summon them to their quarters & overawe them that that their speeches were highly objectionable in the strict sense of the law and that they might arrest them. By using such unbalanced words they do not mean that they should be followed letter to letter by their hearers. But owing to their ignorance and not being trained to make a balanced speech they give out some objectionable words but the Police take advantage of their ignorance and summon them and give them threats not with any obvious intention of sending them to jail. I tell you this openly and it is my duty to give you a clear understanding of the situation although I may not out of policy bring to light the hidden motives of the Police in the face of their men sitting here. I can defy their brute force on the strength of the soul force of the people, and therefore I tell you openly that they do not wish to prosecute these men. They will fool themselves in the Court of law by such prosecutions. In case they are prosecuted they will be defended by their pleaders and the pleaders for the defence will give them a nice rebuke that it was unwise of them to prosecute men of little or no educational qualifications by misinterpreting their words. I have to tell you that they will be thus ridiculed in Courts for such prosecutions. So out of this fear they only summon these people not with the intention of arresting them. They call them to their quarters and keep them under detention for a considerable time. Then they say to them "Look here, you depend upon your leaders, you have organized the strike at their instance, you talk about the Labour Raj, you say that the Commissioner will be dismissed in your Raj as he was overbearing with you, you say that you will make Patwardhan to rub your shoes; but now we have detained you here; where are your leaders now?" "These poor fellows do not know that they are kept under illegal detention (?). They obey the call of the Commissioner and attend his office. Then they are told that they cannot do without the protection of the Police in case of trying hours. You are now detained here but your leaders have not come to defend you. We feel pity for you and let you go without a prosecution. You are allowed to go but bear in mind that you cannot do without Police protection. Above all, the Police protection is a necessary factor. None of your leaders have come here when you are under detention (?) of the Police. They are enjoying tea at home. I have to make a charge against the Government that they are trying to break the Strike by creating divisions amongst us through their Police force who summon our leaders and give them threats under false misrepresentation. This is my open charge against the Govt and I ask the two Police reporters here to note it down. They may call me for explanation I am able to satisfy them.

They should never call the noneducated leaders. We are ready to attend their offices thousand times a day. All of the educated leaders were present in the meeting for which the Police called Messrs. Alwe, Kasse and Buwa. Dange was present; Nimbkar was present; Ghate, Mirajkar and others also were present. When we are present at the meeting we take the responsibility of the meetings and consequences thereby. We are not going to shirk it. We are ever ready to suffer the legal consequences of these meetings and their proceedings I therefore inform the Government and the Commissioner of Police openly that they should not stoop to altercations or trouble the innocent leaders; they can do anything they like to the educated leaders. They are ready to fight for them in the legal proceedings. They should not take undue advantage of illiteracy of these people. Life upon you for your deceptive tactics. (Cheers). I say to the Commissioner, "you are a high official. You are reported to be a wise man. You have risen to the grade of the Commissioner of Police of the city of Bombay. Why do you harass the poor ignorant people. You can call me I will give you a satisfactory reply. You can call upon the strike Committee for explanation of anything you want." The Strike Committee have given permission to two reporters in every meeting in order to take the responsibility of the proceedings of all the meetings.

You could not have legally forced the Committee to Supplement to give admission to your reporters in meetings. The to the report dealings of the Strike Committee are open and of the meeting straightforward. There is no secrecy of anything held on the We are openly struggling for our bread. No law 27th Inst. prohibits anybody to struggle for it. If there be any such laws, they will be trampled under feet. All such laws putting restraint on the struggle for existence are unjust laws and no man can be enforced to respect them. I declare openly to defy all such laws. I will take the first opportunity to fight out any injustice in any part of the world. (Cheers). The Police Commissioner is at liberty to call for my explanation. He may call an explanation from Nimbkar and from all. You remember that when we wanted the picketing to be popularized and to convince the people that it was not illegal in the month of last August when picketing was kept at the David Mill the Police objected to it and gave threats to the picketers. I was the first man to challenge the Police. I told to the face of Sawjer Sahib to prosecute me. His diary may be referred. We take the responsibility first on our shoulders for any acts done by any body from our Party. From hence if the Police Commissioner has to summon anybody I tell him again in open words that he should never call the non-educated persons for explanation he should better seek interview of the advanced members of the Strike Committee. It will be cowardice on his part to do so. When he has an armed Police force behind him why should he be so coward as to trouble the poor people. If he has to show his bravery he should better challenge us. It is no use

threatening the poor people who are ignorant of law and who are not defended by pleaders when he questions them. He should better stop his deceptive practice. I have to tell the speakers in case they are called by the Police Commissioner they should not get frightened. They should first report the matter to the Strike Committee and act according to their direction.

I am glad to say that our troubles and efforts for the last six months were not in vain. It had its nice effects on our friend Buwa was summoned by the Commissioner of Police and although he could not give him sound replies yet he was bold enough to say that he was willing to suffer any hardships for the sake of his fellow workers, and although he was sent to jail his old mother might meet the same fate as his fellowworkers would meet. I have to admit that our speeches had good effects on you we want you to pick up the principles as soon as possible and be capable of establishing the Labour Govt. I tell the Commissioner that a day shall soon arrive when there will be the rule of the labourers and he will have to come on begging for an employment in the Labour Raj or he will have to go bag and baggage. (Cheers). The boys in the street can pelt stones against a lion in the cage. But when he will come out of his cage and stand in front of them, not only the boys will run away but his police and military will take to their heels and I have noticed this fact day before yesterday. When men and women of the mill-workers who were receiving doles at the Centers, gathered together not with any intention of creating a disturbance but to see whether the Morarjee Mill had really started. The Police took to their heels with their tails hanging downwards. (Cheers). Is it a fact or not? (Yes it is a fact). But when the lion of the organized workers will stand up then the brute force of the British Empire will go to dogs within two months. Do not be so proud and arrogant. Go on giving threats to the people. I know you can do so now. But remember the mother-in-law may wield the power in the household but one day or other her daughter-in-law snatches her power. You babies pass your remaining days merrily and smoothly. The Police Commissioner is a white man but his force is of Indians who are our kinsmen. Since the struggle of the strikers for their wages many a Police men had come to me and said Rao Sahib you are on your right track but can you not fight for us and get an increase in our pay as Rs. 14 for Rs. 13? (Laughter). I therefore tell them that they are staying in a glass room. Although they have their bungalow near the Crawford Market yet it is guarded by our workers. The Police workers are also half-starving. If the message of bread once reaches the hearts of all the labourer then you imagine where will you be. Don't you be so pert. Be rather polite and dooile. We do not want to attack your Raj. We know you have your family and children. We do not wish to embarrass them. No worker in the labour agitation hates anybody or has his grudge against any one. They want sufficient food and clothing for the workers. But if any body tries to come in their

way and harasses them, they will not be committing any offence to level to the ground the tyranny and oppression. I have to tell the Police Commissioner that the workers shall not remain content without destroying the oppression (Cheers). I have therefore to warn you not be frightened at the Commissioners' call. Tell me whether you are prepared to show the bold spirit as manifested by our Buwa Sahib? (yes, yes.) I thank you. The reporters may note down the answer given by the strikers or they may take us all to the Commissioner's bungalow to enjoy the cool breeze of the electric fan. (Come on let us go). If you will go there in a body perhaps the Commissioner will be frightened. He might think that you have come there for "mara mari" (Assaulting him). The Police Commissioner may take a note that people are not going to be frightened. He should also bear in mind that his attempt of creating a split between the strikers and their leaders would be futile. The Police Commissioner says in degrading tone that you are going to establish the Labour Raj. You have to tell him yes. We are going to soon establish the Labour Raj peasants Rule (Cheers). You have to take all precautionary measures in that directions as told by Gad Kari.

This evening I am going to tell you two or three important points. The first point is that you must maintain in future the solidarity which you have maintained upto now in all its phases. All the anti-labour agitations in this country are to be soon stopped. You have to stop the press and the newspapers who are impeding our progress. (Nimbkar arrives. He is cheered). We have to capture all the institutions that are hampering the progress of our movement. The first of these institutions is the political power. Next to the political power is the Congress which is trying to snatch away this political or governing power. We have to capture it. Mr. Gadkari has just told you to enlist yourself as members of the Congress. I have to request you the same. Then we have to capture the Municipalities. You will capture these institutions no doubt but our agitation is not only limited with these institutions. In order to give permanency to our labour agitation we have to establish a big Labour Union. After you get through this strike successful you have not to think that your agitation is over and that you will not be required to involve in further struggles. After you have resumed the work you will have daily grievances. You had experienced ere before and you can conveniently and effectively get them redressed through your Union. At the same time you will have to hold your weekly meetings. You will require your own newspaper. For all these purposes you must have your union supported by a big fund raised through your regular subscriptions. You have to raise another strike fund to be specially reserved to get your grievances redressed in case you go on another strike in your future. You can thereby fight

with the capitalists and the bureaucracy. You will not then be required to depend upon any help as you had to depend upon in the the present strike. You must raise a fund of 2 or 3 lacs during the year. Will you do it or not? (Yes, Yes). The present strike was of a defensive nature to get back the reduced wages. But in future you will have to go on an offensive strike in order to get your wages increased. You have therefore to make a serious consideration of my suggestions and bring them into speedy action no sooner you are out of this strike. Some of the members of the Strike Committee have just returned from the Settlement Committee. I do not know whether they have brought to tell you any good news. Again I have to remind you to see the members of the Strike Committee before going to the Commissioner if he sends his call to anybody. (Cheers)

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Bombay

(Sd.) S. S. Deshpande.

S. A. Tamhane.

27/28-9-28.

Sub-Inspectors of Police.

C. I. D. Poona.

1736.

Speakers: (1) S. S. Mirajkar & Others.

Date: 28th Sept. 1928 from 4-30 P. M. to 6-30 P. M.

Place: At the Cement Chawls on the Delisle Rd.

Subject: Mill Strike, Bombay.

Mirajkar said: "Brothers, I came in a special taxi car as you might be waiting for your leaders. Other leaders are still busy over the deliberations with the representatives of the mill-owners. As I have come alone leaving others there in the Committee; you must have guessed that I have no sound message for you. In yesterday's meeting I have told you that since yesterday we are engaged over the deliberations and that we will inform when we would arrive at a complete compromise. After the deliberations are over the Strike Committee will sit in camera meeting and arrive at a unanimous verdict either for or against the terms offered and then come to you for your final approval, and then carry your

message to the representatives of the mill-owners and with your consent we will give our final sanction for the reopening of the mills. This is the programme before you. You have to take it for granted that when all the leaders including Mr. Bradley and Jhabvala will come then you have to understand that we have come with some definite proposals before you. If you see a single man coming for tomorrow evening's meeting you have to be disappointed.

I have to tell you one or two important facts before I close this meeting.

What will be your programme after the strike is closed and the mills are reopened? Do you mean that you will be engaged in the mills and the leaders sitting in Girgaon with their hands folded? But this will not do in future. You have learnt a lesson in this strike that the strike prolonged to six months as you were disorganized and were not self-supporting in the absence of your Union. You must take it a point to have a big Union and not stray unions here and there. A big union having $1\frac{1}{2}$ lac members ought to be organized immediately after the strike. (Cheers). The next important step you will have to take is to raise a reserved fund of the strike as a precautionary measure to be self supporting in case you will be required to go on another strike. For this purpose every one of you must contribute a rupee each. One rupee multiplied by $1\frac{1}{2}$ lac comes to $1\frac{1}{2}$ rupee and this number multiplied by 12 comes to $12 \times 1\frac{1}{2} = 18$. So you will have a fund of 18 lacs by the end of the next year. (Cheers). I assure you if you have a fund of 18 lacs deposited in a Bank in Bombay, the mill owners dare not cut a farthing into your wages, and force you to go on a strike. You know that we had not a farthing with us when we held the first meeting of the strike in Nagu Sayaji's Wadi. When the Strike was protracted (we were at a loss to know how to meet with your wants. The Mill-owners knew that the $1\frac{1}{2}$ lac strikers were penniless and that these beggars will be on strike for a month or so and lastly will come on their knees before them. But our friends in Russia and England sent us timely help by thousands and therefore you must cheer them, (Cheers) and thank them with a message that we are under your obligations for the timely help on the strength of which we were able to carry on our struggle. (Cheers). But we must take a lesson from this correct our mistake that we had to depend upon others in an hour of need and therefore it is incumbent on you to be self-supporting with a big fund.

The third lesson we have learned in this strike that we must have a strong organization in the shape of a strong Union having $1\frac{1}{2}$ lac members. When you have got a fund of 18 lacs and a compact unit of $1\frac{1}{2}$ lac workers the mill workers in Bombay will be always triumphant and be a helping hand to other minorities

such as tram workers dock workers and so on who are only 5 to 10 thousand in number. I assure you by the end of the next year you will creat in reality a Labour Raj in the town of Bombay. The population of the city of Bombay is only 14 lacs out of which 10 lacs are labourers. Out of these ten lacs 1½ lac are mill workers and if they have a jatha (Union) of 1½ lac members the other minorities will form their Unions and they will be affiliated to the Big Union and in this way there will be a general Union of 10 lacs. What will be the scene then? Ten lac labourers on one side and the remaning 4 lacs comprising the imbicile population of the capitalists and the educated masses on the other side will be the picture-sque scene in Bombay. The four lac imbiciles will be helpless before the ten lac united labourers. In this way the Labour Raj will be established in Bombay (Cheers) These are the important items you have to look to after the strike is over.

During the last 5 or 5½ months you have learnt the value of the meetings. Critics say that the labourers are on strike and therefore they attend meetings daily. Your women have begun to say that () i. e. the meetings have effected the deadlock, In meetings you create acquaintances and make friendships. In this way you enlarge your circle of sympathisers and friends. You know the views of others and are able to exchange your views also and in this way you have grown wiser than before. So after the strike you have to attend to meetings held in the labour areas every Sunday. Many of you must come forward as speakers. We have created 15 or 20 speakers from you. They will be now given elementary education how to read and write. They will be given instructions about the principles of the labour movement. They will be taught to run their own institutions. In this way we will prepare batches after batches and the labourers as a whole will be an average intelligent mass capable enough of guarding its own interests. The labourers have before them the whole world for their conquest. They have to awaken their agriculturists masses in the rural areas. They are ignorant masses they do not know what capitalism and imperialism are. You have to teach them these things when you will go to your villages. In this way there is a vast field of work before you and its elementary educations begins with the meetings held in the labour areas in Bombay. The labourers cannot enjoy a sound

sleep so long the Capitalism and imperialism are in existence, so long the Police are carrying on their highhandedness against you, and so long other oppressive elements are ready to strike on your heads. I therefore request you to be on your onward march. I have nothing to add further for the present. Tomorrow there will be a meeting here in the evening. This meeting is therefore closed.", (Cheers).

Bombay

29-9-28.

3 P. M.

Sd/- S. S. Deshpande.

S. A. Tamhane

Sub-Inspectors of Police,

C. I. D. Poona.

P. 1691.

Speech delivered by: J. Ryan of Sydney

Date: 3/1/29.

Place: Peoples Jinnah Hall, Bombay.

Chairman: B. G. Horniman, who did not turn up for the meeting.

subject: "My Experiences in Soviet Russia".

"SOVIET RUSSIA" IN BOMBAY.

Under the auspices of no particular institution, and, therefore, for all appearances, at the instance of Mr, S. S. *Mirajkar*, one of the local labour leaders and a member of the local coterie of the Peasants' and Workers' United Organisation, a public meeting was held of the citizens of Bombay in the *Jinnah Public Hall*, Congress House Compound, on Thursday, the 3rd of January, 1929, at 6-30 p. m. in honour of the lecture on "*My experiences in Soviet Russia*", of Mr. J. Ryan, of Sydney, who had been on a visit to this country to study her Labour conditions and also the growth of her Trade Union Movement, and who attended lately the session of the Trade Union Congress (All - India of Jharia, as a Pan - Pacific Delegate.

The meeting had no Chairman, as Mr. B. G. Horniman, the advertised Chairman, did not turn up when the time came for the election of the Chairman (and did not put in his appearance at all).

Mr. Mirajkar had therefore, to function as the opener of the business of the meeting and also of winding it up.

The lighting arrangements in the Hall are a disgrace to the managers of the premises, who ought to realise that the Press Representatives, more than the audience, are in need of better seats and better lights to do their work with the required standard of efficiency and accuracy. The light was enough to 'make darkness visible.

The audience, not of the A. 1 type, taking it all in all, and claiming only one representative of the fair sex, took great interest in the lecture and evinced more than usual interest in asking interesting questions to the lecturer at the end of his discourse.

PROCEEDINGS IN DETAIL.

Mr. Mirakar opened the proceedings thus:—

Friends, we have assembled here this evening to listen to the lecture of Mr.-Comrade—J. Ryan, who is from Australia, represents the Pan-Pacific Movement of Sydney, and is here, in India, to attend the Trade Union Congress as a Delegate. He had just returned from Jharia and Calcutta. At the latter place he had been to attend the sessions of the Indian National Congress, and at the former, to attend the session of the Trade Union Congress. Only last night, it occurred to some of our friends that Mr. Ryan should give his experiences to the people of Bombay of whatever he saw in Soviet Russia, of which the only information we get is through the Riga correspondents, of whom we know this chiefly that they represent the carriers of the propaganda against Soviet Russia in the interest of the Capitalists' Press. That propaganda is carried on so much so that in certain newspapers, even in England, and in other similar countries, there are persons who never get telegrams from Riga but, as Sub - Editors, write in their papers news and publish it as come from their 'Riga Correspondents!' We have got evidence to corroborate this. Therefore, it is very fortunate that Mr. Ryan, who has recently travelled through China and Japan and Russia, will now tell us of his personal experiences, and will, thus, add to our knowledge of the real conditions and the real things that are there. and we shall certainly know something more about Soviet Russia through the great experience that has been brought to us by Mr. Ryan. This evening, Mr. (B. G.) Horniman had promised to preside over this meeting, but his Secretary (meaning, perhaps, Mr. W.P. Kaabadi) has just given me the information that Mr. Horniman is now engaged elsewhere, and, therefore, unable to come here. That being so, instead of waiting formally for the appointment of a Chairman, as the meeting has not been called under any particular auspices of any particular institution, and without electing any

President of this meeting, I will call upon Mr. Ryan - the Comrade Mr. Ryan - to begin his speech. (Cheers).

MR. RYAN'S SPEECH.

Mr. Ryan rose amid cheers and said as follows:—

Mr. Chairman and Comrades, before narrating to you my experiences about Soviet Russia, it may be interesting to you to know exactly how I went to that country. Australia has Trade Unions and is also engaged in the Pan-Pacific movement, and it, therefore, sends Delegates on behalf of that movement. So, I went to a meeting to be held at N--, but the Japanese Government would unfortunately not allow me to land there. They decided otherwise and gave me only a few minutes to leave the port. I arrived there a little before 5 o'clock, and left it at 5/4 o'clock. So that I was exactly for five minutes in Japan, because the Japanese Government thought it would not be proper for me to go to the place of the meeting. Why? I do not know that. Then, I returned to Shanghai, and the conditions there were very terrible through the Nationalist Government of China. The condition of the Trade-Union workers in Shanghai is due not to the British Imperialists, not to the French Imperialists, nor to the Japanese Imperialists, but to the Nationalist Government of China herself. I do not propose to tell you much about China to-night, because Russia is such a big question that it will take up all the time at my disposal. From Shanghai, I went to Harbin which is at the junction of the Chinese Eastern Railway and the South Manchurian Railway. The Chinese Eastern Railway, before the War belonged wholly and solely to the Russian Government, but after the Revolution, the latter Government decided to surrender the extraterritorial jurisdiction to China, and, so, the Chinese Eastern Railway now belongs half to the Chinese Government and half to the Russian Republic. From Harbin, the journey to Russia proper begins and takes about 7 days for one to reach Moscow. The journey is very comfortable. The credit for that is due to the Soviet Government. The trains are kept more comfortable and more clean than those in London or in Bombay. The journey across Siberia is not very interesting. When I reached Moscow, it was rather cold through winter. In Moscow, it was left absolutely to my sweet will to go anywhere I liked. There are some places where it is necessary to get a permit, but in other places, I could just go along and request to be allowed to go inside and the request was immediately granted. What particularly interested me there was the people in the streets. I have read in books that the people of Moscow are half-starved and only half-clad. That description might apply to Bombay or Calcutta; but not to Moscow or any other part of Russia. The people in the streets interested me very much. I found that they were very well clad and very well dressed. Their country is cold, and, so, they

need more clothes than are needed in this country - in a place like Bombay. They wear fur coats and fur hats. Taking them as a whole, they were uniformly well dressed. They looked happy and walked along the streets in a way that suggested that they were happy. They walked in the most happy manner imaginable. I was also interested to notice in Moscow that there is not one unoccupied shop, nor a shop where people were not busy. Window-dressing there is reduced to the fine art. That function is developed into a fine craft. I also found there the system of cut-prices. I also found that the Soviet Government desires to do away with private traders as soon as possible. There are many co-operative shops; nevertheless, there are also some private traders in existence, and the Soviet Government is trying to get them out as early as possible. The Soviet Government can drive them away with one fell swoop, but it does not want to do that, because that would create a class of people antagonistic to the Soviet Government, and that would also create trouble in the near future. Therefore, they say it is better not to antagonise Socialism, not to antagonise Capitalism. The Soviet Government is building up competition through Co-operation Stores and other resources of the Government. The private traders cannot stand such competition at all. When I was returning from London, I read an article in the 'London Times' by its Moscow correspondent and it was said in that article that Russia is in a state of economic chaos, with its 6,000 private traders going bankrupt last year. Now, in Russia has been made a great advance against Capitalism, and the private traders are gradually being wiped out. The Streets of Moscow are absolutely clean. I have not seen such clean streets in any place outside Germany. Germany is the finest place I have seen in the world. The Russian streets also are the cleanest I have ever seen; because the people are provided with facilities to put their rubbish out of the way. Receptacles are provided at different places where cigarette ends and other rubbish should be stowed away. People are taught the habit of disposing of their rubbish in this manner, and the result is that the streets are very clean. In trams also there is an arrangement by means of which the cigarette ends are deposited in a particular place so as to keep the trams very clean. I noticed also on many trams there were women-conductors - as many women-conductors as men-conductors. About their wages, they were just the same for men and women. The jobs are given there irrespective of the question of sex. Also I noticed that the last seat in the tram is reserved for the tram-conductor, and no passenger is allowed to sit in that seat, because it is said that the conductor has as much right to sit there as anybody has the right to sit elsewhere. No body will occupy the conductor's seat. I will not weary you with figures which I have got by reading about Russia. I will, therefore, tell you exactly what I saw there. So that, what next I have to tell you is this that in Moscow there are radio loud speakers installed in every public square. There, people congregate and listen to

political speeches and learned lectures. Prior to the Revolution, very few people in Russia could read and write. Now the state is changed. They are now taught to read and write although still there is a certain percentage of people who cannot read or write. They cannot read newspapers, and, therefore, these radio-loud speakers are very useful for the illiterate people, who are allowed to listen to the speeches like any other people. These radio-loud speakers are very useful for the Soviet Government's propaganda. The Soviet Government and the Communist Party in Russia have been carrying on their own propaganda, and one of their methods for the purpose is these radio-loud speakers, which stand in the corners of gardens and in theatres. I went to several theatres and I saw that the theatres are now occupied by the workers. It is very difficult to get tickets in the theatres. Sometimes people are disappointed in getting tickets. The influx of the workers is so great. Once, I could not get a seat, no matter what money they charged. This is because the theatres are already crowded by the workers. Being thus disappointed in getting a seat, no matter what price I had to pay for it, I went to the Secretary of the Central Trade Union, and he gave me a pass for the theatre, because I thought it necessary to go and see the type of entertainment provided there. I once went to the Bolshevik Theatre, the biggest theatre, which contains the seats which were reserved for the Czar therefore the Russian Revolution. What was interesting there were the ballads and the orchestra arrangements. The instruments on the orchestra were different from those found on the stage, and the orchestra singing went on the whole night. The subject of the entertainment on the stage formed the unfolding of the story of the Chinese Revolution. There were scenes of the Chinese workers being oppressed by the Chinese Imperialism. There were scenes of the Chinese workers being subjected to indignities. There were also scenes of the Chinese workers fighting against the Chinese Capitalists and against the Chinese Imperialism. There was one succession of scenes of the Chinese fighting against their Imperialist oppressors. There were scenes also of the Chinese Capitalists breaking away from the Chinese workers, and there were also scenes of the Chinese Imperialists fighting against the working classes and the peasants of China. You will find the working classes, propaganda presented on the stage in Soviet Russia. There are many theatres in Soviet Russia where there is presented an exact picture of the Chinese Revolution, of the struggle of the workers against their oppressors, and of the struggle of the workers against the reactionaries. There were struggles of the workers against the watch-guards and against the Intervenists. All these scenes are portrayed on the Russian stage. All this is a part of the propaganda on behalf of the working-classes. The workers of Russia are honest people. I have visited several Clubs in Russia. Some of these Clubs are very big places, which have been converted

into Clubs since the Revolution. Some of them can accommodate 4,000 or 5,000 people. Theatres contain several big halls, each of which is much bigger than this hall, in which we are now sitting. I once went to a Club where I found sitting workers of both sexes. It is not necessary that men should sit at home while the women are in the theatres, nor is it necessary for the wives to sit at home when the husbands are in the theatres. Both can attend theatres and bring their children with them and leave them in charge of nurses, creches being provided for them. So that, both the husband and wife can enjoy themselves. Such are the facilities provided in the Clubs. I have not seen such facilities in Australia, where we are advanced in relation to many other parts of the world. Whereas in Moscow and in every other part of Russia these Clubs are provided with facilities for the entertainment for the intellectual and cultural development of the workers, you find many Russian workers are learning foreign languages, and you find in factories, one or two workers who can speak sufficiently in a foreign language. Women workers in Russia can go to these Clubs and entertain themselves. They don't conflict with men. They are paid equally with men, the principle being that there is equal pay for equal abilities, irrespective of the consideration of sex. Women in Russia will stand no nonsense at the hands of men, and men will stand no nonsense at the hands of women. Women are regarded as equal to men, and they will stand on their rights and will stand no dogmatizing from men of any kind whatever. In Moscow there are policemen as there are policemen in every part of the world, but the policemen in Moscow are of a different character to the policemen in England or in Australia or here. They are ordinary plain people and put on a different dress; they join the people; they do not hold themselves as a class apart. You find the police or the militia in Moscow streets invariably talking to half a dozen people. They would only arrest people on extreme provocation, if people get drunk—and sometimes in Moscow people do get drunk—the policemen or the militia will do nothing else but arrest them and take them along to a club or somewhere where the drunkards are likely to soon recover their senses. When people are arrested, they are not overawed as in other countries; they are taken to court, but there they are let go—not fined, not put in jail; the arrested man is given advice on his intellectual and cultural development. I do not know how they treat prisoners in Soviet Russia, so I cannot speak on that point. I did not visit the Russian prisons. I am going to tell you of what I saw and not of what I read. Such (arrested) people are treated leniently by the courts. The workers are treated very leniently, but the private traders are treated very harshly. I went to Russia on the invitation of the Central Trade Union and the Great Red International Congress. I am not going to tell you much about that organization to-night. That would require a lecture by itself. I only want to say that it is rather significant

that the Congress was held in one vast building in Moscow. It is called the Trade Union House. Previously it was a Club. It is a wonderful building. It has an enormous hall of 128 columns with 54 chandeliers and electric lights. How marvellous is that Place! It was so nicely clean and well-kept. The Congress was held there from ten in the morning to 10 at night, and, as such, it lasted for 3 weeks. Such is that building and such are the Clubs in Russia. Every Club has a shooting gallery. From Moscow I went to the Town of D., about 8,000 miles from Moscow. It is a mining town. It is said that the mines belong to the workers. There is no secret about that. There is no business secret there. There are large mines, where there are gigantic machineries worked by electric lights. There you see boards showing the production of coal, the progress of the day, the number of workers engaged there—giving absolutely every important information, including even the number of accidents, and so on, and so on. They have got coal-cutting machines. If there is one thing in which Russia was lacking, it was the machinery prior to the Revolution, but after the Revolution, they have overcome all their difficulties and made a great advance during the last five years for the workers' welfare. For the workers' welfare they are building new houses, cheap houses called small tenements. They are very comfortable places which anybody can live in. I was interested in one place to find in a corner a small altar. Near it there were two candles with the image of Virgin Mary and near it was the picture of Lenin! That was a very peculiar thing because Lenin was a materialist and very much against religion. The two pictures were a contradiction of each other. Russia is intellectually dominating the great orthodox Church. Although its propaganda has been going on against religion, Soviet Russia does not destroy the Churches. There are thousands of small churches still existing. Those churches are working quite freely. There is no repression whatever. Only, the State does not assist them in any way whatsoever. Before the Revolution, the churches were directly patronised by the State. Consequently, people were able to build many different churches. In Moscow alone there are thousands of such new churches, and, they are both in villages and in towns. After the Revolution, State aid was withdrawn and many of the churches could not get on except with the remnants of the Faithful, consequently many of them have fallen into disuse. In Moscow, there are dozens of churches locked up, so that the articles therein will not be taken away or destroyed by children or thieves. If any group of people want a church, they have only got to apply to the authorities of the church, and the application is willingly granted. The Soviet Government do not want to destroy the churches, though the churches are looked upon as useless. These churches are not made use of for any other purpose except the religious worship. I have already said that they are increasing the production of the mines.

In Soviet Russia the increased production of mines is not held harmful to the interests of the workers as is the case in Australia. In Russia the wage rate is 2 Pounds or 2 Pounds and 10 Shillings a week. According to the Australian standard, this is a low wage, and according to the Indian Standard, it is rather a high wage. Comparing it with the Australian standard, though it is a low wage we have to remember that the workers in Soviet Russia have got many other allowances, e. g. they get their houses absolutely rent-free. They get a fortnight's annual holiday on full pay. Then they have got the compensation of the Unemployment-Insurance, and other things like that. Gigantic factories are being built. One such occupies a space of 8 acres. It is not quite finished yet. There are small buildings around it which are occupied by the workers on the main building. Gradually these workers will go, and their houses will be occupied by the factory workers. . When I went to E— probably the richest place in the whole of Soviet Russia, I did not visit many villages — only 3 or 4. I did not spend much time there. What I saw there about the condition of the peasantry is this that all the land belongs to the State and no peasant can sell or mortgage the piece of land allotted to him. Nor can he speculate in the land. From E— I went back to Moscow and was present at the meeting of the 1st of May of last year. That was the meeting of the May-day in Moscow. The function occupied thousands and thousands of miles. At about 8 or 8-30 I went along the Red Square. There were a few International Delegates like me present there. At 9 o'clock, they started parading the Divisions of the Red Army- 5,000 Troops. They marched past and looked efficient. They marched as if for an invasion, they had artillery, Tanks, Machine Guns, Aeroplanes circling all round. It has been the Army of Defence. They have no desire to go to another country. The Army is Defensive purely. . They want to defend the country from Imperialism. Such a thing does not exist in any other part of the world. At 10 o'clock, the workers of Moscow, started their march in this Square. The solid mass of the workers thus marched for 5 hours, to my knowledge. After that I left because I felt hungry. The workers went on marching This shows that the Soviet Government cannot be so unpopular among the workers as is alleged. . Another significant fact, connected with this demonstration is that there were hundreds and hundreds or thousands and thousands of workers from different factories who have formed voluntary battalions, who are ready to defend Soviet Russia from the attack of the Imperialists. To these workers are issued rifles and bayonets. Thus equipped, thousands of them marched through the Red Square on May 1st last. They have taken control of the autocratic Government. The first thing - I say this from what I have heard and also from my personal experience what the autocratic Government does is to disarm the people, so that they cannot defend themselves against the Imperialists or the so-called

Nationalists who are united with the Imperialists against the workers. Therefore, the first thing done by the autocratic Government is to disarm the people as is done by the British Imperialists in India. Disarm the workers for what? To disable them to proceed against the conquering Government. In Moscow, thousands and thousands of workers are armed with rifles. They are accustomed to the use of rifles and bayonets. They use them very quickly. Under these circumstances, the Russian Government of the day cannot be very unpopular among the Soviet workers. From Moscow I went to Leningrad. It is a most important industrial centre in the whole of Soviet Russia. Factories are congregated there. There are one or two places there where they take International Delegates. I went to one of these factories. It was a textile factory. There were other factories also like Rubber factories and so on. I went to this textile factory to see how the workers are faring in it. I found they were in a much better condition than are the workers in countries like England or Australia. I found the wages in that factory were as high as in Australia - on the same level. The other conditions were far superior to anything that I have ever seen. For instance, in rubber factories, they are working generally for 4 days, per week - with 8 hours a day on other days, and 6 hours a day on Saturdays. These figures of hours and days are laid down in the Labour Code. They have shorter hours of work which is considered injurious to the health of the workers, as is the case in a rubber factory. I have already said all the workers get a fortnight's holiday in a year on full pay in Soviet Russia. Rest-homes are also provided for the ordinary, common people. 23 mansions, which were reserved for the aristocracy before the Revolution, are now utilised as rest-homes. There are 15 hundred workers continuously resting. They are not the same people always resting. They are changed now and again, so that the condition of the Russian workers is far better at present than it was before the Revolution. In addition to these Rest-homes, they have got sanitarium. They are large places. I went to one of them at Leningrad. It was once the home of a great sugar-millionaire. The sugar-millionaire now gone. I do not know, where. Anyway this particular man's home has been turned into a sanitarium. A worker has to make an application to go to this place and he gets the permission to do so, for the period of six weeks. If at the end of 6 weeks he is not restored to perfect health, then, under doctor's certificate, he is allowed a stay for a further period. During the time he is in the sanitarium, he does not stop working. He goes to the work and returns to the sanitarium. Russia is not yet a Paradise for the workers, as compared with other countries. It is comparatively better for the workers, but it is no paradise. There are yet a lot of difficulties to overcome, e. g., they have to solve the unemployment problem - millions of people are unemployed. It is a serious problem. They make no secret of it. They discuss it in papers. They write

long articles on the problem to suggest remedies. They give to the unemployed pensions or doles, but these are insufficient. They are considering how to solve the economic problem, and especially the unemployment problem without spending the whole of the money in full wages to the unemployed. They are building new factories, so that they will absorb the unemployed. During the last 5 years, they have absorbed five million workers into industrial undertakings in Soviet Russia. There is always a great influx of workers and peasants from the country to the city, who add to the difficulty of solving the unemployment problem. A bulk of the workers, who are unemployed, now get jobs in railways, etc., yet there are a lot of things that have got to be overcome. In 1914 they launched into a world war, which lasted 3 years, ruining the economic life of the country—it was very hopelessly dislocated. The transport system was another trouble, and the Currency Question had caused a further dislocation. Russia suffers thus as did France, Germany, Great Britain, Japan, and America. The Red-Army was organised for self-defence in 1919. Other difficulties were still to overcome. For instance, the famine which has been constant in Russia for centuries. During famine; people literally were starved to death. In 1923, all the difficulties were overcome by the building up of factories and the opening up of schools for children and for adults, Soviet Russia has done all this although it has been boycotted by the rest of the world. Soviet Russia has developed the country into a menace to Capitalists as the case is with the rest of the world—Great Britain, America or France. They are quite friendly among themselves and carrying on a fight against what they call Bolshevism. They want to lead an attack upon Soviet Russia, but against that attack, Soviet Russia has got the Red-Army, very efficient. The Capitalists' powers will get the shock of their lives. Soviet Russia against the Capitalist Government, so the people should be the allies of Soviet Russia rather than be the allies of the Capitalist or Imperialist Governments of other countries. (Cheers).

Mr. Mirajkar: Does anyone want to ask certain questions to the lecturer with reference to his lecture?

Mr. Ryan (answering different questions put by different people). The private traders receive no consideration whatsoever. The Soviet Government is practically very much opposed to them. They would have wiped them off by legislation, if they could without creating too much friction. That is not possible. They are, however, carrying on other means to liquidate the private traders as they do the Capitalists. The private trader in Soviet Russia is supposed to create the greatest animosity by exploiting Labour. This is taken as a moral crime, and the workers do not like it. Each worker is given a piece of land sufficient for his family. He

cannot sell it or mortgage it. The Code of laws and the Courts of law treat ordinary workers, who are offenders, very leniently. The Revolutionaries and conspirators are dealt with in the harshest possible manner. Marriage laws are very simple. You can go to the Registrar and register your marriage. You can go to the Church if you like for marriage. You can also de-register your marriage. For that, there is no evidence required, there is no lawyer to be paid, there is no cross-examination. Go to the Registrar, say to him "We have had enough of this married life, please de-register our marriage". The Russian marriage laws are very simple. In case of a divorce and separation, the State says to the parties concerned "Contribute for the purpose of making provision for the upkeep of your children". A percentage is taken from both for keeping the children. If the children are deserted, the State always looks after them. Sometimes, there is an arrangement by which either the one or the other (of the parents) keeps the children, and if there is any dispute, the Court has to decide. The court is there as King Solomon. There is no polyandry permitted in Russia. There may be cases without anybody's knowledge. That is every where so. Such acts are not legalised in Soviet Russia. Nor is the prostitution legalised there. Ordinarily, there is no temptation for the woman to be a prostitute, because she has the status of equality with man. There were many prostitutes there before the Revolution. That was eleven years ago. Since then, the prostitutes have reformed. There may be some remnants here and there. In Moscow, I do not think there are half a dozen of such old remnant prostitutes. They are dying out. (Cheers).

(Mr. Mirajkar's final observations follow). Mr. Mirajkar said:—

Ladies and gentlemen, on your behalf I beg to offer thanks to Mr. Ryan for his lucid lecture this evening. Before giving him the thanks, I have to make certain remarks. I want to tell you how the Capitalist Press has been carrying on a propaganda-lying against the working-classes. I am sorry, it is very unfortunate that Mr. Ryan is leaving, otherwise he would have been able to give us another lucid and interesting lecture on the Chinese Revolution. In the recent Congress at Calcutta, they had a workers' and peasants' Party. There should be a nationalist movement carried on in India. Let us remember that we must have a body of peasants, clerks and workers for the National propaganda. The Capitalist Press is lying. For instance, the '*Evening News*' says this evening that Mr. Dange has been assaulted. Nothing of the kind. All this is the work of the Capitalist Press. It is carrying on a great propaganda. We are clever people. Let us tell these people that, Let us understand that. Let us start our organisation and our counter-attacks against these Imperialistic attacks and Capitalistic Press. We have to start a very clever propaganda. There are

: certain Bills in the Legislative Assembly for instance the Public Safety-Bill against men like Mr. Ryan. We shall not be surprised if to-morrow Mr. Ryan is described as a Bolshevick agent or a Bolshevick spy. If the 'Times of India did it, we should not be surprised. We have, therefore, to carry on a propaganda. We will not lie asleep. Parel is completely roused. Parel is now organising a Red Army of 5,000 Volunteers—an interesting organisation—for Indian Revolution. I feel people should now come forward and take care to oppose this general sense of bitterness. Let us carry on the propaganda. Let us remember the workers of the rest of India. (Cheers) The Soviet Russia sends out a message for the consolidation of the country. We are very much thankful to Mr. Ryan for having given us so very correct, very interesting, and very useful lecture. On behalf of you all I again offer him our thanks. With these words, I dissolve the meeting. (Cheers).

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Speeches delivered by (1) R. S. Nimbkar.
(2) Shaukat Usmani.
(3) B. F. Bradley.
(4) Gangadhar Adhikari

Date : 21-1-29.

Place : Peoples Jinnah Hall, Bombay.

President : Comrade Shaukat Usmani.

Subject : Fifth Anniversary of the Death of Lenin.

Auspices of : Workers' and Peasants' Party, Bombay.

LENIN'S ANNIVERSARY.

Under the auspices of the Workers' and Peasants' Party, the fifth anniversary of the death of Lenin was celebrated in the Jinnah People's Hall, Congress House, on Monday, the 21st of January, 1929, under the presidentship of Com. Shaukat Usmani.

The proceedings began at 6-30 p.m., before an audience numbering much within 100. Speeches were delivered in English, Marathi and Hindi.

At about 7-35 p.m., Mr. Lalji Pendse arrived with a number of 'Workers', who approached the Hall with cries of "Jai." Some of them sat in the Hall, others squatting outside it. Mr. Pendse

himself took his seat on the platform on the right side of the President.

ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT.

Mr. R.S. Nimbkar, moving the election, said thus in English:-

Comrades, it is 6-30, and I propose that we should begin our work exactly in time. To-day, we are celebrating the 5th death-anniversary of Com. Lenin, who died on 21st January, 1924. I propose that for to-day's meeting our friend, Com. Usmani, should take the chair. In introducing him to the Bombay audience, I would say this that last year he came from Jail, where he was a prisoner with my friend, Mr. Dange, for the Cawnpore Conspiracy Case. Last year, Com. Spratt presided over this meeting, and next day he was arrested. I do not know what will follow our to-day's meeting. (Laughter). It does not matter. I will propose Com. Usmani to the Chair. (Cheers).

Lenin day.

PRESIDENT'S SPEECH.

Bombay, 1929.

Mr. Usmani said thus in English :—

Comrade and citizens, we meet here to-day to commemorate the 5th anniversary of the death of Com. Lenin. He was a genius and introduced the new practical movement. He was born on 10th April, 1870. To explain what led to become a revolutionary would require a good deal of time. His ideal was of freedom for the working-classes, the oppressed people of Russia. I have to say a few words about the oppression of the Czar in Russia. There was absolute despotism unprecedented in the history of the world, not only in the Mediaeval Ages but in the 20th century in Russia, as it is at the present day in connection with British Imperialism in India and certainly in England. If the Chinese Revolution be a failure, Indian Revolution is not going to be a failure because it has to-day all the conditions of Russian Imperialism. The conditions of Russian Revolution contained an unprecedented oppression of the peasant, which was being utilised to support of Imperialism and Capitalism, the same as you find in India. We are here meeting to-day to celebrate—to commemorate—the death-anniversary of that man who liberated the nation of 22 crores. He proceeded with a determination, he brought about a revolution in Russian proletariat. With these remarks I call upon Com. Bradley to speak on this subject, but before I finish I will say a few words that Lenin died on 21st January about 4 o'clock. When the Moscow newspapers announced that Com. Lenin was dead, nobody believed it. They thought it was a pretty lie, he did not die. Everybody came

“out” of his working place, everybody came out of his working shop, everybody left his place and came out to inquire whether Lenin was dead. They did not believe it. Such was the frenzy created in the minds of the people. They would not believe that he died because they did not want that he should die, although the newspaper boys in the streets cried that he was dead. Such was the feeling of the Russian people. I do not think anyone in India has such a feeling created. The people in Russia were frenzied. They wept, cried, and invoked the highest Powers, for Lenin was dead. They said “Lenin is not dead. Lenin is dead bodily. He has survived.” Where survived? I say he survives in Russia. In 22 crores Lenin is born as Leninism. Physically Lenin is dead; theoretically he is not dead. There is the inspiration of the ideal which he has supplied to the working classes—to overthrow Imperialism which is the latest development of Capitalism as you find in China, because the forces of reaction are there. The Imperialism - suppression - movement, Lenin’s Revolution, is not dead. It is passing through the third stage. It is not necessary for me to say that, but sometimes we do that in a scientific way, because we say “such and such a thing is coming.” We do not say that which came in 1924, but we say of the development of the roots of a revolution, due to the masses’ standard of life. That is the third reason necessary for the overthrow of Imperialism or the establishment of Communism or the establishment of the workers’ or the proletariat’s revolution. The proletariat’s oppression is the phenomena which took place in China, and it is at present here: Our newspapers recommend that the movement should be suppressed by the British connection. Repression means something greater than Imperialism. Repression contributed to the Russian Revolution in 1905 and in 1917. After Lenin’s death, his movement is not finished, because the ideal stands in the background. The British Government or the Imperialistic Power cannot take away that ground. They did not succeed in taking it away before, because the contributory causes are there, namely, Imperialism and Capitalism, which insist on preparing the ground for their own overthrow. Proletariat is for the establishment of Communism that Lenin has created. He has prepared the minds of the proletariat. My object to say this is to say that the conditions are there. Lenin has survived. Lenin is dead, but Leninism has survived. (Cheers).

MR. BRADLEY’S SPEECH.

Mr. Bradley said thus :—

Mr. Chairman and Comrades, the position is this that the Russian Revolution was the result of the efforts of Lenin. It took place as it takes place in every country where there are attempts at freedom from the bonds of Imperialism—whether it be in Britain, America or any other country. It is so little known in India. As

Com. Usmani said, Lenin has survived in Russia. I say that Leninism is living in every country in the world. The preachings of Lenin are alive and are growing in every country of the world. I think the best way to deal with this subject of the celebration of the anniversary of the death of Com. Lenin is to talk of what Com. Lenin thought of leading the Workers' Revolution—to analyse the position he found himself in and the position here to-day. He died for the great abuses heaped on the proletariat by Imperialism and Capitalism. Nobody can gainsay the fact that to-day Lenin is probably one of the greatest leaders that lived in the world. He died for a cause. He lived so that he gave up luxuries and riches to apply his energies to promote the cause of freedom of the toiling and slaving masses of Russia. Because of that fact he could not leave his countrymen in despotism. He strove to save the suffering people. To him Britisher or Frenchman as a sufferer made no difference. Domination of a foreign power he did not like. Since 1915, he could not enter Russia, and for many years he lived in Paris, London, and other towns of Europe, working and striving for the freedom of the country which he wanted to allow him to go back to. He gave certain principles to Russia during the war. They would apply to many countries that were in a similar position—the workers of many other countries that were in a similar position. During the war, the Russian workers did not seize those principles. They did not do so till 1917. Because many countries did not learn that lesson, they were ready, during the War, to assist, to perpetuate, Imperialism. The lessons were against the sinister machinations of Imperialism. You remember, probably, the promises that were made to India and the Indian masses 'if India will assist Great Britain.' Egyptians, you remember, were made promises by British Imperialism during the War. There is no reason, while we are commemorating to-day the death of comrade Lenin, why we should not think of the correct interpretation of his principles—teachings—Communism. You remember the struggle of your leaders about Independence and Dominion Status. Well, personally, from my examination of the position I cannot put any other interpretation on Dominion Status than collaboration with Imperialism. I can put no other interpretation, be that Imperialism in India, Great Britain, America and other countries. There is that struggle. Imperialism to-day is the development of what existed in 1914. American Imperialism is doing the same and British Imperialism is also doing the same. There is only one thing to be said in regard to this point and it is this that the developments are not very rapid between the American Imperialism and British Imperialism. There is that small gap in the situation. And that gap is due to the happenings in Russia. It is the Russian Republic that causes the gap. It is the Workers' Republic. That Republic remains a manacle to Imperialism and Capitalism. This is because the Russian ryot

recognised Com-Lenin's principles which they did not recognise in 1914. That is the secret of the Workers' Revolution. It arose because Imperialism tried to smash the workers in the country. There is thus a gap between the American and British Imperialism. The two countries cannot have Russian Republic or the Workers' Republic in their grip. In 1914, other leaders in Russia said it was not necessary to develop complete revolution. They were not prepared to take the full step. They took a half-step. They said the masses were not prepared to listen to them. Then there was a failure. Then Lenin took the full step - the step which the Russian Workers at present follow. That led to the Russian Revolution of 1917. On Russia is the eye of its enemies - Germany, France, Great Britain, Italy. All the surrounding countries declared a blockade of Russia. They wanted to smash the Workers of Russia. Despite that fact, those Workers attacked the whole imperialism-throughout the world, including America. They were able to bring about a Revolution though the masses were opposed with bombs, guns and rifles. These weapons were used as a propaganda against Truth. As against this propaganda the British and French armies asked to be sent back to their countries. Such was the seditious propaganda carried on against Russia. The blockade of Russia lasted for 18 months, during which time no foreign stuff came into the country nor any indigenous stuff went out of the country. Despite that fact, there was a certain Doctor - Dr. Nansen - who was ready to suffer for Russia. He requested to go to Russia, but he was refused permission by the British Government. The Russian blockade was so complete that the invaders said they were not concerned about the deaths of women and children, nor were they concerned about giving people the necessary requisites to prevent diseases. Lenin, therefore, survives in Russia to-day. Then, look at Afghanistan. Intrigues have been going on there. One has got to look to the outposts there and see that king Amanullah is giving up his Throne. Diplomacy is there. There are other methods of overthrowing a country. We have a Revolution in Russia, and I want to assure you that there is a war-plan developing against Soviet Russia. I want to say this because the Russian Republic is developing and growing. Therefore, I want to stress this point. To-day, leaders of people are concerned with the freedom of the masses of the world because Russia is in the vanguard. Soviet system exists in Russia, because the Workers have a complete control over the enemies of Russia, which are the Imperialism of the world. With all their resources, the Soviet Republic have removed the blockade, so that at the present moment other countries like Germany are trying to have trade relations with Russia. Last year at Geneva Germany was not friendly to Russia and, though an enemy of Great Britain, became an Ally of Great Britain and proposed war against Russia. There are many important points referring to this question and relating to Germany's Imperialism aiming at the destruction of Russia.

There are machinations arising out of Imperialism & Capitalism and leading up to the destruction of Russia. But Lenin's lessons lead to the destruction of Imperialism and Capitalism. These are at the bottom of the revolution by the Russian people. If we want to follow the teachings of Lenin, if we want to achieve the freedom for which Lenin worked and lived, we have got to take part in the struggle of the Workers and the Peasantry. Without that, without taking part in that struggle and pleading for the Peasantry and Workers, that freedom will never be achieved which we want to achieve for the poor classes. We must have organisations for the political and industrial representations of the masses in India. The Trade Union Congress movement must strive for the industrial progress of the proletariat. The 'Times of India' is against this principle. It attacks Communists who take part in that Trade Union movement. Why should they not? Everybody-every Worker-every person-be he a Communist or not-has got to give the correct lead to the Workers. The Communists claim that they are able to take a correct analyses of the situation of the proletariat and to give the correct lead to the proletariat and the Workers. Because of that fact, the Trade Union Congress is allied to-day with the Communists for the protection of the Workers-to give them the correct ideal the right ideal, to the Workers. Now, as far as the Indian National Congress is concerned, I watched it very closely and saw what happened at Calcutta (in December, 1928) last month, and I noticed opportunism on the part of the leaders. In them there was a considerable lack of determination and a considerable lack of foresight. As far as that Congress is concerned it followed the policy of very much helping Great Britain in the position of oppressors. The question that came before the Congress was about the Dominion Status. It means collaboration with Imperialism. Once the Dominion Status was agreed to, the whole system of administration becomes part and parcel of British Imperialism. The very fact that the Congress accepts Dominion Status, makes the administrative system part and parcel of the Imperialism of the Empire. Once that is done, they cannot take any other step of Independence. In closing, I say that it is my opinion that, as far as Lenin's death anniversary is concerned-which we are commemorating-there could be no greater wish expressed-when we analyse what is happening all the world over-than that a correct interpretation be put on Lenin's principles. War is inevitable between the Workers on one side and Imperialism and Capitalism on the other, and I warn you that we have to approach a greater war than that of 1914-1919. I want to appeal to you that if that war comes and when that war comes you will take up your stand in the right place, you will take up your stand against Imperialism. I appeal to you to-night to realise this principal factor and see that if and when the next war comes, you side with the masses of India, seize the opportunity of freeing India from

the bonds of Imperialism and Capitalism (Cheers), and bring about the freedom of the masses of India. (Cheers).

Mr. R. S. Nimbkar said thus in Marathi:-

Mr. President and brethren, we meet for an anniversary meeting of the death of Com-Lenin. I am not going to explain what Bolshevism means or what Leninism means or what Socialism means. The President has dwelt on some of those points, and a couple of later speakers will further deal with them. Those speakers will be Mr. S. S. Dange, and Mr. Gangadhar Adhikari, who has returned here after a stay in Germany of about 6 or 7 years. Lenin lived and died for the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. He lived in small rooms, dark rooms, pestered by the C.I.D., the police, the Capitalists and the Imperialists. He spent the whole of his life for the Workers and Peasantry of Russia. In 1917, he started the Russian Revolution. I do not think the residents of Girgaum have read that history sufficiently well. I will tell you briefly about him this that you should think of Lenin, Russia and India in the same breath. In the last century, three great names appear on the political horizon, and among them that of Lenin sparkles among the Workers for whom he lived all his life. He thought of 98% of the people of Russia. He felt for people being sent to jail, made to suffer from hunger. He felt their state under despotism. Therefore, he laid down the seeds of the Revolution. He started the movement and he succeeded in carrying it out successfully. In that lies his greatness triumph () (i. e. "mothepana") Mahatma Gandhi is another greatest man of the country of this century. He gave the power of realising their condition ('Dnyan', i.e.) to the 98% of the people of his country. He did it because he saw that they were half-starved, half-enslaved. He felt that there was hypocrisy hedged in the spirit of Democracy in the work and in the republican spirit and in the self-government spirit. He saw hypocrisy everywhere peeping out of Capitalism and crushing the proletariat. His people were in a worse state than are the similar people in India or in New York or Boston. Look at Japan. You see that Japan is a prosperous country, but what is the state of her proletariat? The same state as that of the Russians in Lenin's time, that is worse than that of the people of India. That is in spite of their having their own Rulers, their own Government, their own Republic. They have this misfortune inspite of their own Democracy, which means those of the Upper ten thousand are rolling in riches, with bank accounts, motor cars, bungalows. Then, look at the history of the French Revolution. It became successful, and what happened then? The French proletariat came to be in a worse state than that of the Indian proletariat. The French peasantry was in a worse condition than that of our peasantry. The Upper ten thousand were very rich but the proletariat? In a worse condition imaginable. They were in the midst of rich

people like Sir Victor Sassoons, Rockfellers, with big bank balances. Their Democracy was a sham. Look at India now. Take Bombay, for instance. In Bombay there are many Silver-Kings, but at the same time there are out of her population of 14 lakhs nearly half half-starved. In winter they have got no houses to rest in and no clothes to wear for warding off cold. The police find thousands of the poor in Bombay sleeping on footpaths for want of homes. Such is the state of things in Bombay. Out of the population of Bombay, numbering 14 lakhs, there are several rich who have built more bungalows than there are residents to call for them. How many bungalows are empty, and yet there are thousands of people-poor people-out of the 14 lakhs of population grievously suffering from want of shelters against the ravages dreary winter. They lie in public streets, at the corners of public roads, and are subject to be run over by motor cars, other carriages and "Khataras" (

i. e. bullock carts). Eighty per cent of Bombay population is in this state of penury and distress. That is inspite of there being wealthy magnates like Narotamdases (Narotam Morarji Gokaldas), Petits (Sir Dinshaw Petit and Mr. Jehangir Bomanji Petit, i. e. millowners). In spite of the wealthy people belonging to Bombay, Bombay yet has a large population living half-starved-all minus food to eat and shelter to rest under. This is due to the peculiar constitution of society in general—due to the apathy of Government, of employers, of Capitalists. (At this stage a large group of 'Workers' from Parel area came loudly crying "Jai". They were led by Mr. Lalji Pendse. On entering the Hall, only a few of them discovered sufficient accomodation for themselves. So, the remainder squatted outside the Hall, enlivening the proceedings with a periodical punctuation of 'Jai' in the name of various idols in the hierarchy of proletariat leaders. Mr. Pendse sat on the platform to the right of the President). Friends, such is the state of our poor workers and Peasants. They work in factories at the rate of 10 hours a day, 12 hours a day, 14 hours a day. The places where they work are the factories and the mills especially. This is as I said, due to the peculiar constitution of our Society—due to their relations with employers, Capitalists and so on. These latter, including the shareholders of factories and mills, furtively take out of them all the work that can be got in the name of law, and the result is that they get enough to live on starvation diets. Then look at the condition of the peasantry of India generally—Bardoli for instance. Our country is an agricultural country. Its 85 or 86% population lives on land. They are exploited and plundered by the Upper ten thousand like Go—a North-India leader) who have ample means and therefore go to foreign countries and enjoy their lives there. Several Zamindars are in that category of plunderers. They eke out their profits out of the labour of the poor peasantry working in fields for hours together per day and working so from day to day.

(Cries of 'Shame') Eighty per cent of our people are working in this manner, exposed to the sun and winter. Are they not entitled to live? How can they live long under these circumstances? They have hardly got enough money to buy the indispensable necessaries of life, while with their labour of 14 hours a day, their employers earn profits which they spend in luxuries like the performance of Thread Ceremonies of their children (on a lavish scale, the performance of other domestic and social amenities like the ceremony of honeymoon of their daughters-in-law. (Laughter) They enjoy what has been earned for them by the peasantry, which worked for those earnings by drying lands in fields, burning them and preparing them for being sown with seeds, nurtured with manure and operated on when corn had sprouted out. They the poor peasantry-so works and that too not alone but in conjunction with their wives and children. Such is the state of things with regard to our workers and Peasantry, and that is all due to the constitution of our society. That constitution makes poor people work hard, and rich people live in luxury-build bungalows-one at Matheran for summer, at Simla for another season, at Nainital for a third season, at Ootacamund for a fourth season and so on and so forth. All this at the cost of the sweat of the brow of the peasantry and workers who are half starved. Therefore, an end must be put to this system of employers and Zamindars ('Nayanat kela pahije' i. e.) According to Com. Lenin's principles, no one can become rich after ringing out the labour from a worker or a peasant ("pilloon" i. e.). Zamindars, millowners, employers, Government, must be lifted up and removed ('uchhattap' i. e.) from their 'situ' in the constitution of our society which enforces these hardships on the poor hard-worked Workers and Peasants. Everything must belong to the people's ownership. The Government must belong to the people's ownership. The government must belong to the Peasantry-workers. That is Com. Lenin's principle. He took his birth for that and caused a Revolution to take place in Russia in October 1917. The slogan of the Revolutionaries was this :

- (1) Bread to the Workers.
- (2) Land to the Peasants.
- (3) Peace to the People.
- (4) Education for all.

These are the principles of Lenin. They comprise what Communism means, they comprise what Bolshevism means, they comprise what Lenin means. Look at the Times of India", which, day after day, is putting poison into the ears of the Government to scrap this movement of the peasants and Workers. It says that the Communists are the Agents of Moscow. I say there is not one man here from Moscow. The 'Times of India' should know that

98% of India's people are Workers and they are fighting for their freedom. That is the essence of their movement. There is a charge against the Workers and Peasants that they are in the receipt of Russian gold. This is all sham-exploitation on the part of the C. I. D. All the money received from Russia was for the benefit of strikers and not one pie has gone to help the Workers' and Peasants' movement. Supposing we used that gold for the benefit of this movement, what sin could there be, when there is no sin in spending money in Afghanistan, for Shinwaris. (Laughter) We say to the British Government to increase the scope of Indian industries in their true sense. Sassoons' is not an Indian Industry, Tatas' is not an Indian industry. British Government should promote truly Indian Industries. We do not want Zamindars. We want the Government to promote indigenous industries. We do not want Sassoons, and we do not want Pétits. We say that 80% of our peasant population should have their own Government, should have their ownership, and all Capitalism should disappear, and Zamindars should disappear. (Cheers).

Mr, S. A. Dange's Speech,

Mr. S. A- Dange said this in English :—

Mr. President and gentlemen, Mr. Nimbkar made a speech in which he has left to me the task of explaining Lenin's life, but unfortunately my occupation in the other world would not allow me to deal with the subject as it ought to be dealt with. My occupation in the other world means outside the culture of Girgaum. The most important problem before you to-day is to remember what is the 'Middle-Class'? Of Course, we do not recognise the Middle Class. We recognise only the two Classes of the Capitalists and of the Proletariat. The Middle-Class comes in as the Class of the Bourgeois. It has no status as a Class, because it consists of idologists and Capitalists. In the case of economics it sometimes inclines towards the Workers' Class. Then only they take up the activities of the working Class.....They are more attracted towards the culture of their Bosses. They have the ambition of becoming Bosses themselves sometimes. Only in the name of Economics, that Class may call itself as belonging to the rank of the Working-Class. Coming to the theory of Lenin, it is this. According to him, the state is not a State but a combination of different policies-political, Economical etc. According to Lenin, the State is nothing but a close apparatus to dominate other classes that it wants to exploit in its own interest. It is the dictatorship of one Class over another. It means one body enjoying authority over another. The first thing is that the State is based on violence. The second thing is that the State is a Capitalist-Class, which is the most advanced Class, intended to exploit India as a whole. You remember the Workers' and the Peasants' Class—they are the producers of economic power. Then, coming to the Communists, Communism is

this: 'If the State is based on violence, it cannot but be overthrown by violence'. Theirs is a fair course of action, whereas, the State is the domination of one Class by another. At present, the Imperialism of Great Britain, which is based upon violence, has to be overthrown by violence. Independence may take the colour of Communism, but there cannot be a half-way-house between Socialism and Communism. There can be no mixture. People make a mistake in mis-understanding Communism. Even newspapers make that mistake. Communism says 'the State is based on violence, and it has to be overthrown by violence', but it does not advocate a murder. The committing of the murder is not a corollary of the principles of Communism. That is a pitfall to which they succumb who do not understand Communism properly. That is a pitfall created by the middle-Class given to ideology. The Communists make a distinction between violence and anarchy. You do not call the nation which goes to war a murderous nation. Anarchism is violence of the terrorist type. In 1917, there was a Revolution in Moscow. Then Lenin had written a letter, and an insurrection followed in Russia, but it is not that type of violence which advocates anarchism. I want to make this clear to the intellectuals in the country. We say that the State is on the wrong side, but we make no common cause—we are unwilling to make a common cause—with the Bengal Revolutionary Party. There is no humbug with the Communists. The murder of an individual officer is the creed of violence as advocated by anarchism, and is not the creed of violence as advocated by Communism. The creed of violence of Communism is of a revolutionary type, directed against the State as a whole. Therefore, the States as a whole, belonging to one Class, has to be overthrown by a revolutionary action by another Class on the broad mass-basis. Therefore, the Communists are not the advocates of individuals' murders, because they have no right to do so, they are to act on the principle of 'the whole Class on the economical plane'. If our creed was otherwise, we could sweep down on the whole Parel are a our own 150,000 people. We are not going to retaliate by advocating the murder of a Petit or a Sassoon, because our philosophy prohibits it. Our principle is against it. Otherwise in ten minutes we could get together 150,000 men to rise and stand the attack of half a dozen machine-guns. But we are not prepared for that at the present juncture, because our Class-forces are not ready for insurrection. For a revolution, the situation must be ready. Lenin had laid down nine conditions to be fulfilled before any revolutionary insurrection could take place. When the Workers said 'Shall we rise?' He said 'No.' So that Lenin had got nine slogans, and they were to be fulfilled before the situation became ripe for the rise. He failed to get success in 1905 because the situation was not ripe: It is not the anarchist-violence that Communism advocates. Communism does advocate violence,

but it is a violence of a revolutionary type, based on the Class-force directed against another Class as a whole and not an action against the individual. This what I want to make clear the difference between anarchist violence and the Communists' violence, which is the violence against State. Communism is the materialistic conception of the world. It is based on the atheistic scheme. But atheism is not the peculiar sign of Communism. Communism wants to overthrow the social order as it is constructed to-day. We do advocate an overthrow, but it is an overthrow of what is based on violence that is the overthrowing of the present social order. We are not making any secret of it. We have been printing, publishing and circulating it, and you will find it in any two-penny book shops in England and other countries. Unfortunately, it cannot be had here, and, so, if the Bombay newspapers, ignorant of the culture of Communism, say that Communists are murderers, we cannot help that. Our principles are clear - we do advocate the overthrow of the present social order, that is a revolutionary violence against the social order, meaning the order which is based & constructed to-day, but it does not mean the destruction of society at all. That is the interpretation put on it by the Capitalist Class. It is impossible for the communists to destroy society. Society cannot be destroyed. Because Communism advocates violence, it advocates violence against the existing machinery. We want economical development. Therefore, we advocate the destruction of the present social order. It is the domination of one Class by another - that is what Communism advocates the destruction of. That is the scientific analysis of our position. We mean the destruction of the social order that is constructed to-day. This is what I wanted to make quite clear. With these words, I beg to close my remarks. (Cheers).

MR. GANGADHAR ADHIKARI'S SPEECH.

Mr. Gangadhar Adhikari read copiously from a type-written paper to the great disgust of the audience, both because his pronunciations were not clear and his thesis was brimful with technicalities. He was virtually haunted back into his seat by the audience loudly hinting that his sermon was 'enough, enough'.

PRESIDENT'S EPILOGUE.

The President rose to repeat what he had said already. First he spoke in English and then in Hindi. The burthen of his Hindi song was that such meetings were being held at the moment in all parts of the world to teach the proletariat that it was on their labours that the Upper Ten Thousand were fattening themselves.

FINALE.

Mr. R. S. Nimbkar condemned, in a Marathi speech the management of the Hall authorities, so far as the accommodation of a vast audience was concerned. He earnestly invited the audience, in an agumented form, to attend a similar Lenin-Day meeting, to be held at Parel on Sunday next (27-1-29), when they would be welcomed in the most convenient circumstances possible.

The meeting then dispersed.

P. 1694.

Speech delivered by: Mr. H. L. Hutchinson.

Date : 3-2-29.

Place : Peoples Jinnah Hall, Bombay.

President: Comrade Shaukat Usmani.

Subject: Road to Insurrection.

Mr. L. Hutchinson delivered an address on " The Road to Insurrection," on the evening of Sunday, the 3rd of February, 1929, in the People's Jinnah Hall, under the presidentship of ' Comrade ' shaukat (Usmani.)

The proceedings commenced at 6-10 p. m. before an audience of over 200 persons, including two ladies-one Gujerathi and the other Dakshini, Hindu.

The Meeting was held under the auspices of *the Bombay Youth League.*

The President, having been formally elected called upon the learned lecturer to begin his address.

THE ADDRESS.

Mr. Hutchinson rose amid cheers and said as follows:—

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, about 40 years before the Great French Revolution, the famous French Philosopher, Rousseau, wrote that the man who is born brave is in chains. This sentence afterwards became the slogan of the French Revolutionaries. It has since been adopted as the slogan of all the revolutionary movements throughout the world. Now, there seems

to be some misunderstanding in India to the effect that India is an isolated country, as far as the revolution is concerned. Now, I want to point out to you that that is not so. Capitalism or, in its latest form, Imperialism, is the common enemy of the oppressed peoples of the East as well as of the working classes of the West, and consequently, a revolution is an essentially international movement, and cannot be called isolatedly based, and cannot be fought on the national, isolated, basis. Now, history assures us that a revolutionary movement can only be successful, if the party—the revolutionary party—takes advantage of the prevalent international situation, and, so, I propose, this evening, to divide my address into two parts. In the first part I am going to deal with the international situation of the world from the British Standard, and in the second part, I am going to deal with India as an international ally. But before that, I will deal with the international situation. After the War, we find the beginning of Peace Treaty. We take the periods of Peace Treaty, for these seem to prove to us that the more the Capitalist Power talks of peace, the more it is prepared for war. Consequently after the Peace Conference at Versailles, after the Peace Treaty of Versailles, we find that it is open to the formation of European Wars. To begin with, the principle of the Versailles Treaty divided Europe into little partitions, like Soviet Russia and other little States. It split out Russia, and that made separate Republics like those of yugo-Slavia and others. A little State was only entitled to existence. They were doomed in the hands of Imperialism. Now, after the Treaty of Versailles, when the victorious nations split up the world between them, we find that two principal victorious Powers—England and France—had aspirations in the Near East. The Imperialist nation of Britain had a mandate over Palestine and over Mesopotamia or, what is called, Irak, and France had a mandate over Syria. Now we see, from the above circumstance the two allies, France and England, looking over to the Near East—that Britain wished to terrorise Turkey completely, in order to have a complete control of the Dardanelles, and, consequently, a complete control of the Near East, and, in order to achieve this, Mr. Lloyd George and his Government engineered a little war between Greece and Turkey. The English Government financed the Greek Government to declare war on Turkey, but, unfortunately, the Capitalist Government in England was too much concerned with its own industrial problem and its great unemployment to do anything that was necessary for the success in the Greek War, and France, who did not wish Britain to become supreme in the Near East, supported Turkey, and so Turkey was victorious. As for protection, Turkey entered into an alliance with Soviet Russia. I am going to deal a little later with Soviet Russia. I want, first of all, to point out to you what a great danger Soviet Russia is to British Imperialism. Soviet Russia is governed by a working-class in the interest of the working class, and is distinctly against all forms of Imperialism and the exploitation of the class or the peoples, and is prepared to do its best to

combat this exploitation, Consequently, British Imperialism, finding that Soviet Russia is working as an antithesis, has begun to lay the foundation of a scheme in which to crush this growing menace to her power. The scheme matured with the famous scheme of the Locarno Peace-Pact. You remember that Sir Austen Chamberlain and Mr. Stressmann, the Foreign Minister of Germany, and Mr. Briand, the foreign Minister of France—all-got together at Locarno and signed the Peace Treaty. Now, this Peace Treaty had its object to form an economic bloc, under—to the great enemy, Soviet Russia. In order to do this, It was necessary for Britain to draw Germany away from Russian countries, Germany, being a vanquished nation, had to rely on its bargaining power with Soviet Russia in order to exist. Consequently, Britain's object was to draw Germany into an alliance with herself against Russia, but she had certain difficulties in doing this. One was that France was bitterly opposed to this, because, before Germany could come into this alliance, Germany wanted several privileges and advantages—by the fact that Germany wanted the evacuation of Rhineland, which is the occupied German Territory by the British and French Troops, Britain was prepared for this prepared to evacuate the German Territory, but France was not. Why? For the simple reason that France had the control of the German Coal Fields at , and the German Oil Fields of Ruhr, which brought in a great profit to France, and she was not likely to give up this whole of the German Industry, and, you see how Britain was faced with a peculiar difficulty. She said at Locarno that "We come to some agreement," and that agreement was the ostensible evacuation, and to begin with that a certain amount of troops should be withdrawn from Germany at special periods stated. Now, Sir Austen Chamberlain returned to England. He was made a Knight. Britain thought that the time for war preparations against the Soviet Union of Russia was ripe, and she wished to begin the reparations for war. What did she do? First of all, she built up the old Czar's Naval basis of Russia, she occupied the whole of the political control of Poland to be used against Russia, and there were sinister rumours of troops massing on the Indian Frontier. That was not sufficient. Before a Nation can declare a war, she must be certain of her internal condition at home, and the industrial conditions of England were by no means satisfactory. There was a large unemployment. there were long hours of work, very low wages, the working-class was discontented. Consequently, the Government devised a scheme whereby they could crush the working-class, so that they could not protest against the war with Russia. They thought of that so-called 'general strike.' The famous 'general strike' was not a 'general strike' at all, it was a 'general lock-out.' But after the 'strike,' I will ask you to remember the treacherous leaders of Trade Union in England—Mr. Churchill. Mr. Baldwin and Sir J. H. Thomas, were wobbling (?) for peace before the representatives of

Capitalism, and they were prepared to uphold the 'general strike.' Churchill wanted an unconditional surrender, the Government forced the 'general strike' of the working-class Unions—the leaders of the working-class to surrender, and they were temporarily rushed but only temporarily. Now, after this being done every-thing was taken in hand. There was also the next move—also the next move was a direct attack on Russia. They expelled from England the Soviet Russian Trade Delegation and Diplomatic Representatives on the fictitious issue that the Russian Trade Delegation had secret documents. They did not find the secret documents. They Smashed the Sabes open under the cells but did not find secret documents. Still they say that 'Secret documents exist,' though they could not find them, and then Sir William Joynson Hicks, in the House of Commons told the House of Commons about this raid on the Russian concern, and he said 'they had secret documents,' but nobody saw them. He said 'I cannot divulge them.' It is like the child, who' when it cannot answer any question, says "I won't say." (Laughter.) what happened then? They broke off their trade and diplomatic relations with Russia. It has resulted in a tremendous increase in unemployment in great Britain. The unemployment touched a million and a half of people. Owing to the breaking off of trade communications with Russia, all the big mills of Lancashire-textile mills—which were supplying material to Russia—came to a standstill. and all the workers were thrown out into the streets to exist on miserable doles paid by Government. This added to the industrial discontent. Now, I want to put to you 'Would the British Government have taken such a drastic step against these people, unless they were prepared for further action? And I say to you that the Government, at that time, was preparing to declare war on Russia, but they had reckoned without their host. But the individual interests and commercial greeds of France and Germany were greater than their loyalty to Great Britain, and so Russia sent word to Germany 'You can have the trade Britain has lost,' and stated to France 'You can have the same trade: we will give you concessions and provide munitions.' Germany and France—their signatories—accepted the peace-pact by saying 'We are prepared to trade with you.' Britain was isolated. She still went on with her war preparations, but instead of moving among big Powers, she moved among - she began to work with - the smallest States. Among them was Poland, and then there was the question of the Bospherous. Then there was another tremendous problem which came before the British Imperialism. That was the great rival Imperialism of America, and so, they had to forego the attack on Soviet Russia for the time being, and to concentrate on the... struggle against America. Now, what is this struggle due to? During the War, America accumulated quietly all the money in the world, so that, after the War, she found that

she had more money than she could possibly hold, and, consequently, she thought it is no use having money and not using it, unless the money had found some outlet, and so they had to export the capital, first of all, to the European markets, and then to the Eastern markets. Now, European Capitalism, after the War, was in a bad state; they were threatened with a revolution. And to stabilise the capital of Europe, the European Powers had to borrow money from America, who possesses the total gold reserve of the world, wherewith the five Powers are now indebted to America. So you imagine the worth of America. Now America can only exist commercially and Imperialistically at the expense of Great Britain. Britain is struggling to hold the world's markets, consequently, when the American commerce comes in contact with British Commerce, then you have in America a struggle, first, for oil. First of all, these two Powers realise that the country that has the most oil will have a better prospect in the next war, especially, when battleships are now being run with oil instead of coal, and when aeroplanes will be run with oil, and so the struggle for oil exists all over the world. You will see the Standard Oil Company of America and the Royal Dutch Oil Company of , are coming in contact with the world's oil supply. This, my friends, is a point leading to a war. War cannot be avoided, as there is a commercial clashing. It was the commercial clashing between Great Britain and Germany which led to the last Great War to end War. Now the commercial clashing between the rival British and American Imperialisms is to have another war to end the war. Let me assure you, from the diplomacy of America of the last two years-in the beginning of August, 1926, there was a big Disarmament Conference at Geneva between three important Powers, three great Naval Powers-Britain, America and Japan. It had already been agreed by these Powers, at the Washington Conference, that Britain and America should have a naval parity, that America should have her fleet which should be equal to Great Britain's, that she should have the same tonnage. That was agreed. They met at Geneva to decide how to give effect to this agreement. You know the terrible fiasco of the Peace-Conference at Geneva. It broke down: they could not agree. Why could they not agree? For the simple reason, my friends, that America wanted to build its tonnage of big battle-ships which can go for days without stopping for fuel, and Britain wanted to build small cruisers, many small cruisers, because Britain has her naval bases throughout the world-nearly every island in the world belongs to Britain, and her battleship can stop every half a day if it wishes to refuel and re-provision and re-munition, whereas America has no naval base except at Manilla. That is far away from America, and, so, consequently, America wanted to build battleships-big battleships-that can go for a long time without stopping for fuel. Britain wanted small battleships-five small crui-

sers, and America wanted big ones of the same-tonnage which can do tremendous damage on the American coast, and, yet, friends they talk of peace! (Laughter). After the famous Peace-Conference, . . . American Delegates went back to America, and immediately, the American big Navy Bill was brought into build big battleships, despite Britain and Japan. America had much more money than Great Britain, and she openly said that 'Very well, you will not accept our proposals, then we shall outbuild you, and American Navy will be five times bigger than the British, because we have money,' and so we got the famous international (composition, peace-pact, between Great Britain and America. Now, we come to France. France is a very poor country, with a very low Exchange and has her international interests in conflict with those of Great Britain. Consequently, France has been almost the natural enemy of Great Britain, but France owes a lot of money to America. America has now become the creditor of the world. She has now become the Shylock of the world. (Hear, hear and laughter). America demands this money should be paid, and refuses to let France off for a cent. Then, France owes a great deal of money to Great Britain. France says, Let us ally ourselves with America against Great Britain, because we may kill two birds with the same stone, we may get some remission for our debt and also prepare to protect ourselves against Britain in our Colonial enterprise; (Hear, hear,) with the result that M. Briand, the French Foreign Minister, and Kellogg, the American Foreign Minister, go over to Paris and sign the Peace-Treaty. (Laughter). The Peace-Treaty is made between America and France. Now, it did not serve the American interests to have Peace-Treaty only with France. There was the Presidential election drawing near, and the American people said to their Government 'If you do not give five years' peace, then we —.' So, they decided to have the pack boomed and get it passed, and that was how they inaugurated the famous Kellogg Peace-Pact, Mr. Kellogg then wrote back to France 'Yes, we are quite prepared to sign the peace-treaty, we may have contact with the rest of the world,' and so America issued invitations to all the Governments of the world to come to Paris to sign the Kellogg Peace-Pact. It was to outlaw the war and to abandon the war as a means of ending the international disputes. Very good. To the invitation of France, France replied 'Yes, we accept your invitation to sign the peace-treaty; but we make certain reservations:

We ask that—

(1) In the event of any other country in the world declaring war, the other signatories to the pact are immediately released from the responsibility, that is to say, if there is little war with Mexico, France would consider herself free from all obligations, (Laughter).

(2) France said:—'You must not interfere with our Domestic Policy.'

That is to say, France can go on shooting and raiding and massacring her native population, and no other country must object to that France's Domestic Policy. (Laughter). Then, the invitation reached the British Foreign Office, and they are not to be outdone. If France agreed to reservations, Britain had to add a few more. (Laughter). And in her reply to the American people, Great Britain took great care, and that is very significant. She pointed out to America that there were certain regions in this world which were vital to the British interests, and that any interference in these regions would be regarded by his Majesty's Government as unfriendly acts. (Laughter). This means to say that America must not attack the British markets in Egypt, in India, in Mesopotamia and other Colonies of Great Britain. Mr. Kellogg tried to sign a commercial treaty with Japan. Mr. Kellogg packed off and prepared to sail for Paris to sign the famous peace-pact. He had not put his foot on the boat when startling things happened. A secret naval pact had been signed by Britain and France. And this secret naval pact is signed by Britain and France when they were prepared to sign the Kellogg Peace-Pact: (Laughter). What happened France abandoned the American interests to Great Britain for the simple reason that the American Government refused to grant any remission of her debts, and the British Government took the opportunity to step in and offer to France some remission in her debts to Great Britain. Not only did they do that but they agreed to France's scheme of a 'Military Reserve,' which enabled France to have the largest standing army in the world, which they did not agree to hitherto. In return for that, France agreed to a pool of fleets with Great Britain against that of America, France has the greatest fleet of submarines in the world, and the pooling of the two fleets-British and French-would cause that America would have to outbuild not only one fleet but two fleets-the Americans are a very clever people. Just before they signed the Kellogg Peace-Pact, Mr. Kellogg took some curious steps. First of all he took great pains to go on the same boat as the Prime Minister of Canada, Sir Mackenzie King. And he took great pains to have some photographs with Sir Mackenzie King (Laughter), appearing to kiss each other (Laughter), in order to show Great Britain that she could not rely on her Colonies in the next war. Not only that, but Mr. Kellogg paid a visit to Ireland he visited Dublin and was the guest of But he did not set his foot in England; that was very significant, in spite of the invitation from the British Government. He refused to go to England, to London. Well, he went to Paris. Mussolini-the famous Mussolini-was happily honest about it. He said 'they will have a little game; let them amuse themselves; but we will take no part in this farce.' That is another significant fact. So that, whereas at Paris, America was represented by the Foreign Secretary, France was represented by the Foreign Secretary, and every other Nation was represented by their Chief Secretaries, Sir Austen Chamberlain,

said he was too ill to cross the Channel. (Laughter). He was not able to take a long voyage as Kellogg. (Laughter). He was too ill to take a week's journey, and instead he sent Lord Cushendon. It shows how much Great Britain valued the Peace-Pact. The Peace-Pact was signed, and they all went home: The Democratic Party is still dealing with the Kellogg Peace-Pact, and immediately after that I saw in yesterday's papers that it was mentioned in the American Senate that 'India and Japan are prepared to declare war on America, and that we must build a big fleet to resist them.' They just signed the Peace-Pact, and the present rumour shows that the result is that in this pact of peace, there has been a rot, and, as I said in the beginning, from that pact of peace they seem to be preparing for war. And that war will come, because Capitalism is by itself the greatest war, and it is only the overthrow of Capitalism and imperialism in the country that can put an end to this periodical warfare. And, now, let us come to the 2nd part, how is India situated in this international dispute in this wonderful Empire on which the Sun never sets, (Laughter) because the God is afraid of it. (Renewed laughter). India is called "The brightest jewel of the English Crown," and that is quite true. To begin with, India largely contributed to the expenses of the last war. The exploitation of Indians is very profitable to the British Capitalists, who are called the British Commonwealth in England, and who have shut down all the mills and opened them again in Bombay and China, because they can produce goods at much less cost, to begin with, whereas they have to pay to the English worker, at the most, 40 Shillings a week. They have a cheap coolie-labour in India, which they pay 20 Rupees per month, at the most. Consequently, they can produce at much less cost, and the areas of distribution are at hand. They have not to pay for the transportation of goods from England to the East. They can distribute them to the merchants of the East from Bombay instead of from Manchester, and that is why there is unemployment in Lancashire and other parts of England. Now what has happened? Why is the British Government so keen to preserve India? Why did she take all this trouble? Because India has cost her by the method of Non-cooperation movement, Civil Disobedience, Dominion Status and Independence and consequently because some friction was there? Why all the trouble which the British Government has taken? It is for the very simple reason that if Britain loses India, she loses her Empire (Hear, hear), if Britain loses India, all her international prestige is gone, She becomes a third rate power, The Irish state said before their Revolution that "England's difficulty was Ireland's advantage", it can now be said that "England's difficulty is India's advantage." (Hear, hear). I would just give you a brief idea of the present complicated international situation. Britain has her hands full, and very shortly there is to be another Imperialistic War, and I do not know whether India is going to play the same part in

the next Imperialistic War that she did in the last (Cries of 'No, no') international War (Cries of 'No,' and laughter). I think that the East has indeed awakened. Is it necessary to take advantage? Is it necessary to take advantage of the favourable internal situation, or wait until a disfavoured moment occurs on your side? In comparison with India, Russia and China I will now briefly tell you how Russia achieved her liberty and how she is very much similar, or she was very much similar, to India. To begin with, 75% of the Russian population are peasants, and 75% of the Indian population are peasants, and peasants live in small villages, backward rural areas, with no newspapers, with no contact with the western world. They live in villages with tax-collectors and policemen, they are naturally filled with superstition. Friends, the same was in Russia. The majority of Russians are peasants. Before the Revolution in Russia the majority could not read or write, and could not have any intelligent discussion at all. It was chiefly concerned with intoxicating liquors. That is-was-the state of things in Russia. That is changed. How? Russia was ruled before the Revolution by the Aristocracy. A small minority of landowners was the head. Russia was a Feudal State. The Aristocracy in Russia, before the war, represented the Imperialistic Government of Great Britain, that is, a small minority ruled a vast majority. Now, the Russian Revolutionary Party took advantage of the favourable internal situation and also the favourable international situation. The internal situation was supported by the Bourgeois Rule in Russia. The Revolution took place in 1917. The Revolution was at an end. The majority of Russian population was victorious. Russia was thus a victorious nation. Britain could not refuse to grant all the privileges to Russia, and so Britain directly helped in the overthrow of this Czarist Government. So far as Germany is concerned, she thought that if Russia was unable to continue the war, Germany would be enabled to remove millions of German troops from the Russian Frontier and put them on the French land against the British and the French, and so Lenin, the Communist, took part in the affair. Lenin was allowed a free passage by Germany. He was disappointed during the war, and now there had been a favourable internal situation. It does not matter how illiterate and how ignorant are the people; when men are hungry and revolutionary, and the employers give the workers enough money, and provide them with the necessities of life and one or two simple luxuries they are contented; provided the workers only have one meal a day, they become discontented, and when they cannot have even one meal a day, they become revolutionary, for the simple reason that the present system is a system which will not enable the worker to get sufficient food for himself and his family. The Russian Autocracy sent the Russian army, composed of the working classes and peasants, to the front to fight the German forces without munitions and without sufficient

food, and so the Russians were mercilessly butchered. They had no weapons for defence. The peasants, taken to the field of battle, were hungry. They could not fight because they had no arms. The working classes and the peasantry were starved. The condition was very favourable. Then some leaders said "Let us end the war," but Lenin got up and said "We must go to the end at any cost," and they signed a separate treaty, with the result that they were able to get back to the land and supply themselves with the defensive arms against the Capitalist class. They gave food to the people and made them contented and gave education to the masses, so that, to-day, within 10 years, nothing on earth, not even Mr. Churchill or Sir William Joyson Hicks, are able to break down the Communist Power of Russia, because Communism has now given heart to the people of Russia. That is Russia. Now I come to China. Again, we find the majority of the population of China are peasants. China took advantage of the Nationalist movement, took advantage of the favourable international and internal situation and took advantage of the rival claim of the rival commercial greeds of Britain, Japan and America, They played Britain with Japan, Japan with America, and America with Britain Japan with Britain, and America with Japan, and so on. Different Imperialists, far away, divided among themselves, and the Chinese Nationalists then hoisted the Standard of revolt, under Sun-Yat-Sen, and were prepared to destroy the reactionary policy of their land. Then Kaumingtang influenced the workers; there was also the lead of Chiangke Shek. There was also the mailed fist of the Chinese Capitalists. There were disputes between America and China. Eventually the Chinese people were misled by the Chinese War-Lords. They were betrayed by Chiangke Shek who turned the guns on the working-classes and Communists and Non-cooperators and massacred half the population. All this was due to a certain amount of fear about Communist influence. I think this is one of the greatest tragedies of modern times. China is developed into a country of half Imperialists and half Nationalists, and 500 million people of China would be no better off under their present Government of China-the Chinese Bourgeois Government-than they were under the American, the British and the Japanese Government. They will be still exploited, only the exploiters are changed to some extent. I do not want such a thing to happen in India. I do not want to see the treacherous nationalists leaders turning the guns on the people of Bombay, for instance (Hear, hear and laughter), and unless the youth of this country take certain steps, that will happen. India cannot remain isolated. It is the ambition of the Imperialists Government to isolate India. It should not be the ambition of the Indians to isolate their own country. The Imperialist Government wishes to run the imperialistic Safety Bill, wishes to deprive India of all her Western contact, so that no friend of India can come to India from America, from England,

from France, or from any other nation in the world. India, according to Britain, will be under Britain's power, and her own population will be without help, and, consequently it will be a big field to be easily broken up. Friends, this must not be. So, our only hope of freedom is in the unity of the Indian Revolutionary movement with the working-classes in the world, and I will tell you why. Suppose, for instance, isolated India breaks out in a revolt against the British Government, it can be crushed by the sheer weight of arms. We are not to-day in the state in which Indians were in 1844-45. We are in an epoch when troops can be sent to India in a little more than a week, when aeroplanes can bring troops quicker, and battleships can come within ten days, India can be crushed by the sheer weight of steel, and the only thing to prevent this is that the working-classes of England are sufficiently actuated by an alliance with the oppressed people of India, to refuse to transport munitions and steel to crush the Indian exploited peoples. And if the working-classes refuse to co-operate with the Imperialist Government, the Imperialist Government cannot do anything, Mr. Churchill, Lord Birkenhead, Sir William Joyson-Hicks are not likely to succeed with their arms and bayonets against India. (Hear hear). The Imperialistic armies are composed of ignorant workers and if the working-classes refuse to send these armies, if the working-classes refuse to transport munitions, the Government is helpless, and India automatically becomes free. The same thing happened in Ireland after the war. When the Irish Revolution broke out, Britain poured troops into Ireland to face the Irish Revolutionaries like the Blacks and Tans. Now, although we poured troops and we poured ammunitions in to—Ireland, we did grant Ireland certain measure of Independence. I shall recall the case that many people in England were against the massacre of the Irish people—the Irish working-classes. The working-classes of Britain refused to co-operate with the Government in crushing the Irish revolutionaries, and so Lloyd George had to agree to grant a certain measure of Colonial Independence to Ireland. This will happen in India's case, and therefore, I advise you to form your contact with the working-classes of the world (Hear, hear. so that the working-classes may refuse to transport munitions. Unity is strength. I only wish to state that as I began with the slogan that a man who is born brave is in chains, I will end with another slogan, according to the great thinker, Marx, that, If you are not free, you get nothing else but your chains. (Hear, hear and laughter).

PRESIDENTIAL FINAL

REMARKS.

Comrades, Mr. Hutchinson dwelt on the subject of the world's conflagration when he spoke of the 'Road to Insurrection.

I have nothing to add except this that Lenin pointed out that the bourgeois organisation is not the road to insurrection. How did the road to insurrection in Russia begin? The Bolshevist revolt in Russia developed the Russian organisation of the workers and peasants who—were exploited especially by the feudal lords—the autocrats and Imperialists and the priesthood. The peasants and workers of Russia were sent to the field by these great authorities in such a condition that the soldiers were dying with cold and for want of ammunitions and for want of food. The peasants, therefore, refused to go to the front, for they were mowed down by the German guns. That is how the Russian Insurrection developed, that is how the Revolution developed. The Soviet Union sympathised with the movement of the working-classes and they threatened to crush the Imperialistic—force of the world. I have pointed out to you the relation between the world conflagration and the Russian conflagration of 1917. The Russian revolt was the out come, the natural out come, of the war preparations, that were there, the atmosphere that was there, and it was directly brought about by the insurrection of the Soviet Union in connection with the world's conflagration—the world war against the Imperialist forces. There was too much fighting on that score. One Imperialist Power was taking away the Colonies of another Imperialist Power German Capitalism had developed to such an extent that she was in a position to capture the British and French Colonies. Some of the methods of the Imperialists are to crush the soviet Union in order to provoke war. The revolutionary forces are preparing for war. With these words, I close my remarks after congratulating Mr. Hutchinson on your behalf. (Loud cheers).

After a formal vote of thanks was passed to the lecturer and the President, the meeting broke up.

P. 1693.

Speech Delivered by : Mr. H. L. Hutchinsion.

Date : 2-3-29.

Place : Lakhamsey Napoo Hall.

President: Maneklal H. Vakil.

Subject : Youth and Politics.

YOUTH AND POLITICS.

On Saturday, the 2nd of March, 1929, at 9 p.m., a public meeting was held at Matunga (G. I. P. Ry, direction), in the public

Hall of Mr. Velji Lakhamsey, going under the name of "The Lakhamsey Napoo's Hall", in connection with the lecture of Mr. H. L. Hutchinson on Youth and Politics, the President being Mr. Maneklal H. Vakil.

On the motion of Mr. Krishna Iyer, Mr. Vakil occupied the Chair and opened the proceedings with the following observations:—

PRESIDENT'S OPENING REMARKS.

Friends, it is purely a matter of form on my part to thank you for giving me the Chair to-night. I do not want to make a long speech about the subject of to-day's lecture, which is "Youth and Politics." I do not wish to stand between you and the guest of the evening, Mr. Hutchinson, who is, as you can see for yourselves, a youth himself, international in his outlook, journalistic by profession, (Laughter), and educated in his own way like everyone of us. May be, we may differ in our views—we do differ from each other but that need not make our people think that, because somebody from outside or any other country is going to give us certain views about certain matters, they must not apply to our conditions, or that there is anything really of little importance in the thoughts which might be expressed here. The subject to-night is "Youth and Politics, and we can see from the audience that it is naturally consisted of youths. They do not require to be convinced that they can take part in politics in the 20th Century, in the year 1929. There seems to be discussed the hackneyed subject in the Press and the University and the Council Hall, where people are divided as to whether our youth should not take part in politics. Let us hear what our valued friend, Mr. Hutchinson, has got to say about the question. (Cheers).

MR. HUTCHINSON'S LECTURE.

Mr. Chairman, and gentlemen, it gives me great pleasure to be here this evening to address so many of the potential revolutionaries of India. Now, some Bureaucratic officials, Government officials, the University Chancellor, and other useless people had recently said and advised students not to take much interest in politics—of course, they mean by politics anything which is likely to upset their stability—they must not take any interest in the doings of these unpleasant Communists and Bolsheviks, who have come to upset and to disturb the quiet of this country, which has remained so long in peace under the benevolent Imperialistic Government. (Laughter), My friends, the danger is great that Imperialism and Capitalism in general, that is the Government, in trying to keep back, in trying to suppress, the new movement, causes the growth of revolutionary thought in the youth of India. You have only to read the speech of the Home Member in the Legislative Assembly, during the debate of the Public Safety Bill. He said (Reads from Mr. Crerar's speech): "There can be no more fatal blow than that

the youth of the country should be tainted by the tenets of Communism, no greater blow-inflicted-on the future of Imperialism." The reason for Mr. Crerar's argument is very plain. The youth of India has come to the conclusion that he is tired of being ruled by a foreign power, he is tired of standing up and singing "God save the King-Emperior." (Laughter). He has come to the conclusion that youth must do something for himself, and, consequently, when the Home Member stands determined to suppress him at any cost, the youth must make a momentous decision, the youth must decide, whether he is going to side with reaction or progress. Personally, I do not see how the youth can side with reaction. Youth can only go forward with the majority. He must be careful, in going forward, not to be misled by false prophets, who are likely to drag him back, and, consequently, my object, this evening, is to show you, my friends, that every intelligent Indian should take great interest in the international politics and in the revolutionary movements all over the world. Now, friends, we are living in society, which is totally rotten, we are living in society that has been founded and built up and constructed by Commercialism, by Capitalism, by Traders, to further their own interests. It is a society whose majority serves the interests of the minority. That is the view of men like Rothermiere, Sir Victor Sassoon, Rockefeller and Lord Birken-head (Laughter). who vomit their gold all over the world among the toiling millions of the world. (Laughter). There are, for instance, the miners. Thousands of men, who happen to toil underneath the ground, risk their lives every minute they are underneath the ground, in order to produce coal which they themselves cannot afford to use-produce coal for the fire of the wealthy and the comfortable. A society, which is based on such principles, which enable a few to enjoy all the benefits of the world, while the majority-the millions of the world live in the direst misery and poverty, that society is a rotten society and a society that has to be eradicated. I do not know how anybody can defend that society. Let us take one or two instances. You hear a great deal of British justice. (Laughter). British justice. (Cheers.) You have also heard that in Britain they also employ barristers as everywhere else. And I say that this system of justice which protects, which is controlled by, barristers, is not a system of justice, at all. (Laughter). For instance, a man, with a lot of money, who has taken to some crime, can every easily pay the best brains in the land to defend him, whereas, a poor man, who is accused of the same crime, and cannot afford to engage a good barrister at all, has to content himself with one who is generally without practice. (Laughter). A famous French writer once said that "Justice is sublime in its impartiality" because, it protects the rich man and allows the poor man to sleep on the embankment and on the door-steps. That, my friends, is the basis of Capitalism. Now, take, for instance, Science. Science

is being rapidly developed. We have Aeroplanes, Air-ships, Sub-marines, underground railways, radio, wireless telegraphy, in fact, Science seems to us to have made a tremendous headway. Under the present system, however, Science serves more the cause of destruction than of construction. The scientific brain is, to-day not being used in bettering the sanitary conditions or the slums of the working classes, but in devising poisonous gases, in constructing wonderful sub-marines and torpedoes (Laughter), in constructing aeroplanes which can drop bombs, fifty a minute. (Laughter). If Science does good work of Nature, it can be a great blessing. Under the present conditions we cannot do without Science, but we must see, the youths of the world must see, that Science can be directed in the proper channel to benefit society and humanity, and not for destroying it.

Now, we come to another wonderful subject. You have a lot of British education. You have a lot of men from Oxford and Cambridge with "Classical First." (Laughter) Now, education for what? You have all seen, for instance, in India the text-books supplied on history at every school. You all see in the text-books on history that the Indian student notices much unfailing emphasis on the fact that the British race is a superior race and that the Indians are servile, treacherous, miserable, and that the English are brave and bold. They quote "as brave and bold "Lord Clive (Laughter), they quote Warran Hastings, they also" quote general Suraj-ud-Dowlah, and Tippu Saheb, and all the other people whom they manage to convene to their aid to slacken them. Now, education in England teaches you a certain amount of Mathematics enough for you to get a post of a clerk or in some other business concern and be a source of profit to your employer. It teaches you a certain amount of Geography out of which you never remember the Capitals of various countries. (Laughter.) It teaches you a certain amount of Economics, enough to pass the exam. It teaches you a certain amount of Physics, which, though learnt easily, you easily forget. (Laughter). It teaches you a certain amount of history. It tells you of the victories in the battles of Waterloo and of Trafalgar, regarding which, Nelson says, "Kiss me Hardie." (Laughter.) It forgets to tell you the struggle of the people for liberty, it forgets to tell you the constitution of Trade Unions, it forgets to tell you of the terrible massacre of the people. The history that is taught in Universities and schools, all over the world is not the history of the working people, it is the history of the classes—of the bourgeois class. It is deliberately written to keep the other classes in subjection.

We come to another weapon in the hands of Imperialism and Capitalism we—come to the Press, the newspapers. (Laughter). There is no more pernicious system under the Sun than the present newspapers system. In early days, newspapers had some value, every person

would read a paper, having the money to buy it. In those days, the "Times" and the "Daily Courant" newspapers cost a lot of money. The paper was meant to be read after dinner. There was no paper for the public; the reason was that capitalism was developed to such a great extent, that it was found necessary to educate public opinion, and so we got the "Daily Times," and the "British Daily Mail." Now, the Press, to-day, in England, is in the hands of five men, or rather Lord Roehermier, Lord

Sir William Now these people have formed a Syndicate of capitalists, directed by one man, and they manage about ten different newspapers all over the country. The newspapers reflect the opinion of the man who owns them, and the man, who owns them, reflects the opinion of his class. Consequently they come to a question of commercial interest. In the "Daily Mail" there is a scandal to the extent that I had better tell it to you. The scandal of the "Daily Mail" you know? You know the Daily Mail? Don't you? The "Daily Mail" has a lot of shares in the Dutch shell oil Company. (Laughter). Now, the Russians tried to sell their oil to the British public at low costs, and so the "Daily Mail" started the campaign against the Russian oil. (Laughter). Every day, you get tremendous literature in Bombay about the oil sales. It is said that Russia is trying to sell stolen goods to the British people. They said in the "Daily Mail" and through placards in every garage that "we do not sell Russian oil." It became a tremendous campaign, so that the Russian oil company was nearly broken and they had nearly to give up business. The "Daily Mail" was directly interested in the shares of the Royal Dutch shell oil Company, which was suffering in profits by the competition with Russian oil. I will give you an example showing you the power of the Press. The "Daily Mail" a million and a half read every day. Those million and a half people in Great Britain take their ideas from the "Daily Mail," and consequently men like (the above names are repeated) sit in their lounges and write to-day what a million and a half people are going to take to-morrow. The newspaper of the present day we must make attractive to the reader. What do you find, at present, when you open a newspaper You find 3 or 4 pages of the newspapers containing advertisements-all sorts of silly advertisements. They contain pictures gathered from all over the world at an enormous expense, showing society in 'pyjamas' (Laughter), showing students in pyjamas (Laughter), and showing some students half-naked. (Renewed laughter), showing a recent murderer before being hanged (Laughter), showing people coming out of the Divorce courts (Laughter). Besides the pictures, they have special articles written by ex-Russian princes (Laughter) and ex-prime Minister's wife; then some articles, from retired colonels, and articles about house-keeping, of how to cook, how to keep their houses clean, then there are articles on "City-Notes" and stock exchange.

Then there are articles about bloody scenes in streets and about the scenes in courts of judges and police courts, and about the objectionable cases that come before the courts. All this is to make the paper attractive. Then there are cross-word puzzles. You have a bulk of such in modern newspapers. After all this, there is the residue of news, news, of course, news of a certain type, for instance, we have the Gossip columns. Then there is generally a picture of a lady who is on the most intimate terms with Royalty both sitting together in garden and smoking cigarettes. (Laughter). Such are the pictures of people who enjoy themselves and also pictures of what are called half-Arch-Dukes. These are the pictures in the "Daily Mail," which cannot have the pictures of Blosheviks and Communists. (Laughter). It is not a joke. It is a very serious matter, importance of which cannot be over-estimated. At present, in Bombay, you have the "Times of India" determined to publish a deliberate news-it has deliberately written that the recent riots in Bombay were deliberately instigated by the Communists, it is a downright, delibrate, lie, and yet it is a lie which will influence on people, a lie which enables the public Safety Bill to go through. When you read a newspaper, you become influenced by it. You become influenced by the "Times of India," that says anything that is contrary to the history generally of the riots.

Now, to come to another weapon, that has been in the hands of the Capitalists and Imperialists. I speak of *Religion*. Now, many years ago. Voltaire, the famous French philosopher, wrote that "If Religion did not exist, it would be necessary to invent it." (Laughter). Those words are very pregnant. Why invent it? A century ago, we got the great humbug, Napoleon. (Laughter). He had some good common sense which is very unusual in a soldier. He said "How is it possible that a poor man should expect power when he has not sufficient clothes to cover his nakedness, while I have ten suits in my wardrobe? That is Napoleon, and he said of Religion that "Religion teaches the poor man that poverty in this world is the best passport to the luxury in the next. And, consequently, you get the wonderful paragraph in the Bible, instigated by certain politicians that "It is better for the Camel to go through the eye of the needle than for the rich man to enter the Kingdom of Heaven." (Laughter). A very clever paragraph written obviously by a rich man. You have to be humble, to be lowly, if you wish to enjoy the benefits of the Kingdom of Heaven. According to the paragraph in the Bible, the rich man, who exploits you to-day, will say "well, don't quite bother while I exploit you, remain quiet, because you will have better days in the next world." (Laughter). In 1898, in England, there was a great industrial unrest due to the introduction of modern machinery having thrown people out of work. Of course, the unrest took place and riots also, and they undermined the Government, established by law and order. So Lord introduced in

the House of Commons a Bill to enable the Government to spend 12 Million Pounds in order to feed the poor and the hungry children of the strikers. You see the significance of it yourselves. A French Philosopher, in a speech, he gave in Paris, on Christianity, beginning his speech, says "In the old days of Rome, it was the custom of Roman Emperor to throw christians to the lions in the arena. But I can say against it that they did not throw enough. (Laughter). "I agree with the French Philosopher, because Christianity has become most useless as a religion. It has become the religion of modern Imperialism. It has become the religion which crushes all the starving people of the world into the subjection of imaginary Christ. The same philosopher gave a very illuminating story about how a sailer discovered cannibals in an island in the Pacific. The sailer reported the matter to the British Government who sent out a missionary to the cannibals with a Bible in his arms (Laughter), and an umbrella, to comfort the cannibals. When he arrived at the island, the cannibals promptly ate him. So, the Government sent another missionary, and he was also eaten. After the second meal, the Government sent out a gun boat to the island to protect the honour of Christinity (Laughter), for the glory of God's Kingdom on Earth. The British Government sent the gun boat to make the cannibals quiet, and after the gun boat, the next day, arrived the Manchester merchant, (Laughter), with his suit of cases full of "shick" (?) shirts. This has been the method in which Britain has built her up Empire. Religion comes first, then comes the gun boat, then comes the trader. Look at your own history of India. (Shame, Shame). This is a danger of Christianity. Bishop of Bombay has said that "The bottom of the theory of Democracy is that everybody is equal, but God made them unequal. (Laughter). So it is no good crying that they are not equal." (Laughter.) If God made them unequal, then we do not want such God. (Laughter). It is a very convenient religion for the Bishop of Bombay, friends, but it is not a convenient religion for the poor and starving and untouchable. He said those words before he sailed for home(Laughter) after having enjoyed himself for a few years here. Consequently, Imperialism becomes a great force against the national movement in India. There are 60 millions of untouchables in India, and these 60 millions of untouchables, because they are untouchables look to the British Government for protection, and the Government say "Yes, we will protect you, but first of all, you become Christians." I want to observe that the Missionary people have done enough for the untouchables, but this is one of the effects of religion. Of course, I have only been able to speak of Christianity, because I am only acquainted with Christianity. I cannot speak of any other religion, so, I would leave you to draw your own conclusions on them. Now, throughout the world, struggle for liberty is going on, throughout the world the struggle is to throw off the iron

shackles of Imperialism. That struggle is going on, and, consequently, we are getting tremendous repression instituted by Government. We have only got to see what happens in Europe—in Italy. After the war she became a communist her leaders preached the doctrine of equality of all, and immediately came the power of Government, the Capitalist power, under Mussolini (Laughter). The army of opposition came out dressed up in black shirts, provided with revolvers and bayonets, well equipped, and so was successfully established the reign of terror in Italy. I have been there and I can tell you. It is impossible for the Italian to utter the word "Communist." If he does it, he is either murdered brutally by the Fascists in the streets, or is deported for life. Under the iron reign of Italy people have been deported from Italy because of their political opinion, and these people are made to live in utter misery, they have to look for their living, to look after cows, to look after sheep, they have not enough to eat in the place of deportation. They are sent there, they are starved. A tremendous repression is taking place in Italy. This army in black shirts and equipped with bayonets and daggers and revolvers and sticks walks through the streets, insults women, looks out for Communists, massacres them or arrests them and beats them. This is Capitalism of Italy! Take for instance the case of the people of Roumania, Servia and other places where the condition of the people is worse. I read a book recently from a French writer who has made a special examination and studied the affairs in Roumania and Bulgaria. It turned my blood cold. The workers were taken prisoners to foreign stations. They were subjected to the Italian forms of torture, such as pulling off the toe-nails. This is all done. I am not exaggerating. There is a proof, and these people still are determined to have liberty. In the war between Germany and Russia and between Poland and Russia, you will notice the atmosphere of terror and repression. People are afraid to say anything. Soldiers walk through the streets jingling their swords. As soon as you go to Russia, you see none of that. You see people with smiles on their faces, you see people enjoying themselves and working in the country I have heard a Pole say "Long live MacDoland (Laughter), the reactionary Ramsay MacDonald," because in the days of old he happened to be slightly progressive. What is sedition? What is disaffection? A Bombay official defines disaffection as "lack of affection to Government." We cannot have this sort of thing. Youth all over the world, revolutionary youth, must unite and band together to get rid of this swine these people—who exploit other people by torture, these people who live on the blood of the millions of the land. In conclusion, I would just cite the last line of a poem written by a certain"

Chaplin," who is in prison because of his revolutionary activities during the war. (Recites the lines "Mournworld great." (Loud cheers).

PRESIDENT'S FINAL REMARKS.

Friends, you have heard to-night Mr. Hutchinson's explanation as to why youth should take part in politics. Youth should study politics and then they will realise what Capitalism is. You must study Economics not in the University alone but in other schools and through other writers. (Hear, hear). I say there is nothing wrong in the youth taking part in Politics or in studying Capitalism. At the early age of 17, I myself was an ordinary Volunteer of the Congress. As an humble Volunteer, I have acted as such ever since. I have actually been thinking what the Congress has been doing all the time. Youth should take part and take interest in politics, study politics. Study politics when you are youth, for the very simple reason that possibly you will not have leisure to take part in politics at all at a later age. How many of the people—great people—of this country or of any other country in the world have any leisure left to them to take active interest in politics? And why is not that leisure left to them? Who is responsible for it? The reason is that the people have to sell their leisure to the tune of the Capitalist. The people are poor. They want a little crumb of bread, because they are hungry, because their wants are not supplied. They are sent to jail by Magistrates who, though educated in the same schools and colleges, do not realise the cause of criminology. There are Barristers who know nothing of politics and of criminology, and they become your Magistrates, and these Magistrates, Chief Magistrates, what do they understand as to what punishment should be inflicted on the prisoners! They come from Eton, Harrow, Oxford and Cambridge; they belong to the class of people who ask you not to take part in politics. They say "You should not to take active interest in politics, because you have nothing to get in the world—in the life before you. If you want peace—"Peace on Earth, Peace everywhere—don't worry, you shall have Peace," but while you are asked not to take part in politics, it only means that you are asked to remain starved for your life. (Laughter and loud cheers).

A vote of thanks was passed to the lecturer and the President. The mover of the Vote desired that Mr. Hutchinson should meet the Matunga audience again and give them the benefit of hearing him. He also announced the holding of the meeting of the Matunga Volunteer Corps at 8 a.m. the next day (Sunday, 3-3-29).

The meeting then dispersed.

B. R. Manker,

Short-hand writer,

4-3-29.

P. 1692.

Speech delivered by: Mr. H. L. Hutchinson in support
of Miss Kantak's Resolution.

Date: 26-3.29.

Place: People's Jinnah Hall, Bombay.

Auspices of: Bombay Youth League.

President: K. F. Nariman was appointed but as
he did not arrive, Y. J. Meherally
presided.

YOUTHS OF BOMBAY ASTIR.

An excessively crowded meeting was held in Bombay, in the People's Jinnah Hall, under the auspices of the Bombay Youth League, at 6-30 p. m., on Tuesday, the 26th of March, 1929, "to protest against the Government policy of repression." Mr. K. F. Nariman was announced to be the President of the meeting, but, as he could not come, on account of an engagement elsewhere, Mr. Y. J. Meherally, stepped into his shoes and presided over the proceedings.

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MISS KANTAK'S SPEECH.

RESOLUTION I.

Miss Prema Kantak said as follows in English:—

Friends, I am asked to move that—

"This public meeting, held under the auspices of the Bombay Youth League, strongly condemns the policy of highhanded repression commenced by Government in the wholesale arrests of Labour and the Youth-League leaders, and calls upon the Indian Youth to organise the masses to carry on the National programme as an effective reply to the insolent challenge of the Government."

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HUTCHINSON'S SPEECH.

Mr. H. L. Hutchinson said as follows:—

Mr. President, Comrades and friends, I take great pleasure in standing here this evening on the platform of the Youth League, under the presidency of the Secretary of the Youth League (Hear,

hear), because I am confident that the right of my speech will be respected (Hear, hear). But before I come to the matter in hand I want to pray to the president for indulgence for a minute to deal with a statement that has appeared in a certain paper this morning as to what I said (in this very Hall) last night. The "Bombay Chronicle" wrote this morning that last night I made a sarcastic remark about Khhadi, (A voice: "You did not.") I did nothing of the sort. (A voice: "Nothing.") (Hear, hear) I want at this time that I have to come here to completely contradict that statement. ("Shame") ("You are right") said a voice.) What I said last night was that the Hall, used to protest against the arrests of 31 Labour leaders, was not the place to discuss the merits and the demerits of Khhaddy (Hear, hear). I hope the Reporter of the "Bombay Chronicle" (Cries of "The Reporter of the 'Times of India.'") will correct the mistake. Now, we come to the purpose in hand, and it is no matter for joke. I am coming to the 31 of your leaders taken to Meerut. It is a tremendous fact. They have been ruthlessly arrested (Shame), many of them kept in shackles, put in irons, and taken to Meerut, and stand charged for waging war against the King-waging war against the King, and the punishment for that charge, imagine, is death and also transportation for life or ten years' imprisonment under the Penal code. Among these men, that have been taken to Meerut in shackles-one of them Dhirmavir is a man of seventy, he was shackled in prison and thrown into a solitary cell. (Shame) I say it and I will prove it. He is one of the working classes fighters. Therefore, it is necessary that all these arrests should be brought home to every right minded citizen of India. What is the charge? (Why are they arrested?) Have they been arrested for murder? Have they been arrested for robbery? for violence? Are they dacoits? Are they criminals? The charge against them is 'conspiring to wage war against the King.' And what did they mean by conspiring to wage war against the King? They mean-bear this in mind an organisation of men hungry, with little food, and fight for the better conditions of a living age. That is waging war against the King. It means the living worker entering a strike to fight and struggle against a pernicious system, so as to get less hours of work and more wages. The system gives them more hours of work and reduces their low wages. Is that what is waging war against the King? Among these brave Indian fighters, among these brave leaders of the working classes, there are two English Comrades (Hear hear), Spratt and Bradley. Now, they came out to India not to join in oppressing the Indian people but to join with them and fight with them against the exploiters both, brown and white (Hear, hear). Spratt and Bradley-they are unreservedly toiling with the masses of India and fighting for better conditions, with the reward that they are now faced with many years' imprisonment. The other Comrades are co-operating with

the wage earning classes in England. The British working classes will support the working classes of India. And I want to make it plain from this platform to-day that it is only a small minority of English people that oppress India. It is the Ruling Class of England that is certainly oppressing the Indian people who oppress their own classes at home. (Shame). Now, after the arrests of these men, after they are taken away from us, we must be prepared to step in their place, and stepping in their place is not enough, we must tread in their place. India is not the only country in which repression has taken place. The same form of repression-the same type of repression taken by the same people against the same people has taken place all over the world. In Italy there is Mussolini carries on terrorism which they call 'Fascism.' Under it leaders of working classes are punished. Holland is one big prison. There is the Baltic State, the Balkans, are in the same position, and even in England itself, it was not very long ago, the leaders were thrown into prison on trumpery charges. The general strikes in England have been overthrown by the force of arms display of arms. You remember the fate two years ago of Saccho and Vanzetti in America on the charge of murders. They were fighting for the working-classes, for international solidarity. When they were executed in America, the working classes of other parts of the country came out and protested-there were processions in every country, in Germany and in other countries. That spirit we want in India. These 31 heroes of the working classes have been arrested and taken to prison to stand a trial. They have been arrested because they have been fighting for better conditions for the working classes. The Government says that "they are paid Moscow agitators." (Laughters). They invite the crisis against them by being paid Moscow agitators. Do you think that if the working classes are happy and well fed and contented, they would, as social reformers, come forward to stand their trial for six months Misery, hunger, bad economical conditions, create strikes, create unrest. It is the economical necessity which forces workers to rebel against their miserable conditions. For that purpose, they are fighting for better wages and shorter hours. So, it is necessary for the working classes, who have their leaders arrested by the policy of the Government, that we must see to it that others are ready to take their places. Now, as I said-I want also to reiterate it, because it is very important-the Indian working-classes are bound to ally themselves with the working-classes of the world against the universal oppression, against a common enemy. The working-classes of the world must stand united if they are going to win. There is not the slightest difference between the working-classes of India-who are poor and oppressed, and the working-classes of England, who are poor and oppressed. (Hear, hear), I make no difference between the British exploiter and the Indian exploiter-both are exploiters. (Laughter). And if your working-class is going to

come out triumphant and with honour, it must fight without distinction of colour, caste or creed. (Hear, hear). It is not a colour question, it is not a caste question, it is not a religious question, it is a very essentially economical question to fight for better conditions. Now, you, young men of India, what are you going to do? Are you going to stand for progress or for Reaction? For the right-minded youth, who is worth his salt, there can be no choice. We must be prepared to lead the working-classes to victory. As right minded persons, worth our salt, we must realise that 80 % of our brothers have to-day, not got enough to eat, 80 % of the population of India are living miserably in chawls, in filthy conditions. Who is going to improve them socially? You cannot improve them by, by going to build a few hospitals or by killing a few rats. (Laughter). The working-classes need the young men of India. I appeal to you to prepare yourselves to step into the shoes of those who are taken away. Mr. Joglekar was last night taken away. Prepare yourselves to take the places of those who are taken away. Or will you lie unmoved after the great enthusiasm of last night? Are you going to sleep over it? (A voice: No.) I hope not. I think not. (Laughter). Now, Friends, when you have to prepare yourselves, you have got to study the policy which has sent the Comrades away. If you study that policy, you will see it is right. You must be prepared to carry out your work, and if you are, you must understand it. Understand it first. Understand what should be the temporary measures taken. What we should do immediately? In my opinion, a Defence-Committee should be appointed to raise a fund for the defence of these people, who have been taken away, to Meerut (Hear, hear) for trial. (Hear, hear.) From to-day, organise protest meetings all over the country—all over Bombay—all over the world and make demonstrations as were made against the Simon Commission. Organise these demonstrations of protests against the arrests. (Hear, hear). Form study Circles, read, prepare yourselves for India's freedom. Government is prepared to crush the working-classes by arresting the leaders. The Youths of India remain helpless, unmoved and indifferent? (Hear, hear).

P. 1507.

Speech Delivered by :—Mr. H. L. Hutchinson.

Date :—21-4-29.

Place :—Near Dadar Railway Station.

Auspices of :—Youth League, Dadar.

President :—Mr. Raja, Secretary Youth League Dadar.

Mr. L. Hutchinson said:

The most flattering remark that Mr. Raja has made in his opening remarks was that I am an undesirable. Now the best testimonial an Englishman can receive in India is to be considered an undesirable by the British Government in India. But before I come to the matter I have a little explanation to give you. I was horrified this morning on opening my paper to see that I was announced to give a lecture here tonight on the repressive mission of young India. I do not know how that got printed. To begin with I do not wish to give a lecture. I understood there were going to be many speakers. I am going to give you a few words only. I do not see how I can speak to you about the repressive mission of Young India. The Government has the prerogative of repressive measures. We cannot compete with Government in this respect although I for one would like to. There are several organisations and individuals which I would like to think to start repressing. What we have got to do is to start some constructive programme which will lead us to a time when we will be in a position to repress these people who have ground us under their heels. I wish for a short time to deal with the present political situation in India. Now there are five shades of political opinion in India. There are (1) the full blown Imperialists, chiefly white. (2) those people who imagine themselves indifferent to politics and consequently a bulwark of Imperialism, (3) those people who wish to compromise by asking the Government for Dominion Status, (4) those people who wish to have complete Independence and severance of the British connection and (5) there are those people who are actuated by the misery and the starvation of the working classes in the big cities and are out to achieve the full emancipation of the working classes of India. The last is the only revolutionery party in India. I am going to examine this a little more fully. To begin with let us take the Imperialists. The Imperialists are the representatives of the ruling class of Great Britain who have come out to India to increase the profits at home by exploiting the Indian masses. Now I want to make it clear that the people, the Imperialists who are exploiting you in India are the very same people who are exploiting us at home in England. The ruling class of Great Britain is

oppressing in India and in Great Britain. The working class of Great Britain is naturally and essentially out for the emancipation of India because the enemy is the same. Now we come to the second group. There are some unimaginative people who imagine that they can be absolutely indifferent to politics. They say well look here I have enough trouble with my wife and mother-in-law. Why should I demand further trouble by entering into politics. These are the people who are keeping India back. These are the people who are keeping in a comfortable position, enjoying large incomes and satisfying every desire they may have and consequently not willing to do anything active at all one way or the other to jeopardise it. Every man in this world is political whether he likes it or not.

Then there is the third group of people who are out for Dominion Status. I may tell you quite frankly that I represent to some extent the working classes of Great Britain. I tell you here that we advise you to stay clear of any propaganda for Dominion Status. You are admitting the right of the British Government to grant you Dominion Status. Dominion Status means a compromise with Imperialism with a view to sharing the profits in the exploitation of the masses of India. Besides it is so very undignified. Apart from the practicability of it you are admitting the right of the British Government to be in India and the British Government tell you "We will give you Dominion Status when we consider that you have reached that particular stage in your evolution which entitles you to be permitted in the empire." It is very much like a mother telling her little child "If you are good I will give you an extra piece of cake every day." Now while this then is not the way that we must adopt...?) There are those people who say we must have complete independence. There is a lot more to be said for these people. Unfortunately they are going the wrong way about it. The leaders at the Congress in a most extra-ordinary way voted for Dominion Status. What we want is independence based on the masses of India not on any group of intellectuals. The present Independence League is not based on the masses of India. We must see that Independence is the goal of India and we must have the masses to support it. Now we come to those people who demand and struggle for a different society, who see that there is something extra-ordinarily wrong with the present state of society which gives one man the benefits and another not even sufficient to exist. For instance the miners in England, the men who go right down in the earth, these people who risk their lives you know explosion in mines work all day in the dark, impair their health and bring up the coal at a tremendous cost and they cannot afford to use it themselves. They bring it for the use of those people who can afford to keep a nice house. The Workers who bring it up cannot have it. Go to the textile

mills of Bombay. These men working for ten and twenty of rupees a month produce cloth which they cannot afford to buy for themselves. They have to put up with what cloth they can get hold of. The society that cannot provide sufficient food and provisions for the masses of humanity is not a society that we can tolerate and consequently the working class is out as in Russia to establish a society which will give equality to all and it will do away with classes altogether. There is one thing that I want to impress upon the Dedar Youth League, that you must learn to think internationally. We must not think in terms only of India. We must not think in terms only of Dedar. We must think in terms of the world if we are going to do anything to improve society in this world. Now to begin with, *India can only attain freedom with the co-operation of the working class of the world.* If now a nationalist movement attempts to take power in its own hands and lest that nationalist movement is supported by the British Working class that movement can be crushed by force of steel. The Indian Government here has all the money, troops, poison gas, bombs, aeroplanes and guns and they can smash up the nationalist movement in a day but when the working class of England comes out and says we will not serve in your Imperialist armies, we will not make munitions, we will not get poison gas, we will not take it to India, what can they do. Mr. Baldwin and Mr. Birkenhead will have to come here and fight the Indians themselves. It is only the working class that is being misled. As soon as the working class realise this it is a great step forward in Indian freedom. I do not want you to confuse the working classes of England with the British Labour Party, the Labour Party of Thomas and James Macdonald and of the other rascals. These are the people, these British Labour Leaders who are deliberately misleading the British working class and keeping them quiet in the interests of Imperialism. You remember we had in 1924 a Labour Government.

We had the so-called socialist leader Mr. Ramsay Macdonald as Prime Minister not only of Great Britain but of the British Empire. We all expected great things. The Egyptian nationalists for instance expected from him independence for Egypt. India also expected independence. What did you get instead? Zaglul Pasha came to England to discuss the question with Ramsay Macdonald and Ramsay Macdonald told him that this Labour Government will not alter the policy of the preceding Government in the slightest way. Egypt will always remain a dependency. What did you get in India? You got the Bengal ordinance. We have Mesopotamia and Iraq. Now the Iraqis thought that the Labour Government will give them a voice in the ruling of the country but as soon as they tried to do it Mr. Ramsay Macdonald altered his henchmen and threatened to send out aeroplanes to bomb the Arabs of Iraq. This is what has been done by the British Labour Party. Now having achieved all this in the interests of, well,

freedom, in their words, but having achieved nothing at all the Labour Government went out of office. Why did they go out of office? Because they began a prosecution against the only leaders of the British working classes. It began a prosecution against the Communist Party of Great Britain which is the real leadership of the working class. The famous Dawes Plan was invented by the Labour Party. Now the plan was a wonderful scheme by the allies to make Germany pay all their debts. During the war, this wonderful war to end is or which has been the cause of nearly ten other wars so far which ended in 1918, the Allies found themselves very much in debt. France owed several hundred million pounds to Great Britain and Great Britain wanted it. France also owed some money to America and Great Britain owed money to America. How could they pay it? America said; 'I must have my money. I don't care a damn if you cannot pay it. I am no longer your ally. So that all got together and invented this Dawes plan in which Germany has to pay £, 390,000,000 to the Allies who in their turn will pay it to America. Now how is Germany going to get this amount? That was the other question. It is no use saying you are going to pay it if you can't pay it. So the result of this has been that the ruling class of Germany in order to get the money to pay it to the Allies, has been forced to tighten the screw on the German working class. Consequently the workmen of Germany have to work very long hours and get miserable wages. The German ruling class is forced to pay to the Allies out of the sweat and blood of the German working class. Now this is bound to lead to rebellion in Germany. During the war the Allies had the indecency and hypocrisy to sit down in London in 1915 and divide the profits of the war. They took it for granted they were going to win the war and they sat down and said: France can have Syria, Great Britain can have Palestine and Germany's East African Colonies, Russia could have Turkey, France could have part of Germany. They all got that out in 1915, when the war was at its height but you know the English proverb that you must not count your chickens until they are hatched. They forgot that proverb. To begin with all things went wrong. Russia, the great Ally, suddenly had a revolution and spoiled all their plans. The workers of Russia got tired of being exploited, tired of being ground under the feet of imperialists, so they got hold of their rotten old Emperor, shot him, drove the ruling class and set up their own state which is a state for the workers in which every worker works for the benefit of all the other workers and the man who does not work does not get food. This annoyed the Capitalist governments very much indeed and so they began as soon as the war was finished to think that they had better crush the spirit, before the spirit had begun to penetrate Great Britain, France and, most of all, India. They came to the conclusion that if the workers of Russia could do successfully overthrow the ruling class it would set a very bad

example to the workers of Great Britain, France, India and other countries in the world, so they began to try and crush the workers. How did they do it? They began by organising a series of peace treaties. It seems a very curious way of setting about it. The last of these was the famous treaty of Locarno. Sir Auston Chamberlain went to Locarno. To begin with they intended to do it by forcing Germany to grant permission to France for French troops to cross Germany into Russia. This was a peace treaty. The real object of it was to draw Germany away from Russia towards Great Britain and to form an economic blockade of Russia with a view to declaring war on Russia. After the wonderful peace treaty Great Britain cut off diplomatic relations with Russia with the result that they got another big unemployment in England. They lost trade by it. Immediately afterwards the Russian Ambassador in Poland was murdered. This has been the beginning of war but again Great Britain counted their chickens before they were hatched because so great was the commercial greed of France and Germany that their desire for the Russian market was much greater than their loyalty to Great Britain.

Now dealing with Afghanistan. Afghanistan is one of the chains against Soviet Russia. Afghanistan is a very poor country. Afghanistan has no mineral wealth, no oil. If it had it would have been British long ago. Afghanistan itself is a beggar among nations. But Afghanistan is extremely important internationally because it is the buffer state between British India and Soviet Russia. And they thought (the British Government) that if it was possible to invade Russia through Afghanistan we must be very careful to have Afghanistan on our side. Afghanistan instead of allowing our troops may allow Russian troops to enter India. But this fellow Amanullah, this Bolshevik as they called him, decided otherwise. He said he did not realise the benefits the British Government could give him and he went on a tour to Europe against the advice of the British Government and what did he do. He went to London and immediately the British Government welcomed him and he and George drove in open cars. The people waved flags and they thought that it impressed Amanullah with the cordiality of Great Britain and they said; Now Mr. Amanullah, you have seen what a nice country we are. Will you allow us to lend you a little money. We will lend you £. 10,000,000. Pay it when you like. And Amanullah said; Keep your money. He said that because he remembered very well what happened to Egypt. Being a poor country Egypt was foolish enough to borrow money from Great Britain, the great beneficent country, and the time came when Great Britain said to Egypt. Where is the money I lent you? And the Khedive said: Well, I have not got it. Give me time. No you cannot get time. If you don't pay you will have to give Egypt in 24 hours. And that is how Egypt became a British Protectorate. Amanullah remembered that. He went to

Soviet Russia. He formed trade alliances and defensive alliances with Great Britain's great enemies, Russia and Turkey.

Well, what was to be done? You cannot allow this fellow to do this and therefore it is very easy for a few Mullahs to stir up disaffection among the primitive tribes of Afghanistan. We have only got to give some rupees to a Mullah and he will say this Amanullah is a Kafir and a traitor to Islam. They all flock to the Mullah; and what is most extraordinary is that they these primitive tribes carried on a very well organised fight with a very well organised army of the state. How that is possible I have it to your own imaginations.

Now another word on the national situation before I conclude. We have heard a lot recently about the Kellog Pact about this wonderful gesture of peace. Now the more one talks of peace the more one prepares for war. As I have said before if a man comes to me and I meet him in a dark street I am always looking up for the club behind his back, so you remember how Great Britain and the America have been quarrelling all these years. They are quarrelling to obtain the markets of the world. America has got the money and Great Britain has got the markets. This will lead to war and the proof of it is that while they are talking of peace they are building battleships by the dozen. Great Britain is organising her army. Great Britain and France form a naval alliance against America. Great Britain and Japan form a naval alliance against America. Now all this International position vitally affects the masses of India. Unless you take into account the international position you can achieve no successful freedom movement. You must rely upon the working classes of the world. If they support you then the Imperialists can do nothing. To begin with base your programme on an International position and not on a national position. And this applies chiefly to the Youth League here. And when a man enters into a Youth League he enters for the first time into active politics. Consequently I have great faith in the Youth Leagues of India but they must be better organised and join together in a more compact body. We must have a central body and branches all over India and every Youth League should send its delegates to the central body. The Executive committee should be composed of delegates of all the youth leagues.

Now the third thing that I want to bring before you is the fact that you men of Dadar have got to take a very active political programme if you are going to be of any use at all. And if you take my advice you will base this programme not on the middle classes, not on the landowners class but upon the working class of Bombay and I advise every man who does not know what the life of a worker is in Bombay to take a train and go down to the mill area and see how they are living in miserable chawls, where they have very little

to eat, where they cannot have a light, where they cannot read and develop their minds and where they have to toil for hours in a factory for a miserable wage of ten or twenty rupees. And these people astonished the world by the very great movement they started in India last year. It was the general strike of the mill industry. This strike was not the work of a few communist agitators. It was not caused by Moscow agents or gold and I want to put it to you. Is it possible for the working class who are all quite contented, who are living in luxury, is it possible for any agitator, Moscow or otherwise to persuade these people to give up their comforts and come out of work and fight against the police terrorism, Pathan hooliganism and misery and starvation of the worst type. It is because they are economically driven to it. It is the encroachment upon their living conditions that led them to strike work. And the papers say all workers are easily pacified, it is only these miserable communist agitators who have come out and upset things. What should we do with them? Produce the public safety Bill. And what does the Public Safety Bill stand for. It stands for not only the deportation of desirable or undesirable Englishmen but it stands for the complete smashing of the western contact, for crushing international working class movement in India. We must not allow them to do that. Let them pass their bills, let them arrest all the leaders, let them have Meerut after Meerut. For every man that they arrest another man will stand in his place. They think that by repression they can stop the working class from going forward. They are making a mistake. They are merely forcing the working class to a more active mass propaganda. So in spite of the Simon Commissions in spite of the repressive measures, in spite of speeches of Mr. Crear and Sir Denys Bray in spite of the viceroy's autocracy and in spite of the Times of India and the Indian Daily Mail they have been defeated already. The workers already have their leaders again. Defence Committees have started all over the country to defend these people but we must make the defence committees to defend them in the proper lights. Now it is necessary to base your movement on the working class. Most of you are in a somewhat similar economic position. Some of you work, slave your hands and fingers at offices in Bombay, doing accounts and typewriting, doing all the hard work and get miserable wages like, thirty, forty and sixty rupees and in spite of that there are some young men, few I hope, who pretend to hang on to the coat tails of the rearing bourgeoisie and the master class. If you are going to value your freedom you have to prepare to cooperate with the working class. I do not mean to say that you have got to go to them from a humanitarian point of view. You must go down with your sleeves rolled up and prepared for work and active work side by side with the workers. The workers will not tolerate patronage, they want people who are prepared to go and share their conditions and share the fight with them and share the

victory with them (hear hear) The working class has its intellectuals as well as the bourgeoisie class but these intellectuals are with the working class and not opposed to the working class.

P. 1695.

Speech delivered by: Mr. H. L. Hutchinson.
Date: 1-5-29.
Place: Worli, Bombay.
Auspices of: Worli Youth League.
Subject: "May Day" or "International
Workers' Day."

MR. HUTCHINSON'S SPEECH.

(Translated (sentence by sentence).

Friends, we live in a society to-day which is totally and completely rotten. (translated ensued). We live in society which it is absolutely impossible to reform, and the only way in which we can do anything, at all, with it is to scrap it, throw it in the waste-paper basket or in the sea, (Laughter). (Translation ensued. Under these circumstances, the society in which we live makes the masses of humanity to work, and work for whom? Do they work for themselves? No. They work to keep in luxury a lot, or rather a few, comparatively a few, parasites of the world, they work to keep in luxury Sir Victor Sassoon, Mr. J. B. Petit, and Sir Manmohandas Ramji. They work for these big millowners, who don't work themselves but live on the work of others. This society, I say, is a completely rotten society all over the world. In every country in the world, the same thing is going on and the same society exists. For instance, we, who come from England, know that there are people who go down in the mines to dig up coal, and it is a very dangerous work. Every year, several mines get blown up, thousands of people get killed. Notwithstanding that, they go down risk their lives to dig up coal. For whom? Friends, do they use it themselves? They cannot afford to buy coal for which they risk their lives to produce. The only people who use the coal that they produce are the people who own factories and the parasite classes. (Translation follows). In India itself the workers work to produce cloth, and others use it. They themselves cannot

afford to buy cloth they produce—all the cloth to produce which they work their fingers and hand and blood and sweat. They produce the cloth for big people who have already big and fat layers of fat (Hear hear and laughter) (Translation follows). Now, for a long time the working classes of the world have remained quiet—they have been taught to remain quiet, and the Ruling-Class, the people who live on the working-classes, have taken care to tutor them in the West with education which teaches them that the fate of the poor man is at the gate of the rich man and that the poor man must not hanker after riches, and, to bring that argument with some force, they invent the wonderful religion which they call the Christian Religion. (Hear, hear and laughter). (Translation goes on). It is a very useful religion—this Christian Religion. (Laughter). For it begins to teach the working-classes that if you remain poor, if you remain peaceful, if you remain quiet, if you remain perfectly contented with your miserable condition, or if you do not attempt to take steps for your betterment, you are sure to have salvation — the next world. (Hear, hear) and laughter). It is also a very useful religion to subject other people (Laughter). For instance, when any Island is discovered it does not matter where it is (Laughter) if they find a huge amount of oil or minerals what do they do? They dress up men in long black coats, but for them top hats (Laughter) pay them passage, give them a Bible (Laughter) and send them out to convert poor, miserable, benighted infidels into Christianity, (Laughter). (Translation proceeds) These men in black coats and top hats arrive in the Island and they are sent out to make speeches before different people and they address the people to dress up in Manchester cotton and become good Christians. (Laughter) In return, they probably eat the man. (Laughter). If they have eaten one Christian Missionary, the British Government send another Missionary, and he is also eaten (Laughter). And so, my friends, to defend the glory and to defend the benevolence or Christianity, the British Government the most Christian people send gunboats to keep down the savages. They have done it very successfully. The next instalment is the arrival of the Manchester salesman with his sample case, and he immediately finds a new market for Manchester goods, and not only does he find a new market for Manchester goods, but he finds a new market also for Labour to be exploited. (Laughter). This, my friends, is the way that the great and glorious British Empire has been built up.

(Translation proceeds). But the working-classes of the world, who have long been kept down by this religion and the Press and by all other doses of opium that the Ruling Class provides for them the working classes have begun to be awakened. All over the world you will find the awakening going on very quickly. You have seen the awakening recently in Bombay. All over the world these Ruling-Classes the people who live on the fat of others these Ruling Classes are prepared to try and crush the rest of the working-Classes movement are prepared to try and crush the rest of the working-Classes movement. If the Ruling-Class cannot dupe the working Class movement, then it is going to crush it by the higher waste of steel. At least they think so. In England, the working class made a tremendous gesture by its first movement forward for freedom, when the General Strike of 19 occurred when Railways, Steamships, Transport People, Electricians, and other workers in Britain threw down their tools and came out to defy the Capitalist Class (Hear Hear) (Translated). So much so was the effect, that in many other big cities in England there was no light no taxis, no tram-cars, no other conveyances, and consequently the big, fat, Bourgeoisie Bourage (sic) is, the big, fat, hear Capitalists had to take big sticks because they could no longer get carriages and waked on their big, fat plumpy legs. (Hear, Hear and laughter). & they naturally thought that the world was coming to an end (Laughter) that something had gone wrong with the honest workingmen, so much so, that to correct them they brought out soldiers and sailors with fixed bayonets, tanks, machine-guns, armoured cars, and they brought out what they called the force of State to preserve law and order to preserve law and order this is done to people to whom the country belongs. (Hear, hear). The working class of Great Britain was not beaten, it was not defeated, it was invincible, but my friend, it was betrayed the workers of Great Britain were betrayed by the same people who betrayed the Indian people when they passed the Bengal Ordinance when they shot down the native people, and when they refused permission to Egyptian people Sir James Mac-Donald and Sir J. B Thomas, and other wonderful Labour leaders who betrayed and misled the working-classes into the hands of the Capitalists-class and Imperialists at Home. But, so far from the workers of Great Britain being defeated, they are organising themselves to-day all over Great Britain they are organising monster protest meetings and monster

demonstrations against the arrest of 31 Indian Labour Leaders and against the Ordinance and against the forced general strike over which you are now, fighting. (Translation proceeds) and it is the same thing in the other countries of Europe. In one country of Europe, the masters have become the exploiters like leeches in the dog's tail. (Hear, hear) Speaking of Russia, the Russian Rule is not that of exploiters, it is of the working-classes for workers. (Translated) Germany is big industrial country which Britain was fighting with India's help. After the war, this big industrial country finds its workers throwing off their bosses and take the products of the country into its own hands. Now, you see in India, after a considerable effort, not only the Imperialists but the Indian Capitalists themselves nobody expected that the Indian workers would make the British Empire tremble. (Cheers) (Translated) The general strike of last year was such a success and became such a danger to the Ruling Class in India today that they determined to crush it at any cost whatsoever. (Translated.) Then, came the Public Safety Bill and the trades Disputes Bill and the arrest of the 31 Labour leaders, and the present general strike enforced, and deliberately engineered by the Ruling Class to try and crush the great revolutionary Trade Union of Europe, the only Trade Union that stands for the interest of the workers as the Red Flag Union. (Hear hear) (Translated) But the workers of Bombay have shown by their strike how to strike successfully, now that the Government and the Capitalists behind them may put repression and iron hand as much as they like, but the workers of Europe, the workers of Bombay and the workers in India as well as the workers of the world will go forward to victory. (Hear hear) (Translated) It must be a victory from the International standpoint, it must not be for the people of Bombay but for people all over India, all over England, all over France, all over Germany and all over America There should not be the exploiters class and the Capitalists class and the Ruling class but the workers joint together the British people looking at the Indian workers as fellow workers and brothers. (Hear, hear) Therefore, in order that victory must be ours, we must base our movements, on the international stand point and we must not observe any difference between the Brown people, White people, Green people, Blue people, Pink people, any coloured people, Discard the difference between the British and Indian people. They are both people,

and there is no difference between the British Capitalists and the Indian Capitalists. They are both exploiters. And consequently, as soon as the workers of the world come together and are united, then the Ruling-Classes all over the world will be swept off away absolutely in sea. (Laughter) The working Classes will then have achieved victory of the Red Flag for the products of the world (Cheers).

Saraswati Machine Printing Press, Meerut, U. P., India.

"ACCOMPANIMENT TO THE DEPOSITION OF P. W. 147".

No.	NAME.	16-4-28. Morning.	16-4-28. Evening.	17-4-28. Morning.	17-4-28. Evening.	18-4-28. Morning.	19-4-28. Morning.	20-4-28. Morning.	21-4-28. Morning.
1	S. H. Jhabwala.		P. & S. Mahadeo Bhawan.	No.	P. & S. Behind Gokhels Hotel.	P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. Poibavdi.	P. & S. Nagu, S. W.	P. & S. N. S. W.
2	B. F. Bradley.		P. & S. M. Bhawan.	No.	P. & S. G. H.	P. & S. N. S. W.		P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. N. S. W.
3	S. S. Mirajkar.		P. & S. M. Bhawan.	No.	P. & S. G. H.	P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. Poibavdi.	P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. N. S. W.
4	R. S. Nimbkar.			No.	P. & S. G. H.	P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. Poibavdi.	P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S.
5	S. A. Dange.			No.	P. & S. G. H.	P.	P. & S. Poibavdi.		
6	A. A. Alwe,	P. & S. at N. S. Wadi.		No.		P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. Poibavdi.	P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S.
7	K. N. Joglekar.			No.		P. & S. N. S. W.			

No.	NAME.	22-4-28.	24-4-28.	24-4-28.	25-4-28.	25-4-28.	26-4-28.	26-4-28.	
		Morning.	Morning.	Evening.	Morning.	Evening.	Morning.	Evening.	
1	S. H. Jhabwala.	P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. Simplex Mill.	P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. Gokhles Hotel.	P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. Spring Mill.	
2	B. F. Bradley.	P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. S. Mill.		P. & S. Tardeo.	P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. Spring Mill.	
3	S. S. Mirajkar.			P. & S. S. Mill.	P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. Tardeo.	P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. S. M.	
4	R. S. Nimbkar.	P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. S. Mill.	P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. Tradeo.	P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. S. Mill.	
5	S. A. Dange.		P. & S. N. S. W.				P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. S. Mill.	
6	A. A. Alwe.	P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. N. S. W.		P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. Tardeo.	P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. S. Mill.	
7	K. N. Joglekar.								
8	S. V. Ghatе.							P.	P. S. Mill.

No.	NAME.	27-4-28. Morning.	72-4-28. Evening.	28-4-28. Morning.	28-4-28. Evening.	29-4-28. Morning.	30-4-28. Morning.	30-4-28. Evening.	1-5-28. Morning and Evening.
1	S. H. Jhabwala.	P. & S. N. S. W.		P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. Spring M.	P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. N. S. W.		P. & S. Gokhle H.
2	B. F. Bradley.	P. N. S. W.		P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. Spring M.	P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. DeLisle.	P. & S. G. H.
3	S. S. Mirajkar.	P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. Venus Cinema.	P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. Spring M.	P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. DeLisle. Rd.	P. & S. G. H.
4	R. S. Nimbkar.		P. & S. V. C.	P. & S. N. S. W.		P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. DeLisle.	P. & S. G. H.
5	S. A. Dange.	P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. V. C.						P. & S. G. H.
6	A. A. Alwe,	P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. Venus C.	P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. Spring M.	P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. DeLisle.	P. & S. G. H.
7	K. N. Joglekar.								P. & S. G. H.
8	S. V. Ghate.		P.		Not present.				

No.	NAME.	2-5-28.	3-5-28.	3-5-28.	4-5-28.	4-5-28.	5-5-28.	5-5-28.	6-5-28
		Morning.	Morning.	Evening.	Morning.	Evening.	Morning.	Evening.	Morning.
1	S. H. Jhabwala.		P. S. N. S. W.			P. & S. Worli.	P. & S. N. S. W.		
2	B. F. Bradley.		P. & S. N. S. W.		P. & S. N. S. W.		P. & S. N. S. W.		
3	S. S. Mirajkar.	P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. N. S. W.	P & S. Moon Mill.	P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. Worli.	P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. Simplex M.	P. & S. N. S. W.
4	R. S. Nimbkar.	P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. Moon M.	P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. Worli.	P. & S. N. S. W.		
5	S. A. Dange.								P. & S. N. S. W.
6	A. A. Alwe.	P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. N. S. W.	Not present.	P. & S. N. S. W.		P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. S. M.	P. & S. N. S. W.
7	K. N. Joglekar.			Not present.		Not present.		Not present.	
8	S. V. Ghate.			Not present.		Not present.		Not present.	

No.	NAME.	7-5-28. Morning.	8-5-28. Morning.	9-5-28. Morning.	9-5-28. Evening.	10-5-28. Morning.	11-5-28. Morning.	12-5-28. Morning.	13-5-28. Morning.
1	S. H. Jhabwala.	P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. N. S. W.		P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. N. S. W.		
2	B. F. Bradley.		P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. Slater Rd.				
3	S. S. Mirajkar.		P. & S. N. S. W.		P. & S. Slater Rd.	P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. N. S. W.		P. & S. N. S. W.
4	R. S. Nimbkar.	P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. Slater Rd.	P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. N. S. W.
5	S. A. Dange.	P. & S. N. S. W.				P. & S. N. S. W.			
6	A. A. Alwe,	P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. N. S. W.	Not attended.	P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. N. S. W.
7	K. N. Joglekar.				Not attended.				
8	S. V. Ghatе.				Not attended.				

(9)

No.	NAME.	13-5-28. Evening.	14-5-28. Morning.	14-5-28. Evening.	15-5-28. Morning.	15-5-28. Evening.	16-5-28. Morning.	17-5-28. Morning.	18-5-28 Morning.
1	S. H. Jhabwala.							P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. N. S. W.
2	B. F. Bradley.							P. & S. N. S. W.	
3	S. S. Mirajkar.	P. & S. Phoenix Mill.			P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. Nariad Wadi		P. & S. N. S. W.	
4	R. S. Nimbkar.		P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. Lalbagh.	P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. Nariad Wadi.		P. & S. N. S. W.	
5	S. A. Dange.	P. & S. Phoenix Mill.			P. & S. N. S. W.		P. & S. N. S. W.		
6	A. A. Alwe.	P. & S. Phoenix Mill.	P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. Lalbagh.		P. & S. Nariad Wadi.	P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. N. S. W.
7	K. N. Joglekar.	Not attended.							
8	S. V. Ghate.	Not attended.							
9	Thengdi			Not attended.					

No.	NAME.	19-5-28. Morning.	20-5-28. Morning.	20-5-28. Evening.	21-5-28. Morning.	21-5-28. Evening.	22-5-28. Morning.	22-5-28. Evening.	23-5-28. Morning.
1	S. H. Jhabwala.						P. & S. N. S. W.		
2	B. F. Bradley.				P. & S. N. S. W.				
3	S. S. Mirajkar.		P.						
4	R. S. Nimbkar.	P. & S. N. S. W.	P.	P. & S. Chikalwadi.		P. & S. Kala Ch.	P. & S. N. S. W.		
5	S. A. Dange.	P. & S. N. S. W.							
6	A. A. Alwe,	P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. N. S. W.		P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. Kala Chowkey.	P. & S. N. S. W.		P. & S. N. S. W.
7	K. N. Joglekar.		P. & S. N. S. W.		P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. Kala Ch.	P. & S. N. S. W.		
8	S. V. Ghate.								
9	Thengdi.		P. & S. N. S. W.			Not attended.			

(7)

No.	NAME.	23-5-28. Evening.	24-5-28. Morning.	24-5-28. Evening.	25-5-28. Morning.	25-5-28. Evening.	26-5-28. Morning.	26-5-28. Evening.	27-5-28 Morning.
1	S. H. Jhabwala.		P. & S. N. S. W.					P. & S. Phoenix Mill.	P. & S. N. S. W.
2	B. F. Bradley.		P. & S. N. S. W.					P. & S. Phoenix Mill.	
3	S. S. Mirajkar.				P. & S. N. S. W.		P. & S. N. S. W.		
4	R. S. Nimbkar.	P. & S. DeLisle.	P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. Venus C.	P. & S. N. S. W.			P. & S. Phoenix Mill.	
5	S. A. Dange.	P. & S. DeLisle. R.		P. & S. Venus C.	P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. Naigaum		P. & S. Phoenix Mill.	
6	A. A. Alwe.	P. & S. DeLisle. Rd.	P. & S. N. S. W.		P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. Naigaum	P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. Phoenix Mill.	P. & S. N. S. W.
7	K. N. Joglekar.		P. & S. N. S. W.	Not attended.		Not attended.		Not attended.	
8	S. V. Ghate.			Not attended.		Not attended.		Not attended.	
9	Thengdi.			Not attended.		Not attended.		Not attended.	
10	Kasle.			Not attended.		Not attended.		Not attended.	

No.	NAME.	28-5-28.	28-5-28.	29-5-28.	30-5-28.	30-5-28.	31-5-28.	31-5-28.	1-6-28.
		Morning.	Evening.	Morning.	Morning.	Evening.	Morning.	Evening.	Morning.
1	S. H. Jhabwala.			P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. N. S. W.				
2	B. F. Bradley.			P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. N. S. W.				
3	S. S. Mirajkar.				P. & S. N. S. W.				
4	R. S. Nimbkar.	P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. Ghorapdeo.	P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. Simplex M.		P. S. Chikalwadi.	
5	S. A. Dange.	P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. Ghorapdeo.				P. & S. N. S. W.		P. & S. N. S. W.
6	A. A. Alwe.			P. & S. N. S. W.					
7	K. N. Joglekar.								
8	S. V. Ghate.								
9	Thengdi.								
10	Kasle.				P. & S. N. S. W.			Not attended.	

No.	NAME.	1-6-28. Morning.	1-6-28. Morning.	1-6-28. Morning.	2-6-28. Morning.	3-6-28. Morning.	3-6-28. Evening.	4-6-28. Morning.	5-6-28. Morning.	6-6-28. Morning.
1	S. H. Jhabwala.	P. & S. Dinshaw l'elit M.				P. & S. N. S. W.		P. & S. N. S. W.		
2	B. F. Bradley.			P. & S. China Mill.				P. & S. N. S. W.		
3	S. S. Mirajkar.		P. & S. Phoenix.		P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. N. S. W.		P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. N. S. W.
4	S. A. Dange.				P. & S. N. S. W.				P. & S. N. S. W.	
5	A. A. Alwe.		P. & S. Phoenix.		P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. Naigaum.	P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. N. S. W.
6	K. N. Joglekar.									
7	R. S. Nimbkar.			P. & S. China M.	P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. N. S. W.			P. & S. N. S. W.	
		Not present.	Not present.	Not present.						

No.	NAME	6-6-28. Evening	7-6-28. Morning.	7-6-28. Evening.	8-6-28. Morning.	9-6-28. Morning.	10-6-28. Morning.	11-6-28. Morning.	13-6-28 Morning.
1	S. H. Jhabwala.				P. & S. N. S. W.			P. & S. D. T. Hall	P. & S. D. T. Hall.
2	B. F. Bradley.		P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. Kamatipura.					
3	S. S. Mirajkar.		P. & S. N. S. W.		P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. D. T. Hall.	P. & S. D. T. Hall	P. & S. D. T. Hall.
4	S. A. Dange.		P. & S. N. S. W.						P. & S. D. T. Hall.
5	A. A. Alwe.	P. & S. Phoenix Mill.	P. & S. N. S. W.		P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S.	P. & S. D. T. Hall.	P. & S. D. T. Hall.	P. & S. D. T. Hall.
6	K. N. Joglekar.								
7	R. S. Nimbkar.	P. & S. Phoenix Mill.		Not present.	P. & S. N. S. W.			P. & S. D. T. Hall.	P. & S. D. T. Hall.

No.	NAME.	14-6-28. Morning.	16-6-28. Morning.	17-6-28. Morning.	18-6-28. Morning.	20-6-28. Morning.	23-6-28. Morning.	25-6-28. Morning.	27-6-28 Morning.
1	S. H. Jhabwala.		P. & S. N. S. W.			P. & S. D. T. H.			P. & S. N. S. W.
2	B. F. Bradley.					P. & S. D. T. H.			
3	S. S. Mirajkar.	P. & S. G. Hotel.	P. & S. N. S. W.		P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. D. T. H.		P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. N. S. W.
4	S. A. Dange.				P. & S. N. S. W.				
5	A. A. Alwe.	P. & S. Gokhle's Hotel.		P. & S. N. S. W.					
6	K. N. Joglekar.								P. & S. N. S. W.
7	R. S. Nimbkar.	P. & S. G. Hotel.		P. & S. N. S. W.		P. & S. D. T. H.	P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. N. S. W.	P. & S. N. S. W.

No.	NAME.	28-6-28. Morning.	30-6-28. Morning.
1	S. H. Jhabwala.		P. & S. N. S. W.
2	B. F. Bradley.		
3	S. S. Mirajkar.	P. & S. D. T. H.	P. & S. N. S. W.
4	S. A. Dange.		
5	A. A. Alwe.	P. & S. D. T. H.	P. & S. N. S. W.
6	K. N. Joglekar.	P. & S. D. T. H.	
7	R. S. Nimbkar.		

N. S. W. means Nagu Syaji's Wadi.

D. T. H. means Damodhay Thackersey Hall.

G. H. means Gokhle's Hotel.

Not present means I was not present in the meeting.

P. & S. means Present and Spoke.