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# BIHAR SPEECHES

IN CONNECTION WITH

## STRIKES,

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All India Trade Union Congress

JHARIA ETC.,

their offensive against you; and it follows from that obviously that you should have only one union and that I suppose is the crux of the question. If think if there is any split among you you are at any rate to some degree to blame. If you had done your duty to control the union yourself in the past, there could have been in the past no question of serious division. This union is yours, it is fighting for you, and I think that is what you have to bear in mind in future, and that it is primarily your concern and whatever people outside may have to say you have to determine the policy and if you do that there can be no question ultimately of your remaining divided. It also follows that you cannot confine your union to this one place. That is obvious on the ground of the strength which you can bring to bear with the experience of other unions in other places and other countries, and thus there are many iron and steel factories all over the northern part of India you cannot afford to remain isolated from them. They are organised but you are weak. Therefore you must have one union with them and a branch at Jamshedpur. I think it is one of your first duties when you have managed to establish a union here to send your emmissaries to go to other places and organise. While there was one more point I wanted to speak about for a very short time, I wanted to make an appeal to you. As you may have heard I am one of those people who are called communists. I believe many of you have been abused by the Company during the strike as communists. As I may as well say that I also came under that stigma. I do consider it a stigama myself, but I consider it and regard it as a high ideal to which I conscientiously aim, but I want for the moment to talk about this. While all of you have been through this recent strike and lock out and many of you no doubt went through the general strikes of 1920 and 1922 and you have been employed on between 1922 and 1928 and you know what the lives of workers in this country are like. Every one of you are suffering and living in beastly homes to which I think no human being can step in. I want you to consider whether you think it is desirable that you for the rest of your lives and your children after you and so on for ever should continue to do the same kind of thing, I believe you will answer No. Well, communists also answer No to that question. They consider that is is undesirable that working men generally should go on living that kind of life and they propose means whereby this kind of life be abolished and better one substituted. You have experience of strikes, you know in order to preserve your conditions of live even considering at a very low level, you have to indulge in striking. Trade Union activities you know by this time is not very successful. It must be done because conditions are not really much better. You must therefore aim at some totally new condition of things. You may have different trade unionsim, and I believe that the only aim you can possibly have in view is to transform the whole organization in such a way that instead of

managing directors and big bosses running the factories you must run them in an organised and systematic manner, so that you can earn profits they can possibly afford for the use of ordinary people. Now that aim you must have ultimately in view, but you must also consider by what means this is obtainable. You know the way in which the society is worked and you can do it by solid organisation. You may think that there is no problem in front of you now, but I assure you it has. In time some of you will find that you cannot put up with the idea of going on for ever in this way. You must get before you that idea of having a society run by workers as your ultimate object. Well it does not appear to reflect very much upon your immediate problems and so I want to return to them. I can only repeat what I said a moment ago that the only thing which you can do is to organise your union as strongly as you can but instead of two there should be only one union which you shall control in its deliberation, its policy day to day, determining what action it will take. There is no question of your being dissatisfied by any faction by this or by that. You know your own interests best and you should have as strong a union as possible to represent your interests." At this stage Mr. Spratt took his seat abruptly.

Sp. Vrma

M. Ahmed

28/9

1. Steno to D. C.

2. Reader S. I. to S. P

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## P. 2207

Speech of Shamshul Huda. On 27/9/28.

Mr. Shamshul Huda, the outside leader, then addressed the meeting. He expressed joy to see Hindu Musalmans all together. They were now to see how they were being oppressed by the oppressors and how that could be mitigated. He wanted peace during the meetings and it should not be controlled by the police force. He added that the big leaders do not care for the labours. They want to serve their own purpose. There are many cheats, but one who really works to improve their condition is their leader. Mr. Bose, he said, was a congress man and he wanted to utilise labour for the good of congress but the labourers would not help the congress until their grievances were redressed. He further added that the independence conference etc. were all nuisance, and until the labour class were

educated it would bring nothing towards that end. There could be no freedom unless the labour fight for them. That was the only way to freedom. But the labour had been kept blind by not being educated, lest the betrayal of the big leaders would be exposed to them. Labourers are almost all illiterate except only one in hundred. They would detect the cheating and crookedness (juachori and badmashi) when they will be educated. Capitalists, all giving education to their children but the labour could not & that will not be done till the English reign here. Gandhi first promised much for the labour but when labour got up he fell back: He wanted the labourers here to cite their own instances, that how many of them lived together in one and the same quarters not even fit for the dwelling of beasts whereas big men and qualified workers had got a separate bungalow for each of them. This sort of oppression won't cease unless unity was achieved and that was most important. He could not say that Homi or Bose would fulfil their grievances but they should help such men who might get their demands for them. But still they should not depend upon any and should try to stand on their own legs. Be you educated he said and make leaders amongst you for the trade unions and so long you do not come to such position you must depend on others who will fulfil your demands and not upon leaders like Joshi, Gandhi and Bose. They came to exploit and fill their own pockets etc. "No doubt you are men and work like men for some time, learn politics and you will find many leaders amongst you or you will be cheated always." He then criticised the Public Safety Bill which was being enacted in Labour Council to drive out outsiders from India, like Mr. Spratt, etc. The Englishmen, he said, have got the idea, not to educate the labour nor to show them the right path and keep them subdued ever in this way and that is why they want to drive out men like Mr. Spratt etc. As the labour bill is being passed in which laws are being framed against strikers etc. and that in such cases the labour would be fined and sent to jail as well. Those who have power can do anything they like but "we can also show our power by stopping all works." To meet this, they must unite and help each other, and then the freedom was in their hands. They should unite with the international associations as well.

Illegible

13. 4. 29

## P. 2247

Speech of Mr. J W. Johnston delivered on 18. 12. 28 at the All India Trade Union Congress, Jharia.

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“Chairman and comrades, representing the League against Imperialism and for national independence, I bring greetings to your Trade Union Congress. The League against Imperialism was organized in February 1927. Its purpose was to bring about the inter-national organization of the oppressed people and the oppressed classes in the Imperialistic countries for mutual action. We recognize that in the development of your movement in your struggle against an Imperialist power, that it is very natural that prejudice against the white race should be quite prevalent. It is quite natural that when 300 million people see a few whites grinding them down in poverty, that should bring about a prejudice against that race. The League against Imperialism wants to bring to the workers in the Imperialistic countries the shame that supplies the army of oppression that grind down the people colonial and semi-colonial. We recognize that your struggles are not only economic, not only political, but for racial and social equality and this is the basis of your struggle for independence. The conditions of the workers in the Imperialistic countries bad as they are, poor as they are are nothing in comparison with the conditions of the majority of the workers and the peasantry of this country.

The short time that I have been in India, I have taken the opportunity to visit the workmen quarters in the city of Calcutta. Frankly speaking, I have never seen anything worse in all my life. I have read a number of books on India some from those who are naturally prejudiced against Indian cause and some from those of British Imperialists; and one and all tell the same story. There is no disagreement amongst any of them in regard to the extent of poverty that exists amongst the Indian people. Actually they represent a picture on the verge of famine for the millions of people. Is this a normal situation ?

I had intended to visit a number of other cities but your Honourable Governor in Council has told me that I cannot do it. I listened to your president's official greetings to myself, but I had another official greeting before that—an official greeting to get out of your country. Of course Miss Mayo, a country woman of mine was welcome in India, because she speaks the language of British Imperialism. Miss Mayo in her book, in her mis-named “Mother India” uses her ink well with...surest....India...planted by British Imperialism not to help the Indian people but to help the British

misrule to continue in India by her propaganda in America. My deportation is not a personal matter. There is nothing against me personal. They do not know me but they will deport any one who represents an organization of which they are very very well aware, who comes to share the tears in the suffering and the degradation of the Indian people and to help the Indian people in their struggles for independence. This is the reason why the Governor in Council has decided that I should go. My activities in the labour movement have been for a little more than a quarter of century in Imperialistic countries. This is my first visit to a colonial country and my first personal experience on seeing a situation first hand amongst an oppressed people. I have seen the conditions in America, in slums of the New York, saw the conditions in London, saw them in France, but I frankly say that I have not seen anything like that I have seen in India. It really shakes one to think of the appalling conditions of workers in Bombay in the summer time. There is one only one spot of which I had experience which I can describe and compare the conditions that exist here and there and that is amongst the American negroes. Though equal before the law, they are segregated, still they are lynched they are kept ignorant, they are degraded. They are 11 million American untouchables kept in this position because they are a potential reserve power of American capitalism. To break them down the white workers kept them in this position not because of their ignorance but because of their pretended race superiority. In struggle in America we are trying to bring about the unity of negro workers and the white workers, a unity for the racial, political and social equality of the negroes and their self determination if they so desired. This is the only comparison that I can find in my observation with some other conditions in India. This is very poor analogy. 11 million negroes a minority in a country cannot be compared in a struggle of 300 millions people against a yoke of white minority, which is itself a cradle of civilisation. The only excuse when you try to find out excuses for their possession in India is the fact that they kept peace for the Indians for so many years. You have left them peace according to them what they tell. Well, comrades war is not more terrible than this silent war-fare that has been carried on for 200 years by British Imperialism against the Indian people. If this is peace then let us have war. This is a peace in which no race can exist, but must struggle onward until they have gained their full freedom. What are the casualties of the so called peace? The casualty of this peace is the terrifying mortality of children, and death of the mother at child-birth. It is the reduction of the vitality of a race until the average life has been reduced to 24 years of age. Was this 6 millions of deaths in an epidemic of 1918 was it unavoidable? Was this six million deaths due to the fact, that for 200 years the very life vitality of Indian people was sucked until that epidemic came along. Plague was the war epidemic.

which came to India and to all countries, but in no country the death rate was so great as it was in India. They call it as peace, which is what they say they have given you peace after 200 years of rule, but the struggle of the Indian people for freedom began the first day that British imperialism laid its hands to subdue the race temporarily and it is this struggle carried on silently, carried on for a generation, carried on continuously is now coming to a head.

The great upheaval that has taken place since the world war, in India is the sign that in spite of the fact how they have driven Indian people backward, but the soul and spirit of freedom still lived and is still struggling to find its expression. The League against Imperialism is the organization that wishes to combine the colonial people into struggle against their oppressors. The League against Imperialism endorses the opposition of the Indian people to the Simon Commission & complete independence for India. Your struggle has reached such a strength and momentum that it has compelled the British Govt. to say that they were willing to grant you some measure of self-Govt. Had it not been for your struggle, had it not been for your organization had it not been for the continued struggle that you carried, the British Govt. would never have said that they were willing to give you some form of self government. The trade union of India must take a responsible position in the struggle. The struggle cannot be successful unless they take a prominent part in the struggle and in struggle we must analyse the situation. We must find out first do we talk in the same language. This is very very important to see and understand whether all who talked about independence were all talking in the same language. The bureaucrats of the British labour party talked about independence but they are also for the Simon Commission but they also fastened the Bengal Ordinance and they were partly if not wholly responsible for it and would not allow your Indian delegates to explain their position on the Commonwealth of labour conference. The so-called inter-nationalists, they say we are for freedom but they separate the colonial people under 3 categories and do not assign a single category to the Indians. - The Imperialists themselves say " We want a genuine partnership", but what do they mean by genuine partnership. You must find out from discussion with those who are for independence. Find out whether they speak the same language. You can discuss with any body whether 2 and 2 is 4 or whether 2 and 2 is 5. It is a problem of simple arithmetic. If one says 2 and 2 is a pair of cloth, you cease to discuss. One says I am for independence one says I am for Dominion status, one says I am for various other things, one says I am for Simon Commission. They are simply burning Indian star to get some brighter place in the British Imperialistic Crown. You must find out that you are

speaking in the same language of those with whom you are co-operating. You will find many times that those who pretend that they are for the independence of the Indian people, but their interests are more in common with the Imperialists and diametrically opposed to you. They speak certain language of imperialistic domination, they do not speak the language of the oppressed people. They mean to take a road against the freedom of the world. You want freedom. The other is for the strengthening of imperialism. In the struggle we must understand, on the fundamental questions there can be no compromise, there can be no understanding except the understanding to struggle onward for that fight. Your struggle for independence is not an isolated one, it is linked up with the struggle of the oppressed people of the world. It is connected directly with the down trodden classes in the imperialistic countries. The world's war made a great change or rather registered a great change and one must understand why there was a world's war. Even in your struggle for independence you must understand the political and economic significance of the world's war itself. Why there was a world war. In previous wars there was war of individual nations against individual nations or against colonial people for the capture of their countries and for their enslavement. In the history of the world we see we must ask ourselves why was there a world war. We are told in America that this war was to end war. It was a war for democracy, but in reality the war itself was because the world had been divided between the various imperialistic nations. ~~There was no more~~ free territory to be conquered by the imperialistic nations. There was struggle for the markets and it was necessary that there should be a re-division of the world, so the colonies from Germany were dismembered and divided amongst the imperialistic nations and those who were responsible for that ~~war~~ are again preparing for another war. At no time in the world's history such preparations have been made for war as are made today and yet 22 or 23 nations have signed a peace pack not to have any war, but all of them have signed with reservation and tongue in their cheeks. Now we must understand why is this war? In the struggle for independence you will find that your struggle for independence is wrapped up in the industrialism of India, but what does that mean in the industrial revolution of England. England was the workshop of the world. In the industrial development we have reached the point where the machinery turn out the wonders of the world in 6 months out of the 12. In America they can make all the steel they want in 6 months. They can dig all the coal they want in 5 months. The same is in England, the same in Germany and same in France. Comrades, you are living in an age where you must find that changes are taking place today simply because of this industrial development. In America they told the textile workers after 9 months, you must have reduction in wages because we have to compete with the cheap labour in India. They



told the workers in Bombay that in this city you must accept low wages because we have to compete with cheap labour in Japan, so we see in every country one set of toilers is set up against other. You will find there is new thing happening everywhere and you must build up your struggle accordingly. War under imperialism is inevitable. Imperialism cannot live without war. When they cannot find new markets in the world they must go for the war. This is inevitable development of the imperialistic countries and we must recognize that struggle for the independence in India. The history of the world never recorded a single instance where the privileged people who ruled over the oppressed even gave up that privilege willingly. No instance in the history can be recorded that anything of the kind ever happened. So your appeal to the British Govt. must be built up by tremendous forces of organizations in India itself. The war which is now being prepared or rather the war which has now passed on is being forgotten. That is the trouble with the majority of the people and especially with the workers, they have a short memory. They forget quickly unless they are organized. Despite the millions of workers despite the misery and disease, we see this great preparation for war and no protest from those who suffer. However from the war we have seen some silver lining in this black cloud. We see the oppressed people resisting more strongly than ever their oppressors. We see the workers in various different countries organizing their forces in a more conscientious and intelligent line. We have seen crowns drop and we see new governments developed. The imperialists look with terror at the Russian revolution. The imperialists hold up their bloody hands in pious horror because the Czar was executed and some blood was split in the Russian fight. They passed over silence that millions of Russian workers died in the great world war without even a gun to defend themselves at the front. We should say to them you are not the judges. We should say to the imperialists you are not the judges of the Russian revolution. The Russian Govt. is not on trial. You imperialists have built up your power by suppression, by suppressing the natural development of the whole race in your greedy search for profit. You have conquered whole nations and put them by the sword and by the sword you are holding races in subjection. It is not the oppressed people, it is not the Russian people who are menace to the world. It is imperialism that is menace to the world and it is imperialism that is on trial. The struggle for independence of the oppressed people is the struggle against imperialistic exploitation and while the responsibility of that struggle rests upon the shoulders of the Indian people. It is an international one in scope. It is also our responsibility in the imperialistic countries. Do you mean to tell me that a strong powerful branch of the League in Great Britain is not mighty power to the independence movement in India. Do

you mean to tell me that a strong branch of the League in America in Australia is not a power or strength to the independence movement in India. Yes, comrades, they are. You must not underestimate a foreign Propaganda. I can assure you the British Imperialism also cannot be under-estimated.

The League against imperialism and that historic conference in 1927 cannot be under-estimated. Here for the first time in the history of the world the representatives of the oppressed people came internationally together with the representatives of the advanced sections of fraternity in the imperialistic country, not simply to talk, not simply to pass beautiful resolutions, but to lay down a concrete plan of work that we would assist the struggle in various colonial countries. Since that time imperialist aggression has increased. French imperialism crushed in brutal fashion the revolt in Morocco and Syria. The American imperialism has crushed a small negro republic by military force. The insurrection of Java and Smatra has been ruthlessly crushed. The Chinese national revolution has received a set-back by the combined forces of imperialism and by the betrayal of the leaders of Govt. Today in China Trade Union Congress is illegal, they can no longer meet in legally and we see this reign of terror developing. The death of Lala Lajpat Rai symbolises the repression by the forces of British imperialism.....brings out the white terrorist methods used against the workers in many of the countries in struggle in the past few years. In the imperialistic countries the suppression is just as brutal as we have seen in the British general strike and British coal strike. We have seen in the brutal murder of Sachho and Venzetti by the American Govt., two obscure workers, who had political ideas that the Govt. did not like and it is proper and quite natural rather, that it is in these two countries—the two greatest imperialistic countries that symbolize democracy in America and England—that these two outstanding points should stand out. This is very easy to understand because with the growth of imperialism the growth of workers is necessary. They must be subdued, their organisation must be broken up, they must not be allowed to.....otherwise they would not be able to continue their war on you.

I am not talking particularly about British imperialism, American or any other imperialism is just as dangerous. The common bond of the oppressed nationality with the oppressed workers in the imperialistic countries and the Trade Union must play a major part in the building up of this struggle. Without the workers' organisation in the Trade Union Congress the struggle loses half its strength. The League against imperialism can help a great deal in the struggle. They can help morally as well as financially and that is the thing that must be considered. The

British propaganda is far and wide. It has its ear and eyes everywhere. They watch everything, Your Govt. has put 2 C.I.D. men who are watching day and night that I am not robbed. You cannot develop their methods. At least you must understand the value of foreign propaganda. What do you know of the working conditions of the Americans, nor do the American workers know your conditions. It is this ignorance that we must break down and we can break it through mutual organization and co-operation. The independence league of India is affiliated with the League and the peasants party in . . . and many of its branches have supported the programme of the League. Comrade Rayan is one of the executives of the League against imperialism. We are asking you to affiliate your Trade Union Congress with the League and place your members on its executive Board. We are asking you to join the League congress that will be held in July in next year. You must take your place internationally. It is foolish to talk of nationalism We can hear from thousands miles which is a great distance. We have no steam boats, we have aero-planes. We are broadcasting. We are able to talk throughout the world. We have reduced the world to a planet. We have reached a stage where strike in America affects the whole of the world. We must take our place in the international scene and the best way is to affiliate your Trade Union Congress to the League.

In conclusion the League wishes success to your congress. We feel sure that in your deliberations all these things would be considered. The world is looking at you. You have taken your place in the struggle of the world. You are building faster than it would be built a 100 years ago. You are building labourism because it is difficult to do things quickly when . . . . . You must not be afraid of illiteracy. Miss Mayo was educated but her book was a very ignorant one. I am sure you will select the Govt. of labour than the present one that you have got now. Your next leader would be illiterate . . . . . Education is necessary but organization is more necessary. I do not want to decry education because it is very necessary, but do not make a capital of illiteracy. A good illiterate leader can do much better than an educated black leg, and so I say building your movement consider these things. Take up the question of the affiliation with the League and I hope before your session is over, before your kind Governor buys me a ticket for Europe, you become part and parcel of the League against imperialism and for national independence."

Sd. Wahid Jan Khan,

S.I. C.I.D.

Patna.

## P. 2248,

Speech of Mr. Ryan delivered at the All India Trade Union

Congress held at Jharua on 18-12-28.

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"President and comrades, I have got a sore throat and cannot detain you very long. I believe I am the very first delegate from a trade union to visit a trade union in India as a fraternal delegate and I want to say that it gives me great pleasure to be here on such an occasion. Also it is an education for one to come from Australia to a country like India. We hear nothing of your struggle over here. We hear nothing about that because it is the policy of British imperialism to keep the workers of one part ignorant of the struggle of the other part of the empire. Therefore we in Australia practically did not know that there are any struggles conducted by the workers of India at the present day. Therefore it is necessary to send delegates from one part of this big British empire to the other just to find out how the British imperialism oppresses its workers. I also want to say that the conditions that I have seen in the previous few months that I have been in India, have been appalling to me. I wondered at the patience of the Indian workers who have endured these conditions for so long. I had been to the workmen's quarters in Calcutta and Bombay. Had I not seen those quarters myself, I would not have believed that those things existed. The workers of India are at last awakened and aroused. Particularly in Bombay I have been through and moving amongst the textile and railway workers. If the workers of any place are aroused, they are the workers of Bombay. They are aroused for a great struggle that would raise the standard of living considerably. Comrade Johnston has said in his speech things about Government of India and has pointed out that the Government of labour would conduct the country better than it is conducted at the present time. I can go further that Government of half wits could not waste more money than this 5 % on education, 10 % on police and 28% on military. What sort of Government is that ?

I also represent here the pan Pacific Trade Union Secretariat, it comprises of 50 million trade unionists. Now you want to know what are the reasons for such an organization. I want to say in the first place it is not international that is.....with the national life of a Trade Unionist. It is an organization formed for the purpose of carrying on particular work in a specific area and that area is round the Pacific ocean. What is the work of such an organization, I will try briefly to outline the few of the most important points. Since

the war the centre of gravity of your imperialism has shifted into Pacific area where imperialistic interest is greater than in any other part of the world and you can see various imperialist powers rising to set up their naval bases and also to set up places where they can congregate their soldiers in the event of any emergency. You have not far from here Singapur base of Great Britain, Phillipine island is the American naval base. There is Hongkong another naval base of British imperialism, also British.....along the coast of China and soldiers and war-ships are centred at these places. Also France is holding around about that area and then again there is Japan building fighting forces. Why are they doing these things. Because they like to build war ships as there is life and death struggle for new markets and new sources of raw materials, and we have resources of China which the powers of the world are fighting to acquire and we believe that in the very near future a war would break out in the Pacific, which would be greater than the war of 1914—18. Now if such a war occurs the imperialists of England, France and Japan are going to meet each other in arms and the workers have to fight their battles for themselves. They will condemn today what they have done in the past, call upon the workers on racial prejudice to go and slaughter one another in the interest of trade, commerce and imperialism. And it is the aim of Pan Pacific Secretariat to create the activities in the countries and particular area when that call comes from the imperialists and we hope that the workers will turn a deaf ear to it. The only war that the workers will be prepared to fight would be for bettering the conditions of the working classes and against capitalism and imperialism. There are also other reasons why the secretariat was set up. The first idea was originated in Australia to set up such an organization and I must admit that the idea was to a certain extent a selfish one, because for many years the Australian Trade Union had been satisfied to remain isolated from the rest of the workers of world. We ignored the workers of other countries and we did very well to a certain extent. We got a minimum wage of 4-5 £ per week and it is forbidden by law to pay less than that we have most workers.....We have been able to win many other things by the force of our Trade Union over there, but it took many years of hard fighting. But still Australian Trade Union movement has been naturally militant. We find that we cannot go further because there are vast number of workers having a lower standard in order countries in proximity of Australia. We know that sooner or later their standard of living would be broken down therefore we have at last realized that this isolation policy is suicidal. We have got the unity with the workers of India, with the workers of Japan, with the workers of China and with the workers of all the countries round the Pacific area. Because of the danger of war the Australian Trade Union tried to set up such an organization. We can see.....several people.....to see

the wages lower in the various countries..... There is the national liberal movement of China which was for the last year most important than now. You might say it has created more attention than other liberal movements of other countries round this area. Of course we have the national liberation movement of India and we shall.....in a small way in the Phillipine island. We are against imperialism and we wish to do all in our power to assist these countries to overthrow their imperialism and oppressors. Particularly in the British Empire and in the other countries as well other countries as well, we in Australia have got repressive legislation, that is very bad indeed, and I can see that you have got already repressive legislation and you are going to get more. I have read in the newspapers that there was a quite a dignified fight over a bill in the Legislative Assembly called public Safety Bill, and if passed would make it possible to deport the so called foreign agitators. That some Indian member did not introduce that deportation..... A foreign inspiration would be much more beneficial to India. We have this capital..... We have to call forces if we go to retain what we have and to gain any new concession.

The History of Pan Pacific can be told to you very briefly. In 1921-22 the Australian Trade Union decided to break away from its previous policy and get in touch with the working classes of other countries, but at that time it was difficult. The Chinese Trade union movement was only a year or two old: and in other countries it was in the stage of infancy. When we sent them out correspondence they could not get them because the Govt. had control over the postal department and at that time we could not build up that movement which we organized..... only a few delegates turned up. The Indian Trade Union Congress told us by letter that they could not afford to send delegates. What happened in Japan? The Japanese postal authorities would not deliver such letters and we got similar replies from other places. However we held in Sydney a preliminary conference where only a few delegates attended. As the national liberation movement was going on in China, it was decided that it would be quite idle to hold a conference in Canton. In 1927 unfortunately when that time came the Govt. which had previously allowed the national revolution in China in co-operation with the workers had turned against the workers and joined imperialism. It was therefore impossible to hold the conference at Canton. The conference went up to Honkong and there the conference was held. 14 millions trade unionists attended and they set up the Pan Pacific Trade Union Secretariat.....

I would just briefly read out and will show you in brief what the Pan Pacific Trade Union means:—

1. To carry on a joint struggle against the danger of war.
2. To counteract imperialism which is a menace to the Chinese revolution.

3. To help all oppressed people of the Pacific and to liberate those from the yoke of imperialism.
4. To fight against all racial & national superiority and prejudice which still divided the oppressed people to the advantage of the exploiters and the oppressors.
5. To maintain the unity of the exploited classes and of the countries round the Pacific.
6. To organize and to carry on a joint action by the exploited classes and the oppressed people against the oppressing people.
7. To fight for the trade unionists' unity and for creation of single unity internationally.

Now the most peculiar thing about this conference was this that although the Australians convened this conference and sent out invitations to the various organizations, but the Australian Govt. under the instructions of the British Govt, refused to give pass-ports to the delegates. The same thing happened in India, when you appointed two delegates and the Govt. here under the instructions of the same authority refused to give them passports. We have at the present time an organization which embraces all important countries on the border and I just briefly read out the names of these organizations which are affiliated to the Pan-Pacific Trade Union.

All China Federation, All Russian Trade Union, Australian council of Trade Union, Japanese Liberal Federation, Phillipine Libral Federation &c. As I have said before 50 millions organized.

Trade Unionists are the members of Pan Pacific.....,,,

I want to appeal to the Indian Trade Union Congress to affiliate with the Pan Pacific Trade Union. That there is not one delegate who could say one word against the policy and programme of Pan Pacific Trade Union. That was an organization that was fighting the cause of workers against the capitalists. I will ask you just to excuse me and to give consideration to the proposition I have put before you.

Wahid Jan Khan.

S. I. C. I. D. Patna.

## P. 2249

Speech of Mr. Bradley delivered on 18-12-28 at the All India Trade Union congress.

“Chairman and comrades, it has given me the greatest pleasure possible to have been able to work with you for these last 12 months in Bombay, in building the real trade union movement in India. Attempts have been made by the Government to remove me because I am supposed to be a menace. I have the opportunity of seeing you again next year in your next Trade Union congress and participating in your struggle against capitalism and imperialism. It has given me the greatest pleasure in associating myself with the constitutional and continued struggle of the one section of the oppressed people of the world, that I have ever seen the 6 months strike of the textile workers in Bombay proved this definitely that the workers of India have got the courage and by their attitude they have shown that they are going to gain their freedom at a very short time. If the question is taken up..... I can assure you that there is no guarantee of being fit... as far as the independence is concerned. I claim this quite definitely that the question of independence and the question of workers under capitalism is the same. So far as independence is concerned it is your birth right. They will place you in subjection for anything other than independence and you should not ask for Dominion status &c. Further as far as the workers are concerned whether they are British or American, the workers conditions are absolutely damnable. As far as the workers of India are concerned, if I have any connection with the programme that is going to be drawn up for the workers, I shall fight for them, though in a minority on the executive of the Trade Union congress. I am always for a militant policy, because I believe there is only a militant policy that is going to win the workers' emancipation from the capitalism and imperialism.

Now as the chairman told me I am bound to be brief. I wish trade union movement every success. I hope that the numbers would increase much more rapidly than I have increased this year. The trade union has developed wonderfully during these last 12 months. If we can get the assistance of more workers and more finance we can build a movement in India second to none and that movement..... to British imperialism. With these few remarks I wish the workers of India every success against imperialism and capitalism.

Wahid Jan Khan.

S. I. C. I. D.



## P. 2250

Speech of *Mr. Spratt* delivered at the All India Trade Union Congress held at Jharia on 18/12/28.

"I wish I had really a sore throat. There is only one thing that I want to say. I had the honour of attending 3 Trade Union Congresses. I had come to India one or two months before. I was surprised and disheartened to see what I can describe as miserable show. .... Last year's congress was great improvement and this year's is a great improvement on that. This is a true picture of the movement that is going on. It has improved enormously in these two years. I believe the movement is on the up ground and I want you to keep it on that par. I went to one of the greatest leader that you have. He remarked that you are divided and that is our experience. Here we are being divided in every way but nevertheless our movement is going on. I can only say we shall have the independence and the workers' government in india very soon."

Wahid Jan Khan.

S. I. C. I. D.

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## P. 2208.

\* \* \* \* \*

Sohan Singh Josh spoke in Hindi and criticised the activities of the national congress who do not look to the interests of the poor labour but they have been all along trying to improve the conditions of the educated people only. The Congress leaders went to establish an Indian type of Government instead of Gora's government. He added that the labour should be self reliant and should follow those leaders who will help their cause.

We then dwelt on communalism and said that there is no question of communalism in the labour movement; they have already got their Gurudwara, temples and mosques to discuss religious matters he advised the men to discard communalism while dealing in labour matters. He continued that he has formed a "Kirti Dal in the Punjab with a view to improve the lot of the peasants and

workers; he then related the grievances of the labour regarding housing, wages etc. they are the actual producers of wealth; he strongly condemned the actions of the Capitalists who are exploiting the poor labouring class and are living comfortably at the cost of the labour. He said he would not allow such things to continue and would like to change the existing order; the labour should get at least a living wage; their condition is so bad at present that some of them have to take recourse to traffic in women and sell their daughters in exchange for money; they cannot provide their children with proper education and are deprived of amusements which cannot be the monopoly of the rich. On the other hand the Capitalists are getting richer everyday and the Labour getting poorer; he is trying to fix Rs 30/- as a minimum wage of a worker per month and will also secure, Sickness Insurance system, Matern Benefit Fund and 8 hours duty system which are in force in other countries; the *Peasants and Workers* party are trying to secure universal franchise for the labour so that every worker will have the right of voting, he said that these things are their immediate objective and the ultimate goal of their party was to establish a Labour Government and to secure political power for the labouring classes like Russia. He wanted to create a revolting spirit in the minds of the labour to obtain their goal.

He next criticised the actions of the Government who always side with the Capitalists class and want to check the progress of the labour movement; in this connection he referred to the shooting at Bamangachi, Lilloah etc which he said was most unjustifiable, he also referred to the Trades Dispute Bill which the Government want to pass in the Assembly with a view to punish the labour leaders and also to stop labour strikes; They have already raised objections against the Bill in their conference and decided to observe one day's hartal if the Bill is finally passed.

He also added that the Government have also imposed taxes on the different foodstuffs such as salt etc and said that it is better to die than to live under such tyrannical Government.

He gave out that the big officials such as I. C. S. men and others are getting large amounts here though they cannot work properly and are practically sucking the blood of the poor; he continued that he like to bring about a change in the existing order of things like Russia and will also bring about a revolution for the same; the labour should have a revolutionary spirit in them! they must have a Labour Government and will follow the principles of Russia.

He then praised the actions of Homi's Labour Federation and said that he likes it because it has a fighting spirit. He spoke against the old labourer Association which is siding the company

and is not looking into the interests of the labour. He promised to publish the grievances of Jamshedpur labour in his own paper in the Punjab on his return and will also try to come here again. He was sorry he will have to leave the place shortly in connection with a case pending against Bhag Singh.

\* . \* \* \* \*

The meeting finished at 8-30 P. M.

It is learnt that Mr I. B. Sen, Dharani Goswami Miss Provatati Das Gupta and Srinivas Iyengar will also be coming here shortly on the invitation of Homi as party. Sundaram has not yet returned from Calcutta.

M. O. S.

R. Ghosh.

S. I. C. I. D.

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

**BENGAL**

**SPEECHES**

**IN CONNECTION WITH**

**STRIKES**

**&**

**OTHER SUBJECTS.**

## P. 1925-T.

Deshbandhu park meeting on 4. 3. 28 at 4-10 p. m.

Babu Dharani Kanta Goswami, the secretary of the Scavegers' Union said:—

*Note by Translator:—* Brethern: The secretary of your anjuman wants to speak to you. I am the secretary of your Anjuman. The difficulty of the secretary is that he can't speak hindi. Therefore I beg you to excuse me. The thing is this you have collected here to-day and left work. I think that this is a very delightful thing, as well as a sad affair, because you have accepted a great deal of suffering (lit: pain) for yourselves. The delight is that all of you who work in the Corporation, have united to-day. You have gained power (?). Now my request is that you should achieve your point calmly. As our brother Bhatto has said you should remain sitting in your houses and not kick up a row.

This speech was given by a Bengali gentleman who admitted that he did not know Urdu. The language is very bad and only the best rendering has been translated.

\*Not clear.

\*Tum is want holi men phurti karo (be active on the occasion of this Holi).

The news of your strike reached our office at 6 O'clock and I and our brother Muzaffar Sabeh made a round of the whole Basti (tract). Some of the brethern told us the people of the Corporation want to know our demands. Babu: what shall we do; we are simple people and can not speak; We have written all our sayings (demands?) on a paper. This paper is for each Basti; whenever an officer puts a question, show one of the papers to him, but don't give it to him. Tomorrow there will be a big (or important) meeting in the Fort Maidan, near the Monument. It will begin at 4 O'clock. The meeting shall be held there because all the men of the Corporation shall (be able to?) collect there. Our brethern have told you, in your meeting of the 29th. January, that all your demands have been sent to the chairman of the Corporation, in a registered cover. We have got an acknowledgment and we have published it in newspapers. A written copy of these demands shall be given to each of you in tomorrow's meeting. You may tell the Corporation people:— "These are our demands. You may address our Anjuman. We know nothing". You shall all collect

tomorrow near the Monument, at 4 O'clock.

Sd. Abdul Lais Mahommad,

Govt. Urdu Reporter,

Political Deptt.

Bengal.

Calcutta

23-4-29.

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## P. 1938 T.

Labour meeting—*Scavengers' strike*— at Deshbandhu Park, dated the 4-3-28. at 4-10 p. m.

Muzaffar Ahmad delivered the following speech :—

Dear Mehtar, Dom and Dhangar brethren !

When you have struck work, you should remain firm so long as you do not get your right (s). You have not done anything against the law. The Municipality cannot say that (you) have not informed it. When your meeting was held on the 29th. January, all your demands were sent to the Municipality (and the) Chief executive officer and to all the big officers so much so that your demands were (lit : matter was) published in the Municipal Gazette. They say that all these people who have struck work have acted against the law and have not given a previous notice to the Municipality.

The Municipality has (its) official gazette. Why were your demands published in that or all other gazettes ?

There is a union of all the sweepers, Dhangars Doms and Mehtars who live here and its (name) is Scavengers' Union of Bengal. It put forth ten demands :—

(1) Recognition of Scavengers' Union of Bengal.

(2) Monthly pay of Rs. 30/-.

(3) A (well) ventilated house be built for you. There should be a separate kitchen, a water tap and

arrangement for latrines. The rent of the house should be according to your income. Without setting the rent it is not proper to live in the house even if it (the Municipality) makes one (for you).

- (4) Doctor and medicine free of charges.
- (3) Corruption should be stopped. The Babu known as 'Block Sircar' takes one month's pay in bribery and then allows to enter in service. Bribery does not end even then. It does not end there, nay, he deducts two rupees each month. This oppression should be stopped.
- (6) Fifteen days leave—casual leave—be given in a year and one month's leave on full pay be given at a time. Leave should also be given on full pay when one gets wounded while working. One month's notice shall have to be served on you before dismissing you. When one dies while working, his pay should be given to his heirs.
- (7) When your wife gets pregnant she should get three months' leave on full pay and arrangements should be made for the child when she gives birth to one.
- (8) Something should be given in old age to those who put in 35/40 years' service in the Municipality.
- (9) Free education (lit. school). Schools should be opened in each *basti* but schools should be opened for Mehtars, scavengers, etc.
- (10) If you had to take money on loan, you had to take it from Kabulis on interest (at the rate) of two annas (? per rupee). This is an exorbitant rate. You, therefore, want that the Municipality should open a bank for you which should charge interest, whenever it does so, (at the rate of) not more than Rs. 12/- per cent. These are all your demands.

All these demands have been sent to the Municipality, but they are not traceable (sic). They (?) publish in the Gazette but budget is sanctioned after the receipt of the notice. The budget will now be prepared, but no money (has been) allotted to you in this budget. No money has been allotted to you for your welfare. It, therefore, appears that they do not care for you a bit. Do they stand in need of the service they take from you or not?

After this the Municipality cannot blame you a bit, but they complain (lit. say) to the inhabitants of the city that (you) published all of your grievances in newspaper, and now they have told the inhabitants that you (lit. these) are their 24 hours' servants, But none cares for (lit. sees towards) his (? your) grievances. None removes his (your) complaints. For this reason you should bring pressure to bear upon the Municipality, for if it stops work, you will have to experience (lit. take) trouble (sic) But the inhabitants did nothing, for if they had brought pressure to bear upon (the Municipality) this would not have happened. If you stop work, oppression will be (practised). Four men were arrested through Police at Bhowanipur, for they had asked their brethren to stop work. A report has just been received that five men

were arrested in Hathi Bagana. You will have to bear such oppression (and after this he will be able even to execute you).\*

\* The brackets to bear such oppression (and after this he will be able even to execute you).\*

appear in the original—Tr. off on bail. They have to-day come after having been released. They went to jail for you. You should treat them well. Now (that) you have struck work, you should remain very firm. Brethren! It is a question of bread (lit. stomach). You have struck work for your clothings and for your house. (We) shall publish all of your demands in a paper.

When the Municipal men come to you and ask you to resume work, do not resume (work) on verbal (assurance). When they say that four rupees will be added (to your pays), do not resume (work) on verbal (promises), but on the other hand tell them (lit. him) that they should carry on correspondence with your Union (and that) when the Union babus inform you that such and such (demands) have been accepted, then and then alone you will work, (If) you bear this pain, you will gain and after that you will get good food.

(Sd.) A. M. S. Raihan Ahmad,

Govt : Reporter,

23-4-29.

Translated by

Morid Husain,

Urdu Translator.



## P. 2263 [T].

The following are the resolutions moved and carried at a scavengers' meeting near the Ochterloney monument on 5/3/29.

*Res: 1.* Whereas the Corporation authorities which is under the direct control of the Swaraj Party have taken the help of the police to stifle the peaceful strike of the scavengers, this mass meeting of the scavengers of the Calcutta Corporation and the \* (?) municipality emphatically condemns the \*name inaudible. activities of the said party and the Corporation.  
(Sd) N.C.D. 24/5/29.

*Res: 2.* Whereas the Police authorities have no right to arrest any striker picketing peacefully this meeting strongly condemns the Calcutta Police in arresting 8 scavengers and beating them mercilessly.

*Res: 3.* Whereas the Police have arrested eight of our men, this meeting shows its full sympathy towards these victims and resolves to stand by them.

*Res: 4.* Be it resolved that the provincial \* (?) union of the Scavengers' Union of Bengal and the Trade Union \*the word is Federation of Bengal be requested to show their doubtfully sympathy and help in all possible ways the cause of heard. the strikers employed on the Calcutta Corporation.

*Res: 5* Be it resolved that a wire be sent to the Secretary General of the All India Trade Union Congress on behalf of the Scavengers' Union, Bengal, informing him of the high-handedness of the authorities of the Calcutta Corporation and the Calcutta Police for a peaceful strike of the scavengers of the said Union.

(Sd.) N. C. Dutt.

Govt. Reporter.

24/5/29.

## P. 2104 [T].

Strike meeting of the Scavengers at the foot of the Monument, at 5/5 p. m. on 8/3/28.

(On my return from breaking my fast, I took down Radha Raman Mitter's speech when he had already spoken for quarter of an hour).

Radha Raman Mitter spoke as follows:—

\* \* \* \* Among you (even) one man does not get Rs1/8/- to eat and to make or purchase new clothes instead of worn out ones. These man say that they want *Hava Gharry* (motor cars?) and that they have to dine in big hotels. Money is always at hand whenever they wish. The corporation had formed a committee to find out a way by which the expenses of the Corporation could be decreased. Now the expenses amount to two crores of rupees. The committee should find a way by which only 1½ crores of rupees might be spent. Such a committee was formed 1½ years ago. This committee would weed out the poor, who are getting Rs 20/-, and in their place would increase the pay of big officers. This is not my apprehension, but it is written in their budget that one lac of rupees should be increased. When the report of this committee comes out, then the pay of the big officers is increased I live in Corporation so I know something about it. I am speaking among you. What will be the result. I will be dismissed tomorrow. I will lose my appointment. I don't care for it. The Corporation wants to break your strike any how. As Sabha Netri (?) has said, educated men will go to you and say "Refuse has accumulated at Calcutta, Cholera will spread very soon." They will go to you to ~~say that you~~ should give up the strike and that you would succeed. They will tell such lies to you. I don't say that there is no genuine patriot among them, but I do say that there are *Badmashes* in every group. They would say as to why you are sticking to the *Hartal*, and that you should give it up. They will try to break you *Hartal*. You should be careful. When they say all this to you, you must say:—"Address our Union on this point. We shall go when our officers shall permit us" The other way is of the Chief Executive Officer. He has adopted that way. It has begun from this morning. He says that today he interviewed the Police Commissioner and asked for police help. I have seen it this morning. Have you seen it. A batch of policemen has come out. They have revolvers in their hands. The batch constitutes of the native police as well as the sergeants. Why have they got these revolvers. They will break your strike with police help. But you should be firm. Don't be afraid of their menaces? (lit. curse) Their menaces will prove ineffective. They think that if they are able to carry on

the work for 3-4 days, then you will throw yourselves at their feet and say "we have been wrong. Please take us back" You know, as well as I, that it is wrong that you will go to work after 3-4 days. You are not prepared to go to work even for a month. You will also be beaten. As your true friend I say that wealthy men always try to beat the poor. If you disturb the peace, if you commit assault, If you use cudgels and brickbats, then the police and the Corporation will tease you. I touch your feet and say that you should not give up this peace. I say that you should be ready to die Never mind. Brethern: surely I am as poor as yourselves. You yourselves are your own friends and helpers. There is no one to help you. If there is any one he is Almighty God, who is above, He helps the poor (?). He is your true friend and helper. Look to Him. Pray to Him to give you strength to bear lion like all these cudgels and menaces (lit. curses). Don't ask them to give you work until your desire is fulfilled and until the Babus of the Corporation go to you and say that they were wrong.

Sd/. Md. Abdul Wahid

Govt. Reporter

22/4/29.

Translated by

Ali Muhamed

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## P. 2105-[T].

Strike Meeting of the Scavengers at the foot of the monument,  
on 8-3-28 at 5-5 P. M.

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Dharni Goswami spoke as follows :—

Dear Brethren! Today the Swaraj Party is oppressing you. I want to move a resolution on the oppressions caused by the Corporation which is with the Swaraj Party. That resolution is to be sent by wire, to the General Secretary of the Committee of the All India Swaraj Party.

\*Reporter's  
note.

Resolution read out in English\*  
The oppressions of this Swaraj Corporation  
should be wired to its General Secretary.

Brethren! You have fallen in a river of sufferings. You will yet have to move very cautiously. A member of Babus and big officers of the Corporation—such as Engineer, Overseer, Mayor, Chief Executive Officer, and other big personages, shall go to you....Of course they have begun going-Don't upset yourselves. They will go to you, fold their hands and say "You have left work. Give up your strike, and go to your work." Will you listen to them and go to your work? Just, you have formed an *Anjuman*. You should remain firm until the *Anjuman* is of opinion that you should go to work. When your mayor, and your head clerk, J. M. Sen Gupta go to you, will you, give your words to them with out the *Anjuman's* order (shouts of No! No!) What will you say when they go to you. Tell them that you have got a Union.....an *Anjuman*.....and that they should go to the *Anjuman*. We won't say anything more to you.

Translated }  
by }  
Ali Muhamad }

Sd. Md. Abdul wahid,  
Government Reporter

20-4-29.

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**P. 2175 (T)**

CONFIDENTIAL DIARY.

From Inspector.....S. C. Ghosh.

Dated.....4-4-1928.

Diary.

Howrah and Lillooah strikers' meeting on 4-4-28 at Mirzapur Park. Clacutta from 5 to 8 P. M.

The strikers began to assemble from 4. P. M. and by 5 P. M. about 3000 strikers collected. This number was supplemented by outsiders and some late arrivals to about 4000 by 6 P. M. but after 7-30 P.M. the number dwindled away to about 2500.

The following were present at the meeting :—

\* \* \* \*

7. Shibnath Banerji (who, however, left the meeting after looking at the reporters—a notorious Communist.

8. Phillip spratt—Communist.

9. Muzaffar Ahmad—Do.

10. Dharani Kanta Goswami—Do.

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The speech of Spratt in English inciting the men to violence specially on the reporters at the meeting was fortunately not understood by 99% of them, otherwise their would have been a catastrophe. Lest this direct hint to lynch the Police reporters were made known to them, their Secy, Kirin Mitra advised the Captain of the volunteers to ask the men to return to Howrah by batches of 20 or 25 and not to create any distrubance for which the Union would not be responsible.

\* \* \* \*

Phillip Spratt who was introduced by the President as a noted Communist who had recently arrived from Bombay, addressing the audience in English said in the following way (his exact words have been used as far as possible):—

I must congratulate you for your work, in the first place, as a protest against the treatment given to the E. I. Ry. strikers. By the spirit of loyalty to your fellow brothers—you have now made such an impression on your employers that no strike of this kind can be defeated. Sir Rajendra Nath Mookherji who kicked you out, did not realise that his wealth depended upon workers. It shows that you are on the right path and Your efforts cannot end in defeat. The public of India are on your side Sir Rajendra himself did not realise that all his factories depend on the workers. Every rupee is earned by the workers. He had the audacity to keep them a ay from (the factory?). When I was in Bombay on the 3rd of February when the Simon Commission landed, who took the lead in the demonstration against the Simon Commission? It was made by the 30000 indusrtrial workers of the mills and Municipality and for that they got victimised. Then general public lack in duty towards them. The same thing occurred in Calcutta when many Tramway workers were victimised. On 3/2, and lost their jobs. Many were coerced by the Police. I went to appeal for sympathy for these men—all our social (?) depends on the workers.

This strike began in a spirit of self sacrifice and comradeship cannot fail. You must concentrate your attention to return the blow given to you by Sir Rejendranath. You must retaliate the kick. He is the boss of a large number of factories in Calcutta. We must begin one by one to stop these factories. He must not be allowed to fill up his factories by other men That requires picketing. It is a scandal that the Police in this country interferes when workers picket in my country it would be simply lucky if Police interfering with a picket do not get their heads broken.

Mr. Purcell (A. Purcell M. P.) referred in England to the Police men who were attending your meeting. I say, as he did in England these men would not have escaped without getting their heads broken. In Europe they would not have escaped alive. This will also apply to the Police who interfere with a picket. Picketing must be carried out in a peaceful and an organised manner. In a conference of the Peasants and Workers Party the other day I said that the workers must organise for their existence. They must be organised and disciplined to prevent the Police from breaking their pickets and strikes.

Sd. S. C. Ghosh.

Inspector S. B.

5-4-28.

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## P. 2162 [T]

Verbatim extract of a portion of the speech of Mr. Spratt at Mirzapur Park (Shradhdhananda Park) on 4.4-28.

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Referring to the remarks of Mr. Thurtle, M. P. on his return from the Indian tour, regarding the taking down of reports of his speeches in India by Police reporters, Mr. Spratt said:—

\* \* \* \* \*

“I say he did that if it occurred in England these men would not escape without a broken head. I may refer to the fact that in

many other countries in Europe they would not escape alive who would interfere in this manner."

\* \* \* \* \*

Sd. N. C. Dutt.

Government Reporter.

11-4-23.

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## P. 2228 T

Strike Report of Ludlow Jute Mills, Changail, dated 24 4 23.

During the strike at the Ludlow Jute Mills, Changail in March last, some 150 workers were discharged, new hands being taken in their places. A Labour Union named "Changail Jute Workers' Union" was formed with these men with Maulavi Mohabul Huq as president. Several meetings of the Union were held to organise the workers. Bamkim Chandra Mukherjee, secretary of the union was visiting the place very often and was enlisting members and collecting funds.

Phillip Spratt asked the strikers to form an army of the Union wearing union badge, thoroughly drilled and disciplined who were to carry on picket peacefully at important places so that the men of the contractors might not go in. He also instructed them to form a Strike Committee including the female members who would by all means make the strike a success. He requested the strikers to combine irrespective of caste and creed even as the Capitalists and fight for their common cause. Government, he stated, was for the Capitalists and they could expect no help from that quarter. They were to stand on their own legs and if they could remain firm, they would gain their end within a week.

\* \* \* \* \*

Submitted.

Sd/- Harendrabejoy Basu.

S. I. D. I. B. 24. 4. 23.

## P. 1893 (1) (T).

Speech by Babu Kisorilal Ghosh at Beadon square on 25-4-28.

You see what I shall say is not meant for those who have come from Lilloah. For they have listened to many speeches. And their own want has taught them that for which speeches are being made. But to those like myself who are educated I want to say something to those people: hence I shall have to speak here. What kind of men are our Bengali people who live only in Calcutta or in other towns? They who have learned something of English are able to practise as lawyers, or who on the strength of their patrimony were able to proceed to England, if they are able to make a decent income, they become eminent and honoured people in the land. And all the rest go at 10 A.M. to office, with the *chadar* round the neck and the umbrella over the head, this is what life has come to be for us. It is this 70 per cent of educated Bengalis who are in service in Clive street or elsewhere who constitute the *Bhadralok*. We have learnt to sit under the fan, we order the Uriya bearers to bring up betels and chew them—We are the *Bhadralok*. And those who live on the sweat of their brow all are of low class. There is no equality between us and them in any respect, there is no need for us to sympathise with their sorrows. Our business is to work from 10 to 5 and try to please the Shahib, and if aspersing my fellow countrymen, I can secure from the *Shahib* a rise of Rs. 5/- in my salary, our work in life is considered finished. And in the morning, while drinking tea, if there is strong speech or abuse printed in the *Amrita Bazar* or any other paper, we read it and feel pleasure in the thought that we have done a great thing. The freedom of a country is never achieved by such people. No country can ever be carried forward in the paths of emancipation by people of such a class. My words may feel very hard, but put your hand on your heart and realise (for yourself) whether or not what I say is really hard or not. We cherish no sort of lofty aspiration—They are all dead. And in our hearts we cherish some forms of arrogance—for which there is no basis, which are wholly without justification—that we are *Bhadralok* and the workers are of low class. If emancipation ever comes to this country, it is through the low class people that it will come. What is now the condition of us who are *Bhadralok* and those low class people who live by the sweat of their brow? Whenever they do a thing by means of physical labour, we find that they can invariably carry it to success. You also are earning money to maintain your family working your brains the whole day and turning the blood in your bodies into water, (so to speak). Still when you find that the *Burra Shahib* in your office spends Rs. 30/- on the upkeep of a single dog of his, where as when it comes to raising your salaries even by Rs. 5/-, they feel as sad as at the loss of a son, and as for



these coolies. if their wages have to be raised by a rupee or a rupee and a quarter, it is felt to be like utter ruin, yet they themselves drink brandy costing Rs. 300/- what do you feel then?

As, if you stop work for a day, Clive street will come to stop (its activities), so, if these workers stop work, then workshops will close. As your relations with the capitalist are about earning money, so, too the relations of these people with him are the same. And another thing they get done by you. If any fellow countryman of ours is Babu at a Jute Mill or elsewhere they get these things done through him. If you go to a Jute mill you will find that not only the happy (?) Shahib is there as the great enemy of the workers, but that the Sardar or Head Clerk is not less a worse enemy. This class difference amongst ourselves what does it mean? Instead of looking to (the interests of) people of the class to which we belong, we look up to those who are superior to us economically & socially this is at the root of our ruin. If we correctly realised that everything of ours depends on these workers, we should have found that every clerk or quill-driver amongst us would not only not only not be afraid at the outset of their own awakening, but would rather all help them. Then they would realise what their sorrows were. No capitalism could survive before the mutual friendship which would then have arisen. What happens in your politics is that some Barristers and good pleaders have to be obeyed, but what is their condition and what is ours? If a number of white faced men go away but they cannot go away easily, no race can leave a country and go away, merely under stress of a few speeches, still assuming that they do go away, it will only mean that the white faced men will go away, and some brown faced men will come and sit in their places. The same ministership and the same rule will continue. That is not convenient either for them or for us. At present what is happening is the giving of a post to an intimate Feringhee friend-of the Shahib's, and what will then happen will be that a compatriot of ours will give posts to his brothers-in-law. But if you can today come and take up your stand beside these friends, if you can harness your brains to work for them, with the energy which will be then augmented, society may be wholly reconstituted. There in the interests and rights of the depressed classes will be protected, and the honoured class will have to work like the depressed classes, to show their competence, then will they be able to retain their leadership. Facilities will have to be afforded to each to acquire the education necessary to retain competence and show competence in the work for which he is suited. Do you want to say that these 140000 workers who have gone on strike in a body, that the organisation and power of the men who are guiding and leading them, their powers of leadership over their own men is inferior to that of anybody else? Possibly they do not appear much in the public view, possibly, their praises are not sung

in the newspapers possibly they do not much appear at meetings and associations and hence you do not know much about them. The present is an age of advertisement. As many patent medicines pass among the public as original and unadulterated on the strength of advertisements, so many people also are passing muster on the strength of advertisements. But there is no room for them in this Workers movement. There are shots here, here people have to go to jail, here hard labour does not mean going to the father-in-law's house. Here one must move amidst the oppressions which is practised principally with the help of our own countrymen. Join this agitation with this knowledge, those who aspire to leadership of it will join it. And hence I find that the so called leaders fight shy of it. The reason why they do not join it is that if the Zamindar has to preserve his Zamindari, the Zamindar cannot say that you are only to fight with the English, but are not to offer the slightest resistance to his *naib* or agent. You know Sir Rajendra Mukerji, the *Burra Shahib* of Messrs. Martin and Co he has dismissed 8000 men. No European officer can be bold enough to dismiss at one stroke 8000 men. But who has done it? A compatriot has done it for his own interests. Though all Indian capitalists are merely a choice of evils, still let me say to you, here is an Indian who is the highest officer under Messrs. Burn & Co and this is the consideration he shows! We may hope, we may from our own compatriots, at least expect this that because you are a compatriot, you will clearly realise our sorrows. The Shahibs, coming from a distance of 6000 miles may regard us as beasts, if we can persuade them that we are men, not beasts, only then will they acknowledge it. But from own compatriots, do we not expect, that without the help of brute force, he will try more to remove our wants and grievances? Because he knows all about our intimate concerns. You will find many big capitalists have joined the nationalist movement, but they do not want this. So whenever now there is any clash of interests, they fall back. You want freedom and so do I, but in order to bring that freedom it is necessary that everyman in the country should strive for it. If 98 per cent of the population of the country are to be in this condition, 98 per cent of the people are not ready to yield up life for the convenience of two percent. So these 98 per cent people must stand up by their own efforts. But among these 98 per cent are people who have come here today, they are not men who can retain bearded *Durwans*. You will understand in your hearts that there is no difference between you and these people here. The Shahibs regard you in the same light as they do these people. You have probably seen in the papers that at the place known as Chengail it is on the B. N. Ry at the mills there, the man who is leader among them he who helped most in forming a Union among them was expelled. Then all the men said that unless he was reinstated, they would not serve. They offered a time list of 5 hours, when they found the Shahib coming, from the throats of 5 or

6 thousand people rose the cry "Victory to the Union." As soon as we heard this the Shahib, leaving pen and paper and all as they were, began to run. He rushed in and closed the door of his room. Thereafter he had 125 armed police men and the S.D.O. brought up. In other words, he was a bit frightened of these men, cherished some respect for them. They can do some thing in bodies. But with us *Bhadralok*, if in any office, there are 20 vacancies, in place of 20, there will be filed 200 applications. So I say, the principal means for our emancipation is that we should combine with these people, and working like them, learning how to combine in organisation with them, where there is authority, assuming the leadership, where there is no authority, mixing with them, if we work in unions and combination, emancipation will be (found therein). Both political and economic emancipation will be accomplished by this course.

We shall not say that these men have come to you with a demand for alms, that is not so; We shall say to ourselves, that with such a big company a state Railway which is served by Government themselves that if has lasted among them for 52 days, and they say ha even if a cooly is paid a hundred rupees, we will not return to our work, unless what we say is listened to this renunciation this deviation you will help in appreciating these. We shall not enquire which amongst you has given more and which has given less, we shall treat it as evidence of respect on your part for these people.

(Sd) K. B. ROY,

16-10-29.

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## P. 1893 [2] [T.]

Speech by Babu Sib Nath Banerji at Beadon Square on  
26-4-28

This here statement—help the poor—Nobody has come here today because he is poor. We are poor and starving, 'help us',-if workers have to approach anybody with this—they should have preferably drowned themselves in the Ganges. We have not come here with them to beg, and they who have come have not come here as poor men. They have come as workers, as workers they have come to ask for help from other workers, and that they have come with great assurance, they have not come with the begging bowl in hand. We know very well what help the rich man gives

or has given or will give in the future. This meeting was widely advertised yesterday-nevertheless none among the leading and honoured men in the country have come. Only they who organise unions have come. The help which we can secure from rich men will on calculation come to very little. And acceptance of it hurts the self-respecting workers. They have come because we have found that when war broke out, many men in England went out to France to fight, and the rest of the people began to look to the maintenance of their families etc. very effectively. Here also it is necessary to regard the thing exactly in the same way-30,000 men have struck work at Lilloah and Howrah, what are they fighting for? They are fighting for minimum wages,-which means an income or less than which a man can not maintain his family-they are fighting for such wages. Not only for that. 1680 (?)men of Calcutta-workers, who drive the quill and wield the hammer, or are employed in presses, are also all workers. The Lilloah workers are fighting for a rise in their wages also. As all men cannot proceed to the battle front, so here also we have sent 30000 men to face to face battle, while the rest are behind. If these 30000 men are enabled to fight on full stomachs and can carry the fight to a success, it will be not only of the Lilloah workers, it will mean solution of the workers' problem all over Bengal, nay all over India. For example, all who now work want quarters. All workers have a right there to. Any worker whether he is employed at Writers' Buildings or any where else, after looking for very cheap houses in a place like Calcutta has ultimately to live in very damp habitations. In this way the fight which the Lilloah workers are putting up for such a long time-though they are under the E. I. Ry still because it is now under Govt; it is with that they are fighting. Govt. are not raising their wages, they don't want to give them any rice. If now Govt. can be made to admit this radical principle if once this question of minimum wages is settled-it will be a gain to all workers. Be a clerk-worker or a respectable worker-it will be beneficial to all. Those who go to the battle field have not all to do the same work. Many go to the front, thrusts draw their blood, while many remain behind. But they who remain behind help those who go to the front all the more. All the subscriptions are received on the occasion of elections to corporations or councils, but if the workers starve or are out of employment, nobody provides a remedy. I have started an Anna Fund. It is the duty of members of Unions to subscribe a day's wages in the year, but it is not possible for them considering the wages they get, to contribute out of them and become members. So it has been proposed to have an Anna Fund and to get some receipts printed off and some men amongst you will take them to you. We shall triumph if you take each a receipt of that Anna Fund, and

what you want will be accomplished. I have nothing more to say.

S. Bhattacharya

Govt. Reporter

30/5/29

Calcutta.

Sd. K. B. Roy

14/10/29

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## P. 1893 [3] [T].

Speech by Babu Kishori Lal Ghosh at Harish Park on 27-4-28.

In the 18th century, Marie Antoinette, Empress of France hearing the outcry of some people, asked what the outcry was about. In reply somebody said that they were making an outcry, because they had no bread, they were starving. She observed, if they had no bread, why did not they eat cakes? Only 15 days after, that queen along with her husband was thrown into prison. Revenge for that query as to why they did not eat cakes, revenge for that arrogance thus came swift. This unresisted great authority of the rich for a thousand years,....the oppression of that authority of a thousand years —when it showed itself in a fiendish aspect,....when oppression assumed that fiendish form reply to the query as to why cakes were not eaten, came swiftly. When there was a revolution in Russia, nobody knew that such a big thing would happen; that society would be reconstituted and a society of a wholly new nature would be set up. Even till the beginning of the German War, nobody knew that the Kaiser regarded himself as the sole vice-regent of God, he who used at every step to take God's name and say "God will help me," & God will help me to establish German culture all over the world"....he who thought of making his navy stronger than that of the English, nobody knew that the same Kaiser would have to leave Germany and escape to a town in Holland. So nobody can say from now as to what will happen with you here at a particular time. For when Revolution comes, it does not come proclaiming its advent with a beat of the drum, after advertising itself. Only when it does come can people understand that it is revolution. I hear that at Bombay

190,000 men have struck work. About 10,000 (?) men under the Tramways Co. have also done the same. Again I find in the newspapers that more than a hundred thousand men are employed at Jamshedpur - there will be a strike there also. For these strikes on all sides, one of the reasons assigned is that the workers demand living wages. Through the wealth we produce by turning our blood into water, So to speak, we want that we shall be enabled to live and feed our wives, children and families like human beings, shall take steps to provide education to our sons and adequate medical treatment for our sick children. It is to remove these ordinary human wants that we have today gone on strike, and if this humble purpose is fulfilled it will be enough for us. And this also is the demand of the workers' Party. Whenever we make known this demand, many people forthwith say to us that this evolution of ours is the same as Revolution. In that case, possibly the political reform which is taking place with us is also revolution, but they forget that a revolution takes place suddenly, whereas the process of evolution is very slow. And as soon as it is stopped, it turns out to be revolution. From what happens when the escape of steam is prevented? It bursts through. But if it is permitted slowly to escape, no harm ensues. Today, possibly, somewhere, some people have been shot to death, the Magistrate there is a very capable man, making list of the names \*\*\* (indistinct); but when this flame will flare up, nobody can tell what will be thrown into rack and ruin. Whenever I look at our middle class people, I think of what our place will be in the near future. We have always considered, ourselves as better educated, we have our eyes always fixed upwards. Those amongst us who have made some little money, or have got some money, through a lucky inheritance, belong to the aristocratic classes. And those who have not been able to do that are in a very degraded condition. But one of the aspirations they cherish is that we shall become *bhadra* (respectable). But if (only) we all see whether or not what we demand tallies with the demands of these uneducated men who live by the sweat of their brow. We who have secured such an education, have discovered Mill, Spencer and others and got by heart all their works, have read up so many things, keeping up nights with kerosene lamps burning, ... such we are ... we possibly serve under people, the burra Shahib of that office possibly is ignorant of the very name of Shakespeare, but we know it better than they do...when Shakespear was born, how beautiful looking his wife was, how many sons of his were born in the fifth month (?)...having leant all these, when we go to work,.....when the Sahahib finds that we are acquainted with the literature of his country, he feels jealous and says: No matter how much of an education you may acquire, you are under our feet; so more oppression is committed on a clerk than can be committed on a *Durwan*, if oppression is committed on a *Durwan* he may possibly stand up in protest, if

oppression is committed on a single *Durwan*, all *Durwans* will stand up in protest. But we cease to be men, once we have read Shakespeare and thereafter thoroughly mastered the history of the world and began to sit under the electric fan. Rather we seem to find some pleasure indirectly at the sight of the defeat of one (of us). If the English are very soundly abused we appreciate it very well, observe that it has been truly said. We fellows have written it well, the papers have written well, or if anybody delivers a strong speech on the platform, when returning home, we remark, what has been said has been correctly said. We can abuse Europeans in very idiomatic English. When Alexander Muddiman or any other Shahib listens to the speeches of our leaders who speak a foreign tongue, they feel envious; really when they get up to abuse Muddiman, they are filled with surprise. Let me tell you a short story, from which you will realise wherein lies the significance of our political demands. You know there is an injunction of Jesus Christ to turn the left cheek, if you are smitten on the right cheek and to turn the right cheek if you are smitten on the left cheek. As a result of preaching this, a man came up and hit an American clergyman on the right cheek after his sermon was over. The clergyman turned the left cheek. Then, no sooner than he had done giving him a mart slap on the left cheek also, the clergyman dragged him down by the neck and gave him a sound thrashing, and then observed to him: I have carried out my Master's orders to the letter; I have turned my left cheek, but He did not say anything as to what should be done thereafter...that I have done according to my own liking. In other words, petitions and prayers..... the countries which been able to do that which should be done after indulging in abuse...it is they who have secured freedom.

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Sd. K. B. Roy.

19/10/29.

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**P. 2103 T.**

Lilloah Strikers' Meeting at Rashmoni Ghat, Titagarh on  
28, 4 28 at 7-15 A. M.

*Shib Nath Benerji spoke as follows:—*

Dear brethren. You know your demands. It should not be less than Rs. 30. If a man wishes to live with his family he can not live on less than Rs. 30 i. e. Re 1 per day. This is the demand

of the brethren of Lilloah. Your house is very dirty. Your lodgings are very bad. Under this condition you have to live whole time at Lilloah. The Railway Company builds good houses for the big officers but not for the poor labourer. The pay too is too low. The manager, and other Sahibs who are here, get more pay and their Kothi also is equal to that of Lat Sahib (H. E. the Governor). The Railway gives good houses to other Sahibs also, but not to the labourers. because there is no unity among them. Now the labourers of Lilloah and Howrah have made such a union (or unity). 300,00 people have left work for 54 days and none of them has shaken. They are tempted. They are offered 12/ annas and annas 14/ per day but they refuse to go until all the brethren are taken. They say that the deiser (of the employers) by these temptations, is to break the strike. The pay of none of you should be less than Rs. 30 when one grows old, one should get a pension. At least one month's leave should be given annually. If the Government is compelled to accept these conditions for the Lilloah people you also shall get it without struggle. Give them a little help and all the labourers at Chat kal, all the labourers in the paper factory and all the coolies from Sialdah and Kancherapara shall get it.

Then, if you grow old you shall get pension also as well as a good house. Today the Lilloah people have come with great hopes that there is a good number of labourers at Titagarh, and if each of them gives 1/ anna per head, much will be collected. Dear brethren. The point for which we have come, is this that their sufferings are much and pay, very low. They also don't get houses. Over and above this two brethren were turned out. Other brethren asked (the employers) to take them back, but they (the employers) did not. It is only for 2 brethren that 14000 brethren have left work. You see how many men are kicked out of the mills every week, but you don't do anything. If the labourers succeed in taking back those two brethren, at Lilloah, the Government also shall be obliged not to have any brother out of the mill without a fault: may he be a foreman or any one else. Those brethren are fighting for the increase of pay, accomodation of houses and arrangement of leave. Therefore I appeal to you that you should give as much as you can, whether 4 annas, two annas or one anna. There are 14000 men at Lilloah and the amount shall be given to them. 50,000 men work here. Give them whatever you can.

After this Mr. K. C. Mitter, the secretary of the Lilloah Union shall speak and say why has he come here.

Sd. MOHD. ABDUL WAHID

Govt. Reporter 24/4/29.



## P. 1936 (T)

"Re Lilloah Strike"

Meeting at Hari Sabha Ground' Bijpore, Kanchrapara,

D./29/4/28 at 5/30 p. m.

Shib Nath Benerji delivered the following speech.

Brethren. 400 men have come to you from Howrah. Please listen to what these 400 workers have to say. When I was coming to this meeting, two brother workers of Kanchrapara were talking together. One said "will there be a strike? "The other said" There can be a strike." I know that since the brother workers of Lilloah decided that they would come to kanchrapara, the police and the Government are thinking as to what for they are going to Kanchrapara. 14000 have been turned out and the Lilloah workshop has been closed. To show their sympathy with these men another (batch of) 16000 men has stopped work. These 30,000 men have been sitting in great distress and without any work for one month and 25 days. The work which was done at Lilloah has been stopped. To-day that business is being done at Kanchrapara; i. e. (the work of) Construction of engines, and construction and repair of machines.

Now the question before you is as to what you have to do ? what have the brother workers of Kanchrapara to do ? You will say that work has been stopped at Lilloah and we are getting Over-time. We must earn something by this Over-time (system). This is not as easy as it apparently seems. This is not such an easy work. Once there had been a strike at Kanchrapara, and they remained firm (or suffered) in distress for a month. Those with whom I have had a talk, say that there seems no tikelihood of success in the strike, that the condition seems bad that the result is not good, and that in these days the result is not good. This is quite true. That relates to 1922, and this is (the year) 1928. Those days don't exist now. Now such an awakening has appeared in the hearts of workers as did not exist before in India. recently 1½ lakh of men have left work at Bombay. Then at another place too, in Bengal, 15,000 men have left work at Changel. That place is Changel—A few days ago there had been a strike at Khargpur, which lasted for 3 months. Although you did not get complete success; yet something has been done, i. e. The Government had to pay 15 lakhs of rupees to the brother-workers. Now our Indian and European brethren send thousands of rupees so that they may keep on struggling with them. Therefore we submit to the Kanchrapara brother-workers that what took place 6years ago, has passed away. Then you had not got much help from outside. Much was not done then, because the workers were not awake.

The Kharagpur strike was not helped only by Indian workers but also by European brethren. The European brethren helped them by thousands of rupees. In the end they did achieve success. Therefore I submit to the Kanchrapara brother workers that unity and oneness has increased among the workers. Recently 15 men were dismissed in (connection with) the Tramway Strike. Help was received in this matter from the whole of India. In the same way we see that whenever a strike takes place, other brethren of India help them and in the end they achieve success. You will be glad that the White-English of England who Govern us, there 50 lakhs of workers struck work united by (The sentence can also mean:— In England..... the white-English of which place govern us.....) But it could not last long. That happens in England, foreign countries, Germany and other countries, but when you come to know of those facts you are surprised.

In Russia they do not fight ( or struggle for their living wage only; but also they took the Kingdom in their own hands. The entire affair of that place is in the hands of the workers. What was the demand of the Lilloah workers? Only a little promotion. But in Russia, the Government is in the hands of the workers.

The place is Governed by them. Cohin Saheb or Chief Saheb do not ( govern ? . there but the representatives of the workers work there. Leave aside outside countries. We see here too that we fight ( struggle ) with Government here too. This is seen every day in newspapers, and you also hear it. The name of 'Hartal' (strike) should not upset you But still I beg to submit to you that the 400 brethren of Lilloah, who have come to you, have not come with the object that you may go on a strike-'Strike' is the last weapon of the workers. The master has got wealth-the police obeys his orders-A worker has got nothing left with him—He, whose life is endangered on account of hunger resorts to the strike. The 400 brethren who have come to you, have come for the 30,000 brethren who are hungry there and have left work-Help them. Mitter saheb said that one army fights and the other supplies the requirements. You should help ( them ) in the same way. The Kanchrapara workers know that bribery is much in vogue at Kanchrapara. About Rs. 15/- is to be paid ( by each man ) as bribery. This is not so much at Lilloah but they are fighting for that too.

The second point is that a man, with wife & child, can not live on less than Rs. 30/. but the masters say that he can live on Rs. 15/- and also on Rs. 10/-Indians do not eat much,still if they get Rs.1/- daily, they cannot feed themselves with wife and children. You can yourself understand that less than Rs 30/- is paid and for this reason men are brought from distant places. Therefore the brother workers of Lilloah have demanded that ( since) they leave their county only to get a living and (since) they can't get even that, there is no good

in working as a labourer. Therefore at least Rs. 30/- should be the pay. Those who do most ordinary work should get Rs. 1/- per day. We know that there are a number of men here also who get Rs. 14/- or Rs. 15/- This is just the half. It should be increased. Your demand is the same for which the Lilloah brother workers are fighting there. The Kanchrapara factory belongs to the same Government to which the Lilloah factory belongs. If ( the wages ) are fixed at Rs. 30/- at Lilloah, they will be fixed at Kauchrapara also, without struggle. Those, whose pay is less, should get an increase of 25 per cent and those who have been turned out, must be taken in. When the Union gets such strength, the workers will make this demand also. In Europe no work can be done without the opinion of the Union. Without the permission of the Factory Council, no Capitalist can do any business. If this is not done properly, and the way Not in which the Government is helping the officers at Lilloah, clear. which causes the failure of the strike, then the Govt. and CohinSaheb will succeed, and then the workers of Bengal and India shall have to suffer distress for at least some days.

To be on strike for one month and 25 days, and to live in distress-You can understand the meaning of this strike, that it can be done by the workers of very few factories. If the Government wins this battle it will conquer all the workers of Lilloah. It will be easy to conquer all of you.

Subas Chandra Bose, Sri Pal Bose, ( ? ) and several others are trying that some settlement may be arrived at. The Government is regularly trying to break this strike. For the reason that the workers' courage will go away ( sentence not clear ) I appeal to you that the fight, which the Lilloah Brethren are fighting, is your fight. Help them as such, ( I ) met with men at Ichapara-They have promised help. The worker brethren of Titagarh have also promised help. Therefore the Lilloah brother workers depend particularly upon you. They work in the railway as you do. The sympathy of the Chengal Workers is very much, but those who work in the Railway, such as Kanchrapara and Lilloah, they should have much more (sympathy), such as coming in the noon, supplying meat and water and sympathising with them.

14,000 Workers brethren work here-If every one tries to give them more or little help, or if each man manages for one man's food then the Lilloah workers can sit for six months. If the workers of the whole of India give one pice each, then those 50,000, man can be fed, with out work, for year. Only the Lilloah brother workers can realize the suffering which they bear every day.

Therefore (you) may not disappoint (us) in the hope with which we have come.

Sd/: A. M. S.:

Raiham Ahmad,

Govt. Reporter

25-4.29.

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## P. 2172

“My Day” celebration in Calcutta on the 1st of May 28.

About 1000 strikers including some workers of the Cal-Tramway workers Union, Press Employees' Association lead by K. C. Mitra, Phillip Spratt, Kishory Lal Ghosh, Aftab Ali, Muzaffer Ahmed and others started after 5-30 p.m. for Mirzapur Park and arrived at the maidan near the monument at about 6-45 p.m., Where they were supplement by about 300 workers from the seamen's Union Bengal Mariner's Union, Port Trust and Marine Workers' Union and some employees of the Port Commr who have found the Port Trust Employees's Association. Dr. Bhopendra Nath Dutt, Mrinal Bose Kanti Azizur Rahaman and others were also present.

The Meeting was held at the front of the maidan with about 1400 workers and some 500 sight seers. M. K. Bose presided. Phillip Spratt addressing the workers as comrades said that he would speak in English and the speech would be explained by Bankim Ch. Mukerji in Hindi. He congratulated the workers on their first successful attempt in celebrating the “May Day” the day in which all the labourers of the world met. He did not know how long the May Day was being celebrated but at least it was for 40 years. The idea of celebrating one day in the year as the May Day was to emphasise and solidify the organisation of the working class. He would dwell on the 3 main aspects of the May Day. The first was its International character. At first the men working on a particular job combined, then the organisation extended to a particular city or town and now it extended all over the world. He was surprised to see the hystoric remarks of the “Statesman” that morning because they asked money from Moscow. Personally he would

welcome it. It was the duty of one section of the labouring class to ask the other section for help and specially when Moscow was in a position to render that help. His only suspicion was that if they (Moscowites, do send it, we wont be allowed to receive it."

He would secondly refer to certain organisation headed by Macdonal in Great Britain in the name of Labour who had declared solidarity with India outwardly but in fact they were supporting the Br-Govt. over the Indian question—the fundamental question of capitalistic policy—of suppressing not only the Labour but all the Indian movements. It was a negation of solidarity. Fortunately they were not all of the same mind with MacDonald. The left wing of the British Labour Movement—the Communist section who are very sincere—were actively supporting the Indian Labour movement. Macdonald's party was for Dominion Status or for some nonsense like that. It was practically the Communist section who were giving their full support to the Peasants and workers movement in India.

His next point was now the policy of Labour movement in Socialism. The workers of Russia were much benefited by the introduction of socialism and the questions of pay, condition of factory, medical treatment, education and housing condition have been improved at a very surprising rate. In Gr. Britain and America they are sometimes improved and sometimes the other way as in Gr. Britian at present. "Russia is an example what socialism can do". He hoped the Indian workingclass would also fly the flag of socialism and follow Russia.

He then protested against the "savage" form of shooting of workers when they were at clash with the Capitalists in India.

Bankim Ch' Mukerji, secretary of the Chengail Jute workers' Union in explaining the above speech added that the workers of India could, if they would, bring Azadi to Hindusthan.

Dr. Bhupendra Nath Dutt said that the Majdoors all over the world belonged to one class and one nation. There were only two nations in the world, viz. the Majdoors and the Maldars (Capitalists). The present strikes all over India showed that so long the Majdoors were not powerful and able to wrest their dues from the capitalist such strikes would continue. Their object of that meeting was to show sympathy with the majdoors.

D.V. Godbole in his speech asked the men to remember the following 3 points (1) They must advance and in doing so they shall have suffer (2) the poor were giving their blood to earn money for the rich. their effort should be to see that that money came to their pocket instead of the rich,

(3) that no one could help those who did not help themselves. The

Capitalist had in their favour the Govt. the police and the Palton, but as they had none, they should such organise themselves as the big Coys, like the E.I. Ry. would crumble to dust.

There were 30 crores of workers in Hindusthan and let them see how many of them were shot.

Keramat Ali of Chengail next spoke of workers of different nationalities working in unity at Chengail.

Aftab Ali said that if they wanted to give reply to their shooting then should all unite.

Azizur Rahman and K.L. Gosh also spoke of unity amongst workers.

The President spoke of the unity of Hindus, Mohamedans and Christians in the Labour organisation.

K.C. Mitra Spoke of Police following the strikers to Kanchrapera and of serving notice u/s 144 Cr. P. C. on him. The people with whom the strikers were fighting were pulling their moustache in peace while the Govt. was teasing them everywhere. He would now ask the Chengail strikers and also his and Howrah strikers to divide in 38 batches and send them to 38 different towns and let see how many Police the Govt. could send after them.

The meeting dispersed at about 8 p. m. Mr. Spratt left the meeting with a European gentleman 10 mts. before the meeting broke.

Sd/- S.C. Ghosh Insp.

2-5-28.

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**P. 1918**

Full text of a speech delivered by Phillip Spratt at a strikers' meeting at Chengail (Howrah) on 8. 5. 28.

"Comrades- The strike has now been on for over two weeks and we have got ourselves into quite a strong position. We have stopped the working of this Mill and inspite of the efforts of the Manager he cannot start it up to any appreciable extent. He has

got a few people to go back but they cannot do any work. that is to say, we have shown what we can do. We are now in the position of having demonstrated to him our determination and our ability to enforce our demands.

We sent in the beginning of the strike our demands to him with five main points: One was reinstatement of victimised men, (2) increase of wages (3) improvement of housing, (4) no victimisation and (5) dismissal of certain Jamadars in the Lines. These are the five chief points. Up to now he has not replied to our letter and, as the position is, he can't get on. We are solid. we are in the position to say what we will do- whether we will go back or stay out. We suggest that we should approach him and demand a reply. For that purpose, either a deputation from the Union- from the officials of the Union or from the Workers should go to him at some suitable opportunity.

We suggested this morning that Babu Kisori Lal Ghosh from Calcutta should be asked to come and help us in the matter. He has not been able to come today. If he comes tomorrow, well and good. If not, we shall do without him and we shall go before the Manager- that is our suggestion- and get from him a final statement of what his position is.

Then, we shall have to bring that before the meeting of all workers and discuss what action can be taken on it. If we can accept it, well and good: if not, our only course is to take what measures can be taken to enforce what we want.

On the question of wages, he will be very firm, he will not be inclined at first to agree, he will pay what wages are usual in the mills in this neighbourhood. Therefore, if we want to improve these wages, our only course is to improve the wages in other mills, either at the same time or before. And for that purpose we must go and organise the workers in the other mills in the neighbourhood to be with us for the increase. Whether that will be done immediately or not is a question for us to decide. When we get the statement of the Manager we can tell whether we shall be in a position to do that immediately or whether we shall have to do it in future and go back for the time being until we are stronger. That, I think, is the position. I want to suggest to you that this action should be taken by us now. We should go to him and get from him a definite statement in writing of what he is prepared to do in the existing position. That does not mean that we must accept that, but we can consider that in an authoritative way. Up to the present we have not been able to get from him any definite statement. Therefore I make that suggestion before you.

Sd/- B. N. Chatterjee.

English Reporter.

## P 2264 [1 & 2] [T]

Speech of Kishori Lal Ghosh, at Deshbandhu Park on 8 5.28.

Mr. Chairman and brethren,

You know that in certain newspapers—but luckily few people read them—it is being said that the strike now on—it has been created in an atmosphere of artificiality. The memorial to the revered late Surendra Nath Banerjee—what does it write now? No matter what difference of opinion with him there be, all know that he started all our political movements and his political character was devoid of meanness and falsehood. But the paper which in bold types claims to uphold the memory of Surendra Nath is manufacturing a number of despicable falsehoods, like a dog, for lucre. The chief of those falsehoods is that some people are provoking these strikes, having been bribed from Moscow. From what you have heard, from what this man said, you will realise that, that those who live these conditions did not so long destroy them who are responsible for this plight of theirs—it is this which is an artificial state of things. If one considers that the meanest worm or ant, if annoyed too much, occasionally stings, but we find that these men are securing dividends year after year, day after day, turning their blood into water, so to speak, while they cannot get food; with their own wife children, they force in 20 people into a single room, and the Jamadar has to be bribed for that purpose. And if one speaks of that to the Shahib, he is kicked away. That, in this plight they still continue, is possible only in India and no where else. It does not need money to be remitted from Moscow for this purpose, and no incitement is needed for these strikes. For if men are men, if their blood has not wholly turned into water, a time comes when his blood is up. Further, consider how very great cowards at heart these people are who commit such an outrage on them at a time when they have stopped work. When they stopped work, the reason at the time therefor was that they had formed a Union. And the men in that union who were working to augment self respect were summarily dismissed by them. This has been going on for the past two months. And when the Shahib dismissed the man whom they most obeyed, they went on strike and 10,000 men came away in a body; With cries of "Victory to the Union", they came away. The 5 or 6 shahibs who were there keep revolvers with them. If they cherished no sinful desire at heart, if they did not feel at heart that they were threatening these people with the brute force of the revolvers, why did they come out with revolvers when appearing before(?) the men? After that they all rushed out this way and that, and bringing therefrom the S.D.O., the military police and various others, went there and surrounded the place.



This fear which certainly is always in their heart—underlying it there is certainly a consciousness that they have committed a heinous sin,—else they would not be so very much afraid. In this strike which the men have been carrying for all this time, there certainly has been nothing, of any kind to provoke bloodshed. But how many things have the Shahibs done in this connection. They have sent their Jemadars to where their women and children are—they have cracked jokes there, committed various acts of highbandedness,—still those people were all along very quiet. Next, when 3 or 4 days ago, they were having a meeting, they took up some *Gundas* with them. The *Gundas* themselves confessed that the shahibs brought them up, not to work; they had been brought up on Rs. 4/- or 5/- per diem to practise high-handedness i.e. to terrify these people. These men were let loose on the quarters at 5 o'clock. The women and children were all there and many are holding a meeting. Thereafter they committed oppression on them as they chose. Coming then to hear of this, many men went away from the meeting. The police were standing there with their *lathis*, and revolvers and at that time, oppression was being committed thus—all kinds of *loot* were being carried on. Finding this, they came to the rescue—this constituted a riot. The next day, they come up with 250 men including 50 or 60 military policemen—I was there myself they came and took away 2 or 3 men under arrest. I hear that 2 or 3 men have been injured, but the injured party were bandaged,—no one undid them to show what they were inside. These injuries are of the kind that take place in such cases. There were many people there, Miya Jan also was there. The Shahib said that identification was unnecessary, he was taken away under arrest.

When times in the jute mills are very bad, they declare 20 per cent dividends. You will find in the newspapers today that Hukum Chand Swaroopchand have declared a dividend of 20 percent. When times are very good with them, they declare dividends of 500 percent. We know that shares of 100 Rs have sold for Rs 6000/- Besides these heavy profits, there are illegitimate gains. From the Jemadar to the Bara shahib, all steal and thereby fill their stomachs. Beside they get salaries of 4000 or 5000 rupces. In some cases the Bara shahib gets Rs 22000/-. We have calculated statistics and found that after paying so many big shahibs filling the stomachs of the managers, the line-manager, departmental heads and all, the jamadars and the head clerk—besides, each man gets Rs 20/- per week—from this they get Rs 80/- per man. Exclusive of all expenses—this means serious exploitation.

3,60,000 people are employed in jute. They are in a small compact area, and yet you have not so far heard that they have born off any manager's head and buried it, never heard that they have committed serious oppression and even looted their house. Picture

in your minds' eye, if a thousand the part of this oppression had been committed anywhere in Europe, even the vestige of a jute mill would be wiped off from that place, but see how in our country, not to speak of vestiges of jute mills surviving, they go on yielding profits in the same way.

Next about Lilloah.

I shall show how for it is true to say that the strike has been engineered in an atmosphere of artificiality- this strike of 14,000 men at Lilloah now on they were told from the start - the Bengalee says that the shahibs do not know what their grievances are. That is a big lie, for they have been saying for the last 6 months:— Shahibs, prices are very high at Calcutta; there are workshops at Lahore, Lucknow etc., prices there are cheap, yet you pay higher wages there than at Calcutta-why do you pay so little at Calcutta where living is so dear? Yet ascertain whether the outturn per head is larger at Lahore. or at Lilloah. If on comparison you find that it is greater at Lilloah, we can expect from you that you will pay us equal wages with those you pay at Lahore and Lucknow. I tell you what is there unjust in this demand. ? They do not demand such and such an amount they ask for an inquiry-they leave the duty of inquiring with them. They are the poorest paid men. There are from 1000 to 1500 men who get from Rs 8/- to Rs 12/-. The Bangalee falsely says that the average wages amount to Rs 52/2/- If that were so, not even the presence of Lenin's spirit from Moscow could induce these men to go on strike. The men on Rs 8/- to Rs 12/- ask of the shahib wages, at least equal to the money he spends on his dog at home. Many people have seen that when the dogs of these shahibs fall ill, a veterinary surgeon is telephoned to, he treats the dogs for a fee. Really will a human life be worse than that of cat or dog? How can we who boast of being highly educated bhadralok keep still? Our poet has said that men are the highest beings, there is nobody above them. How can we regard men as so low? Because they are not educated, they wear dirty clothes, do physical labour, and because we while chewing betel, ascend to the third storey and write with the quill there, we are beings superior to them. What can we do? Possibly we can indulge in abuse in good idiomatic English, but we do not see any sign that thereby, the English will be led to cross over to the other side. If ever we find any signs of the English crossing over to the other side, it will be when these men will come and stand beside us, when they will say. Move on, you are our bretheren, - then will the English try to cross over. Why did Mahatma Gandhi teach us. "Take them to thee"? Once, visiting a village a big leader observed: There is no latrine here, I cannot stay here. Thus was finished his work for the country. Possibly he can speak in

very idiomatic language, but that idiomatic language will be necessary when the country is free. One must call a spade a spade. It is enough if you know how to use the spade. Men like Sir R.N. Mukarjee of this country, by a stroke of the pen, have dismissed 8000 people. He is worse than the shahibs. I have never seen such a case of dismissing 8000 men. Even the Agent assured Mr. K. C. Mitra, when the latter asked that so many men instead of being kept there should be dismissed, he refused to dismiss them. Even this Agent did not venture to do that, but one of our own compatriots declared outright for the dismissal of 8000 men. He did this, he is no doubt a very big man and could thus do this but why are we indifferent to these people? This Clive Street which is being run with whose brains is it being run? It is through the labours of the Bangalis. Who is it that are suffering from acidity for having worked from 10 A. M. to 3 P. M.? As Miyan Jan is turning his blood into water to provide all luxuries for them, so too are you. This they have done, they have provided a Darwan under you. See if we have ourselves so far done anything. Have we been able to help ourselves? We have all along attended political meetings—eminent orators say something, we raise our hands and that is all. Thus for our political agitation extends—this is the limit of our nationalism, we do nothing further. In other words, what we cannot venture to do ourselves,—when our big leaders indulge in abuse in repeating that abuse ourselves, we find satisfaction, quoting some of their utterances. So and so has said such and such a thing and so on. But when all our leaders come and stand together, it behoves us, if the middle class do not come and stand by us,—the swaraj which they will have will be of the type Deshbandhy spoke of. When the Trade Union Congress held its meeting at Lahore, as President of it, he observed: 2 per cent and 98 percent. Swaraj which caters for 2 per cent is no Swaraj for him. What will be gained by Swaraj like that? Then in places, posts on Rs 6,000 like these will be created, as Dr. Roy has said. This man Miyan Jan here and you and I, Ram and Syam and Jadu and these countless humble folk, what will these humble folk gain therefrom if all these humble folk do not come and stand together? You have brains, they have the spade, they can work. Why should not there be union between these brains and these spades? What are you today? You are the intellectual proletariat, you own no lands. At the utmost you insure your life for a thousand Rupees.

But if you fall sick, you lose your job. You may wear cleaner clothes than Miyan Jan, he cannot afford that. But it is a question of degree there is no difference in kind. So give each according to your capacity. Consider here the succession of appeals being issued, the appeals being made by Subhas Babu and Mrinal Babu to you, you read the papers every day, you find in them an appeal being published—everybody knows Ramananda

Babu, the editor of the Modern Review, make over to him each according to his capacity. This is not a political writing, so that Rs. 20/- Rs. 1000/- Rs. 10,000/- are being asked for from different people. These people want numerous people to come forward and contribute small sums. Their strength lies in the collective. They do not want much from a few people, but small sums from many people. If they do get that, they will feel that we many men, have come together. That the manager has been trying to see us for the past 3 days—why is that? When he saw that the frowns of the police, their lathis, the lathis of his jamadars, and his own boots were of no avail, that 10,000 men had come together and said that some how or other the strike was to be carried on, that if these things were done, there would be serious difficulty, so he is trying to bring about a settlement. But he has not given up his obstinacy, See here, I have noticed now for 3 or 4 years that if men of our position whole-heartedly join this labour movement, one cannot estimate how much it can be strengthened. And there is no telling how much this political agitation of ours gains, in strength when you will find that the English will realise that public opinion in our country—not merely the outcries of a handful of men at College square—or Beadon square—that countless illiterate men were in it—only then it will be real public opinion. That they have come to understand. They have been accustomed to rule states for a long time—they can understand bluff. They have been indulging in bluff all the time—so they can easily detect bluff when they see it.

The Mahatma is so greatly honoured because he first discovered in our political agitation something genuine, apart from bluff. Hence they fear him so much, Now, when clerk in Clive Street asks for leave to perform the sradh ceremony of his father, his Bara Shahib tells him: Let the Sradh be postponed, I cannot spare you now. Even if the father is asked to die (sic) it has to be postponed. What is the difference between them and these? The difference is that they probably put up with it for a few days, occasionally they come to feel that they would not tolerate it any longer. Only occasionally, they raise their heads. We cannot do that I cannot say that there is unemployment because we have not unemployment statistics for us. I cannot say that there is no discontent among our class of clerks, or school teachers, or this class of men. only because they are incapable of any other kind of work. It exists in plenty. But let us not think in that connection, that we should not join the lower classes. We must forget this deadly idea. What is the difference between bhadrak and the lower classes? In Clive street, I can write the mother-tongue of the shahibs more correctly than they can,—they despise me at heart. Whether you are to blame or not, he does not miss an opportunity of humiliating you, if he can. I have heard from the lips of many graduates how

often their selfrespect has been hurt, how much they have harassed and insulted—their sole offence being that they can talk the language of the sahib more correctly than he does,—the letters they draft have a literary flourish which the shahib's do not have. So does it not behove us to help to the best of our power those who understanding the humiliation that we feel daily at every step, are striving to provide a remedy for it? Further let me say one thing about money coming from Moscow. The Englishman & the Statesman say that money is coming from Moscow. I shall only say to you. Where does money from Moscow come to for us?

And I shall also explain how much of bluff there is in it. For you know that men of the British Trade Union congress have now begun to come here occousinally. What they wish is that that the Labour movement in India, might continue to be subservient to the British Trade Union Congress—that is, that it should not pass out and join some other movement. You all know how now a pact has been made between Lord Birkenhead and other Ramsay Macdonald. It appears from this how identical the Conservative party and the Labour party are as regards the Government of India, whatever their other internal differences may be. So the British trade Union Congress wish that the Labour class, preserving its individuality might strengthen their movement, for labour in India is strong in numbers. So the movement which will be joined by such a big labour movement will become the strongest. Now there is a world Trade Union Federation at Amsterdam. That is at Amsterdam. There has been another started at Moscow. That is the red International Trade Union. Amsterdam is trying to get the Trade Union movements in all dependant countries to join it. In that case, France, England and imperialist countries will be able to keep their movements under control, so that they might not join Moscow. With this object, they are carrying on various kinds of propaganda. And they have proscribed books relating to Russia, and true incidents therein and pictures thereof. And falsehoods—are permitted to reach there. In this way, it is being made to appear that Russia is very bad, and on the other side, an effort is being made to win us over to their side. When the E. I. R. strike broke out, Mr. N. M. Joshi M. L. A., a Government nominee, first appealed to the the British Trade Union Congress, and Mr. Andrews, the president of the all India Trade Union Congress stated that Howrah and Lilloah all had gone on strike together, and he telegraphed to the British Trade Union for some money. Their Secretary wrote "Communicating with the Secretary of State". He was asked for money and he wrote back that he was communicating with the Secretary of State. Once again he was telegraphed to asking that negotiations with the Secretary of state might be carried on later and no reply thereto was forthcoming. Next as regards Amstardam—the Amsterdam which

is repeatedly inviting us to get affiliated to their Labour Union, and they will do what is necessary to carry on our movement vigorously. No reply from there was forthcoming. There is the International Transport Federation at Amsterdam, no reply was forthcoming from that quarter either. When it was not forthcoming, they (approached?) the red International Federation. During the B. N. Ry. strike, even without any appeal to them, they remitted Rs. 18,000/- to Joshi-in all they paid Rs. 35,000/-. They send money unasked, whereas from these men nothing was secured though they were repeatedly approached. Now, these men must be fed. The British Trade Union Congress before this had helped with Rs. 5000/- during the B. N. Ry. strike. All the little help they get they have got always from abroad. But this time foreigners will not render that help. And there is a reason for it. Because the British Labour party is angry with us, be it over the Statutory Commission business or over something else, they have not made any contribution. But the fun is, that as soon as a telegram was sent to the Red International at Moscow, nobody else could come to know of it save only the *Statesman*. The *Statesman* writes that Moscow has been telegraphed to for money—as soon as the *Statesman* wrote this, the *Englishman* observed that this showed that Moscow was pulling the strings. This information they got from the postal authorities and their associates in evil—the C. I. D. worthies. The *Englishman* and its associates in evil, the Bengalee have subsequently vocaled this. All praise then to their achievement. To run a strike at Lilloah from Moscow must be acclaimed as a very great achievement that they are guiding 80000 or 100,000 men or 15000 men at Jamshedpur or 10000 men at the Ludlow Mills. One must say in that case that Moscow is capable enough. The big leaders of the National movement in our country are mostly big merchants and Zamindars. If they fear anything wholeheartedly it is Moscow, and this fiction about Moscow has been created only in order that they may have no sympathy with this movement. Ten days after that, that telegram came back. It was objectionable and was returned to Mr. K. C. Mitter. In it was written. 10,000 men have gone on strike, they were in great distress, and in need of relief;—this telegram they did not get there. Before even the telegram was sent, the Stateman received information, and thenceforth various aspersions were cast on them. After this had been done, it came out that the telegram had not reached there. What is the reason why these men are aspersed and persecuted in so many ways? Certainly it is necessary that there should be a deep mystery in it, and as a result of it, we find the time is not yet to name names when it is, we shall know what is the colour of each particular man. The time for that is not yet. I tell you this there are many politicians amongst us—who quote the English man and do not even buy the

Bengalee. But over this Moscow business, they have begun to buy copies of the Bengalee. In other words the Bengalee has benefitted by this affair of the labourers to the extent that its circulation has gone up by 4 or 5 copies. They quote the Bengalee exactly and also the *Englishmen*. Our nationalist leaders, quoting the ENGLISHMAN say. Indeed, if the thing came from Moscow, it is not a very good thing. The idea of money from Moscow is certainly bad. As though Moscow money had better remain in Moscow. It can be called good according to the theory of Soviet Russia. but when it comes to the subject of collaboration, the mere thought of it drives them to the point of death. From the way they created this fiction, their purpose has been accomplished. But the pity is that some leaders of these numerous people who have been really driven by stress of hunger into starting this struggle, - they have no time to consider what they will think or will not think. For really, they set about (going on strike) only when, putting up with all their sufferings, all this time, they came to pass the bounds of patience. So in this case what 2 or 4 or 10 men might say, cannot avail. But their sole grievance is that they who are like them, they whom we call the educated *bhadralok* are not helping them to the best of their capacity and sympathising with them, are not holding out hopes to them or reassuring messages - this is the greatest cause of grief to them. They do not expect any man at all among those who own Rolls-Royce or Minerva Cars to sympathise with their sorrows. For they know that they cannot feel sorry. The cat can never shed tears for the fish (which it is fond of eating). If it does, it is shedding crocodile tears. He with whom the relation is as that between food to be devoured and the devourer can never say that the object devoured suffers greatly when he devours it. They now realise that we cannot expect any thing at all from them. But the strangest thing of all is that those who like them are food to be devoured why do they not express sympathy with other men who are also like food - why they who can render the slightest help in money or capacity or any other way do not render it. K.C. Mitter will say something to you about the E.I.Ry. But I say this much. If because of what we have said now and what you see of the plight of those who are present here, you feel the slightest sympathy for these people, and if you feel that the struggle the people are carrying on is our own struggle, and it is laying the foundations of future freedom for India; you will put on this table contributions according to the capacity of each, and later on remit them to Babu Ramanand Chatterjee.

Sd. K. B. Roy.

30/10/29

## P. 1924.

Full text of a speech delivered by Phillip Spratt at a Strikers' meeting at Chengail ( Howrah ) on 9. 5. 29.

“ Comrades—We are faced with the question whether or not we shall accept these terms—I want to propose the point of view that we should not accept them. Most of you seem to be thinking that we shall accept these terms and go back to work tomorrow. I want to urge that we should not and we should consider, at any rate, what means we can adopt for getting better terms. It seems to me, there is only one policy, i. e. to continue the strike and to extend it. I agree it is a very difficult thing to do, but I think it is necessary. The terms, at present, are not good. We get no increase of wages—that is almost to a certainty and our Union is not officially recognised by the Company and there are other matters which propose to give such terms which are very far from being satisfactory.

I therefore suggest that we should continue the strike till we can get better terms and for that purpose we shall extend it to the Mills at Bauria and possibly others. For this purpose certain steps have to be taken.

In the first place, we should picket successfully, so that nobody goes back to work. We must go ourselves into the Lines and persuade all these people not to go back to the work, to come out of the Lines and live in our houses—that is the only possible way, and at the same time go round to the neighbouring mills and villages and collect funds to support ourselves for the next few weeks and urge them to have the increase of their wages and go on strike, if necessary, and fight this strike successfully.

I want to ask you to consider that programme as an alternative to accepting these terms and to record your decision on it.

Sd/-B. N. Chatterji

English Reporter.

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## P. 2265-[T].

Speech by Kishori Lal Ghosh at Mirzapur Park on 11. 5. 28.  
Mr. Chairman and friends,



Mrinal Babu has lucidly explained to you some of the causes of the strike on the E.I.Ry. and you have seen them in the papers, and from what you have read, you have understood to some extent that there are difficulties in it also. But just reflect once how amidst this strike which has gone on for 67 days today,—during these 67 days, they have carried themselves so far without breaking the peace in any way amidst ever so many forms of inconvenience, provocation and misery and yet have kept up their firmness. I will tell you of the inconveniences later on. And reflect also that if these 30,000 men in a very small area anywhere in any European country had continued in these conditions for 67 days, what things there would come to. First consider this one point that these 30,000 or 40,000 have people, for 67 days,—the majority of them cannot get even one meal a day; some live on 2 or 3 pice, worth of fried rice, the union is providing some of them with 4 pice, or 5 pice worth of fried rice, some are being provided with a poa of rice. But there are among them men so benovelent that when, on receipt of a Union ticket he had come for relief, and the Union was offering him relief, he said that he had (provisions) for the day, and that such and such a one was in worse straits and the relief should go to him. These 67 days are being passed thus. Besides, there are newspapers who tempted by advertisements in the paper from capitalists, are aspersing these men, as a dog eats up the leavings of the table of his master, the leavings of the refuse -- heap -- aspersing them to the effect that they have no grievances, that some people are merely inciting them and forcing them to go on strike. I tell you—very soon, the fact will be probably made public—even *Agents provocateurs* are at work amongst them. Those amongst us who read newspapers have probably noticed that a dog of this class has been caught at Lahore. His name was K. M. Banerji. It is a great pity that he is a Bengali.... the U. P. Government employed him on a salary. He had gone to the Punjab and was inciting the people there, so that he might get them arrested with some guns and bombs on them and so that it might be possible to say that revolution was on, in the Punjab; so that things might be thus that again one or two of General Dyer's achievements might be repeated. They had not revealed this to the Punjab police, because they thought that the necklace round their necks would be of gold. They thought that if the matter were made known too much, somebody else might possibly snatch away the food from their mouths. Hence, since the Punjab police did not know him, some dogs of that Police, in their ignorance, had reported that a dangerous man had come, that this man was a dangerous one. I. C. S. Magistrates in our country, when there is any violation of the provisions of the Arms Act, forget what happens in their country when the law is contravened and what happens in our country when that is done. He did not realise that these dogs who exist to protect them ?). He thought that this was a revolutionary, so he sentenced him to

5 years' rigorous imprisonment. He thought that if he could come out with the brand of imprisonment for a short term on him, he would be able to persuade young boys that he was a patriot. For you know that in this subject country, we honour those who come back from jail, if he had been to jail for a political offence. But when he found that he had been sentenced to 5 years' rigorous imprisonment he wrote to his masters of the U. P. Government that it was necessary to rescue him from the plight in which he found himself. And he wrote in his letter that if he was not released, he would reveal all the scandalous secrets of the (official) household. When he said this; Government could not remain quiet. Thinking all the secrets would be revealed, they wrote to the Punjab Government and Government released him. And the fun was that some Punjab citizens expressed great sympathy with him that this Bengali youth coming from such a great distance, had been thrown into prison, and they offered to make some little effort to make an appeal on his behalf. Saying this, they engaged Lala Hans Raj a big barrister of the place. On the day fixed for the appeal, in going to move the appeal, he heard that Government had let the accused out. From that, the truth of the matter came out. There is a well known nationalist paper in Lahore named the 'Tribune, it made inquiries then and found everything out. This matter of *Agents Provocateurs*, ... there are these dogs of agents provocateurs in Lilloah you heard, and 10 or 12 days ago, there was a big outcry, that money was coming from Moscow, that everything that was being done at Lilloah was with Moscow money, and that the strike had been engineered in an atmosphere of artificiality. The *Englishman* wrote that it was very strange that money was coming from Moscow. I wrote a contradiction. In this way the Anglo-Indian Press and one or two Indian papers with a dog's instincts, have joined hands. From this it is proved that money is coming from Moscow. Yet strangely enough, when Mr. K. C. Mitter sent his telegram, none else could know of it but the next day the *Statesman* published its exact contents. I do not know whether the Telegraph authorities happen to be sons-in-law or brothers-in-law of the editor of the *Statesman*. And I do not know either that even if they do happen to be sons-in-law or brothers-in-law, they are to impart the contents of the telegram to him. I do not know also whether the worthy *Statesman* or its editor has anything to do with any C. I. D. officer; even now, they make known a guess that money is coming from Moscow. This telegram was sent, but it was returned as objectionable. What it contained was that these men were dying of starvation, so it would be well if money was sent. But before sending the telegram to Russia, Mr. Andrews and Mr. Joshi, who are president and secretary, respectively of the All India Trade Union Congress sent telegrams to the British Trade Union Congress and in reply thereto, the General Secretary of that Congress wrote: "I am communicating with the Secretary of State." We asked for money and

he wrote that he was communicating with the Secretary of State... thus he held out a message of hope. After an interval of three weeks, the latest telegram which has come—you will see it tomorrow (is) that the British Trade Union have remitted £ 200. And the Red International Labour Union at Moscow—it was not written to either by Mr. Andrew or by Mr. Joshi to send money, still even though they were not written to, the amount they sent for the Bombay Textile Workers comes in our Indian money to about Rs. 21,000. This news appears in today's newspapers. One sends Rs. 21,000 to the General Secretary of Indian Trade Union Congress unasked whereas the other is first written to, and the British Trade Union Congress with which our All India Trade Union Congress is particularly on friendly terms is written to, to remit money, and that, after a good deal of thought, came only to £ 250 for these 30,000 men—which in these days will come to Rs. 3500 or Rs. 3750. But this telegram to Moscow which was not despatched and yet about which for 7 or 8 days there was serious discussion, and the contents of which before anybody else came to know of them, were published in the Statesman—from this it can be well inferred that there is a serious mischievous intent in it. We know that some of our nationalist leaders have been greatly upset by this. Men from whom very large sums may be expected for this relief work are, many of them, frightened by the name of Moscow. There are many benevolent men in our country from whom we can expect some money for Lilloah; on approaching them, we were told that they were very nervous about this Moscow telegram, no matter whether or not it was sent, about the mere mention of it. It is quite clear that those who are in this strike include some men who want to isolate the Lilloah workers. They want to show that they are in touch with Moscow. So those here who possess wealth and property, who want to do business should not help these men any way with money. This is the first point. Next, you will find that during the past 3 days, the arrangement about the Magistrate personally conducting deputation of them to the Agent only for these strikers—that created some little hope that possibly a reasonable or honourable settlement of some kind would be arrived at. This expectation was raised in their mind. Next, when the Agent was approached, he said either "No" to every demand, or.....(English). Only negative. But he has admitted one thing and I shall speak of it to you. And from it you will understand what the significance of the man's statement is. He said that if they asked for the opinions of the Government of India on these prayers, if they listened to these prayers, industry in India would come to a standstill. That is, it means that if we listen to the prayers of these people, English capitalists in India, will cease to secure dividends of 200, 300, 400, or 500 per cent. The point is, we must have a minimum wage or some thing like it for which we struck work thus. This minimum wage demand for which a strike has been started, undergoing

which is this demand, if Govt., who are the biggest employers of labour concede this demand, all industries must concede it. The Agent is a paid servant. Has he authority to do anything? At the bottom of this affair are the Railway Board and Sir George Rainey. When the B N. R. strike broke out, Sir George Rainey was censured by the Bengal Chamber of Commerce here for what he did. .... (English) Sir George Rainey repented in sackcloth and ashes, promising never in life to repeat the mistake he had made, and asking to be excused. Then they refrained from passing a vote of Censure. This Bengal Chamber of Commerce wields great power. This Sir George Rainey who is next to the Viceroy—this is the extent of his authority. But they have not the slightest measure of authority to, do that which is the duty of the ruler of the ruling power, viz. to save the weak from oppression by the strong. And if they have that power, they will not make use of it, till the policy of this Govt. undergoes a wholesale change. You see that Sir George Rainey is here to see that steps are taken to exploit labour all over India as much as possible. For know one thing, that in our country, the cost of production is very heavy, because in all European establishments in our country, they have to be paid such heavy salaries as are not paid in any European or American establishment. Hence a division has been made here between Europeans and Indians, pay the Indians very poorly and pay the Europeans very heavily. So what is effected about cost of production is effected only by sacrificing the workers and labourers. So, in some Jute Companies—the Ludlow Jute Company has been started only for 5 or 6 years—but still they pay 8 per cent dividends. Besides, there are illegal profits. Again some companies pay dividends upto 30, 40, 50 or even 60 per cent. During the war, they paid even 500 per cent dividends. Thefts which take place on Railways take away about 5 or 6 crores of rupees. And when they are detected, in reply to questions in the Assembly, it is said “yes, there was some irregularity of accounts”. Understand now what is meant by it. These things which occur,—one of the chief reasons therefor is that in our country we all now realise that the fight for economic justice to us is practically identical with our fight for political justice. Can you ever, about your struggle, now proceeding say to a coolie, or worker or to a man who is employed in a mill, that he will only fight for economic justice to himself, and not fight for political justice? If once you infuse into him a sense of justice, if once you rouse his manhood, he will never make any discrimination as to whose interests may be affected. He will find out the path of salvation.

\* \* \* \*

Sd. K B. Roy.

30/10/29.

## P 1919

Full text of a speech addressed to the strikers of E. I. Ry. Workshop at Ondal by Phillip Spratt on 16-5-28.

“Comrades—I want to propose that the business of the day be what we have been talking about for several days and have not got it done, viz. the formation of a Strike Committee and the establishment of a branch Union. I think, about the need of a Strike Committee everyone will agree and it is quite obvious that it should be established to carry out the various deeds in consequence of the Strike. If the strike lasts very much longer, it will have much more work to do.

The other question is to establish a branch Union. I want it to be done and urge this strongly. It should be a branch of the E.I.Ry. Workmen's Union. The utility of having a Union at present is really due to the fact that there is no effective Union now. If there had been such Unions all over the Ry. system, then the Lillooah lock-out would have been successful much earlier. In the conflict between the capitalists and labourers the only thing to do is to keep up pressure upon the Capitalists. It is essential to have a Union from that point of view. Then there should be a Branch Union here.

There is another point. This E.I. Ry. is very powerful and satisfactory in its situation and its present working and strength and our job will be to form a strong Union in order to have control of its policy and administration. For the present I think that a resolution should be proposed on these lines and I hope you will accept it.

Sd. B.N. Chatterjee.

English Reporter.

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## P 2173

Copy of Confidential Diary, from Inspector S. C. Ghosh, of Calcutta Police, dated 19-5-1928 regarding Jute Press assorting coolies' strike in Chitpore and Cossipore area.

The strike continues. None of the strikers has resumed.

No disturbance. About 1200 strikers assembled in the morning at Narcolbagan, Cossipore and held a meeting from 9-30 to 10-30 a.m. They began to collect from 8 a.m. When Phillip Spratt, Muzaffar Ahmed, Dharani Kanta Goswami, Abdul Halim, Sachinandan Chatterji and 3 others of Peasants' and Workers' Party of 2/1 European Asylum Lane including one of the Mahabir Dal arrived and talked with the strikers. Two of the Party left by 9 a.m. before the commencement of the meeting. None of the sardars or men of Jay Narayan Singh's party took part in this meeting. The men appeared to have been controlled by the Peasants' and Workers' Party and promised to be guided by them. Some enthusiasm prevailed in the meeting.

Dharani Kanta Goswami addressed the strikers in Hindi after giving his salam to them. He said that the Employers of labour did not consider the grievances of the labourers till the labourers did not strike. The Capitalists were sucking the blood of the labourers and were enriching themselves by realising maximum of work from the labourers by paying them the minimum of wages. They were getting from -/8/- to -/12/- per day by giving their Employers a profit of Rs. 5 to 10/- per day. They shall have to redress their grievances by suffering for a few days.

Muzaffar Ahmad said that they belonged the Peasants' and Workers' Party of Bengal which has its office at 2/1, European Asylum Lane. The duty of the Party was to look after the interests of the poor labouring class. There were strike everywhere now all over India—at Lillooah, Jamshedpur, Bombay and other places, owing to the grievances of the labourers. The Capitalists and Anglo Indian papers accuse them as creating strikes. That strikes were engineered by men from outside and that the labourers really had no grievances. He enquired if that true (The strikers shouted—No, No.) They were compelled to strike when they were not getting enough to live on. At present they wanted an increase of -/4/- per bale and it was more reasonable. They should form a union and send their representatives to 2/1, European Asylum Lane. It is said that owing to Police oppression and arrest the Lillooah strike was going to be withdrawn. They had got nothing to do with that. They should elect 15 or 20 representatives to form a Hartal Committee and they should never yield till they get their demands. He then introduced Mr. Spratt as a representative of the British Labour Party who had recently come to India to study Indian Labour. The majdoors all the world over were being exploited and hence there was a fraternity amongst the majdoors of the world. Mr. Spratt would address them in English and he would translate his speech in Hindi,

Mr. P Spratt in English addressing the strikers as 'Comrades' said that he was glad that they had decided to continue the

strike and the demand they put forth was Rs. 1/4/3 per bale. They would eventually win, he hoped but he would advise them to form a Union, which was an important thing, with a Secretary and Committee. They should collect such money as they needed and which was most important that they should picket in a proper manner. The Police badmashes interfere with you, but you should know that you have the law in your side and they (Police) can't legally interfere with you in your picket. In India in all strikes it is most important to clear that it is our duty to picket. Every man will wear badge like this (He had a red tape badge in his breast). They should form a branch of the Jute Workers' Association with 4 lacs of members on its role. Then they will be able to do what they could not do at present. In Europe all the men working in different branches of one industry formed themselves into one Union and hence the condition of labour was better there because of strong Unions. In England the condition was getting worse. There a labourer now get £3 per week or Rs 120 per month.

Muzaffar explained the speech in Hindi giving stress on Police interference and zoolum.

Sachinandan Chatterji, Secretary, Howrah Scavengers' Union also advocated forming into a Union and affiliate that with Kankinara Jute Workers' Union. They should never surrender till their demands were met.

Dharani Goswami again addressing the men said that they were men and not cats and dogs. They should stand on their legs and would never surrender before the question was honourably settled.

During the meeting Muzaffar and Sachindra enquired of us when the Police were going to form an Association and they assured us of their help to form a Police Association.

About 1200 strikers attended Sardars and men of Jay Narayan Singh's party did not take part in this meeting as they were in favour of resuming on the present rate provided Saturdays were kept open for them.

Phoned to A.C. of Spratt's presence at 9 a. m. D. C. N. and A.C.N. were present outside. Thana officers were present at the meeting. Mr Ballantyne of the Jhil Press was present. He was willing to keep Press open on Saturdays but the men did not join though the sardars were willing.

Dharani and Muzaffar announced that a meeting would again be held at the same place tomorrow morning at 8 a. m. (20/5). Spratt is likely to attend. The attitude of the strikers were getting bad since they have come in contact with the Communists who were advising them not to allow the Police to attend to their meet-

ings. The strikers may start picketing from Monday. Sergeant Blair was present outside.

(Sd). S. A. G.

19/5. 11-30 A.M.

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## P. 1926 [1] [T.]

Scavengers' meeting held a Maidan, near Ochterloney Monument on 20-5-28. at 6 p. m.

Mr. Muzaffar Ahmad spoke as follows:—

This meeting has been held to-day to tell you what has happened since the Hartal (strike). You resorted to the strike (which) continued up to the 9th. In the morning we were sent for by the mayor, at his house and he had had a lath with us. He said that 10 points (lit; objections) were raised before the Municipality. The mayor said that the city was in a bad condition, that cholera was about to spread and that (we?) should arrange for it very soon. He also said to recommend that the pay should be increased by Rs. 2/-, that some annual increment should be sanctioned, that a committee should be formed to remove all the suffering & to consider all the points (lit: objections) and that this meeting should be represented by the Municipality as well as by the sweepers. All this was reduced to writing at his house. After that we read it over to you and asked you to go to your work. This settlement was made on the 9th. On the 13th. A meeting of the Commissioners was called. Who are they? What is a Municipality? The moneys paid by tax payers to keep the city clean, is collected and is utilized to the formation of a Municipality. From those moneys have been engaged all the employees. The chairman is a servant (employee) in the same way as you are. He gets more pay than you. What is a Commissioner? A selected person from amongst the tax payers. Whatever decision is made by all these men is a decision for you. A meeting of the Commissioners was called for the 13th. What happened in this meeting? The Committee which was to be formed was made in this meeting. 13 men were taken, 3 from the Union, 2 from other *Mazdur Dals*, and the rest were the Commissioners. The first meeting of that committee was held on the 26th. We



attended this meeting and said a number of things, as to what happened in the strike of the 24th\* All the opinions which were formed in that Committee, were enquired into. They said that day that they wanted some time to gain information on these points. We said that we were willing to give time, and that we knew as to what pay used to be given at Bombay. They said "we don't know officially" we said "You may enquire officially" They said "We will enquire officially as to what pay is given there to a *Jharu Dar* (sweeper). We will write a letter, and we want some time for this". Therefore two months time was given and it was decided that all the facts should be put up before us in a meeting to be held on the 17th. April, and every point should be discussed then. But this meeting of the 17th. was not called. They wrote a letter to us that they were very busy, that they could not make any arrangement, that they would hold a meeting later on, and would communicate (the date) to us. It was also talked that they would recommend to the police that the case which was going on should be withdrawn. This case is for\* the Corporation. Had they written to the police, the case would have been withdrawn. They promise to write to the police to withdraw the case but they did not write. After this they saw that there are 1276, twelve thousand and seventy six (?) men here. The total of *Jharu* sweepers, and water carriers is 1276. All the labourers on the account of the Corporation are 13,000 men. They thought (lit:said) "If the pay is increased by Rs./2. the annual budget shall increase by 3 lakhs of rupees. Nothing will go to the pocket of those who are loyal men.", They said to the chairman "Let us see if we can spread disunion among them. If this is done (i. e. if the disunion can be spread) the Union shall cease to exist and an annual expenditure of 3 lakhs of rupees shall be avoided." This is the reason why they did not summon the meeting of the committee upto this day. They are trying if they can create disunion among you. Don't you know that they have selected some men, who go round every house and say "Don't go to the Union". These are our old munibs. The Dist. Engineer also sends for men and says "Come to me, I will help you." Why were not fulfilled the promises made at the Hartal of the 24th.\* What is the motive of all this sympathy. The thing is this :- " They are trying to create disunion.

*Badmashes* (misconducts) and dishonest men are found in every nation (class) There are dishonest men among you also. They want to ruin your meeting through those *Badmashes* and spoil your career. They want to ruin the (prospect of (?)) an increase in your pay. Brethren: This is worth thinking. If under these circumstances you follow them, your object shall be ruined.

\*sense not clear.      \*If a meeting is held, the police shall arrest (?) The Engineer of District no. 4 has said that if ( you ? ) go to the meetings, the police will arrest you. They have strength on this point ( sense not clear ).

The Municipality has recognised this Union. the Corporation is in correspondence with this Union. Then it is no crime to attend the meeting of this Union. When the Corporation had recognised it, why should you (or we) fear them. So many policemen are present just now. Where do they arrest you.

Brethren! They are deceiving you; to save 3½ lakhs of rupees annually (as if the money comes from their fathers' houses). The money comes from the inhabitants of the city, but these men want to save it. Who will be put to trouble if you stop work? The inhabitants. If cholera spreads, who will die? The inhabitants. Those who waste their money for their good, what good shall they do (sentence senseless).

At the time of the last strike it was said that one months notice should be given before stopping the work and that this (stopping work without a months notice) was against the rules. This time we have given notice (to them). We will call one or two meetings and show to the inhabitants, as well as to you, that a promise was made but has not been fulfilled. We gave them ample time, from 9th. March to the 20th. of May. We shall give them still more time. Let them think over the matter fully. Then we will do what we have to do. I ask the inhabitants to see as to whose mischief this is. Is it the mischief of the poor sweepers or of those fat (well fed) officers who take money from the inhabitants. The inhabitants did not let us sleep the whole night as to what evil we had done? They say to us that they have written to the Municipality. This time they must have received the news. (It) has been published in all the newspapers and the inhabitants are fully informed of all. They can speak no more on the subject. In what way have the inhabitants influenced the Corporation. Why did they (the inhabitants) hold a meeting and say to the Corporation "they clean (the city) for us, they die for us, why their pay is not increased." Nobody can blame you under these circumstances (They) want to reduce the matter to writing. We have done everything. We have received information so far that they (?) have sent for the opinion of the chief Accountant of the Municipality about the sweepers. He is the master of all the accounts. Therefore all monetary affairs are referred to him. For this reason he has been consulted. He too has given his opinion and has admitted almost all the facts. As far as we know he has recommended all these things. He has also shown the sources from which the money can be obtained.

But still the chairman and the Dist. Engineer are doing several things to create disunity among them, You should go to your *mohallas* and inform everyone of all these things.

Brethern! the most trouble some fact is this that those who are in charge of employing us try to give us as little as possible and take as much work as possible. The masters never pay a pice until they are compelled to give it. They never wish to give. You should mind that if you have to take from them, you can not take (it) otherwise than by compelling them. There is no Municipality in India bigger than the Municipality of Calcutta. Then why so little pay is given. In Bombay the pay varies from Rs. 23/- to Rs. 33/-. When we pointed out this fact, they said that rates (of articles) were very high at Bombay. We said "The rates are never higher, we see that the same rate is found there as here; cloth is cheaper there than here; no sweeper lives in a rented house. The Municipality has built houses for all. Others get Rs. 10/- as rent. How are the rates high?"

\*If it is Rs. 100/- at Calcutta, it is Rs. 125/- at Bombay.  
\*No sense. Even if this calculation be accepted, the result is not obtainable. Even if we take Bombay as the standard, what about Madras. Rates at Madras are cheaper than any city in India. There too the sweepers get more pay. Rates are very cheap at Madras. All the articles are cheaper there than here. Then why do (the sweepers) get so much pay there. The sweepers of Bombay and Madras increased their pay because they formed Unions first of all. Their pays also were very low, but they went on fighting and the result is this increase. You had not had a Union before therefore your pay is low. A meeting was held at the time of the first Hartal (strike) also but to no good what do you want to do now? If you want to live like men and pass your days like men, than why should you tolerate such tyrannies. We asked the Municipality as to what were the working hours It is written (in the rules?) that (you) must come to the work at 6 O' clock, but we find you at work at 3 O' clock. I see that you go to work at 3 O' clock.

As much work as you have to do      ...      ....      (sic)

## P. 1926 (2)

Do they ever think of you as to how long you have to work. They say that you inflame the people. If we drink wine, what to you we earn, we earn our money and drink with our money. They drink so much so that they remain drunk the whole day and night. Then we tested all the men. We asked the Babus..... who employ you..... and the overseer and said to them. "You take work from your servants and associate with them. Tell us honestly how do you drink." They said "25 per cent of us are drunkards." You drink only on the occasions of festivals and marriages etc. Brethren; where is so much money to be obtained. When the pay is only Rs. 12/- Can it suffice for drink. They say that the Jharu dars drink so much wine that they lose their senses. They say to those Commissioners who sympathize with you; "Why do you associate with them- Why do you wish to squander municipal money for their drinking" See what is being done for you. Do you want take revenge for this or not. Do you want to live like men or not, Consult your brethren and your family members to—day and then we shall do what we are going to do. Mind this; All the promises made with you and reduced to writing are vague and all about (*the passing by*) the committee of the commissioners is useless. If you give up your affair, you are totally lost. The chance will never come again, nor will you be able to put up your claim again. Mind this and understand this very well. Weeping at home, like fools will not do. You say that there is no one to look to you. Simply saying this will not do. Work is done by exertion. A thoroughfare can be cleaned only by sweeping. When you have to labour for cleansing a thoroughfare, how can your difficulties be removed without labour. Don't think that the Municipal office is not yours and that you have no influence on it. If you understand (properly) we have influence over it. If you don't understand, then we (you) are nothing. We shall not be allowed to go to the door of the Municipal office. If the visiting card is sent just now, with us, the interview is granted very soon and a chair is offered. Sometimes we are asked if we would like tea, Why all this? When you follow us, we are entertained with hospitality. Whatever help we can give, we can give it with your support. We are like a *Kerani* (clerk). Take us as a clerk. We know clerical work and can do only that work. I am not more than that.

(A voice:—They) went with Rs. 2000/- to bring sweepers but could not bring any.)

Why should he come. Man cannot be found. They did not exert themselves a little at Howrah. A strike was made at Howrah. The sweepers and Jharudars of Howrah did do a battle and that so bravely.? There are no labourers braver than them. They kept

work closed for 11 days. They drew them to the extreme. The Municipality told in a very humiliating way that money was not forthcoming, that they (the Municipality) would increase -/8/- But here ! Here there are 12000 brethren. These 12000 men could not do as much as was done by the 3000 of Howrah. As far as we have come to know the Oryas are very poor men and work for very low wages-They don't understand. The Oryas don't do these (?) works. But they don't do the work of a jharudar and a sweeper. At the meeting which was held on the 13th, in connection with the last *Hartal* (strike), the Chairman had said that the work had been spoiled by the mayor; that he would have requisitioned men from outstations, that the mayor held out a promise and increased the expenditure of the Municipality by 33½ lakhs.

One of the commissioners, Santosh Babu said:—

“I had seen the chief Engineer and asked him if men were coming from outstations. He said that men were of course ready to come. but wanted double the double (?).

The labourers who come from outstations shall come on higher scale of pay. We again want to give some more time so that the inhabitants may not blame us. We won't give the inhabitants a chance of running on our office as they run on the Municipal office. This time the inhabitants will clearly see whether the sweepers and jharudars are to be blamed or the Municipality. With this view we shall give them still more time. They shall understand this very well. Afterwards, we shall do what we wish to do.

Tell this to all your brethren and they should go on thinking it over.

Sd. Abul Lais Mohammad.

Govt. Urdu Reporter.

Political Deptt.

BENGAL. .

Calcutta.

23-4-29.

# P. 2174

## CONFIDENTIAL DIARY.

From inspector S. O. Ghosh.

Dated 20/5/1928.

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Scavengers Union of Bengal meeting at the Maidan near Ochterlony monument on 20/5/28.

Between 4.45 p. m. & 5.15 p. m. nine members of the Scavengers Union & belonging to be Peasants & Workers' Party Bengal of 2/1 European Asylum Lane arrived. Amongst them were the following

1. Muzaffar Ahmed.

\* \* \* \* \*

3. Dharani Kanta Goswami.

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Muzaffar Ahmed addressing the mehters & sweepers gave a history of the last strike & what had passed between the Corporation and the Union. Since 28/3 the Corporation did not hold any meeting of the Committee which was framed on 13/3 to consider the grievances of the strikers. On 26/3 it was decided that the Corporation would hold a meeting on 17/4 but it was adjourned and since no date was fixed for the same. The Mayor's promise was treated as a scrap of paper by the Corporation who did nothing to withdraw the Police cases lodged against some of the strikers. On the other hand the Corporation was making propaganda to break the Union and threatening the men with arrests by the Police who would join the meeting. He would give some time more to the Corporation and also to the ratepayers to consider and would then declare another Hartal. Altogether they were 13000 including the men in the water works and workshop and an increase of Rs. 2/- p. m. would mean a recurring expenditure of Rs. 3½ lacs a year to the Corporation. The District Engineers & overseers were trying to say this money as as if it would be paid from their father's property. The speaker then compared the rates of pay of the sweepers & mehtars of Bombay, Madras & Rangoon Municipalities which were much higher than those of the Calcutta Corporation.

Muzaffar then asked them to inform their Comrades in the bustees about the impending strike & that they themselves were going to visit the bustees tonight.

## SCAVENGERS' UNION OF BENGAL.

A printed red leaflet in Hindi issued under the signature of Dharani Kanta Goswami, Secretary, Scavengers' Union of Bengal is being distributed amongst the Corporation sweepers, mehtars, Scavengers, water works coolies etc reminding them that the Employers never cared for the welfare of their employees till they were forced to do so.

The leaflet then refers to the last Corporation Scavengers' strike and the terms of settlement arrived at by the Mayor for the withdrawal of the strike after 6 days but even now the Corporation had not withdrawn the Police Cases against the strikers. They were being oppressed as before and were made to pay bribes. Unless 13000 of them were united and acted as a body they would not be able to gain their ends. They shall have to force the hands of their employers. The Corporation had not replied to the letters of their Unions Secretary who had given an ultimatum on their (sweepers etc) behalf that if nothing was done in this month then they will again declare a Hartal. Their 3000 brethren at Howrah had gained their increment by strike. If 13000 of them could not do what the 3000 of their brethren had done at Howrah, then the Howrah brethren and all the labourers would laugh at them. Let them unite and advance and fight with redoubled figure and success was theirs. The oppressed labourers will be crowned with success. This Union will fix the date of the Hartal later on.

A copy of the leaflet is attached.

Sd. S. C Ghosh.

21/5

SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY'S  
BRANCH LIBRARY  
BOMBAY

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P. 2174 (1)

A leaflet in Hindi issued under the signature of Dharani Kanta Goswami, Secretary, Scavengers Union, Bengal, with the following headlines:—

Remember that so long as there is no pressure on the employers—howsoever generous they may be—they would never pay any attention to the demands of the labourers.

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## P. 1930 [10A] [T].

Ondal meeting held on 23.5.28 at 6. 30. P. m.

Radha Raman Mitra said:—

The first thing (which) I see is that the Calcutta police has come in this meeting of ours. The C. I. D. has come. The Govt: Reporter has come to write what we speak. This is possible in India.

All the members of the Mazdoor Dal, in Europe, which is a free country,\* said that they had not seen such a Best rendering thing up to this time as they had seen in India. Why do these people come to meetings of the labourers. They have nothing to do with it. I don't go to commit theft, I don't go to commit dacoity at anybodys' house. I don't go to break any ones head. Then what is the reason of their coming here from such a distant place as Calcutta. Such is the work of the police. When there is a theft in the city; or a murder; or a dacoity, then the police does not do anything. Then it remains sitting. When we say in the council that the pay of the police is increasing every year, then the police says "we are very little men; see, out of so many important works they cannot do even one. A great number of thefts occur in India. The few policemen of ours are not enough for the work." If there are too much thefts in India, then why do the police leave that work and come to you. Is it not their duty to do your work? They have come see as to what is said to the labourers by 2-4 Babus who have come here. We have come to say to the labourer brothers in what bad condition we are. They know it very well. But we can't understand why do they, all, come to his stupid (lit. unknowing) and unfortunate country of ours. To-day we have no strength, no freedom. This can be possible in this slave country. But there are a number of free countries in which the Mazdoor Dal cannot tolerate (the presence of) a single policeman in its meeting. I say that this has happened even at Calcutta and Howrah. We have here one or two brethren of Lilloah and Howrah. They will tell you. One day I saw that there was a big meeting there. There were about 600-700 men and there was not a single policeman there. There was no police men, with lathis. There were no C. I. D. or Govt: Reporters, who record reports. Among the Howrah Policemen if anyone has tried to take notes and has been caught taking them in a separate and secret place, he has been removed from that place. This is a meeting. There is much weakness among us. We can not do anything. The day will come very soon when it will be impossible for the police to remain in such meetings of us-the labourers-as this. There is no



doubt in it, that the same thing will be done here too as is done in other countries. Now I want to say that this fight (dispute) of ours (sentence incomplete)

What is the reason of this fight (dispute) which the 20,000 brethren of Lilloah and Howrah have been doing for 2½ months. What for is that fight. What for is that quarrel; Why this strike has been made; Why have they gone on a Hartal. We have gone on a Hartal. Up to this time we were with you and still we are helping you. So many men helped you and obeyed you in what you used to say. when we saw that you only take work from us and don't give us enough food (then) we entreated you, and made a number of applications but you did not pay heed to them and threw them in the waste paper basket! Then we thought that our time had come. We will treat you similarly. At present we, 30,000 and 10,000 men are working in one workshop. We labour, we work hard and are distressed for want of food day by day. Our children get nothing to eat. Our families are being ruined. You- the masters- travel on motors. You have got lakhs of ruppees. How is this money earned? The masters deposit these moneys in the banks by sucking our blood and by breaking every joint of our bones. They have got 3-4 storied houses, electric-lights, good roads (lit. ways), gardens and fountains (lit. fountains of flower), motor-cars and 10-20 servants. The masters who live in this way are men, like us and human-beings like you.

God has created innumerable men in the World, He has created 150 crores of men. But what is the matter that thousands and lakhs of brethren remain poor and hungry and the advantage of their property goes to 2-4 big men and they become fat and fresh. What is the matter. They have got all sorts of ease, comfort and luxury. When we see their comfort and their treatment. They treat us like dogs and cats. Go to the masters. The cattle and the dogs which they keep are provided with good rooms and nice meat and are well looked after (lit. guarded). But we... in spite of being men ..... work for them and oblige them. yet) what do we get in return? Not even half the diet. The labourers of

India cannot read and write they are dumb and sit quiet when  
Sic X they are in distress & when they suffer they sometimes catch X  
their hands and sometimes their heads and keep quiet. Besides  
this, they call God to help them and say;- "O God see and do  
justice- in what a good condition are these men who are tyrants and  
do tyrannies." Sometimes they call God and address their destiny.  
The Indians do so. You don't know your strength. You don't  
know what strength (or vigour) is in you because you are illiterate.  
If you are made to work, you work quietly from morning to evening  
and only shed tears. You have to do nothing more than this.

But you don't know that labourers exist not only in India, but all round the world. They exist in every country of the world, whether inhabited by the black or the white; in England, and in all the countries of Europe, wherefrom comes this brother of ours (pointing to Mr. Spratt). There are labourers; in England also. 90 per cent of its population) are labourers, cultivators, or men working in workshops. These Englishmen are the same labourers . . . . the same sweepers.....who when they come to India don't do their bad (also mean low) work, 60 or 70 years before the labourers of England were in the same condition in which we are at this time. But go and see the condition of England today, within these hundred years. You will not get a chance of going there because you and we (or I, have not got money. This brother (Mr. Spratt) has come from England. Several other brethren have come. I have come to know from them that the labourers of England are like the *Ameres* (the rich) of India. Every labourer has got a *kotli*. Each labourer has got a little *gharry* (cart). Each labourer has got a gramophone. He has got 3- 4 rooms. His children receive education. He goes to the theatres and to the cinemas. He takes tea and gets eight or ten times more than our grade. The labourers of England are in a far better condition than the Babus... us.. who get a pay of Rs 100/- or Rs 150/ per month. Very few illiterate labourers can be found in England. These labourers work in railways, in collieries, and at the same time learn to read and write. There are schools for them. After passing from the schools, they go to colleges and to universities. They obtain the B. A. and M. A. degrees. They go to the docks, address the labour brethren (and say ? their eyes have opened. They say that they also are labourers, that education has pointed out to them in what condition they were. The other labourers say "Come after (?) us and show us the way. ' We are Babus. In the same way as our Babus give the lectures and make you hear them.\* But such is not the case in England. The Babus don't come there. Recently in all the meetings of the labourers, and all the proceedings, the lead was taken by the labourers themselves. Labourers never tolerate an outsider. If any outsider comes in they say to him:- "Kindly go away. Today we are wise. There are learned men among us who have been created by God. We will stand on our own feet and work. We will not seek for help from others (lit. stare at the face of others).

Why the labourers of England are in this condition. Think for a while. Here you get Rs. 12/., or 13/. or 15/ Indian labourers don't know business. They are quite illiterate labourers. They (English labourers) get 15 or 20 times of what they (Indian labourers) get. English labourers earn Rs 200/- Rs. 250/- or Rs. 300 It is easy for them. But we do not get Rs. 15/. We work from

morning till evening but we do not get Rs. 15/ for food, where as an English labourer gets Rs 300/. But why do they get so much more. How have they made their condition better. It was not improved in one day. The English labourers understood that if they remain quiet, and docile and sit with one hand upon the other (inactive), the work will not go on. God helps him who is ready to help himself. If we do not try for our betterment promotion and welfare, nobody in the world can do good to us. Even God cannot do good to us. This idea struck the English labourers from (sic) before. After them as is done by the Babus (Sentence seems incomplete)

Look at the Englishmen, who are literate. They have a committee on every point. You have got an Indian Institute here. Singing and playing is done there. It is a committee which has been made. Then the meaning of the committee is that we should become united (lit. should all be together). Organisation is in our own hands. The labourers thought it to be a tool for their betterment, (and thought) that they could not better their condition so (?) Long as they would live alike (?) and until they would not unite together and work with unity; until they would not understand that all the labourers, all the labourer brethren of the country, ..... no matter working at Lilloah, Howrah, Ondal or anywhere else....are their brethren, their hands, their feet, one of their eyes and one of their ears.

Translated by

Ali Muhamed

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## P. 1930 (1 B) (T)

*Ondal Meeting held on 23-5-28*

This was the Agents idea. He says that when they (they labourers) shall starve, then he shall open the workshop. He was also under the impression that nobody would help the labourers, that so many men would strave and die but no one would be ready to help them. This idea also was proved to be wrong, because they are receiving help from everywhere, from Calcutta, from the Babus, especially from

the poor, from the colies, from every place, from India and from the Congress. They were thinking as to what they would do. But the Congress has taken the duty of feeding them. They (the Congressmen) go a-begging from house to house. It had not struck to them that they were receiving help from the other side also, from the labourers of England. Think for a while. There are great number of labourers in our country\* You should think. They don't belong to your country. These English labourers are the labour brethren of England. When they heard of your condition they sent money for the labourers of Lilloah and it is hoped that they will send such remittances on a second or a third occasion also. Russia has sent Rs. 30,000/- for the strike which has taken place in Bombay. These people shall never help us if our dispute is not with our masters. For this reason the labourers of different parts of the world, are brethren among themselves. The labour brethren of England have helped us, the neighbouring labour brethren have helped us. The Babus....poor Babus have helped ( us ) We have come with a message from the brethren of Lilloah. We have come with this message....this appeal...that the business done in their workshop should be stopped on the whole line of the E. I. R. If this is done the Agent will bow the very next day & ask for pardon. Now only for the betterment of Lilloah, not only for the labourers of Howrah, but for the welfare of all the labour brethren; working on the entire E. I.R. line. If in order to support the demand made by them and the fight opened by them, the work is stopped in all similar workshops, at different places on the E. I. R., then they will not be able to make even one waggon. If their waggon becomes dirty and begins to break, what will happen? Their work will not be carried on. The line will fail. No trains will run. They thank you for so much monetary help but they wish that you should realize the condition and help them because you also work in the workshop. Their demands will not benefit only the Lilloah people but also the people of the workshops on the entire line. If all the brethren of Jamalpur and Ondal....wherever there are workshop...strike work, at this last moment for a few days only, the Agent will be upset and the compromise will be effected (lit. be visible)-When you strike work in future we would say that until they make a settlement with them, we, the labourers

\*Not clear. would not work . If you sit down for even a few days, where shall the pride of Colvin Sahib go. Then you will know in what a good condition shall the labourer of India become. After this their condition will be improved

\*Not clear. in 2-4 years, in all the workshops of India....not only in E. I.R. but at *Pat Kal*\* and every other place.

At this moment the whole world is looking towards Lilloah and Howrah. If they fail in achieving their object and getting their right if they are defeated, then you should understand that the condition of the labourers of India shall be ruined, your promotion shall

be stopped and you shall be driven backwards. If you want to succeed, then there is only one way to succeed. You can not give much monetary help. Therefore they ask you to leave work and sit for a few days only not many days, but only a few days. If Jamalpur leaves work they will have to fall down on (their) feet and ask for pardon in 2 days only. If we get our rights the road to our betterment shall open for ever. One day was given to you to think over. Now I want your opinion. I want you to speak frankly. If you can go on strike, there is no time better than this. If you cannot, then (although) our hearts will ache, (yet) you alone can understand your affairs. I wish you to realize the condition of those who are not dying for themselves, but for you, and your children; is it impossible for you to help them, to support them, and to help them. Can't you leave work and sit for a few days. They left work and sat for 2½ months. Can't you sit for even 10-15 days. If you can't do, we will go other places, beseech them, explain the position to them and say "Brethren: we have to ask this thing from you and you have to give it." Now I will say:- "If you don't give it, you shirk your duty. If you give a little help, if you help us for a few days only, the goal is won." Please think and say if you are ready to strike work or not. Speak: If you are ready to strike, we are ready to stay.

\*Reporters (There was no response)\*  
note.

If you have to talk and if have to think over at home, we will wait for to-day also and shall ask our answer to-morrow. We are prepared to give you time and chance for this also. You will have to run no risk.

(A voice:- There only 2-4 men here what will they gain (lit: do) by going on a strike. If a strike takes place at Jamalpur, we also can do it.)

You will have to run no risk. Look to the sufferings which they have undergone. They received bullets. You will not have to ascend to the scaffold. You will not have to go to jail. If you do not strike work today and follow them, there shall come a day when you shall have to strike. Then it will be difficult for you to get help from anywhere. Your condition will not be improved without strike. Understand it well. The condition of the labourers has improved at all the places where the strike has been resorted to. Your only weapon is unity. Your weapon is number. Your weapon is strike and *Hartal*. Your weapon is unity among yourselves. To unite and to strike work is weapon. This is a way by which you can improve your condition. If not today, not to-morrow, not the day after tomorrow (even then, you shall have to resort to strike in a year or two. Without strike you can gain nothing. If you are weak say so. There is

no shame in it. But I will always say that it is your duty at this time to help your country fellows. This is your greatest duty. I will say so. These are our brethren who have come  
\*Not clear. from Lilloah they will speak later on\* Look! if 30,000 men can live for 2½ months, you can surely live for 15 days. Of course you will have to suffer. Without suffering (sentence incomplete).

( A voice interrupted):— “A strike can be made if you provide us with 3 months food. First let the bigger workshop go on a strike. There are only 400 men here-what can they do. There are big Rajas at Calcutta and there is labour there. Here we can get no labour. If we go on a strike, what shall we eat).

A number of brethren must be under a misunderstanding. They have doubts in their minds. Therefore you may think over the matter even to day. Go to your houses and think over the matter Had you been determined (lit. had you been of opinion) you would have said that you would go on a strike. It means that some brethren are of one opinion (lit: thought) and some of another: Go to your houses and think over the matter because if one brother does not help the other, no one would help them when distress (lit: death) visits them. Therefore the only redress is to resort to strike. The doubt which some of our brethren have shall continue always to exist. The brethren of Lilloah are sitting in their quarters. A notice is required. They can not be ejected without a notice. they brought police and military there but the women said that they would not go. The strike went on for 19 days but they could not be turned out. Who can eject you if you remain firm. It means that you can never go on a strike. It means that you can never mend your condition. If you realize their suffering (lit. pain) then all of you should go on a strike for some days at this last hour and the condition of all would be improved.

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## P. 1930 [II A] [T].

ONDAL MEETING HELD ON 23-5-28

English labourers think that a labourer, of whatsoever class he may be, is the brother of labourers. The masters also have organised themselves. All the “Bosses” are educated men (lit. literate), therefore they also have organised themselves. This has been done

in England as well as at other places. When the masters have united and are ready to crush us, it is our duty to open our eyes. It is high time for the opening of our eyes. We also should go on the same lines as they. We should all unite together and demand our rights with one voice. We should say:— "We are human beings, men, and not beasts. We must get the rights of a man. Whatever a man gets, that should be given to us. We are poor and you have got 2-4 *Durbans* (porters)- Then what is the distinction between them and us. We are illiterate and you have got knowledge—There is no education among us. We are not educated." But education also does nothing—They have money and property. We have got none. You will see that as many men as there are in the world to-day.....thousand of men, 95 per cent of the men of the world .....have been made slaves by 5 per cent men (of the population ?) This is the rule for the entire world-this system has been going on for thousands of years. Don't you think 'is it not wonderful.' 5% have enslaved 95%. what is the reason? How do (they ?) govern us. We have to do whatever they say. If you say that you are in trouble, it would be sedition. If you make them understand your rights, it would be sedition. For this very reason the police has come here. Whatever you demand, is this that you don't get enough to eat and that all men should live as a man ought to be. To demand your requirements is sedition-these are the ways of the masters. But the men of other countries have understood you and have stood up. This is a very strong *Dal* (organisation). A short time ago one of our parties, the labour party, (or one of our labour parties) has taken the (administration of ?) Government. This will happen very soon in England also. There are no rich men and no poor men in Russia. It has given up this distinction there, the rich and the poor, are all equal Poor brethren rule there (or, administer the govt:). We do not want that. We do not want that our masters should go away leaving their rights (or what is due to them). We only want that God has created us also. As you want to live comfortably like men, so do we want. We work so hard ! and we want enough food. This is our demand. But they cannot tolerate this also.

The atmosphere of India has undergone great change. You will see that strikes are prevailing every where. The Lilloah Strike is known to you. There are 102 cloth mills at Bombay. All the labourers who were there have left work.  
 \*Reporters query. 1,75000 \* (?) labourers have left work.

In Calcutta 15,000 brethren have left work in 22 (one word illegible) presses. Why ? only for filling their bellies. We do not go with them to disturb the peace. Our only want is that we want enough to eat. We are unable to work. (Only) let us have enough

to eat. In Chingael..... another place..... 10,000 men used to work - they have also left work for 19 days - There were a number of men there - There were men of different countries. They were united. All the 10,000 left work, and did not go to work until they did not get the increment. In the Punjab, work has been stopped for 3 months. At Dhariwal 5,000-6,000 men are sitting. At Risra also 10,000 men are sitting. About 10-15 days have elapsed and nothing has been done as yet. There is no work there and they have received no work from outside. Yet they were so harrassed that they left the work. The labourers have not left the work voluntarily \*These people say that you (two words \*Not clear. illegible) this is not the thing. The element has been created among the labourers themselves (that they say) "We shall live like men. We have not been born to die. We have the same blood in our bodies as our masters have. We suffer in the same way as they suffer. We are to die (lit. mix with the earth) in the same way as they are to die (lit. mix with the earth). God has made us also human beings. Then how is it that you, the Agent, get 3,000, or 4,000, rupees, and what do we get, with whose toil and labour (lit. blood and sweat) run such big railways. These men do not get even enough to fill their bellies."

Yesterday I told you what the retrenchment was. 2000 men will be sent out of work. What will they do after turning out 2500 men. Whatever amount is left, (in surplus) will be utilized to the raising of their pay from Rs. 4000/- to Rs. 6000/- They wish to get 10,000. \*How can they get this unless they find some saving (lit. income). Show some profit and then kill these labourers and fill your stomachs. These persons become richmen by killing us poor brethren. As if they are cats and rats. They are our fathers and we are their children. They should maintain (lit. nourish) us. But your masters have behaved (lit. acted) like cats and rats. In the same way as a cat always devours a rat, they always scold us that they will catch us and devour us. The people of Lilloah understood it and resorted to strike. The slip which has been distributed, shows that their demand is not unreasonable. What their demand is? (It is that) the pay of the labourers of the E.I.R. line be increased by four annas (in the rupee). (They demand that) they should not be given houses like dog-kennels, but rooms and houses in which they may be able to live cleanly like men, and that if the houses can not be given them, sufficient house rent may be given to them. These are two demands and the 3rd. demand is that the men of the workshop should get their pay for sundays and holidays. The officers get their pay on every occasion and not a single pice is cut, and the labourers? Whenever they fall ill or break their hands or feet, they don't get a single pice. Therefore they demand that they should get pay for holidays and sundays, and all the employees of



the railway should get (an increase by) four annas, and a room to live in, or its rent. Now I ask you if this is unreasonable. If there is any injustice in it. A man cannot live on Rs. 12/ or Rs. 14/. When these demands were made, the Agents closed the workshops. To-day notice has been issued to this effect:—  
“I have come to know that the strikers wish to resume work. It is not my desire that they should suffer. Therefore it has been arranged that the Lilloah workshop and the store house shall be opened next Friday.”

Brethren! He says, that he does not wish anybody to suffer. Not to suffer. Why this strike then?. They say that tears come out of their eyes when they see our suffering and that they can not bear (lit. see) our sufferings, and that it is for this reason that they are going to open the workshop. They say that they think that now all men wish to come back. Have they got any proof No-Not at all-It is all false. The Lilloah and Howrah men are all firm in their determination. They look towards your face.. They say that they have struck work for all the workers. Won't they follow us in the time of our distress? Won't they stand behind us? They say that if no one would help them in distress, they would prefer to die than to return to their work by giving up ( lit. loosing ) their demands, that they will not return to work until they achieve this point. They are firm in this determination. Even one man is not ready to go to work. They try in different ways. They used fire arms. They killed (beat) men. They used latthis on the bare forearms of the innocent, so that they might be frightened and go to work. The police also were not successful. They gave money to 24 men, they sent men to their villages to create disunion among the Hindus and Mahomadans-They sent their men asking (men) not to go to the meetings because Hindus attend them and wish to obtain Hindu Swaraj, in which case the Mohamadans shall have to suffer. The police is sent for. The armed police go to the villages and try to send all to the workshop. Even then not a single man goes there. They have given the proof in their own language. Besides this, they keep the workshop open every day so that if men so desire, they should go to work at any hour, of the day. Attendance used to be taken at 8 O clock, and even one minute's delay had to be explained. Now our Agent Sahib says that it shall remain open for the whole day. Every day notices (lit. proclamation) are issued saying that so many men have come to the work and that they are coming every day. They send such false proclamation to the line so that those who are thinking of going on a strike, should not do so. These false proclamations are issued to induce them to give up their determination. I say honestly that not even one

brother has gone to work, and shall not go to work until a settlement is arrived at. I say that the day of settelemant has come; and this is the first sample of it. Ten days ago, when our brethren went to see the agent, he said that he would not listen to them until they do not go to their work. To-day he issues this proclamation. The man who kept the workshop closed for 2½ months, and did not let anybody enter it, to-day he writes in this way. I say whose resolve (lit. obstinacy) has prevailed. The Agent also is a servant in the same way as you are. He also has a senior officer—when they saw that nothing can be done, and that such a hue and cry was going on in one district of Howrah; that the police were undergoing innumerable troubles, that they did not get time even to ease themselves, and that they had to sleep in thoroughfares, and that all this had happened in 2½ months, then the Viceroy of India said that they should come to a settlement, that it was not proper to keep the (workshop) closed in this way. It is then that this door has been opened. It has been opened from above. It has not been opened voluntarily (lit. gladly). It has been opened when the Agent has been asked. He (the Viceroy?) said that the (workshop) should be opened on such and such a date; that they could not keep the (workshop) closed; that (the closing of the workshop) would cause loss and that he (the Agent) would be responsible for the loss. Then he (the Agent) was puzzled (lit. lost his senses) and wants to go on leave. He wants to go after making over charge to Mr. Hanny. He also does not understand (lit. his brain also has gone astray). He also understands that the charge is being made over to him, after spoiling the whole affair—Mr. Hanny refused. This is the state of affairs. Your value is increasing. Lilloah people have fully understood that if they remain firm for a few days more they would be successful. Had the Government of India so wished, it could make some arrangement or other—what happens in other countries. If it (?) (not clear) runs for 2½ months, the Government does not remain inactive. There are men there, who are ready to commit a riot. But the Indian Government does not listen. But now the matter has reached England. The Lilloah affair has reached England. Questions have been asked in the Parliament. When the news reached England the Government of India came in the field and says that a compromise should be made. Why was the Agent so obstinate. What power had he got. All the power was of the Government. The poor have got no wealth. If they remain on strike for 2 months, they would starve and throw themselves at our feet.

Translated by

Ali Muhamed.

## P. 1930 [II B] [I.]

Ondal Meeting held on

23-5-28.

If you resort to strike for some days at this last moment, the condition of all would be improved. The whole world is looking towards Lilloah and its decision. You should say plainly whether you can or can not go on a strike. You had demanded one day to think over the matter; that day was allowed to you. Now you should say plainly whether the strike will be made or not. Those men are dying there for all. Is it impossible for you to follow them and help them. Can you not leave work. They have left work for these 2½ months. Can you not leave work for 10-15 days. If you can leave work, I shall stay here and help you in whatever way I can; otherwise I will go somewhere else. If they loose their battle, you also will be responsible for it and you also shall have to repent. Are you ready to go on a strike, or not? (No response). If you are ready to go on a strike, I too, am ready to stay. If you don't follow (them?) today, surely there will come a day when you shall go on a strike and then no one will help you. If you have got no courage say so. But I will say that it is your duty to leave work for 10 or 20 days. I will certainly say so. These brethren have come from

Lilloah \*(pointing towards some Lilloah strikers who were present in the meeting). They beg you \*Reporters note. to give them only this help. They don't ask for money. They only wish that you should go on a strike. If 30000 men can live for 2½ months, can't you live for 10-20 days. Again I say that there must be a number of brethren who are suffering & they look towards the world. Go & think over the matter today also. But if your determination (lit: thought) is firm then do either say that you would resort to strike or say that you won't. Therefore go today also and think over the matter.

(Sd.) Abul Luis Mohd. Ghulam Husain,

Govt. Urdu Reporter.

29-4-1929.

## P. 1931 (T).

*Public Meeting at Omlal.*

on 24-5-28 at 6-15 p.m.

Radha Raman Mitra said:—

I know that you are helpless. I know this, these Capitalists .....the Capitalists of the whole world.....have got the whole of the strength. But I will ask you (to tell me) how long will you be asleep. Why should not your children get that stuff to eat which is eaten by others. Your wife should work with you against (the rules of) modesty? These are the months of May and June. The weather is extremely hot (lit. Fire is falling from above like rain). She too is burning in this fire and the Munib (agent is sitting comfortably under the fan. If he has to work in this weather with his family, even for one day, he would cry out, and run away from India. I say that all the masters of India will graze thousands and thousands of men like sheep and would derive their whole benefit through them. Do you want improvement or not? (voices. We want improvement). If you want improvement have you thought out any way to better your condition? These Munibs (agents) have got lots of money in the banks. Will they throw that money on your feet, will they say 'take these lakhs of rupees which have been earned by you.' Will the police and the Government help you. The work of the Police and the Govt: is to help the masters and the Munibs. All the Govts. in the world.....except Russia..... say that both the rich and the poor are alike in their eyes. But there can be no falsehood greater than this. This is a deceit. All these govts. are in the hands of the Capitalists. The Govt. itself is a Capitalist. Therefore the work of the Govt is always to side with the Capitalists and to suppress the poor and peasant brethren with lathies and bullets if they stand up to demand their rights.

You should (lit. will) not expect even the least help from them. The educated (lit. literate) will not be with you. As many Capitalists (or wealthy) as there are.\* The people of Lilloah went to all the wealthy and millionaires. \*Sentence incomplete. They did go to all. Once the vice President of our Union went to see a Raja, at his house. When the facts were stated to him, the Raja said something, paid ten rupees, and turned him (the vice president) out. The Maharaja (or the maharajas) will not see towards you. They will not realize your troubles. Their work.....the work of all the capitalists, whether Indian or foreigner.....is to suck the blood of the poor and yours, and become fat. They will ruin (lit. efface; mix in earth) the poor and build five or six storeyed houses. They want this. This is their object. Why do the Europeans pass their days in this hot

country? Because in their country it is impossible to collect labourers for ten or twelve rupees. In Europe there will not be found a single labourer who will (consent to) sell himself (lit. humanity) and his entire labour for fifteen and twenty rupees. The Govt. which professes to be 'Gharib Parwar' (Cherisher of the poor) will not help you. The Govt. will go against you. Therefore there is no one to help (you) except God and your own arms. See with this view, as to how did the other labourers, in the world, better their condition. God has given the right of 'Strike' to the labourers. It is the right of every labourer (to say that) unless he gets sufficient food, and unless his children and also their food don't get sufficient food, he will not work for the others. All the labourers have got this right. Your Govt. of India also has given this right to you. You may not join your 30,000 brethren, but surely a day will come.....I say this.....when you will say that a Bengali boy had come here and said one evening, that you will have, to resort to Strike one day or other. Last night it has been pointed out to you that if the Lilloah strikes fails, then.....remember!.....it will not be a defeat for only the Lilloah people, but the bones of all the men of the E.I.R. will be crushed and their strength will be mingled with the dust. Insults will be offered to you upon insults and disgrace upon disgrace. Then you will not remain quiet. Don't depend upon another. The strike which you did six years ago did not prove successful. but see the history of the world. Wherever (sic) the labourers have obtained strength, they have become powerful. Study their history and abhyas\*—They \*Original word. resorted to strike thousands of times and not once only. The strike must necessarily fail. In England Sangattan † was established 100 years ago. They have got much money. One year before, all the labourers in the collieries struck work for 7 months and were unsuccessful. But they did not leave the work and sit quietly. Don't you see a little child. As long as he is unable to walk he crawls on the ground. When he is able to walk, he falls down and rises again, you have to rise in the same way. A man does not become hopeless, frightened, and disappointed and does not give up his work (lit. sit down). For Gods sake, for the sake of your betterment, and for the betterment of your children, it is necessary that you should go on a strike. Strike will give you strength and you will be strong. You will fail, but these failures and unsuccesses will bring a day when you will never fail, your object will be achieved (lit. fulfilled), and you will get whatever you wish i. e. whatever you demand. You have no way other than 'Strike'. 'Not to strike' is the way to Death and to Hell, and not to achievement of your right.

(Here the audience shouted "we will surely strike") Lion-like you have said that you will strike. God be with you. He sees from above. He will bless you, because you have done this work

## P. 1931 (T).

*Public Meeting at Ondal.*

on 24-5-28 at 6-15 p.m.

Radha Raman Mitra said:—

I know that you are helpless. I know this, these Capitalists .....the Capitalists of the whole world .....have got the whole of the strength. But I will ask you (to tell me) how long will you be asleep. Why should not your children get that stuff to eat which is eaten by others. Your wife should work with you against (the rules of) modesty? These are the months of May and June. The weather is extremely hot (lit. Fire is falling from above like rain). She too is burning in this fire and the Munib (agent is sitting comfortably under the fan. If he has to work in this weather with his family, even for one day, he would cry out, and run away from India. I say that all the masters of India will graze thousands and thousands of men like sheep and would derive their whole benefit through them. Do you want improvement or not? (voices. We want improvement). If you want improvement have you thought out any way to better your condition? These Munibs (agents) have got lots of money in the banks. Will they throw that money on your feet, will they say 'take these lakhs of rupees which have been earned by you.' Will the police and the Government help you. The work of the Police and the Govt: is to help the masters and the Munibs. All the Govts. in the world.. .....except Russia... . say that both the rich and the poor are alike in their eyes. But there can be no falsehood greater than this. This is a deceit. All these govts. are in the hands of the Capitalists. The Govt. itself is a Capitalist. Therefore the work of the Govt is always to side with the Capitalists and to suppress the poor and peasant brethren with lathics and bullets if they stand up to demand their rights.

You should (lit. will) not expect even the least help from them. The educated (lit. literate) will not be with you. As many Capitalists (or wealthy) as there are.\* The people of Lilloah went to all the wealthy and millionaires. \*Sentence incomplete. They did go to all. Once the vice President of our Union went to see a Raja, at his house When the facts were stated to him, the Raja said something, paid ten rupees, and turned him (the vice president) out The Maharaja (or the maharajas) will not see towards you. They will not realize your troubles. Their work.....the work of all the capitalists, whether Indian or foreigner..... is to suck the blood of the poor and yours, and become fat. They will ruin (lit. efface, mix in earth) the poor and build five or six storeyed houses. They want this. This is their object. Why do the Europeans pass their days in this hot

country? Because in their country it is impossible to collect labourers for ten or twelve rupees. In Europe there will not be found a single labourer who will (consent to) sell himself (lit. humanity) and his entire labour for fifteen and twenty rupees. The Govt. which professes to be 'Gharib Parwar' (Cherisher of the poor) will not help you. The Govt. will go against you. Therefore there is no one to help (you) except God and your own arms. See with this view, as to how did the other labourers, in the world, better their condition. God has given the right of 'Strike' to the labourers. It is the right of every labourer (to say that) unless he gets sufficient food, and unless his children and also their food don't get sufficient food, he will not work for the others. All the labourers have got this right. Your Govt. of India also has given this right to you. You may not join your 30,000 brethren, but surely a day will come..... I say this.....when you will say that a Bengali boy had come here and said one evening, that you will have, to resort to Strike one day or other. Last night it has been pointed out to you that if the Lilloah strikes fails, then .....remember! .....it will not be a defeat for only the Lilloah people, but the bones of all the men of the E I.R. will be crushed and their strength will be mingled with the dust. Insults will be offered to you upon insults and disgrace upon disgrace. Then you will not remain quiet. Don't depend upon another. The strike which you did six years ago did not prove successful. but see the history of the world. Wherever (sic) the labourers have obtained strength, they have become powerful. Study their history and abhyas\*—They \*Original word. resorted to strike thousands of times and not once only. The strike must necessarily fail. In England Sangattan was established 100 years ago. They have got much money. One year before, all the labourers in the collieries struck work for 7 months and were unsuccessful. But they did not leave the work and sit quietly. Don't you see a little child As long as he is unable to walk he crawls on the ground. When he is able to walk, he falls down and rises again, you have to rise in the same way. A man does not become hopeless, frightened, and disappointed and does not give up his work (lit. sit down). For Gods sake, for the sake of you, betterment, and for the betterment of your children, it is necessary that you should go on a strike. Strike will give you strength and you will be strong. You will fail, but these failures and unsuccesses will bring a day when you will never fail, your object will be achieved (lit. fulfilled), and you will get whatever you wish i. e. whatever you demand. You have no way other than 'Strike'. 'Not to strike' is the way to Death and to Hell, and not to achievement of your right.

(Here the audience shouted "we will surely strike") Lion-like you have said that you will strike. God be with you. He sees from above. He will bless you, because you have done this work

for your own good, and for the good of so many poor brethren. You will surely get promotion. For tomorrow, I say that a meeting will be held at 7-30. we shall come there, before going to our work. All the brethren shall come. A meeting shall be held, I will speak, and tell the way to you.

Sd: Abul Laes Mohammad,

Govt. (Urdu) Reporter.

30-4-'29.

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## P. 1932 (T).

Meeting at Ondal

on 25-5-'28. at 8 a. m. (morning)

Radha Ramam Mitra, seconding a resolution moved by Dharani Goswani (the resolution being;— " This meeting of the workers of the Ondal E. I. R. workshop, held on 25th. May decides to go on strike in sympathy with the workers of Lilloah locked out.)\* It congratulates the workers of

\*Reporters Howrah and Lilloah and assures them of their query. unanimous support, said:—

My dear brethren! The resolution moved by my brother means that the labourers of the Ondal Railway workshop, in a meeting held on 25th. May, go on a strike from today to show their sympathy with the worker-brethren of Lilloah and Howrah.

The second reason for 'strike' is this, that these people wish to help them in this fight, so that they may succeed, and this meeting of the worker-brethren of the Ondal workshop congratulates the worker-brethren of Howrah and Lilloah, and these labourers are ready, up to the last moment, to help them as much as they can. Perhaps you have understood. All admit it. You are with them to show your sympathy. You help them that they may succeed. If they succeed, you also will succeed. You declare that you go on a strike from to-day. I understand

\*Reporters that you all, accept it (the resolution was passed word. unanimously\*)



Dear brethren the courage shown by you is really a new thing. Many men...many brethren.... among you remember that a strike was made six years ago. Then you had no courage. See the labourer brethren. A new spirit has arisen among the labour brethren. You see that the police is here. The military is before you. Big Sahebs (officers) are standing. Yet you have not been over awed by them and come away from their presence. This is a very courageous step. Did any labour-brother see such a thing six or ten years before I congratulate you. You must know that a gathering of 500 or 600 men have gone on a strike. It does not mean that its effect will be limited to Ondal only. when this news reaches Lilloah and Howrah their zeal will be much increased, and their courage will be enhanced. Their determination will become more firm. Besides this, when this news spreads towards the west i e. in Dhambad, Asansol and Jamalpur that the Ondal brethren have resorted to strike, then the spirit of the labour brethren of those places will be aroused. they also will take courage and they will say "come on! the fire has begun to spread. It will come from the East to the West; so brethren! come along; let us also go on strike." Therefore the step taken (lit. work done) by you has considerable effect. There are only 5-6 men among you who have not joined you, but the majority has gone on strike. Few men have gone on their works. There are few men who are faithful to, or well wishers of their masters. Don't talk of them. They will always be treacherous. They will always murder their brethren in this way, and run a knife on the throats. They live in each strike, so leave them. But we know that 2-4 brethren have gone in it. They are such men as did not intend and wish to go at all, but they have gone out of fear. But I say don't upset yourselves. There are 500-600 men. If 20-25 men go there (to work) it means that they can't do anything and our object is that the work may be stopped. The waggons which need repairs may not be repaired. If 20-25 men go there, it will do us no harm. We will try by picketting that they too may not go. We will touch their hands and feet ( out of reverence ) and say to them "Show favour to us. See for whom do so many men die?" Besides this I say that you have gone on this strike deliberately and you know its consequences. Strike does not mean living with ease. As yet you have suffered troubles, borne kicks and tolerated every kind of distress and every kind of tyranny, but do you bear all this deliberately? Do you do so with your will & consent? You have to bear all this for your living. There is only one way to avoid all this tyranny. If you bear all the tyrannies and sufferings, vo'untarily and deliberately, which you used to bear helplessly and forcibly, then it will be avoided. Where do you get enough food to eat? Then what is the harm if you suffer a little (more). This transitory suffering shall very soon efface our ( real ) ( permanent ) suffering. This is the

meaning of the strike. You have been born to suffer hardships. You are not the children of rich people. You have been born to suffer hardships. God has written in your destiny that you shall have to pass your lives in distress and troubles. You don't expect riches. What distress is written in our destiny, then come along, brethren! let there be a little more trouble when this workshop was not in existence, 10 years ago, did anyone work in it. Did not men earn their living when there was no workshop. Those of you who are inhabitants of this place might have got some land or cultivation. Let them do cultivation and live upon the produce. Had there been no workshop, would you have died of hunger, With this view you must wait. There is another thing towards this. In this strike which we have begun, we have got no *lathis*, guns or arms. We are not ready to fight with arms. We have to work peacefully, and not to dispute or quarrel with anybody. We will peacefully explain matters to our brethren. Whatever policeman you see here, we have no enmity with them. Don't take and think them to be your enemies. I have seen at Howrah that these policemen have full sympathy with you, because after all they are our and, your brethren and perhaps belong to your family. There is no difference between them and you. As you cannot live in your way, they too understand that they are in great distress. They also wish to form associations and fight for bread. The Howrah police is ready. The policemen of various other places are ready and God blessing, these policemen will very soon strike their work for bread. There is no doubt in it. When it is seen that nothing can be done (lit. realised) without Strike, why should *lathis*' be used against them? Then again there is no blame upon them. They are quite innocent. They do so for their living. What do they do? They don't beat (us). Then as to the question of living, it is a universal question. On one side they help the officers for the sake of their living but if you talk them privately it will be found that whatever you do, it is correct. They are your brethren. They too are poor. Their big officers.....these Europeans .....get Rs. 1000 per month, but they get only 10/- or 15 rupees. They are with you. We must take them on our side with love, so that they also may follow our way of *Anjuman* (Association) and strike. When we do not disturb the peace, they can do nothing without any cause. Therefore don't fear if you see the police.

Another thing is that these managers and foremen will try in different ways so that you may go back to your work. They will try their best. The first trial is that they have brought the police for purposes of show, with the view that when you see *Saheb Bahadurs* and the red turban, you may go back to your work. It may happen afterwards, I don't think (they) will or will not resort to tyrannies. But in all the countries.....all round the world...

.....the thing is this (sic) that the police should stand on one side and help neither them nor us. The police should stand on one side. If we disturb the peace (lit. commit assault) they should come to us to keep the peace. This is their work. I address all the policemen sitting here and say to them most humbly that you should discharge this duty up to the end. Simply for the sake of a little pay and obey to your officers you should not use *lathis* or guns or bayonets (lit. knives). Of course, I do hope that the police of this place will act just as has been done by the police of other places. But you will be tried today, from which it would be found that you would not go on account of fear (sic). The second thing is that you will be tempted. It will be said to you "Today you are getting fourteen rupees, instead of that, you will be paid twenty or twenty two rupees". In this way you will be tempted and cheated. These things will be said only for saying (and not for doing) and then they will cheat you afterwards. Therefore, they will speak in this way. But as to what they will do, I can not say. It is necessary that during the period the strike is going on, meetings be held every morning and evening, so that we may be knowing as to what is being done in the morning and in the evening. We must regulate our policy according to the occasion. If we get time we shall hold meetings at this place every morning and evening. If those who have gone to-day, do not go tomorrow, then very little men will go to the workshop. If you are firm in your determination, they can do nothing. You should have courage. If you remain firm up to the last they themselves will ask you as to what do you want. You will say that your demand is not a different one, that your demand is the same as that of the labourers of Lilloah, that your pay should be increased at the rate of four annas in the rupee; that your other demand is that you should be given *Kothres* (room) to live in, or house rent; that your third demand is that full pay should be given to you for holidays, and that until this settlement is made with the Railway officer, you shall continue to strike. It has been said that the workshop shall remain open from 8 to 4 o'clock, and that anyone who wishes, can go and do their work. Don't go there at all. Do forget that you have any connection or relation with the workshop. (They) can not eject you from the quarters without notice. If they resort to tyrannies, we are present here. Come to us and let us know. We shall do what we can.

(Note by reporter:—"Shouts of "No one shall go to the workshop, and "Mazdoor Bhai Ki jae,".

(Sd.) ABUL LAES MUHAMMAD

Govt: (Urdu) Reporter,

Political Deptt: Bengal.

23-5-29

## P. 2107 (I)

Meeting held at Ondal on 26. 5. '28, at 7. p. m.

*Babu Radha Raman Mitter said:—*

Brethren! Saheb has said that he could not do what he wanted to do. Such a work had to be done this <sup>\*Best rendering.</sup> Morning\* We have to form a strike committee. A branch of the E. I. R. Union should be opened here. We have to do these two works to-day. The strike could not spread all over the line for want of an ANJUMAN; or so much trouble would not have been experienced. Some settlement would have been made before this. The strike committee should be made because whatever is to be done, should be done through it. Even if we don't open such a branch, we shall make a strike Committee and it shall act for the Branch Union. Whenever the Strike concludes, we shall make a Branch Committee. For the present this rule is good. Each ANJUMAN has got its rules. Those rules shall have to be sent for. There are a number of things which are not right as yet, and we shall have to set them right. Therefore if we have strong Unions at such places we shall be able to work properly. All these proceedings—holding such meetings, and making speeches, and passing resolutions are new things. What are the ways of a meeting. In every meeting when there is a resolution, one man writes it and places it before you ( saying that ) this meeting wants this, and it places this. After that another man gets up and seconds it. Besides this, 3-4 men get up and support it. After that a man gets up and asks if anybody does not accept it. Then he (?) says whether he accepts it or not. Therefore you can oppose the resolution as well as support it.

All Right. I resolve that we should open a branch of this ANJUMAN and form a Strike Committee. We should also include as to who else would be afterwards.\* As <sup>\* Urdu Vague.</sup> long as a branch opens, the Strike Committee should do that work. After that it will automatically be made a branch of the ANJUMAN, and work will start. This is the principal resolution.

(1) This meeting of the labourers of Ondal workshop resolves that a branch of the E. I. R. Union be opened at Ondal. \*As <sup>\*Not clear.</sup> regards the working it decides as to who will be its members\*. All the labourers and Babus who work in the Railway can be its members.

(2) This meeting further resolves that a strike Committee be formed immediately to work. There are two parts of the workshop. (1) machine and (2) waggons. The machine Section Consists of the fitters, blacksmiths, boilermen, machinemen, and coolies. The

Waggon Section consists of Carpenters, painters, fitters, riveters etc., Therefore one, shall be taken out of all the fitters, three, out of the blacksmiths, one, out of the coolies, one, from the painters, one from the fitters. In the same way one or two men shall be taken from amongst all.

(3) This meeting also decides that such and such men shall be included in this Committee. This meeting also decides that the Strike Committee shall have the power to make more members. As many men as work here, should all become the members. The more the members, in the ANJUMAN, the more its strength.

Now tell me, what is your opinion. Should a branch of the Union be opened here. (Voice:—Yes, It should be opened) — Then a Strike Committee should be made to run on the Strike. Do you accept this (Voice:—Yes, yes.) Then you do accept that until the Strike is over, this Strike Committee should work for the ANJUMAN.

Sd. Ghulam Hasuain,  
Govt. (Urdu) Reporter.

10-5-29.

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## P. 1920

Full text of a speech delivered at Ondal by Phillip Spratt on 28-5-28 to the strikers of E. I. R. Workshop (Ondal).

“Comrades—I think we have achieved a great success to congratulate ourselves upon this morning. We can now say that this strike is established. We have to remember that this strike may be a very serious one.

It is obvious from what has happened to the people at Lillooah that there are very strong forces on the other side opposed to us, and I think we can say quite confidently that Colvin would not have refused to accede to the demands of these workers of Lillooah, if he did not know that he had the Government behind him, supporting him in whatever he did, and we must therefore remember that the Government is against us, and it is very strong. I want you, therefore, to gird up your loins and concentrate yourselves in front of a very stern fight. We can be stronger than they

are, if we maintain the unity which we have established this morning. Practically, there is nobody in the shop. If we can only keep it up, we shall be successful.

I do not want to carry on longer. Other people have important things to say to you and I may therefore close my speech as the rain is coming.

(Sd.) B. N. Chatterjee,

English Reporter.

## P. 2109 [T].

Meeting held at Ondal, on 28-5-28 at 5-45 p. m. Babu Radhe Raman Mitter said :—

Brethren ! The *Hartal* lasted the whole of this day. A few men had gone. Mr. Hume turned him (or then ?) out. It may be wrong but I have heard so. Picketing should be carried on tomorrow also like to-day. After it is finished the volunteers should come to our office. Our brother who has come back and asked for pardon, is Dost Mohamed. He said that the volunteers won't work properly. I say that this is false. He should not have said so. Because whatever success we have achieved, it is due to the volunteers. I see that hundreds of Dost Mohameds would have gone to work, but now only one or two could go, because our volunteers worked with great zeal. Besides this (they ?) say:—"You don't know what we do when we go to (the workshop ?)". You can say a lot of such deceptive things, but don't think that these 500 men are fools. \* Reporters query. I do not want such a good. You may cause us injuries openly. We will take them as good. But we are not ready to hear you say that you go to the workshop for our good, and in order to keep off men (from going there). We don't want such good. You may be our foes openly. But my brother apologised in the presence of all. I thank him. He has admitted that he is guilty. He stood up and confessed before this gathering. Thus his sin has been washed away. To sin, and then to confess it before the public, is the proof of the fact that he is a very courageous man. Therefore I thank him for the courage shown by him. Nobody ever stood up and apologised in this way. Therefore I am thankful for the courage which he has shown, and I hope that he will not do so again. I also submit that you used to work in it (workshop) and you know if there are other men like Dost Mohamed. If you have joined us, you should go and see them throw yourself at their feet and say to them not to do such work after going to the workshop. This too is your duty (lit. work).

I said that this is no time for a lecture. Now I tell you about the demands. Hear one by one, think over it and pass your opinion.

(1) Our demand is the same as that of the people of

- Lilloah. Four annas per rupee should be increased in our pay. Do you accept this? (Yes-Yes).
- (2) We should get free quarters to live in. If no rooms can be given, then house rent may be paid.
  - (3) When we do not work on Govt. holidays we should get that day's pay in full.
  - (4) (a) The Babus get one month's leave each year. They work for 11 months and get one month's leave on full pay. We wish that we also should get one month's leave on full pay during one year.
  - (b) The Babus also get Casual leave. We should get that too. Babus get another kind of leave (?) when they fall ill, they get 14 days leave in a year on medical Certificate. Leave should not be dependant upon the certificate of only the Railway Doctor, but on the certificate of any registered Doctor.
  - (5) (a) If anybody commits any sort of insolence in the factory, the Sahebs slap the labourers. This im-improper punishment should be stopped.
  - (b) Bribes are taken. This should be stopped at all. A lot of men have given bribes in hopes of getting employment. We have not thought it over. We will find some way for that also. But I say for future that bribes should not be taken at all.
  - (c) A lenses should be stopped altogether.
  - (d) *Sahebs* suspend and dismiss workers without any reason, to satisfy their own whims (lit. desire) They say that they do so for some reason. I see that there is no reason at all. All this should be stopped.
  - (e) The Railway officers should recognise the Ondal branch of the E. I. R. Union. 'Recognition' means that all Railway employees may be allowed to become its members and it should not be taken as an offence. What happens is this that the names of such men are taken (sic) and they are turned out when occasion permits. Now, no punishment should be given to them and no steps should be taken against them.

(f) (Mr.) G. R. Hume should be transferred from this place - Do you accept this (voices "Yes—Yes").

(g) The Saheb of the Mechapic. Workshop should be dismissed. K. Ranga Naidu and Kali Paddu Ganguli should also be dismissed. All of them should be transferred. These men take bribes, and do injustice.

(h) Within 10-15 days seven persons have been dismissed. They went home and fell ill. They sent sick report; but it was not accepted and they were dismissed, all the seven were dismissed. We want that these 7 men may be taken back.

These are all our demands. Do you accept these demands. (Voice "Yes: Yes!") - If any one has any other demand he can include it. But the want should be such as may have some relation to it? (or him?) (I) No labourer should get less than Rs. 30/-. Lilloah people had made a demand like this. Those who get more than 30/-, should get an increase of four annas per rupee and those who get less than 30/-, should get 30/-.

If there are any shopkeepers here: I address them and say that there are some shopkeepers who are not prepared to give provisions. I say that they should realize the condition of the workers and don't do such a cruel deed as to stop their food stuff. These you purchased from you for days and days and made you rich. If men don't provide them at this time of distress, where shall they get it. They won't run away with your money. I say, give them provisions. They won't run away. They have only resorted to a strike and none of them has resigned the service.

(Sd.) Ghulam Husain,

Govt. Reporter.

6-5-29.

Translated by—

Ali Muhamed.

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P 2176

Daily Report on the strike's situation of the Ondal waggon  
Repairing shop dated 28/5/28.



Owing to the canvassing of the strikers at Raniganj and Asansol stations, only 17 men came to work this morning. Of these 4 men were turned out of the works by the foremen at 11 o'clock, as they had joined the strike and refused to work this morning. Probably they are againsts of the strikers.

A short meeting was held which was dissolved owing to the advent of rainfall. Nothing worthy of note was spoken by Radha R. Mitter.

A similar meeting was held in the evening. Chiranji Lal who figured in the Liluah strike, arrived with 3 of the Liluah strikers and addressed the meeting explaining the present situation at Liluah, which was nothing but hopeful and he asked the audience to remain firm in their efforts which would lead to a victory of the E. I. Ry. authorities.

Resolution which was drafted was read out.

- (1) That the minimum pay of the workers must not be less than Rs. 30.
- (2) There should be 25% increment all round.
- (3) There should be free quarters and if not available, house rent sanctioned.
- (4) That the leave be granted as is due in the case of officials and leave should be granted with pay on the production of a medical certificate.
- (5) All the holidays be allowed to be observed as announced in the Railway Gazette, which is done in the case of officers.
- (6) That Mr. Hume, the Foreman, Kali Pado Muckerji, the Head clerk and Ranghu Mistry be dismissed from the job for their taking bribes at the time of appointment from the workmen.

It is understood that the strikers are trying their level best to induce men of Engineering, Traffic and Loco Departments to join the strike and peaceful picketings have there for been preserved.

They were trying to do this at Ondal and Asansol stations.

Copies of resolutions have been forwarded to the District Magistrate, S. D. O., Asansol and the Foreman of Ondal workshop.

As Sharif Khan, who is taking an active interest on behalf of the Railway, did not apologise to the strikers for his abusing some of them, Mr. Sprat had sent a report to Dist. Magst. Burdwan, S.D.O.

Asansol and to the local P. S. alleging that Sharif Khan is intimidating the strikers by abusing them in filthy language and threatened them with assault if they happened to go to the local market for provisions and that he further trying to induce the shop keepers not to sell anything to to strikers.

As the workshop would remain close the next day, there need be no more picketing tomorrow.

It is learnt that a meeting whold be held tomorrow in the field opposite the E. I. R. Miner School, and the E.K.R. Electrical Deptt. and Traffic Dept. men are also expected to join.

No breach of the peace was reported from any Quarters.

Sd. F. H. CHODHURY.

o/c Ondal P. S.

28/5/28.

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## P. 1921.

Full text of a speech delivered by Phillip Spratt at a meeting of the E. I. Ry workers at Asansol on 30/5/28

“Comrades—I must first apologise to you for the fact that I can not speak in Hindi, but I do want to make remarks in English and I believe some of you will understand them. I shall make a short speech.

The first thing I want to draw your attention to is the very great importance of this lock-out at Lilloah, which has by this time come to occupy the key-position, as it were among the strikes that are now going on in India because of its length—it is now going on for three months—and the no. of prsrons engaged in it and various other factories affected, as it is clear that the authorities of the Railway and the Govt. it is not too much to say—understand this and ara acting upon it. You must have noticed how keen Govt. is to defeat the strike. They let loose Police and soldiers upon the strikers, which is not thought of in any European country and is rather unusual even in such a barbarous country like this, if I may use that expression. People were shot down at Bamungachi and many an unwarranted assaults committed on strikers. There was, however

a strange case on the Bamungachi shooting affair because of unjustified shooting. It was tried and dismissed in the Magistrate's Court.

There is further the extraordinary fact that the Agent, Mr. Colvin has been absolutely unbending throughout this whole period. Anyway, he certainly would not have been so, if he did not know that the Govt. is behind him.

It is clear, as I said, that Govt. is very keen and the authorities of the Railway are were keen on defeating the strike, because, by this time, it has come to occupy the position of 'Key-strike'. If this is lost, all other strikes will be lost. There are many other strikes going on in India. If we win, these strikes will stand a very good chance of winning. because the strikers will be vere much encouraged and we shall be successful. If this strike is lost, I should say, other people will lose too and we shall enter upon a period of depression which will possibly last for months or even for years.

I say this because I want you to realise that it is a very important strike. It is not a question of 10,000 or 20,000 men, it is a question of all the people on the railways-not only that, but in all other railways, jute mills, coal-mines and so forth. It is only because of that that we should be justified in asking the other people on this railway to strike in sympathy with the people at Lilloah. It will be, I believe, to your interests. It will be your duty, if I may say so, to strike in sympathy with the people of Lilloah, because defeat or success of this strike will have an important reaction upon you.

But there is a further point. You have as I understand, important grievances and I should like to point out that if you want to get these things settled, it is perhaps the most opportune time. It is fairly clear that this lock-out at Lilloah can not go on very much longer if you and other people do not stand by the side of the workers in the strike. It is almost certain that success will come and you will at any rate get some of your grievances redressed. Therefore, from these two points of view I think it is clearly indicated to you that this is the proper time for launching upon a strike. But before you do it, I want to ask you to consider the matter very carefully. I think it is no good striking even in such circumstances as this, if you cannot reasonably unite among yourselves. It is no good striking if you are in a very weak position. That is particularly why the authorities have picked out this Lilloah lock-out for their certain methods. They know that there is no organisation for the rest of the Railway, and therefore they can deal with Lilloah as they please. You have, if you can, to set up very quickly some sort of a skeleton organisation to carry out the different functions.

If there were real unity in existence as there was on the B. N. Ry. this thing would have been over only three months ago. As it is, you have no Union to speak of and our difficulties are very greatly increased. That is an obstacle in our way which we have to consider. If you think that you are able that you are strong even without an organisation I think you ought to strike and I hope you will take that decision. I think some of you may say, "Well, we will strike: but what chances have we of success?" I think there are some indications which show that after all this time there is a probability of our winning.

It is still clear that the men at Lillooah are absolutely determined. They went through a very, very severe test. When they went back to the Workshop, everyone of them—100%—began to offer Satyagraha. That shows that they are determined in spite of their previous experience.

Then we have the fact that the strike is beginning to spread on other parts of the line. As you know, the people at Ondal have struck very successfully. I gather this also at Jamalpur that there is a possibility that they will strike in a few days. Therefore the tide of success is with us. If this is the case, we can not help winning in the course of a few weeks. A substantial help is coming to the Lillooah Union—with it they can carry on for some time. For all these reasons, I am confident in saying that we have a very strong probability of winning. If we enter at all with the idea that we are not going to lose, we shall win the fight.

If your strike extends over more than 2 or 3 weeks, which seems to be very unlikely, then there will be the question of relief. We can now say the behaviour of the Govt. and the Administration have made everybody so disgusted that public sympathy is entirely with us, and we can now depend in a large measure on the financial support from the middle-class public, which may enable us to give relief to the strikers. On these grounds I have every confidence, in asking you to strike, that we will win, but at the same time as I said, I want you to consider all this very carefully and see that you get at any rate 99% of the workers, before you actually launch upon the step. If you consider what these people at Lillooah have been through and consider that it is particularly for your sake and for the sake of other workers in India that you have to strike I think, you will agree that such sufferings as you may have to undergo if you take part, will not be very great in comparison. People should really have the cause of Trade Unionism at heart in such a situation as this.

There is one thing more. I was hoping that K. C. Mitra the General Secretary of the E. I. Ry. Union, would be coming here within a day or two. If so, we shall bring him to Asansol and

have another meeting, but we will arrange that afterwards when he comes he will be able to explain to you the situation fully and in your own language. You will then be able to judge definitely whether or not you ought to strike. Meanwhile I want to put these considerations before you. What I have stated are the actual facts. I will ask my friend to translate and once more apologise to you for not being able to speak in the language which you can understand.

Sd. B. N. Chatterji

English Reporter.

Summary Report of speeches delivered at a meeting of E. I. Ry. workers at Asansol (Burdwan) on 30/5/28.

The meeting was held on an open ground in Jhingri Mohalla on the arrival of Mr. Spratt, Nanitosh Mukherjee and Ali Hossain (a Lillooah striker) from Ondal. One Chiranjilal from Calcutta also accompanied them. About 500 people assembled in spite of a severe dust storm which lasted for half an hour.

Mr. Spratt then addressed the gathering. In the course of his speech he said the strike at Lillooah had come to occupy a key position and that therefore the Ry. authorities and the Govt. were keen to break the strike; even they let loose the police and the soldiers upon the strikers, that could not be thought of in any European country. He then referred to the shooting at Bamungachi and it was because of this position that the Agent had been absolutely unbending during this whole period and because he knew that the Govt. was behind him. He remarked that if the Lillooah strike was lost then every other strike would be lost. He stressed the point that it was not a question of 10 or 20 thousand men at Lillooah but it was a question of all the Railways, the jute mills, coal mines and so forth. So it was the duty of the Asansol workers to strike in sympathy with the Lillooah strikers. He added that it was an opportune time for them to get their grievances redressed. He then appealed to them to go on strike, for if they along with Jamalpur men would go on strike, they were sure to succeed.

He assured the people that the strikers were getting relief from the public.

The speaker in conclusion, declared that K. C. Mitter would be coming to Asansol in a day or two, who would be able to explain the situation more clearly.

This speech was translated in Hindi by Chiranjilal,

The next speaker Nanitosh Mukherji criticised the capitalists and appealed to the railway workers of Asansol to declare a strike.

Ali Hossain also appealed to the audience to go on strike saying that all possible help would be rendered to them by the Ry. Union.

Chiranjilal also appealed to the workers to declare a strike in sympathy with the Lillooah workers.

There was no response and the meeting dispersed on account of rain.

Sd. B. N. Chatterje

Illegible

Govt. Reporters

31/5/28

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

**BENGAL**

**SPEECHES**

**IN CONNECTION WITH**

**STRIKES**

**&**

**OTHER SUBJECTS.**

## P. 1933 [T.]

Public meeting held at Jhingri Mahallā, Asansol, on 1. 6. 28  
at 5. 30. p. m.

Radhā Rāman Mitra said:—

The Sardars (lit. chiefs of leaders) and the police tried and influenced you very much; but you did not listen to them and came bravely to hear the words of the labourers of Lilloah. I thank you for this. What you have come to listen to is this (1) Your Rights and (2) Your Duty.

Gandhi Ji, Mohamed Ali and others began Non-co-operation. There was time for that movement. At that time the attention of the Worker brethren of India was towards obtaining the Swaraj. Then the worker brethren of India had stood up to obtain Swaraj. Then these men of India, these Babus, and these leaders had no time to watch you (or to look towards you) and to help you. The movement was not opportune. So I say that the Railway Strike which you did, suddenly, in 1922, was not opportune. It was not the occasion for a Strike. But since then six years have passed away. Within these six years, in 1928, a new era has opened in respect of the Labourer's movement. Have you ever heard (also, you might have heard). You are sitting. Some of you are 60 years old, and some, 70, have you ever heard that strikes take place at different places. There has been a strike at Dhariwal, for 3 months. In Bombay 1,50,000 men have left 102 Cotton Mills. You have heard (or have you heard) that the brethren (working at) Jessop & Burn have, for these 3 months, left work, along with the men of Lilloah. Have you ever heard that without any support, and depending upon themselves, 14,000 brethren of Lilloah left work and have been sitting for 3 months, to fulfil what they said. Have you ever heard that in the same way 10,000 brethren have left work in Darjiling, Calcutta and Rishra and have been sitting for one month. There are no leaders there. There are no educated men there. Section 144 has not been applied by the English Govt. there. These Labourers are their own leaders and carry on their strike. Had you ever heard this? Did you ever hear that 3,000 men had struck work in the Kesho Ram mills at Matiabrur (?) Think over for a moment why all this takes place. I challenge you. I tell you to recall old days in your mind, since you were born, and point out any one year in India, in which so many Indian Labourers might have resorted to strikes. If you think over, you cannot point out even one such year. In this year 1928, you see that all round in India, the strike among the labourers has spread on all sides. What is the matter? The fact is this, that a new agitation has begun in India. There



are labourers in Europe even today. 100 years before those labourers were in the same plight in which the Indian labourers are now. European labourers began to work in mills, factories and Railways 100 years ago. When factories were made there, they worked in the factories and the Railways, for 30- 40 years, in the same way as we work here ... .. like cattle. They worked for 30- 40 years, like animals. They went on suffering tyrannies and oppressions and then their eyes were opened. They began to understand that if they would tolerate the tyrannies and oppressions of the Munibs (agents) the masters, and the Sahokars, (capitalists) in the same way, then the time would come very soon when the European and English labour class would be annihilated from the world. Then this movement began among them. The movement began. Nobody came from outside. The labourers girded their own loins and stood up. They said:- We do not wish to live like animals. What do you (O) masters, think? Are you going to let us work like bullocks. Will you live in luxury from (the produce of) our perspiration and our blood. Will you play, sing and drive motor-cars and shall we, remain in the Hell for your sake and for ever, from our birth to our death? This cannot be."

Then the movement of forming *Anjumans*, called Unions in English (got up) among the labourers, and they began to form *Anjumans*. Now a days the labourers strike work in the mills with the support of the *Anjumans*. They began to form such '*Anjumans*' in the mills and the railways. *Anjuman* means that all the labourers of one profession should unite together and form themselves into one '*machinery*'\* to make their demands. What used to take place before in England and what takes place now a days in India? What used to take place there at Lilloah. You had also struck work. When you struck work in 1922 the Lilloah people did not help. How far your cry for help is proper and appropriate? But why do you cry for help? Why do you charge (them?) ? Why did you consider them at fault? Because you make a demand, you say that until you get Rs 30 you would not work, and that you would not sell your labour for Rs.14/. or Rs 15/. But you have seen, that at that time, the Lilloah people were such fools (lit. wretches) that they said that you might demand Rs 30/ but that they were ready to work for Rs 14/, or 15/. Therefore you feel sorry. You are men. When you demand, some men in a factory don't strike work. (When) you demand that a particular rate may be allowed to you there are some brethren who say:—"Leave them. We are ready to work on half the amount demanded by them." They are not your brethren. They are your enemies, *Haram Khors* (earning their livelihood by unlawful means) Such is the case now.\* Times have changed with the Lilloah people. They say (lit. wish) that they are at least one lakh and sixty thousand labourers and wish

..... not for themselves, but 14,000 men for 1,60,000 employees :..... that unless each labourer gets Rs 30/ they, would not work.

They demand that they should get quarters to live in, free of rent, (or) house rent, instead of the quarters, as is given to the Babus, and to the officers; in the same way as every man should get. In the same way they demand that they should get pay for holidays. Government holidays ..... and for Sundays.

They demand (lit wish) that when you fall ill, or when you are absent, your pay should not be cut. They demand (lit. wish) that sick leave should be sanctioned to them for 14 days in a year on the same terms (lit. in the same way).

When there is some work in the house and you cannot go to the workshop for a day, you are (treated) absent, and your pay is cut. They demand that 14 days leave be sanctioned for these emergencies. They say that they should get one months' leave on full pay so that they may go and see their children, or improve their health. On account of all these demands they have been dying for three months.....dying of hunger.

When 2 or 4 such brethren make a demand in any workshop and some do not, then (it is natural that) the former become offended. I sak you, cannot the Lilloah people be offended with you in the same way. They wish to be paid at a particular rate, and they wish that if they are not paid at that rate then no employee should work in the E. I R. You people are sitting here. One employee... one worker.....says "what to us if they fight (struggle). Never mind Rs. 30/-, we get Rs. 12/-, 13/-, 15/. It is enough for us." This is the condition. What is the meaning of this 'Anjuman'?

It means that when all the workers become its members (and) when the *Anjuman* demands payment at a certain rate, then there will be no one to say that he will be ready to work for a lesser amount. Here is a saheb of the police Dept. If a conversation takes place with him he too can tell that your *Anjuman* is so strong that all the workers listen to its directions. If any man.....any employee.....should go against it, the *Anjuman* would expel him immediately and he would not get an employment anywhere. Therefore, I say that (when) they should make this demand for all the employees, and not for themselves only, and when) you should say that you would not make the demand; that you would remain inactive (lit. sitting); that whatever you should get, it would be enough; and that you would be agreeable to it; then would it not be so that you would be cutting the throats of your brethren. But I say to you that time has come. Workers have stood up to demand their rights in different parts of..

Page 9.

India. The day has come. Clouds have come. We did not expect them but they have come before our expectations. All the men of the E. I. R. (should) stand up at once. The workers of each and every place in India should demand their rights. What for? Because God has not created us to live like animals. It is our right that we should live in the same way in which live the masters. It is our right that we should feed our children with good eatables, that we should educate them. It is our right that we should not take our wives out of the *Purdah* and send them to the *maidans* (open places) and colleries to carry loads. Their honour is like the honour of our mothers and sisters (Oh! master) Your wife dances in electric light & fan & lives in ease & comfort. Is not our wife (lit. women) a workers wife, (lit. woman) a human being. She gives up her sense of honour and shame goes out of her hut, and works with us, our children, and the workers. You see all this. I say, open your eyes. You poor men who starve! If the shirt is removed from your body it will be seen that the bone of every rib is visible (i.e. you are very thin & weak). You are not poverty-stricken and beggars. You think yourselves paupers and beggars. You are the children of Kings, You are yourselves kings. Don't take these words as amusement or a joke. Don't you see. See all round the World. Who made the World so pleasant? You.....with your hands and feet.....made this world a heaven: or it would have been a desert. Who made the Rail? Who made all the articles of ease and comfort? Is there anything that has been made with the physical labour of these, who get their work done for nothing (lit. eat sweets without payment) and who suck (our or your) blood? All the things.....from grain to workshops, associations, machines, and all which we see, have been made by you. Therefore I say that every man who makes a thing, is its master. Therefore you are the master of the whole world, in truth.

Here are some men, some robbers. They had had some money. They collected some money of the poor by looting or by Dacoity. Those men loot you, and crush you under their feet. They wish that you should not listen to men like myself. They wish that you should not know what are your rights; and that if you do know them, you should not demand them and should not stand up to demand them.

Therefore I say that if you wish to live, is you wish to live like the workers of England, then you should try for it. You get Rs. 15/- per month. What does an ordinary worker get in England? (*welavet*) At least Rs. 300/-. There is also an ignorant worker of (*welayet*) England, who gets Rs. 50/-. There can't be one worker who might be earning less than Rs. 300/- or Rs. 250/-. Formerly workers in England used to get Rs. 20/- to Rs. 25/- per month. But those days are gone by. How did they begin to get Rs. 30% from Rs. 25/. What was in it? Nothing. The workers had understood

it. If you say that you wish a certain amount of money, then you must sell your thing. What have you got? You have got your hands and feet. You have got your labour. You have come to the market of the World to sell your labour. Masters say that they would give Rs.10 for this labour. Would you sell this labour for these ten rupees? But the Workers of England had decided 100 years before that they could not live upon that, and that they should get at least Rs. 300/. Therefore, they got that amount. Just now if I ask each man sitting here, he would say that he is in great trouble. You suffer much distress (lit. tyrannies) and bear it. Your children die without bread, medicine and medical aid and writhing with illness; and you weep helplessly and quietly. You take great pains and only call God to your help and say "Since there is none in the World to help me O God, come down to my help & save my child". The same was the case there too. They did improve their condition. It is the duty or right of every man to keep his children healthy and not see them die thus. This is your right. Demand your right. Forget the Lilloah affair. Think that there is no 'Strike' at Lilloah. I say that you have to get up even if there is no Strike. You have to exert yourselves for your rights even then. When you unite and say deliberately "we all the brothers, have united and we shall not be divided in our opinions; we demand our rights unanimously and loudly. We want to live in the world with ease and comfort, like a man". When you, all the workers unitedly make this demand, that very day you shall get it. You don't demand. You are asleep. You are sitting quiet like dumb men, therefore you are in this condition. When you stand up strongly & bravely and say that you are dying and cannot suffer any more, then all your sufferings will terminate. You have to resort to strike to get your demands. Secondly, you have to resort to the strike to discharge your duty. Your duty is this. There, the Lilloah people demand their right. Your object is similar to theirs. Whatever they demand, they don't demand it for themselves (alone) but for all, for you too, and for your children. They have been on strike for these 3 months. For the three months they have been looking towards the *Munibes*, Therefore, it is your duty that you should follow them.

(note by reporter:—"Here I got tired, took a few minutes rest and then continued writing .

K. C. Mitra has said to the people of Ondal that (the affair) of Lilloah people would not be decided until (the affair) of Ondal has been decided. If you go strike, the Lilloah affair will not be decided until yours has been settled. You are experienced men. You know how to go on a strike. You will have to utilize all the brethren. If even one brother remains such as does not get work (?), surely the Lilloah affair will not be decided. So much I promise K.C. Mitra also is coming in a day or two, Don't delay much. The more delay

(in the strike) the more (delay) in getting your rights. Go on strike immediately for your betterment, for your rights for your benefit, for the demand and independence of the workers of your India. Raise your hands and say that you are ready to go on a Strike. If you are ready to strike, please raise your hand. You are poor, they are rich. They wish to sit on your chest, suck your blood and get one hundred rupees. Don't think of them\*. If you have to see to your benefit, leave everything and see what is advantageous to you. There is no way other than a strike. If a worker has to live in the world he shall have to go on a strike—the condition of the worker can not be improved without strike. Do you think that your condition would be improved by flattering, beseeching, touching the feet (in humiliation) and pleasing the Saheb Bahadur. All your *Bara Sahebs* of (offices) don't wish you welfare. These *Babus* will not come to your help. Therefore I say that if you have to live like men, you must go on a Strike.

Sd. ABUL LAES MOHAMED,

Govt: (Urdu) Reporter.

Translated

Ali Muhmad.

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## P. 1922

Full text of a speech delivered by Phillip Spratt at a meeting of the E. I. Ry. workers at Asansol on 2-6-28.

“Comrades—I think it is a very good thing that for the first time we are having two meetings together—one by your employers and one by ourselves. So you will be able to compare the series (?) of industrial relations put forward by their side and by ourselves, and we will be able to compare the two and see which is correct:

They are telling you that your employers are your fathers and mothers, that they hold brother by relations and the vested interests of both are served by the peaceful co-operation and brotherhood of the two parties.

I do not think that their theory is correct. I do not think that would commend itself to any worker in the world. On the face of it, it is a falsehood, and I want you to compare it with the theory

by ourselves. We say that even in the present conditions, without considering the more important question of the future but taking for all the industries and railways — in the present conditions and under the present management, the workers should combine themselves to fight against the employers. It is only by this organisation, by the solidarity of the workers, by the display of their militant and fighting attitude against the employers that they can keep up to the best level of their position under the present conditions before we have undergone those fundamental changes about which I spoke. I think the evidence of every country will bear out that ours is correct, and I want you to think about it. You must remember that in those days there were no communists or agitators about. You struck because you were forced to do it by the circumstances. Even then, we had this bitter fight, in which workers were victimised and sacrificed. Fights will occur every now and then and it is upto us to fight as efficiently as we can, to organise all the forces we can. That is the only way, which; I think, is the best.

Another thing which they may tell you. They may say, we people who are here asking you to strike are outsiders, agitators, Communists and Bolsheviks and all sorts of things, I want to say, Comrades, I have no greater desire than to be called an agitator and a communist. Some of the greatest men in the World's history have been agitators, and Marx, Lenin etc. have been communists. We have a every high standard to follow. I do not want to narrate further on this question.

Before I sit down, I want to remind you on this question of strike in Asansol, that first there is the consideration of the interests of the men at Lilloah. There are 14 or 20 thousand men involved. Their interests demand that the strike should extend on the Railway and this is the centre, which may very well strike in support of them.

Secondly remember what will happen if they are beaten in this lock-out; remember what happened in previous strikes. If even a section is defeated, you will all feel the result of that.

In your own interests, rally to their support and help them. Finally, I want to remind you, what I said the other day, that our employers and workers are looking to the lock-out at Lilloah for guidance-for advice. This is the central labour struggle. All over India, workers are fighting and striking and Lilloah is the key strike. If we lose I do not know what a dreadful issue is before us. That strike must be won and you are the people who can win it. If you all strike, if you strike solidly here in Asansol, I believe this lock-out at Lilloah will finish within 2 or 3 weeks.

I will ask my comrades to bear in mind that although these other people may be bad people and agitators, what are they? They

are your masters, they are your exploiters. Can they be trusted? Every minute must bear witness that they cannot be trusted to deal with you in the best way. The only way for you is to present a united front of opposition.

Sd. B. N. CHATTERJEE

ENGLISH REPORTER.

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## P. 1934-T.

Public meeting held at Jhingri Mohalla, Asansol, on 2. 6. 28 in the afternoon.

Radha Raman Mitra said:—

Brethren! Keep silent for a while. These people say that they are your parents ( MAN BAP ). I forgot to say one thing yesterday. They say that the Railway company and Railway Sahibs are ( your ) MAN BAP, but have you ever seen or heard MAN BAP keeping their children hungry. They (the children) do not get bread and MAN BAP sit and partake of PULAO and eggs and meat. Have you ever seen this? While the children live in huts, MAN BAP live in three or four storeyed houses. Have you ever seen such MAN BAP in the world? Say to the MAN BAP: " O MAN BAP ! We are prepared to accept you as our MAN BAP provided you quit your houses and come and begin to live in this BASTI and allow us to live in those houses. Then alone we shall think that you are our MAN BAP and we are your children. Give up this food. Give up these suits (lit. coats & pents) etc, worth one hundred rupees. Dress like ourselves and give us coats & pents (to wear). Then we shall be prepared to accept you as our MAN BAP. Unless you fulfil this desire of ours, you cannot be ( lit. are not ) our MAN BAP. Continue to be your MAN BAP yourselves. We want four annas increment in a rupee. You do not like this and say that you will give us such and such things and this and that," I say that (this question ) can be settled in a minute " if you give them the thing they want. Give to the 14,000 ( workers ) of Lillooah (the thing) they die (for.. You are the MAN BAP of the Lillooah workers also ". Our blood boils on hearing all this. ( To practise) cunning upon poor brethren ! To say that " we are MAN BAP " is cunning and to indulge in

joking. It is to crack joke with God. They (?) have come to dishonour you. (They) have come to insult you. They beat you with a shoe and say that they are your MAN BAP. The Lee Commission hold its enquiry because those who get Rs-2000/— (a month) say that they should be given Rs-4,000/— They say that they should get allowances when they marry. They should get allowance for they beat Indian brethren with shoes out of kindness. These are the doings of the MAN BAP. They get Rs. 2,000/-. A MAN BAP came in Ondal. He is the magistrate of Bardwan. ( He ) came and began to enquire from labourers (sic). He asked what right they had to go on strike without giving a notice. We asked him to allow us to hold a meeting and then he might ask questions. He said if we did not enquire, he would ask (lit say). (He) asks (lit. says to) a person what pay he was drawing. The latter replied he was getting Rs. 32/-. He (the former) says: " Cannot you live upon Rs. 32/-? How many men in the Burdwan District get Rs20/-?" " Well Sahib I say, you are getting 1500/-or 2,000/-, cannot you live upon 1500/-? You will not give to any person all the best things in the world, You will consume (lit.eat) them yourself. You will not give them to the poor."

They close down their mills for three months. Loss of crores is sustained. If they had distributed these crores of rupees. several (men) would have been benefitted. May God save India? May God save the inhabitants of poor India! We do not want such MAN BAP. If they are (really our) MAN BAP, a compromise in writing for seven days may be effected.

" You take our food for seven days and live in our room. Give your motor-car. etc., for seven days and do our work (and) work the engine, etc. It is a very easy thing to sit under (electric) fans, go on quill-driving and give orders (lit. run the Government). We challenge (you). Come in the sun. We see you will then say that you repent (on your doings)"

These people do not feel ( lit.see ) others' sufferings, etc., They make different laws for you and for themselves. Whenever they will get an opportunity, they will break your neck into two and suck (your) blood.

\* The brackets ( At this moment, the men raised their hands appear in the in favour of strike )\*

original—Tr.

Sd: Abdul Lais Mahommad,

Govt: (Urdu)

Reporter,



Political Dept.,

Bengal.

15-5-29.

Translated by

Morid Husain, Urdu Translator.

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## P. 2221

Bauria meeting report of 23-6-28.

About 4000 men consisting of the workmen of Fortgloster Mills Bauria Cotton Mills and Ludlow Jute Mills assembled this afternoon in a meeting on a maidan in village Santoshpur in the jurisdiction of Bauria P. S. They were addressed by Deba Kumar Gupta, Hemanta Kumar Basu, Phillip Spratt and Bankim Chandra Mukherjee.

\* \* \* \* \*

Phillip Spratt stated that the Chengail Union was achieving good results in its fight with the authorities and Bauria also should join it to make it stronger. He stated that there should be separate Unions for the Jute workers and Cotton workers. There should be central unions for all India for each class of workers and all these small unions were to be their branches. He requested the worker to form an union at Bauria as soon as possible and in doing so, he advised them not to depend on outsiders but to select strong men from themselves and carry on the work in an organized manner.

\* \* \* \* \*

Sd/-Harendrabejoy Basu

S. I. D. I. B. 23-6-28.

## P.2108 T

MEETING HELD AT ONDAL ON 27. 6 28. AT 6. 15 P. M.  
Babu Radha Raman Mitter said:—

I wish that you should cry the 'Jai,' of the Anjuman, before the meeting begins.

(Shouts of:— '*Mazdur Raj ki jai, 'Mazdur Dal ki Jai.'*)  
The Hindus, among you, know that there had been a fight between the *Korus* & the *Pandas*. The Mussalmans also know this. They might have heard it. Why that battle was fought? When the *Pandas* return from '*Ban Bas*' (Exile) (they found that) the *Korus* had taken possession of all the lands. The '*Pandas*' asked for 5 villages only but the *Korus* said that instead of 5 villages they would not give them even as much land as can be covered by the point of a needle. The same has been said by the Agent Saheb to-day, which was the date of the settlement. Mitter Babu had relinquished all the items of the demand. He only demanded that all the strikers should be taken back to work. But when this conceited agent saw that they had relinquished all their demands, he said that he had dismissed 187 men at Asansol, whom he would not take back. He says that he has taken 187 men permanently. This is only a cheat. He thought that these (strikers) have fallen, therefore he said that he would not take them back.

But as Duryodhan had done and his entire family was ruined (sentence not complete).

As feathere appear on the body of an ant, shortly before her death (so it appears that) the time is near when these mans shall become extinct. These are the signs of their destruction, their defeat. A wise man would have immediately come to a settlement. They had got a very good chance. This is the sign of their destruction. You - Ondal *walas*:—have crushed this conceit of the agent. Such a *Hartal* never took place before. Therefore I thank E. K. R. and other brethren. I have got no strength. You are my only strength. As long as you follow me I shall be able to fight. You have saved the honour of entire India, (by avoiding) the defeat which the labourers were to get. At the same time I say that you should try that a strike may occur in all the departments where it has not occured up to this time (one word illegible). Don't leave any one. Explain (things) to the (men of) the Loco. Tell them:—"It is not only you who have got stomachs. All are hungry Lilloah has been starving for 3½ months. We have been hungry for one month. You also must suffer (lit. die) why do we do service? What is the reason? simply for our livelihood. For our children. When we did not care for (lit: see) the children, you also should do the same. When you have to live with us, when you are to be buried in the same ground as us,

it is our right to kept you off from the work. If our house is set to fire, your's also shall be put to fire. You are Indians and not residents of England. This Hume Sahab would not do anything for you."

When strike has been resorted to, it should be complete, as complete as there be left none to work. *Babus* also must not be left. These are the men who crushed the strike of 1922. When (we, went (to them) for money, they did not give anything. Now we don't want any momentary help, and you can help us in many ways. Can you give us half a months pay? No, this can't be done. They have got children as we have. If (we?) die, (we, die together. Don't leave them.

( Here the speaker spoke in Bengali for some time )

\* \* \* \* \*

Brethren: I have for a long time been connected with the E. L. R strike and have seen a number of strikes. I gain experience day by day, I see that there is no justice, but deception. I tell you what used to happen before. Strikes took place in India several times before this, but the Govt. did not show so high handedness, as it shows now, because formerly the agitation among the labourers used to be taken as child's play. As many *Babus*, as there are (sentence vague and incomplete). Don't rely upon us also. Turn us out as soon as possible and make leaders from among yourselves. Formerly, when something used to happen, these *Babus* made *Anjumans*. All these *Babus* take money from the Govt. They used to come to us as our friends, made warm speeches, and shed tears on our sufferings. The labourers understood them to be their friends. But they all belonged to the C. I. D. They had taken money from the Govt. The Govt. & the masters thought that there was no occasion to fear so long as such man were the leaders. There are a number of M. L. C. s in Bengal. They are the leaders of the Workers. Now the workers have understood all the secrets. Now they are offended when they see their (not clear). Such men do exist even now. Our movement had started in the same way. What will you do? They were playing false plays. They did not show the right path. But the rules of the new *Anjuman* were passed on the 27th. Now men entered. There are a number of men who don't care for money. When such men come, ( they showed how strong the agitation of this year was. Now these men have been upset. Now the old foggies have been turned out. New men have come and there has been much agitation ( sentence not clear ). I say openly that I shall form a regiment of workers and shall make the labours, militant workers, who will stand up to snatch their rights from the masters and to perform their duties. I do not want men who weep before the masters and ask for increment. The men of the old *Dal* were against the strike. Whenever the *Mazdur Dal* became agitated and did not listen to them, they ( began ) to try to break the

~~These who work in the mine, are the greatest enemies of the~~  
 labourers. Formerly such used to happen in Europe also. All the  
 big leaders are sitting in the Parliament. All the masters, officers,  
 policemen say that they are in sympathy with them. Perhaps  
 ( only ) one or two men shall be found who will say that they are  
 against them that let them die, as they are dying. Such a brave  
 man can hardly be found. All will say that they are in sympathy  
 with them. These men with that ( the workers ) should humiliate  
 themselves like beggars, (and say) that they are willing to remain  
 under their feet. Then they (the masters ? ) will be ready to give  
 one or two *Kothris* for them. But if they say "Give us our rights"  
 they shall never be ready. Their saying that they are in sympathy,  
 is a mere farce. We have the same rights which you have. The  
 man of the Old *Dal* wanted that increment should be obtained by  
 making applications. Such men were to be found both in England  
 and in India. Now a *Dal* has appeared in England as well as in India,  
 who says "don't weep for the poor, don't give them alms; leave all  
 those who are friends of the poor; let them die; let them stand on their  
 own feet; we don't wish...we don't ask... that big men should come  
 to our help. " When there is famine somewhere the *Marwaris* give  
 lakhs of rupees, or they feed the ants, or build temples, but do not  
 feed human beings. Whom do they give? To them, whom they  
 think dying. But if the same men strike work (two words sense-  
 less) and say:... "We don't beg, we want our rights, because that  
 money was taken from us, give that money" then the same *Mar-*  
*waris* will not give them even water to drink. I wish that the labour-  
 ? ers should realize their rights and be ready to  
 Sic snatch them. All the luxuries are ours. All was  
 built by us. Each part was made with our labour.  
 You are *dacoos*. You have snatched our thing from us. I wish that  
 you should understand this. For this reason the Govt. wishes to  
 break the strike. This strike is against the Govt. Therefore the  
 Govt. wants to break it. The Govt. professes to have made laws  
 and to do justice. In whose favour (also: against whom) justice is  
 done. If two Indians fight, justice will be done but if there is a  
 fight between a rich and a poor, justice shall be in favour of the  
 rich, and the poor shall have to die. I have never heard in my life  
 that a poor might have been successful against a rich. I have rarely  
 heard such a case. You also can be witness that a poor can only  
 rarely fight against a rich. Should an Indian fight with an English-  
 man and be killed, even then the Englishman is left off. An  
 Englishman has never been hanged. A few days ago it was heard  
 that an Englishman kicked an Indian (hundreds of Indians were at  
 Assam in Tea plantations) and the Indian died of a rupture of spleen.  
 At Asansol, the A. S. P. beat one, and broke his head. I went to file  
 a case but was told that no case could be filed. They can prove that  
 the A. S. P. beat him and broke his head but but don't accept  
 a case. The British Govt. is an association of the Capitalists.

They want to suppress him (?) in any way that may be possible. And I may show how justice is done to us (not clear). My heart burns when I see such things, at Asansol Sita Rampur, Changaol, and here. Whenever we went on a strike they arrested 2-4 men as *Gundas*. It is not hurting the feelings of others to go about wielding cudgels in broad day light. For a diety nothing is an offence, for a man, everything is an offence. Therefore don't expect any justice from them. Those who expect, are quite fools. There is no hope of justice in our heart. It is they who have made the law. The rich of the world have made laws to suppress the poor. To serve liquor is allowed by law. If you say "Don't drink wine." you have committed an offence. Our Govt. says that excess in drinking is an offence. If a man drinks wine, destroys wealth and property and goes to commit theft then the punishment prescribed by law is 14 years. There are a number of such laws. If a man steals a trifle, to satisfy his hunger, there is 7 years punishment for him. All the laws of the Govt. are to suppress (lit. tease) us. We keep the peace, but they say that they do so to keep the peace. Where is the law allowing display of physical strength. If we don't obey your laws, there is the cudgel. For them it is no offence to use the cudgel. They can beat (or kill) men. In the long run they have kept men under control by these cudgels. 'Shanti' means that there should be no excitement. Don't expect justice from them. They tried much to break our strike but they could not check this agitation. They tried much, \*Reporters made innumerable arrests, and initiated (?) false word. cases. When we give the Diary\* (make a report), not a single arrest is made and when they give a false diary (make a report) that six men did such and such in the night, a warrant is instantly issued and they are arrested.

All the police—not only the constables, but also the  
 \*Sic. S. P. and others are *jua chor* (gamblers\* and thieves) and are brethren. They will do the case falsely. The strikers have got no money to fight out the case. And even then, what is the good of fighting. They don't succeed. Lose the case in one Court, appeal in another, lose their too, arrange for more money. Therefore my idea is that you should go to jail and let us see how many men can they send to the jail. We shall challenge (lit. answer) them in this way. I have seen their doings at Asansol and have decided that there is no weapon now better than challenging their law. They say not to come inside\* it.

We have to go. If we enter the railway compound without permission, it amounts to trespass. The  
 \*not clear. ground belongs to our India and we have no right to stand upon it. Until the strike is over, we the Indians won't go to work. Today we have gone on a strike for the sake of our stomach *then don't come there\**. I find

\*sic\* that there is no way other than this. (We) will go

to jail by ones and twos & we will see how many can be accommodated there. Suppress us. We will see how far can you suppress us. You may think that I am merely indulging in words. No. I will not implicate (or entangle) you. If it be your opinion I will get myself arrested. I have reserved myself because then there would be no one to shout. Therefore I have not yet done what I intended otherwise I can let myself be arrested immediately. If you say that your object can be achieved by my arrest and that you all will be ready to go to jails, then I can let myself be arrested at once. I know what they will do and what will be the result of their doings. On a certain date they will ask (us?) to come on the 20th so that decision may be possible before that date. Now they have applied a section which is of a serious nature. They were our brothers. They have been arrested falsely. What a (good) justice is done. See their proceedings. Two or three men say that they have seen (not clear). Are they angles that they can not speak a lie. Two or three men unitedly say that (they ?) had come to beat them. Two or four men accept a bribe and say that (they) have beaten (them) just now. This is their idea. They do much false actions simply to break. They unite together and form a case. (then) they do not accept bails (or surety).

Bail will be accepted later on (not complete) This is this their prima facie case and judgment. All the misconduct are strikers. All the sinners are strikers and all the faithful are their legitimate sons. This is their justice. Therefore Brethren ! You see that if the strike is to be carried on, I have already said that they will do such things. You should be ready for it. We have to show like men that we die but don't fear your jails. We will see how big a jail you will make. In 1921 thousands had gone to the jails. Let us see how many men do they arrest. They will arrest on this side (of-?) and let them off on the other. They have not got enough to feed them. They are not ready to spend money in (producing) prosecution evidence. They bring men from outstations run the work, feed them with the *Bari of Dal* and let them go. Do not think that they will feed you in jails. The object is to break your strike. They want to do this, not only here but at all the places where this happens. Today 12000 sweepers of Calcutta have left the work. Their leader was a woman. She was an England-passed woman- She does not fear anyone. She was arrested in the night and was let off on bail. She was charged under 3 sections and they kept her in the lock up for one night.

They are bent upon breaking it and have engaged the police. Military was marched through Asansol. Men were not frightened. If Asansol remains so even our *Anjuman* will not be run. When they saw that the strike was increasing they took this step that the strikers should be arrested and charged with double (Sic.) Sections. For this very reason I say that we are so many brethren. How

~~many of us can be kept in jail at one time. Even should they do~~  
 so you need not be afraid. You—you slaves, and labourers—  
 should show what strength and humanity you possess. Show to the  
 world that you don't care for the jails. Expose the hollowness  
 of the Govt. and show (what) the reality (sic) is. Remove the  
 veil from the face of the Govt. and show to the world what sort of  
 parents are they for the poor. You have not been suffering for  
 four months to die. Strikes take place in England but it never  
 happens that Military may be brought in special trains or men  
 may be prevented from attending the meetings. Such things do  
 not happen in England or any other free country. Such is done by  
 these men only in India, which is a slave country. Now, it is our—  
 yours and mine—duty to lift our head and show to the country  
 what tyrannies do they commit in India,\* that  
 \*Best rendering. the poor and the labourers of India cannot be sup-  
 pressed by tyrannies. What happens in India  
 does not take place in any country of the world. No coun-  
 try can tolerate such sufferings. Show (to the world) that you  
 tolerated all kinds of suffering and that you are ready to bear  
 them still more, until a decision is arrived at, that the strike will  
 not be broken (sic) until the demands are fulfilled, and that the  
 strike shall increase day by day. If we can, we will try, if we can  
 not, we will explain matters to you. We will try that a settlement  
 may be arrived at. It would be better if the money is not spent  
 there and is divided among you. There can be no folly greater  
 than this that they should go on committing tyrannies  
 we should still go to them and allow them to beat us and do justice.  
 They sell the justice. First, the surety of the owner of the  
 house was taken, now the surety of *Vakils* and *Mukhtars* is  
 asked for. It is absolute folly to apply to them for justice.  
 Therefore I say that you should think over and be ready to go to  
 jail. If you remain in jail for a few days, of course you will die  
 I see that nothing will be done if such is not done. Yesterday four  
 men were arrested. I said that 4 other men should go there and  
 stand. Let us see how many do they arrest. I am bent upon  
 defeating them. At the most, they can send (us?) to jails.  
 Now I finish. You know everything. Prevent Engineering Depot,  
 I. W. & PW all.

(Here the speaker spoke in Bengali for some time).

A law has been made. Only the literate can understand  
 (lit : know) Laws. We don't know law. The literate work accord-  
 ing to the Law. There is no law the illiterate. One can be liable  
 for defamanation and liable for disturbing the peace (lit : indulg-  
 ing in abuses).

There is such and such an officer. There is Mr. Hume.  
 If his honour is sold in *Bazaar* what price would it fetch? It

would be 50,000/. In the same way if the Agents honour is sold, it would be worth 4 & 5 lakhs. The price of a rich man is much. If you do anything it will amount to an offence. All I have said, is correct. A report will be made and the result will be that a warrant will be issued in 2-4 days and (we ?) will be arrested for rebellion. God knows all that I have said is true. They should do whatever they have to do.

(Here the speaker spoke in Bengali).

A law will be passed in the nearest future to put a stop to the agitation among the labourers. They shall then turn out men like me. This battle is to be won. If it is won, it is possible that the law may be prevented.

(Sd.) Ghulam Hussain,

Govt. (Urdu) Reporter.

1-6-29.

Translated by

Ali Muhamed.

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## P. 2222

Report on the Labour meeting at Bauria on 8/7/28.

Last evening a labour meeting was organized by the Changail Jute workers Union, at Santoshpur P. S. Bauria. About 4000 workers of the Bauria Mills assembled under the presidency of Mrinal Kanti Bose. Mirni Kanti Bose, Maulavi Latafat Husain, Hemanta Kumar Bose, Deba Kumar Gupta, Kisori Lal Ghosh, Indu Bhusan Sircar, Bankim Chandra Mukherjee and one Mia Jan, a worker of Chengail, gave speeches.

\* \* \* \* \*

Kisori Lal Ghosh stated that it was the Indians who were instrumental in bringing about the ruin of India, otherwise two Lakhs of Europeans could not rule 30 crores of Indians. The fact was that these two Lakhs of Europeans had 2 crores of Indian



servants. The Gurkha soldiers, the sepoy, the Indian Police, and the Baboos were to be dreaded all the more. He argued how in England the labourers freed themselves from fetters by even calling under ground meetings when labour agitation was prohibited by law.

\* \* \* \* \*

(Sd.) Harendrabejoy Basu,

S. I., D. I. B.

9-7-28.

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## P 2106 [T].

Meeting at Bakshim Bazar, Asansole, On 10-7-28.

Shib Nath Banerajee spoke as follows:—

Dear Brethren? My brother has introduced me to you in very high terms. I don't deserve it. You all know what took place at Lilloah and it needs no mention. We wanted to resort to Satyagraha in the Court. The Magistrate arrested us. 150 men were arrested. Some are being tried and some are in prison. We have been ready for about four months to serve the Lilloah brethren. For the present leave it. We want to say that for which we have come from Lilloah. When strike was resorted to at Lilloah, it was found after 2 or 2½ months that so long as the workshop was working the strike would have no effect on the Agent. Nothing would be done until the Loco Shed struck work. Therefore, some of the brethren went to Ondal and some came here to help the Lilloah brethren.

All the efforts made by you, all the help given by you and all the things done by you are known to all. The work, for which we have opened the fight is near. The Lilloah brethren have been on strike for four months. How difficult it is for the poor men—who live upon service to sit for four months. They get inadequate wages for what they work, and that too not regularly. You know what hardships and suffering they have been subjected to. All the jewelry and utensils which they had, have been sold and they are living upon their proceeds. It can not go on any more and (best rendering). the hunger is acute.\* This hunger has weakened them and they have begun to resume work by ones twos. Those who have been firm up to this time, have also been weakened and they also have begun to resume work by ones and

twos. Other places like Dhanbad and Cawapore did not give any considerable help and they did not join them sympathetically. Therefore the Agent paid no attention.

The sufferings of the Lilloah brethren are very acute. Brethren when (we) saw that the Lilloah people can not be prevented from going to work any more, that they suffered so long, and as much as they could, that they are starving with their family, that they do not even get one meal and that shortly after they are apprehended to quarrel, then Mitter Babu your general Secretary went back to Lilloah and said that he could not continue the strike. The fight which lasted for four months, did not prove successful. Some of the brethren have been sent to jail and some are about to be sent. Four months labour has been lost. Upon this Your Agent Sahib did not show the least kindness and refused even the least help. The treatment of the Agent was very improper. It need not be answered at this moment. A great meeting has been called for tomorrow as to what should be done now. Mitter babu has written a proclamation there which I read to you. It is written in the proclamation:

"The Lilloah brethren remained on strike for 5 months. On the 8th the Government locked out (sic) 12000 labourers. To sympathise with them the brethren of Jessop and Martin companies also joined them, and their number increased to 25000/-. After this the Ondal brethren joined them. In 8 days the Asansol brethren also joined them. This was not an ordinary fight. This fight was between the starving labourer and the Government, because the Agent had been missing from, before. This fight was between the police and the labourers. Of course the Agent did not use to come and in his place the Government and the police officers used to torment you. You are beaten with cudgels. They break open the lock of the house and commit tyrannies. You have been much ill-treated. Therefore the labourers were compelled to declare open war against the Government.

A lot of money was squandered in these four months and all the troubles which were suffered; caused no good. The Secretary of the Union was not quiet during these four months. He also tried to arrive at a settlement. He went three times to the Agent to settle the matter; and said that the labourers were hungry and could sit no more. He also said that he would decide the matter by inches. (sic) But the Agent said that he won't give anything. The agent wishes (lit says) that the awakening which has appeared among the labourers should be extinguished & they should be so crushed that they may not be able to get up again. Therefore he has become inactive and is trying to break the strike with Government help. He did not do only so much. First he suppressed the labourers through the police.

then he employed agents, to break the strike, The agents some time incite and some time threaten the labourers. They went on doing so to break the strike. But the labourers were so strong that they remained firm for four months and could not be threatened. After making such self devotion our labourers saw that their demands were not given (lit. fulfilled). After that the agent said that the labourers should resume their work and that their demands should be given. But that was false. To give a last chance (of seeing if) the agent can do any good, they showed their willingness to go to the work but said that they would go to work if all those brethren, who had been dismissed, would be taken back. The agent was not prepared for this. Then we made our last effort and maintained the strike, and we spread it through out the whole line. But we did not succeed in spreading the strike throughout the whole line. Our brethren did follow us but this did not stop the running of the machines. The agent asks the labourers to leave the few who have been dismissed and join work, and that then he would give them lit. fulfil) their demands. Every brother should think it inadvisable and for this very reason the Lilloah brethren did not accept it. Now they say that their fight shall continue but they cannot remain out. Our brethren are suffering great hardship and those who are suffering shall go. 2000 men are suffering. An struggle is going on to keep off these men. Therefore it has been decided that we cease the strike. Therefore it has been said that any one wishing to go to work may go. After this, they will use their influence over the agent, and shall get our demands fulfilled. I know (lit. think) very well that you will be displeased to hear this. The fight was with the people of Lilloah. You had helped it, for which reason some of you had been dismissed. But it is hoped that they shall be taken back after 15 days. I say that the Lilloah brethren have carried on this fight for four months. You can very well understand that we have been compelled and obliged to do so. They say that they would go to Asansol and Ondal and say to the people of that place:— “You helped us in our distress. It is not so that we shall give up this fight after joining work. We have got no money left with us. We received no money from you also. We will set apart half of our pay to do this work. “I understand that you will not be satisfied with this. They sent me for this. I said that the brethren of that place would be displeased with it. Jamalpur has sat down (sic). Today if we say that we have failed and that we should go to work just now, it would be very difficult and distressing. But Brethren! A battle is sometimes won and some times it is lost. The failure must be communicated to you. For this reason we have come here and therefore please excuse us for the trouble we have given. Gadvale Sahab shall explain to you that you should go to work and should take the dismissed men with you\* Godvale Sahab has seen Young Sahab. He has promised, though he has not given a word—

No clear\*

that he would take them. The second point is that here the strike should be continued until they take all. Let Lilloah go. Now I will hear what you have to say and then will say something more.

Sd: Mohd. Abdul Wahid,  
Govt. Reporter,  
8-5-29.

Translated by  
Ali Muhamed.

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## P. 2223.

Report of the Labour Meeting at Bauria on 15/7/28.

About 4000 workers of the Fort Gloster Jute Mills assembled in a meeting at the Kar'ala Maidan Beniakhali, Bauria, last evening under the Presidency of Mrinal Kanti Bose, Kisori Lal Ghosh, Radha Raman Mittra and Mrinal Kanti Bose addressed the meeting.

Kisori Lal Ghosh congratulated the workers on their keen interest in the Union in as much as they collected Rs. 599/11/ in course of the last week. He impressed upon them the necessity of money and requested all to pay the subscriptions regularly. He said that he had heard that some of the workers had assaulted some Baboos and European assistants of the Mills. *He condemned this action* on the part of the workers and asked them to fight through the Union in a peaceful manner as *violence would in no way improve the situation*, on the contrary it would bring police in their midst, and hamper their cause. In view of the fact that the Fortgloster old Mills were closed by the authorities, he advised the workers of the other two mills not to declare strike but to go on with their work as by doing so they would be able to help their fellow workers and it would be convenient for the Union to give

relief to the men of one Mill only.

\* \* \* \* \*

SD. HARENDRABEJOY BASU

S. I. D. I. B.

16/7/28.

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## P. 1923

Full text of a speech delivered by Phillip Spratt at a meeting of the Jute-Mill Workers at Bade-Kalinagar in Budge-Budge (24 Parganas) on 20/9/28 to protest against the Public Safty Bill & Trade Dispute Bill.

“Comrades I shall not occupy you long, specially as my speech will not be understood.

There are only one or two points I want to speak about first, on the question of the result upon the labour movement if this Bill is passed. You should realise what a very serious effect this Bill will have on the movement. As you must have seen from these Bills and from the speeches of other Comrades, it does not prevent the existence of the Trade Union Movement altogether, but it limits the Trade Union Movement in 3 main ways; first, it destroys the working class solidarity, secondly, it destroys the spirit of militancy and thirdly, it wipes out from the Labour movement any possibility of political movements, and that having been done, its effect will be that the Labour movement will lose absolutely all value. It does not attempt to destroy the Labour movement altogether, because the Govt. of India know that that would not be a wise step. They have the example of Russia before them. That Govt was not only very cruel and oppressive but also it was stupid. It took a very foolish step in prohibiting the Trade Union Movement altogether and drove all the working class into the revolutionary channels. Apparently, the working class rose up and established their own Governmsnt.

The British Govt is very clever. So it knows its best policy is not to destroy the movement altogether but to substitute a movement which would be under its control. So it prevents the

speeches of outsiders and it makes the Trade Union movement able to absorb all your energy to keep down your enthusiasm and to keep it under the control of the so-called labour leaders who are really its agents. That is the essential object of this Bill. So you will realise what an extremely serious blow it is for you and why it is essential for you to take the most drastic step to prevent it. So this Resolution, which is proposed, suggests the calling of a General Strike of all workers. That can be organised in time, when the Bill is passed- as it probably will be- in order to force Govt to withdraw it. That, I think, is the only practical policy. They are not going to take any notice of your protest until they see that you are prepared for a General Strike. It is what they are very much afraid of.

We know what the trade Union Congress is like in India and that the Bengal Federation is an organisation of the Moderate Labour leaders. It is a part of their movement that this meeting is being held.

Supposing the Bill is passed and is effectively enforced on ourselves, it is clear the movement will be in danger and there is the moderate school, which is anxious to keep the movement under its influence. But we must not lose heart or despair altogether inspite of the dreadful things that the Bill appears to be threaten-

\* \* \* \* \*  
 \* \* \* (Indistinct) \* \* \*

After all, we have to accept (?) any movement of this sort, however unpleasant its future might be- not so much to you as to the Babus such as these. Unfortunately, it does not apply to me, as I should certainly have left the country before it comes into force. We must make it continue. We must keep up a militant spirit and a solid organisation.

With these two things, we can achieve all the things, Govt tries to prevent us having.

Sd/- B. N. Chatterji.

Govt. Reporter.

## P. 2146.

S. P.

Sir,

I attended the labour meeting held on the Karbella ground at Metiaburz on 7/10/28. The meeting commenced at 4-30 P. M. and lasted till 5-45 P. M. The following persons attended:—

1. Dharani Goswami.
2. Muzaffar Ahmed.
3. Shamsul Huda.
4. Kali Kumar Sen of the Workers' and Peasants Party.
5. Manindra Singh, Secy. Metiabruz branch of the Textile Workers' Union.
6. Sachindra Singh Brother of No. 5.

Of the above persons the first 3 and Manindra Singh addressed the audience which consisted of about 70 mill hands, mostly of the Keshoram Cotton Mill. The speakers deplored the poor attendance and warned them against the so called unions run by the agents of capitalists and their supporter the Govt. They explained the value of organisation, the power dormant in them (labourers) which properly organised would bring success in their struggle against the capitalists. The speakers attempted to make the audience realise their present miserable condition due to the exploitation of the capitalists. With these prefaces the speakers came to the subject of the attempt of the Govt: to introduce the Trade Dispute Bill and the Public Safety Bill which if passed into law would seriously jeopardise the interests of the labourers. The Govt, they said, are afraid of the awakening of labour in Hindusthan and their object to introduce the above bills is to nip this awakening in the bud. They exhorted the workers and peasants of India should not tolerate the passing of these bills and would succeed to prevent their passing if they could only realise their power and exert themselves.

Dharani Goswami and Shamsul Huda in the course of their speeches referred to the revolution in Russia and pointed out that what was possible among the workers if one country was also possible of the millions of workers in India. They informed the audience of the existence of a party called the "Workers and Peasants Party" whose aim is to awaken the consciousness not only of the labourers but also of the ryots, to enable them to claim this just right and safeguard their interests. A conference of the party, they stated, will be held in Calcutta on the 21st 22nd and 23rd December next

when representatives of the labourers and peasants from all parts of India will attend and they invited the workers of Motiabruz to take part in the conference.

As the audience was gradually thinning Manindra Singh declared the meeting closed. The lectures were not at all impressive. No meeting on Saturday 6th inst:

Sd. P. N. Banerjee

8/10/28.

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## P. 1928 [1] [T].

Dock workers' meeting held under the auspices of workers & peasants Party, at the foot of Ochterloney Monument on 28. 10. 28 at 3. 30 p. m.

Mr. Meuzaffar Ahmad spoke as follows:—

Friends: It is rejoicing that you have assembled here to-day. The strike of the workers of your jetty which was made—year, was considerably helped by the workers and peasants' Party of Bengal. It is the duty of this party to lead the workers to the true and right path, to better the financial condition of the workers, in whatever way it may be possible, to procure living accomodation for them, and to (try that) they may be able to live like all other men. All these efforts are to be made by the Peasants' Party. The Workers' & Peasants' Party also tries that the workers should also get political rights. They (sic) cannot improve the financial condition of the workers until they get the Govt: in any way i. e. until they get some influence (lit ; possession) over the Govt :. Up to that time their financial difficulties and the sucking of their blood can not be stopped. The workers' & peasants' Party wishes that a good party may be formed of the workers and a Union may be formed. The efforts of the Union shall be that their working hours may be increased, they may get good food and clothes, they may get help when ill, and they may get pensions when they grow old. The workers' Union should be such as may be wholly in possession (control) of the workers. All the works should be given in the hands of the workers and the workers should realize what for it has been formed. Such a Union, over which the workers should have no control (lit: possession) should not be formed. The workers



should not have a Union in which outsiders may come and shout. Our Workers' & Peasants' Party teaches the worker brethren how to form a Union and how to improve their Condition.

Brethren ! You work so hard ! You suffer so much ! You work for so many late hours ! You lift so heavy weights ! but you do not get adequate wages. Your wages are devoured by others. Whatever you earn with your labour, that, is divided among others. You work five rupees worth in one day but you get only one rupee and four rupees go to outsiders.

Brethren ! You should never live in this low position. You too are men and are equal to 10 men. You have a right to live comfortably, and to get good food. Therefore, Brethren ! Your first effort under the Union should be that you should not be made to work for more than 8 hours in a day. This is the practice ( or the principle ) of the world. This is the practice ( or the principle ) of the workers of the whole world that more than this amount of work shall not be done. At present you work for 10 or 12 hours. After all, you are not a machine. You are men. You require rest and comfort. But our Indian brethren.....the Indian worker brethren.....don't get rest and comfort. They grow old very soon and die very soon. Calculating the average life of all men, it is found that those who govern in England, live for 40 years, but in our country (men) cannot live more than 22 years. Indian brethren don't get food stuff to eat. A man does not get good food to pass his life. They don't get as good houses as are required for a man. They have to live in filthy air. Five men have to live in as much space as is required for one man. They have to work very hard. Their strength is to work for 8 hours, but they have to work for 11-12 hours. Therefore you will have to try and fight (or dispute) properly (or to full extent). One days full leave should be given in one week and one days half leave. Your week should be of 44 hours. You should fight for this also. Brethren ! The wages which you get for the work done by you is quite inadequate. It can do you no good. Even you yourself cannot get good food. Therefore the rate of your present wages should be doubled because you do a very important work. You have to do very laborious work. Under this condition if your wages are not, at least, doubled, what will you eat, and how will you preserve your constitution. You grow old in 30 years and die in 40. Brethren ! You should use your full strength in these matters. Recently a law has been passed that if any brother is hurt in any way or receives any wound, he should get some compensation, but the amount of compensation is very little in the present law. At present the price of ones life is the pay of 30 months service. If you work in ships and die there, your children get 30 months wages. The (rate of) wages is not much in India, but they don't wish to give that too. The master tries not to pay that too, because he has

a lot of chances to object to this (such as) 'he had no occasion to go there', 'he had gone there mischievously', 'he died', 'he broke his hand or his foot'. They raise such objections and mostly the objections are allowed. Even if the objection is disallowed and a compensation is awarded it is too low. Therefore we.....the worker brethren.....should try to change the law and should get the rate of compensation increased. But the compensation allowed by the present law should also not be left. It should be the work of the Union to accept the present law also, and to change it in such a way that more may be given to us. At present we have to work for 10-11 hours and get no food, no place to live in. We must fall ill. When we fall ill, nothing is given to us, not even a pice. Any day when we don't go to work, we don't get any money. 'We fell ill when we were working for you, still you don't give us money, what shall our children eat.' 'When we fall ill while working, we should get wages for those days also. When we grow old in work, we are dismissed because we can no more lift weights. if we go home, what shall we eat. We spent our lives in your work; now we have become useless. What shall we eat if we go home.'

Therefore we should try that when we grow old in service (lit: work) we should get a pension. You may say "Who will give us pensions, where shall the stevedore get money to give you pensions, you work with him" I say we don't know the stevedore. We know only our wants (lit: stomach). When we spent the whole life in your service, we must surely get a pension. This depends upon the jetty Commissioner. If he pleases he may let us work through the stevedore or through himself. But we must get pension. We lost our youth in your employment, We lost our vigour, now we have become useless. We must get a pension. You may engage a stevedore, or regulate the work yourself, but we must get a pension.'

The other point is this:—It is a practice in Calcutta to live in rented houses(we)cannot afford to give more money and have to rent cheap houses. The house is very filthy. The Mohalla is very filthy. Living in them means meeting death half way. In other countries it is a practice that the city municipality looks after the residence of the workers, or buildshouses itself and rents them to the workers, or compels the company to build good houses for the workers. If a Zamindar builds a house for the residence of the workers, it must be according to the Municipal plan. The Municipality tells him what should be the width of the passages, how many windows should there be, what should be the rent and etc. What is done at our place?

## P. 1928 (2).

Our India is a peculiar place. Here the Municipality knows nothing. If another man wants to build a house, they (the Municipal authorities) say that here there should be a door, and there a window. When the rich desire to build a house, there is nothing (of an objection) against them, but when a poor brother wants to build a house, then they have objections. The Municipality has no objection to the Zamindar's taking any amount of rent from the workers. The Municipality should be influenced that the masters shipping companies, or others...should build houses good houses should be built for the residence of the workers. It is also seen that all the shops \*Not clear. of eatables are in the localities\* of the workers and dirty and bad food-stuff is kept at the place where the workers do their work. The Municipal food Inspector never goes there even by chance. Let the food be as bad as anything, but he won't say anything. We see in the docks that the food-stuff sold there is mixed with sand and dust. There is no one to look after the health of the workers. However large the ship may be, however valuable cranes she might have got, but nothing can be done without your hands. Whenever this hand's stops' work, work is stopped throughout the whole dock. There is no value of the life of that worker who has got such (a mighty) strength.

Brethren! The trouble is that until we demand, until we search for, and until we try, there would be no one to give us. We.....who are workers.....shall have to take our rights by our own efforts and our own strength. No outsider can help us in getting these things. We should also bear this in mind. If all work is done with our strength, then Brethren? Why should we suffer. Therefore we should try unitedly for all the demands, for all the requirements of the workers, and for everything for which we should fight. All the brethren should unitedly form a union, where all should collect, and the opinion of all should be taken. The workers don't take it (the opinion?) and say that it is written in their destiny\* [The worker of the whole world are enjoy- \*Not clear. ing and you are dependent on your luck only. In England....whose people, whose wealthy people are governing India..a worker does not get less than Rs. 121/- per month. In India a worker hardly gets Rs. 15,20/-, or 25/- In England workers get Rs. 125/- (sic) because they have been fighting for their rights for 100 years. They have been trying for a long time for the price of their labour. Our worker brethren do not make those efforts. In India, the labour movement has begun only since 1918. Outside *Babus* join this movement, whose intention is not to do good to the labourers. There are a number of men who join it simply to achieve fame or who want to realize subscription from the labourers at any time. When they find a lot of labourers

sitting together they take bribes from the company or from the Govt. A lot of such men will join this Labour movement. We should be careful of them. They can lead us to the wrong path when we, ourselves, cannot understand the affair. When we sit at our houses so attentively then such a chance can be obtained\*  
 \*Not clear. If a Babu is appointed for the Union; he can get such a chance when we ourselves don't attend properly to the affair. We know that a number of Unions have been ruined in this way. Thousands of rupees have been spent but their troubles are still existing. They are the worker brethren themselves who don't want to understand the whole thing. But, Brethren Why don't you want to understand it? In workshops there can be found men who can do better work than B. A's. or law passed men. I wonder where their intellect goes away when they come out of the workshop and why they don't like to understand their own affairs. Brethren This is the question of your own living and your own bad condition. Even a lunatic understands it. Why don't you want to understand it. you should thoroughly understand as to what is going on—This is very important. It is not very difficult to understand it. You should collect funds and do your work out of it. There are a number of men who go and form unions, in which members also are made and subscription also is realised still they work for the masters. Can any good be ever done to the labourers by working in collusion with the masters? The intention of the masters is that they should do good to themselves even by sucking the blood of the workers, and your intention is not to allow the masters to suck your blood. Whenever you come to us, we suck your blood every day and snatch from you the money which you have so laboriously earned. Under these circumstances can we ever be friends. This is impossible. that friendship should exist between you and your employers. You shall always have to try to obtain your rights. Such two men can never be friends. This enmity shall continue until all the sources of production...land or workshop....do not come in the possession of Peasants and labourers. This fighting and quarreling shall go on up to that time. Those who employ you know this very well that their enmity with you shall be increasing day by day. The more blood he sucks from you, the more shall be the enmity. But as he has to get his gain through you, he must employ you and must be sucking your blood. If you try to understand this attentively, you shall easily understand it. All the labourers of the whole world have understood this, that what has happened to the Indian Labourers that they  
 \* Sentence don't understand this.\* This Party of Peasants  
 vague. and Workers shall always be ready to serve you. We shall turn every stone to explain matters to you but brethren the work must be done by you. Work can only be done by your strength, unity, power and united working. None of the claims put

forward by us can be obtained unless we become united and unless a perfect union is made.

Therefore Brethren: You must try for it and do understand it. Whatever you can not understand our party shall be ready to help you.

Sd. Abul Lais Mohd. Ghulam Husain,

(Urdu) Reporter,

Bengal.

Calcutta.

6-5-29.

Translated by—

Ali Mohamed.

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## P. 1929 [I] (T).

Dock Workers meeting, held under the auspices of Workers' and Peasants' Party, Bengal, at the foot of Ochterloney Monument, on 28-10-28. at 3-50. p. m.

Syed Shamsul Huda spoke as follows :—

Brethren of India: You have seen me before, but I did not wish to disclose my name. It is regrettable that we have to suffer so many troubles (I say this from an economic point of view) and we don't get any result of our labour. The English and the men of business are prospering (or progressing) in India. How can we fight with them, for our stomach. How did the English make their progress in the field of business. I refer to the period prior to 1915. The War began in 1914. Before that the workers and the Bourgeois Capitalists were very strong in England, I will speak about that time and the present. At that time the entire Indian market was in the hands of the English Bourgeois Capitalists. Their manufactures fetched much profit for them from India, China and Africa. The source of their profit was this that all the cheaper countries were in its (sic) hands. Whatever they bring from all these countries, such as gold, stones, raw materials for factories in India and China, they convert them into finished articles and then sell them in India and China and pay handsome wages to

the English workers. This handsome wages is given out of the  
 \*Note clear profits. Formerly they treated us\* as strangers  
 and treated Indians as labourers. They had become shareholders  
 with the Capitalists, used to do justice between the  
 \*(sic) ryot and the masters, and gave good pay, so that we\*  
 could thoroughly exploit India. Such was the state of  
 affairs. But what happened after the War? A lot of workshops  
 were ruined, and thousands of workers were dead. Japan came and  
 took the market of India, took possession of the market of India.  
 In 1914 the market was the subject of dispute. Until the Bourgeois  
 Capitalists have the market in their hands, they can not make  
 any profit. The market is always necessary for them, otherwise  
 they won't be able to keep the ryot and India in their possession.  
 After the War when the factories (or workshops) were ruined, Labour  
 aristocracy was established there and they could not benefit the  
 English workers to any considerable extent. All were ruined—  
 In this way the English Bourgeois Capitalists improved  
 commercial business in India. What was the reason of their  
 leaving England and (one word illegible) India. There is  
 everything in India. All raw material is available here. Jute and  
 other products are found in India. Supposing that the goods are  
 purchased here in India.....and manufactured there, then surely the  
 market of India goes into the hands of America or Japan and they  
 (sic) shall have to experience difficulties. Therefore  
 \*Not clear. they saw that they would purchase it there\* and sell  
 it there\*. Therefore, what steps did they take.

They gave a reform to the Indian Capitalists, so that they (the  
 Indian Capitalists) may be strengthened, i. e. business was done  
 (3 words illegible). Shares were made with the English. In  
 this way commercial progress was made in India. The condition  
 is quite different in England. I have nothing to do  
 with England. My business is with my home. Our business is  
 \*Strange word. Baniul\* Malali? We have got a lot of enemies.  
 Reporters query) Therefore we should have one matter (to attend  
 to?). Now, think carefully and see that all the  
 big 'leaders' have joined the trade Union. Some of the Anjumans are  
 in the hands of the Capitalists and some in their hands. It is  
 necessary that all Indian brethren should be united. Try for this.  
 But although everyone is ready to speak, no one is ready to work;  
 when work is necessary. We must see. The labour class of people  
 in the world has extensive powers. When a labourer comes to  
 know his strength, it will be difficult for the capitalists to govern.  
 There are hundreds of labourers in Calcutta but there is no unity  
 among them. They say:—

“Such and such a man came, formed a Union, earned some-  
 thing and went away.” Even if a good man goes there to form a  
 Union, no confidence is placed in him. They say: “What shall

we do if he also cheats us and goes away". You have come to know the rules of our workers and Peasants' Party. A lot of people know at Calcutta that there are a number of Unions there, which are existing and are in the hands of the leaders—There is a Railway Union. There is a Union for those who work on the ships. It is in the hands of Yaqub Arif. He has formed a Union. Why has this Union been formed? What are its advantages? Why has the Union been formed? When a big leader comes then it has two meanings\* (1) money.....God's blessing on it.....  
 \* Vague. (2) how to achieve fame. When a Union is formed, how is it formed? Money is spent. When they come and form a Union, they are in collusion with that class (of people) whom we take to-day as our foes, and who has suppressed us. This has been going on since the beginning of the history of the labourers. They don't let the workers take their rights (or dues)—They don't tell the workers what to do, and how to get their rights (in respect) of their livelihood. They don't do this. A number of strikes were made on this point. Their leaders deceived them. They colluded with the Capitalists and said to the labourers :—"Go to your work, we are setting it a right". But they do nothing for the labourers. They took money from them (the Capitalists) and told the labourers to go to their work. No one will work for the labourers until the labourers stand up on their own feet.

Labour brethren! Don't think that the Workers and Peasants Party also is one which will loot you. It is a Party which will accomplish its business.

Labour brethren! I met a number of labourers in India. They say 'God has created us labourers. We shall remain labourers. We can not make any progress.' I see that the labourers are themselves fools. If you try to explain any matter to a labourer, he will always say :—

"We shall be labourers." These are the things which give them (?) an occasion of suppressing you more and more. They implicate you in communal disturbances. I say there is nothing in the class of Hindu-Muslim labourers.\* There should  
 \*Not clear be complete unity in the class of labourers. Our enemies see our cause but want to interfere in a matter which relates to our livelihood. As we can live like men, so (should?) we clothe ourselves like men. There are a number of labourers who can not wear more than *Gamchha*, because the pay is very little. Some one gets 12 annas and some one 8 annas. How can one maintain oneself and one's children. You have something of a human being in you. If you understand this, it will do you much good. Do mention the fact to your brethren. At present it is said - "We are coolies." But why should you remain coolies?"

because it is written in our fate" " But why are we coolies" "Because our fathers were coolies and could not afford to give us education. Language not correct. They have no money. Whatever is earned it is spent. When I grow to manhood ( my father ) takes me also there". In other countries you get free college education. Only the sons of the rich can receive education in India. The son of a labourer shall remain a labourer. Gandhi ji has also said:—"A labourer is born a coolie. He shall remain so and shall pray God."

But its meaning is different ( lit: another ). It means that the labourer shall serve the Bourgeois Capitalists. He shall not be allowed to open his eyes.

Our labourers also consider these things. Labourers can never reach their goal unless they stand on their own legs, and make themselves their own leaders. Why do you-Labourer brethren.....say that the time of progress has passed away? This is the time of progress. The whole world is progressing. Only India is not progressing. Because the labourers are illiterate persons and those who are their leaders, come with their own selfish objects. They take money from you. They take medals from you. This is quite true. But no one will do your work. The leader won't do your work. A congressman, a KHELAFAT WALA, or a Swarajist, none will do your work. Whenever he comes, he comes with his own purpose. The Swarajists will come to increase their strength. Congressman also will come with the same object. He, who has the labourers with him, is very strong. He, who has the labourers with him, shall be respected in the Congress, as well as in the KHELAFAT Committee. Now-a-days our brother President Sahab says here that he will form a Labour Association—What does it mean. 'Labour' means 'strength'. What does 'Labour Association' mean. From my point of view it means that they purchase or sell the labour strength of others\*.

\*Best rendering. There are a number of men who wish to organise the labourers and mix in the Congress. Those who have come from the Swarajist Party to the Congress, have come with their own object. Whenever they come, they come with a fixed purpose. They wish to increase their strength. No one (ever) explained ( this ) to the labourers of India. We shall explain to the labourers of India:—"What rights have you in the world, what can you do in the world, can you, or can you not be the governing body in the world." We shall explain all this to you. The objection (lit: question) is that it is too late. Look to the fun of the Labourer brethren. How keenly do they sympathise with Liberty. The labourers of India are such as they don't understand deliberately. If you, yourself don't realize ( or understand ), nobody will under-



stand it. We shall give you what we are bound, in duty, to give you and we shall take from you what we are bound, in duty, to take from you. Our Workers ' & Peasants' Party will explain (matters) to you. We have been trying for a number of days to hold a meeting of those who work in the Docks. We have worked hard. We had wished to explain matters to you and form a Transport Workers' Union. We got notices printed, but to-day we have come to know that there is a gentleman, named Mr. Yaqub Arif who has (formed) a Labour Association. The (head) of that Association sent for his members and advised them not to attend our meeting on the ground that the party was bad and that the people of the party were wild. I say that if you are good, what have you done in the Union for these 5 years. The tyrannies, which we are subjected to, is (flourishing) in the same way. The Firemen and the Stevedors abuse us. Their habit (lit: condition) is the same. You earn 2 pice with such a hard labour and after suffering so many hardships. How should you spend it. Why should you give your pice to any Union. You will give, only when there is some good in store for you. You ought to know how did the Labour Association do any good to you. The strike which was started was done by the labourers themselves, but they came to intervene. When you squander your money, there should be some object. Your object should be to take your rights from your enemy. Our programme is that we shall never withdraw from this meeting. We shall again point notices. We shall tell you what is your work. You may not understand to-day, or tomorrow, but you will understand some day. As a matter of fact, we shall give up all these ideas. If a man gets one rupee, he should always try to get Rs. 1/4, or Rs. 1/8. He should try to have a clean house to live in and a clean passage. Think over this. We must have such a place. When you get money to obtain good eatables, you will gain strength. There should be unity among you. The thing is this, that long ago when there were no workshops in England, the labourers of that place also knew nothing. There too they suffered in this very way. Their sufferings grew day by day. The leaders also went on helping the labourers, They gave them education and taught them (-?) Now labourers can receive education without money. There is unity among them. All the nations, such as Germany, France and America see this. We, the Indians, are here. A strike took place at Calcutta. If the sweepers go on strike, there is no one to help us. This is not their fault. This is the fault of their leader. One gets leadership by virtue of wealth and the other by knowledge, but that which must be done for the labourers is done (by neither of them). The eyes of the labourers shall not open until you show them some good. What else should I say. Our time is about to expire and the meeting shall be concluded. I would submit that you .....the labourer brethren...

should become united and form a Union. The principle of our party is to create unity among the labourers and lead them. The labourers should be taught to fight for their livelihood, and as to how they can get 3 meals. Is there any country in the world, where the labourers are the governing body. In Russia the labourers govern the country. This idea is ridiculous for an ignorant man. Much tyranny was done in the time of the Czar. I will not state much of this to the labourers. If the peasants did not give the treasury they were thrown before the dogs to be devoured by them. All their goods used to be sold. But a leader appeared from amongst them and told them the ( way ) so nicely that they achieved Liberty. They achieved Liberty in 1917. A Soveit Govt: was formed. Soveit Govt: means *Panchait*. At one time Russia too was in the same plight in which India is to-day. But they have crushed the tyrants and the Soveit are governing. They desire that the whole world may be governed by labourers. The Indian labourers shall think that labourers can never attain such strength as to be the governing body. If all the Indian labourers.....of Bombay, Lahore, Calcutta and Cawnpore.....stop work for 24 hours, their work shall be stopped. Labour Brethren: Don't forget that you have strength in you. If you want to use your strength, come with us. We can show whether or not you can get your rights from the Government. When the labourers heard this, they all left their places. I am bad. My party is bad, but you ought to have heard. You heard nothing on our behalf. In this way we can never reach our goal. Therefore labourer-brethren should treat all the labourers as equals. Our country should be in our hands. The time of English Govt. in India has come to an end. It is necessary that students should come forward with labourers, and make an agitation against the Govt. in a united front \*, so that we may get the Govt. through which we can get our rights. But the Indian students are far from this. Liberty shall not be achieved until you, Indians....whether Capitalists or students, *Marwaris* or millioneres....don't come to the labourers and ask them to help you, and until you tell them:—"Labourers: Help us, fight against these tyrants, and snatch your country from these Englishmen." Liberty shall not be achieved until you do not improve the condition of Indian labourers and give them their demands. Indian labourers should get such clothes to wear as are worn by Indian bourgeois. Indian labourers should live like men; Indian labourers should live in a clean place. You see, what I say. If I am wrong, correct me. See at Chowrangi and at other places. One room is occupied by 7-8 men throughout (its length). They cook their meals in the same room in which they live. Can a man live in this way in one house. If a man sleeps in open air, during the cold season, he must die. We are not gamblers or thieves. We explain to you how should you achieve your liberty, what

\* Reporters  
query.

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Burn the house where you live. Why should we live in such a house. We are coolies. Give us our rights. You can not get Liberty unless you help yourself. A capitalist said to a friend of India:—"These men are carrying on a propaganda against Indian Capitalists. We are ready to work. But unless English Govt. is thrown away, we are not prepared to act with you. This is one condition. "Our programme is to act with you in accordance with the wishes and the demands of the labourers. It is necessary for the livelihood and for liberty, that the pay of the labourer be increased. The English Govt. is the largest Govt. in the world. The labourers have got no press of their own in India. The press of Maulana Abul Kalam, Azad.....who is not a labourer...has been stopped. We want freedom of Press and freedom of livelihood. The leaders of the Indian National Congress, or Swaraj, or *Khelafat*, will take up this programme and help the labourers. We shall Cooperate with them. We, the Indians...whether Capitalists, or labourers...shall fight unitedly against the Englishmen until India is liberated...never mind if we lose our lives or our property. If they acknowledge all the demands, we shall take all the labourers, unite with them and fight against the Govt. If all these...320 millions of men...unite together, go to the Himalayas, and make water there, all the Western civilisation shall be washed away to the Atlantic Ocean. Unless Indian Capitalists give you education and give you enough food, we can not unite with them. They fear that the labourer would turn them out of India. They also fear Revolution. I wish that you, the Indians.....the sons of India, the sons of Mahabharatta....should be united. Think what liberty is. You should get liberty. The sons of India have, for years suffered the tyrannies of Englishmen. They suffered much during the time of the Moghul kings and the English. We shall have to destroy it (tyranny). We can break it and crush it to pieces. We can crush the old systems. You should have consciousness. You should learn how to obtain liberty. If you desire to obtain liberty tomorrow, you can have it tomorrow. If you don't wish liberty you can never get it. God shall not come and give you liberty. Prophets and dieties shall not give liberty to you. Liberty shall be attained only when we shall strengthen our hands, Very well, Indian Brethren: Wait a minute. We are concluding the meeting I submit again. You have heard what our party has to say, as to what should be done for our (?) liberty. We are much tired. Union is a link of Unity. Union produces unity and disunion produces disgrace, Unity is essential for us.

Sd: Abul Lais Mohd. Ghulam Husain.  
Govt. Urdu Reporter.

Translated by

Ali Mohamed.

Bengal.

8-5-19.

## P. 1927 T

Dock workers' meeting at Halliday Park, on 4. 11. 28 at 7 p. m.

Shamsul Huda in his first speech said:—

Indian Brethren; It is still time of progress and India is being ruined on account of the leaders and want of unity. India is squeezed in the hands of the tyrant. Unless you.....Labourer brethren.....exert yourselves, don't try to get up, and don't show your power to the Government of India, the English and the Indian Capitalists, you shall not get your rights (or dues). My brother Ansari has told you and other friends will tell you. There are a number of Unions and *Anjumans*. But what kind of Anjuman should there be in Calcutta. There are a number of Anjumans in the entire India, but of what kind they are. What should be the nature of our (*Anjuman*). To-day we will speak on Anjumans and Unity and also on how to get 'liberty'. A number of the leaders of *Anjumans* unite together and show much work. They pull money out of your

pockets and enjoy but do not give the rights (dues)

Sd: Abdul Lais of the labourers. We have spoken too much and Mohammad. shall go on speaking up to the last moment. We Govt. (Urdu) shall try and form a Union, by which you may get

Reporter your rights (dues), such a right as is enjoyed by Political Deptt: every one in India. The residents of Darbhanga Bengal. are labourers. They work as labourers in big ships.

10. 5. 1929. I cannot tell you the tyrannies which they suffer. You all know them. but still you don't think of them. You don't think and don't understand. Why don't you understand.

Translated by

Ali Muhamed

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## P. 1935-T.

Labour meeting at Halliday Park on 4. 11. 28, at 7 p. m.  
Shamsul Huda spoke as follows:—

Brethren; It is correct. Labourers and others don't pay heed. Unless the labourers are corroborated (also supported) by all, and they do not fight with unity, nothing can be done.

We understood that it is not an easy job to fight against (or dispute, or struggle with) the power of the Government and with the Capitalists.....who make one (their ?) slave, by paying money....., It requires power, (or strength). It requires everything. But unless all worker brethren unite together, they can not do any work. If there is no unity, no leader can work. But all that should be done by you, yourselves. When the baby is hungry, he weeps. It is not easy to realize money (or collect) from the Capitalists. It requires money. At the time of distress strength.....much strength and unity.....are required. The difficult work, for which thousands of men collect at one place and go on one and the same line, shall be made easy. There must be unity for even a minute. All worker-brethren did not (also:--'should not') understand that (you) have nothing to do in the world, that you have no right and that you are labourers. You have a number of rights in the world but you should try for them. Today you should try for them. It is necessary for this that there should be a leader who could lead you to the way. Think over it, There are a number of associations here, of Yaqub Araf; of the Railway. We all know this. this. We don't want to  
\*Original word.                      \*Criticize any one. We tell you openly what underhand tricks are in it (orig. 'Kea Karamati hae'); what gamblings & thefts are going on (or what is as unlawful in it as gambling and theft) Understand this. How to avoid it. Our request is this that all of you, worker brethren are (or should be) at one place. When you unite and join our association, there will be no trouble. Then we shall do the work in one minute. Now Dhoruni Goswami, who was a member of the Revolutionary Party, will speak something.

Much tyranny was done upon the poor man. The Angrez Bahadur Convicted him.

\*Very vague We don't say, our Angrez Bahadur. Not for us.\*  
in Urdu.                      He sympathises with our work brethren. Since then he has been working in our party.

Sd. A. M. S. Raihan Ahmad,

Govt: Reporter.

16. 5. '29.

Translated by

Ali Muhamed.

## P. 1892 [T.]

Dharani Goswami's speech on 7. 11. 28. at the Maldah Youngmen's Convention ;

*Young brethren and other friends:*

I notice a special feature in your meeting today.

I find before me some members of the backward classes present here. I think the Youngmen's Association of Maldah has turned its attention to members of the lower sections of society...those whom we despose as low. That is probably why I have not found people of such classes in every other yungmen's association or any other national organisation. I do not know whether or not you have found them. Friends, I do not know whether after Mr. Spratt's speech, what I say will appeal to you or not, but my speech also will be much like that. For we are both students of the same school. We both favour the movement of the perscuted & oppressed working class of the country, And we are here, having been invited on behalf of such a party. I believe that by inviting us you have honoured us not as individuals, but also our party. The name of that party is the Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal. I want to say another thing. There are many present here who have not been able perhaps to understand large parts of Mr. Spratt's speech. I want to explain it in part. Of course I shall speak broadly, for it is very difficult to explain such a big speech after it has been delivered. Mr. Spratt in his Speech has shown broadly that at present in India there are two kinds of movements proceeding. The forms of agitation as they have appeared in different countries been appeared in this country also in exactly the same form. He has said first that the Indian nationalist movement, from a bourgeois movement, is gradually proceeding towards a peasants' and workers' movement and that the spirit of internal revolt which shows itself in the intervening stages...the self-contradiction which come into the movement ...that also has shown itself in this country. The first agitation in India was carried on in Bengal with very great vigour, that which we know as the sudhashi agitation. The spirit of a national movement was very clearly manifested in the sudhashi agitation but if we examine it with very great care and calculation we shall find that this national movement was wholly a form of bourgeois movement. Analyse the national movement. Even the Maharaja of Mymensingh participated in that movement. But along with the annulment of the partition of Bengal, they cut off connection with that agitation. For they had joined the agitation only because their interests had been hurt. When their interests were preserved there was no longer any need for them to join the Sudashi agitaion. But a body of young men remained who at the call of these richmen

had left school and college made restless by the vociferations of these rich men. They could not go back any more. At last unable to find room anywhere else they strove to créat a revolution in this country. Since then the revolutionary movement has come into this country. They wanted to bring about an armed révolution in in this country. But I think, and they also hold, that possibly that effort of theirs might fail, but nevertheless the policy they believed in,—through it,—they were able to evoke a response in this country. At the present time the current of that agitation is revealing itself in other forms. Spratt has said that at the present time, various parties like the Independence League etc. are being formed even within the Congress, and in describing these movements to be like the Fascist movement, he has observed that at the present time this movement is of the higher order that is it has originated from the higher orders. But a real national movement, we hold, we believe, will spring for below, that is it will spring for what are called the masses, or whatever you may call them. Leaving out the masses no movement can suddenly spring into being. Even if it does come, it does not last long and its results are not good. That situation has manifested itself in India. For during the past few years, a response has been evoked among the masses. The masses will no longer tolerate oppression. They have put up with the worst of oppression. It is because they cannot put up with oppression any more that an awakening has come among them. Why was there such a big agitation on the occasion of the non-cooperation movement? Looking deeply beneath you will find only one thing in it and that was the economic ground. What was the economic ground? Provision for bread. The moment the Mahatma Gandhi declared non-payment of taxes, simultaneously the movement gathered strength. But its effect was partly visible in the Bardoli movement. But he could not persist in his previous policy, he could not keep his promise. He was frightened at the sight of blood But blood is bound to show itself in a national agitation. No one will be able to turn it away. No leader has probably yet been born who will be able to make a success of a national movement, without a show of blood. And I believe it cannot be. The question now is about the Young men. What is the duty of the youth of the country? What are they to do through these movements One thing is very frequently heard from the lips of the leaders. Young men need not discuss politics. This is all humbug. I do not think it has any meaning. For if youths need not at all participate in political movements, why are they wanted when volunteers have to be recruited? Why are they wanted to work in connection with any national movement or the Congress? Why are they brought out of schools and colleges? Why were they brought out of schools and colleges during the Swadeshi Agitation? But such vociferation has to be indulged in, as a result of which young men are bound to come out in bodies. Non cooperation came—speeches began to be freely made—the lads

come out leaving the schools and colleges. I well remember when Bepin Pal came back from the Nagpur Congress, a conversation with him on this point took place. At first he dissented, there was a difference of opinion between him and the Mahatma on this matter. He dissented. He said that students should not be brought out by means of such speeches, because we know what the result of it would be. I know what was the result during the Swadeshi movement. On that occasion he said that there was such a potency in his voice that he could keep the lads on the streets for a period extending up to six months. I shall make a speech one day and the lads will walk about the streets for six months. We know that he had this capacity of speech. But he did not believe in that policy, for he had learnt a lesson once. And it is very true that if students are brought out without any definite programme or aim, without making it clear whether it will lead, there can be nothing more wrong on earth. Many of you who are present here are actual sufferers. Many suffered that consequence in the non-cooperation movement. Many do not now examine the path where it will lead to. Yet leaders go about saying that it is not necessary for youngmen to join political movements. I trust youngmen will make it a point of discussing politics. I make this appeal to them for it is they who will be the leaders of India in the future. It is they who will guide India. If they do not discuss politics, if they do not each become a politician through politics at the present day, the (future) course of the country will be bad, indeed. The time has come now for every youth to reflect and after reflection to step forward. It will not do to be infatuated by mere vociferation. A thorough examination has to be made into the genesis of each programme, what progress along the path we are able to make and by taking which path, we shall be able daily to estimate that this much of the path we have travelled, and that we have strength enough to move on for such further distance along the path. Such a movement has not so far appeared in India but it is coming. I am not prepared at all to admit as a national movement that which is proclaimed as such. For I hold that there is a good deal of significance underlying the term national movement. A national movement is not the movement of a small section. The nation is the entire country. I shall describe as a national movement a movement by which the entire population in the country, especially the class who keep this country alive....that class is benefited and its progress secured, by which they can live. Such a movement has not yet appeared in the country. Who are (the possessors of) that energy? They who are sitting here, those to whom separate seats have been assigned. That shows that there is no relation between them and us. They are lagging behind let them do so. But young brethren reflect whether we can move, leaving this class out? Never. They are peasants, they are workers, they are ripping open



the face of the earth and drawing water, that is why today you drink sweet draughts. Digging up the face of the earth, they draw out iron from the mines and with it railroads are being made. And trains move thereon. That is why can travel in Railway trains. This class is ripping up the face of the earth and drawing out other minerals. This class is building places, that is why you are living in their comfortable shade. And it is this class who produce your food. If they are wiped off the face of the earth, if they vanish, consider once whether society can or cannot survive. Here is now a famine at Balurghat. The people there are starving. Who are they? It is this class—the peasants and the lower middle class who are neither of the one nor of the other,...the lower middle class and peasants are starving. Why are they starving? We have ascertained that there are there such big *mahajans* there that any one of them, if he releases the paddy in his granary can feed all the poor in Balurghat for two months. So great is the might even of a single Mahajan. So much paddy is stored up in the granery that if it is released, they can be fed for 2 months but that they do not do. They have kept it stored up in hopes of making money, when the time will come, they will sell all that paddy for fat sums. A class of men are being built up in the country who are constantly getting rich cheating the peasants and workers, i. e. the men who produce all these social objects(?). And these people are dying off. They seem gradually to be about to vanish off the earth. Let the youthful community reflect what should be the national movement arising exactly out of this condition. I believe that those youth who think of revolution, who think of a national movement, those who think of revolutionary movements. I think they will ponder carefully on these things. And create in this country a real revolution and a real national movement with these exploited and persecuted classes. Their revolution cannot succeed leaving out these persecuted and exploited classes, and a national movement will never be (so). We who belong to the lower middle class are exactly in the same condition as this class. Socially speaking we so conduct ourselves as though our own class is affiliated to a slightly higher class. It is because, we want to keep up relations with the class above us, we feel pride in perpetuating a relation which once existed in the past, that we, cannot mix with these people. As the capitalist class is the country persecute them. So too we despise them, the same, but we do not consider that their condition and ours are the same. Rather, our condition is even worse than theirs. I trust that those youth who belong to the lower classes will not be able to forget the men of these classes and will with this class, turn the national movement into a real national movement. I do not think it is probably necessary to say anything more in particular about this.

Sd. K. B. Roy.

14/10/29.

## P. 1915.

Full Text of a speech delivered by Phillip Spratt at the Youngmen's Conference at Malda on 7th November 1928.

“Mr. Chairman” & Comrades—I must first thank you for the great honour you have done me in asking me to come here & speak before you. I must confess that I was in a quandary when the idea was first suggested to me to speak here, because I did not know what to say before a youngmen's Association-Youth organisation,-but I decided to take my courage in both hands and say what my own views on this question are, on physical matters and on the work which I think, you ought to do and I leave it to you to be displeased if you do not agree.

I think my difficulty was that I did not really know what the function of a Youth organisation is, but I had to make up my mind about that to a certain extent and I think I did so.

The point is that an organisation which is confessedly based on age, is rather an anomaly. We were used to organisations, having, as this, some political aims and physical objects, being based essentially on class divisions, upon interests of that kind, economic interests of one sort or another I think I can say that, after all this organisation has some point and I can now speak on that basis. Of course, its obvious object is to draw into the stream of events those people who are not normally concerned with these things because they are young. We thought perhaps 20 or 30 years ago that people were fortunately exempt from being concerned with these matters and I think it is an indication of the depth, as it were, of the fundamental revolutionary nature of the period that we are now living in that Youth organisation should appear not only in India but in every other country with the object of rousing political consciousness among them. It shows that politics is becoming an important matter.

But, secondly, I think youth organisation has, in relation to the movement as a whole, of which it incidentally must be a part, another definite function. I think it should be, as it were, in the forefront any rate with regard to the ideas of the ideological side of the policy of the movement. I assume that it cannot be separate, but it can in this way lead to these matters and it is on that basis that I want to speak. It can keep the parent movement from degeneration, and keep its ideals on the right line in particular, a turning point in the political movement, but at present it could have considerable influence of that sort. We are at a turning point-I think that is obvious. Some remarkable events, which have taken place in recent years, show quite clearly that in India, at any rate, there has been a change from the old movement which was essentially a

bourgeois or upper class movement, into a mass movement. That change is not yet complete and still resisted by some, or welcomed by others, not apprehended by most, but nevertheless that fundamentally is the change that is going on and I shall speak with the object of asking you to consider what that change in its essence is and what your line of action should be accordingly. Well, up to the present that change has gone on to some considerable extent and the Youth organisation, at any rate the younger section has taken a considerable part in that—e. g. there was an important decision a sort of general idea arising in the people's mind that the aim of the political movement should be changed and that idea was crystallized in the last Congress at Madras, when the "Independence" resolution was passed. The Youth undoubtedly influenced all that and they acted as the advance guard, which they ought to be, and also in regard to an important question, viz ideological opposition to communalism and the destruction of those relics of older types of society which still flourish in India. Again, the Youth have been in the forefront and perhaps the most important of all, in Bengal, at any rate in making familiar with the idea of revolution as an essential thing if independence is to be obtained. The Youth has again, in that respect made an important contribution and acted as its accredited role of pioneer in regard to the theory (?) of the movement. I think it is the most fundamental thing of all that has been lacking—that is to say, in regard to the basic change in the basic nature of movement from a movement of the intellectual or bourgeois essentially to a mass movement. We have not yet got even amongst the advanced ranks as it were, into this habit of thinking on the class-less lines, which is essential I think and we have not got any just appreciation of the essence of the situation of the world as it is today, which determines these political changes or political movements. Of course, there is an inkling of these ideas now but I shall return to this matter later.

I want to point out that ideas can present themselves in true guise, e.g. at a meeting which occurred a day or two ago, we find certain congressmen of the old type such as Lala Lajpat Rai talking exactly on these lines. Well, it is a very good sign. Of course, it shows that right ideas are breaking through. It is also a sign of danger. It shows that people with the best ideas are using these ideas for their own purposes. The important thing then is to make these ideas clear so far as possible and I want to do it from what is my own point of view in order to present them for you to see what you think of them.

What then, is the new line of policy? I think it is essential to take a broad view of the matter. It is better to look at it in its world perspective & see how it arises I think the essence of the situation of the world today is, to put it shortly, that we are in the period of

Imperialism, in the technical sense of that word, and Imperialism not only existing but collapsing, as it were. The first sound analysis from this point of view was carried out many years ago, and even in those days, in the earlier part of the last century—even in those days Mark and Angles were able to predict some developments of this sort and it is interesting to see what they thought about it.

Their idea was that a new force had entered the world during the course of last two centuries—industrial capitalism, and they described it in their communist manifesto as the greatest revolutionary force that had made its appearance in human affairs. There they were able to indulge in general analysis and they were able to say that it is extending its domain over the whole world, bringing it up to the same level as the most advanced countries and that its general tendency must be in the direction of increasing wealth until a time is reached when it will suddenly collapse and give way to a new state of society. We are here to make that statement.

We have seen capitalism develop to the stage of imperialism. It is in a state of collapse, if not collapse, it is declining with disastrous results in many places. I want to emphasise the other point that Capitalism, up to the present, is the most revolutionary force in the social history which has in fact revolutionised not only European countries but it has spread into every country in the world and is bringing them up more and more to the same level, so that now, when we consider almost any country in its political situation, in its economic position we have to consider it from that point of view. After all, it is a part of the system of Imperialism, and Imperialism, as a whole, is increasing in its strength it may be expected also to do so. If Imperialism is collapsing it will also go with it. That is my conception which has, I think, an important bearing on the situation in India.

Now, generally, the analysis which those writers and later writers—Lenin and so forth—developed of the nature of Capitalism and its development, was this that, at any rate, this period of Imperialism, if we may certainly jump to that, is characterised by the development in capitalism to a very startling extent, of those predictions—as they call it—which are expected to bring about this solution. Capitalism, in its normal course, before it reached the stage of Imperialism, was, on the whole, developing, and strengthening forces. It was confined to a few countries and was able to spread out in all directions and was able to work up a very acute crisis. We can, therefore, say that Imperialism will collapse for 3 main defects which had developed within it.

In the first place, Capitalism is a very brutal system which depends essentially upon the exploitation of the labour power of men and, of course, women and children, and because of that, it

aroused within itself a great deal of discontent and disturbance which is a powerful force in bringing about its destruction. But when it develops also to the Imperialistic stage, it develops a further cause of destruction and conflict within itself, viz, the establishment of rule in other countries. Now, in the case of India, this rule was established very much longer ago than that, but it is very noticeable that until quite recently there was no very serious movement in India against the reigning power, apart from a certain revival of the old type of Indian society which had really no objective or chance at all of succeeding in their revolutionary purpose. Now, at least there is rapidly developing a serious movement in India as in other countries for getting rid of the Imperialist domination and that is an indication of this crisis in which Imperialism is involved. And there is, of course, a third cause for the difficulties in which this system finds itself and that is it goes up in the direction of international wars.

Well, I want to return to this point Capitalism, as it were, has levelled the whole world up to the level of the most advanced countries. In India we have a movement for freeing the country from Imperialist domination and up to the present it has developed, as was predicted, primarily on the basis of class interests of those people who, as it were, compete essentially with the Imperialist power. That is the root of the conflict between the bourgeois in India and the bourgeois in Britain, fighting as it were, for the spoils of the country and that is the motive force of the Indian Nationalist movement up to the present time and that is still no doubt powerful. It produces what is the most important part of the movement as it is to-day, the most important manifestations of its strength. But the other tendency is also developed and we can see very clearly in China, which is in many ways, a very close parallel to India, how the two different tendencies go together and conflict. Capitalism also levels things up to the level of advanced countries, and, in doing so, it produced the same kind of conflict as goes on within them that is, there is a double set of conflict, viz. those between the Imperialist power and the subject power, those between the oppressed classes within the subject power and their ruling classes.

Now, in China, these two conflicts developed simultaneously and very powerfully and for a time they appeared to be in alliance. But, as you very well know, that proved to be an impossible state of things. The conflicts are fundamentally incompatible, and in the course of about 2 or 3 years' developments it was clearly seen by all concerned that things could not go on in this old position, in which roughly there was a United nation of China fighting within itself and fighting against the Imperialist power. Both conflicts went on and a readjustment had to take place and that readjustment took

place in China in an unpleasant manner. Essentially what happened was that in the alignment of forces the bourgeois, the landlords, the ruling classes of China completely deserted their previous line of political action and went over to the opposite line and they took the Imperialist line and united with them to fight against the masses, who were asserting their own interests.

I can conceive that sort of thing is really the cause of the present unrest in India. The same kind of readjustment is going on, I believe the force, which has up to the present been the motive force behind the Indian Nationalism has been the same as that which was the motive force in China, that is to say, conflict of interests between the two ruling classes—the ruling class of the outsiders and the ruling class people who are native of the country—and they fought against each other. But there also developed the fact that Capitalism does bring more or less quickly the same conflict, and is already forcing quickly a readjustment in the alignment of forces within India.

Now, we have to take into account when we consider the position from our own point of view what I was saying before, viz. the situation of the world, as a whole, what are the objectives, chances, what is going on generally to which we have to adjust ourselves? As I said, we are essentially in a period when Imperialism is in a state of decay or collapse. Essentially, the main force, which overcomes the force of Imperialism, as it exists in the world, is in the strength of the masses, the strength primarily of the working class. In all the leading capitalist countries—those countries which are Imperialist powers, the conflict between the working class and the capitalist is acute and we are almost convinced, destined, to bring about their overthrow and a total change in the social state of things into a working class rule—call it Socialism or Communism, as you like. That I think, is the dominant tendency also in the Colonies, where the fundamental proof of economic developments is in this direction. We have to see then how we in India are related to that. We have the possibility of development in either of these two directions, which, in view of the world situation is likely to occur. I think, in view of this fact that the dominant tendency undoubtedly is in the direction of the force opposed to capitalism—i.e. the force of the working class which is trying to overthrow capitalism, we have to develop all that, although India is apparently not very definitely prepared for that yet. You can understand why this takes place, considering it in a more mechanical manner. The fact is that, throughout the world, there is a great solidarity between the classes. It is in their thoughts and words, and the action of any particular class in one country has a very profound action within a very short time within the working classes in other countries. There is no doubt that if the world were more backward than it is today, the position of the classes and their relations would have

been totally different, there would be no thought of this kind of development. Nevertheless, in the world as it is today, the capitalist world, we have to reconcile ourselves to the same kind of development, although we are not really prepared for it. We can say on this ground that the tendency which is likely to triumph in India is in the direction of triumph of the mass movement.

Now, as I was saying, there has been a certain amount of readjustment, as it were, within the movement as it exists in India to that position. There has been much talk in recent years of the necessity of organising the masses for one purpose or another and very many people put forward programmes of what was to be generally their Constitution. There has been passed in the General Congress a resolution in favour of complete independence of the country, a resolution which means essentially a revolution, a resolution in line with the tendency which I have put forward. But, nevertheless, it is clear that the old forces, the forces which look upon nationalism as a conflict between two rival ruling classes, are still strong and they are manoeuvring in a way which is clever and is likely to create a great deal of confusion. They have themselves put forward the slogan of independence, the slogan of organisation of the masses. I suggest that these things must be done for our national salvation. So that there is likely to be a development for a considerable time which is objectively in its significance a Mass movement, but is likely, in fact, subjectively, to take on a reactionary route. The movement is of the exactly same kind of movement which has now developed in China, after the split in the national forces of a similar type which had developed in Italy after the collapse of revolution in 1922, viz. the Fascist Movement. I don't know how far you are familiar with what is going on in these two countries, and I think I can give you some idea of what it means, of what its essence is specially in China. One can see more clearly what kind of thing one can expect in India, if this tendency is allowed to proceed. As I said what happened actually was that there were two movements going on at the same time, which came into collision with each other. There was a conflict between the masses and the ruling classes, between two sections of ruling classes on the basis of Nationalism. Up to a certain period, this class conflict was, as it were, called off by truce. and they fought together against the other section of the ruling class. Eventually the ruling class triumphed and there was a re-assortment of forces and the whole of the ruling classes fell upon the masses, and for the time being, stopped their advance. Objectively, what that meant was the triumph of the foreign powers in China. It was no triumph for China, as a whole, as has often been represented. It was simply, in essence, a sinister manoeuvre whereby foreign powers retained their control in China. Essentially, the foreign powers retained their essential interests - the ownership of their factories and railways and to a certain extent, even of their

privileged positions in that country and were able to carry on, much as they were, their exploitation.

The domestic Chinese ruling class achieved some sort of favourable compromise with the foreign exploiting classes and was readjusted, to a certain extent, in their favour. Possibly, for all their fighting they got very little. The masses of China up to the present achieved nothing whatever, they were used, for a time, by their ruling class as Cannon fodder and eventually gained nothing whatever. They were, in fact, put to extreme tortures by these conflicts. The whole leading section was, within a space of a few months, wiped out of existence—many thousands of them were killed and so forth, and generally considered on the objective scale. it was a catastrophe for China, which has not its parallel since the massacre of 1900. Now, fundamentally, the same kind of thing went on in Italy. There we can see even more clearly what is the objective. It means, in China, the postponement of that inevitable rise of masses and the prolonging tortures of revolution which must take place sooner or later, and that, I think, is the essential danger of a movement of this sort.

Now, I want to draw, as far as I can, a parallel between what is going on in those countries and in India. It is going on peacefully in India and I have no doubt the eventual development will be the same and will bring about the same disastrous features, possibly when the time comes, even on a more unpleasant scale. There is, I say, a mass movement developing in India, but the other movement, which I was speaking of, the movement of the ruling classes in India is also taking notice of that fact, is also utilising it, so far as it can, for the purpose of crushing it, as it were, and instead of development of political events from below, it is from above, and that is a very brief pictorial way of expressing what is going on.

May I return to my last point? I was considering the development in India as a sort of parallel to what was going on in China and in other Colonial countries I might also mention in a general sense, it is a parallel to what was going on in Italy in the development of a movement which was essentially Fascist. I believe that in India the same kind of thing is being done now under the guise of the National movement. Consider, for example, what is meant by the formation of the Independence League within the National Congress? Up to the present, of course, the Congress is obviously. I want to say frankly, an Upper Class movement. Its aims have been as moderate as you would expect an Upper Class movement to be, and it has no contact with the masses and no attempt to deal with their problems altogether. More or less certainly it takes a new line, it declares for the independence of a certain



section—it declares for the organisation of masses for revolutionary purposes. But, as I said, that movement comes from above. That circumstance, in itself, cannot strike us but as sinister. If we look at the programme which this League has put forward up to the present (and that is why I wanted Dr. Dutt to be here, he could speak on the subject), it is quite clear that it is simply a movement of the upper strata, a movement from the above, in order partly to hamper and partly to exploit a movement developing from below. Such a programme is essentially contradictory. It cannot be a plain, straightforward programme, because it has to reconcile two absolutely conflicting tendencies. The programme is ostensibly a revolutionary one—a mass movement for the purpose of attaining national freedom, and that is a very sane idea—an idea which I must hold, but at the same time, it puts forward a suggestion that in order to minimise the possibilities of conflict we should arrange our economic system in such a way that might be interpreted to mean that we have achieved Independence. Objectively, what it means is that we are in dilemma. We want, on the one hand, to be revolutionary and, on the other, to keep peace. We want to be revolutionists, at the same time, we want to be pacifists. That is a very typical programme of the Fascist movement. It tries to be one thing and the other also. It is essentially a movement of the ruling class to keep the lower class in order and pretending to stand for the interests of the lower class. If we consider also the progress of the Indian movement as it has developed up to the present, we see essentially the same thing.

Now, I made some remark previously about Lala Lajpat Rai, who, for example, in a recent A. I. C. C. meeting, declared that we must organise the masses for the purpose of revolution. I happen to know Lala Lajpat Rai and many disciples of his who have been closely associated with that movement for a number of years, and it is a surprising fact that he and his friends have always been on the extreme reactionary wing. They always opposed the word "Revolution"—even the idea of supporting direct—movement!

Now, similarly, for example, at Jamshedpur, which is at present being organised by the members of the Indian National Congress, in the same way it is declared that it is opposed to direct action—when strikes occur, it will settle them as peaceably as possible. Similarly, other Unions—one in Calcutta and others in other parts of the country, also organised under the auspices of the Congress, have been doing the very same thing. They will declare one thing in their programme and actually another in practice. There is this dilemma which always appears in this movement of Fascist type—conflict between theory and practice, between intention and action, between words and action.

Now, I believe, as I said, that this tendency in India has very great dangers. I believe the only healthy movement for India would be essentially a movement from below. Now, that movement has, of course, developed in the course of last year. There have been many signs of it—e.g. I was present in Bombay on Friday, the 3rd February, this year, when the Simon Commission first landed in India. In the bourgeois part of Bombay, in the Fort where the Commission landed, there was the Congress demonstration, saying, 'Simon, go back' and so forth, but in the northern part of the town, where the mills, Ry workshops, factories and so forth are situated, there was a very different sight. About 30,000 workmen came forth, carrying red badges, saying "Down with Imperialism." Although it does not mean anything, it is significant that the actual slogans they used were of a totally different type, from those used in the other part of the demonstration. I say that the movement is developing spontaneously from below. There have been many other instances in the course of this year of the way in which the mass movement is developing of its own. There have been very many strikes, some of a political character, showing even the working classes are realising, however dimly, the essence of the position in which they find themselves. I went to put that contrast before you and ask you to consider which, as it were, you would choose. I believe you have that choice, you can espouse one cause or the other, you can take your stand with the movement from below—the essential movement for revolutionary purposes, or you can take your stand with the movement from above, which, in words, is the same and, in deed, will be the very opposite. That movement is, of course, I agree, conducted to a considerable extent by persons who will see their error. Many of them will find out the essential position in which they are, and will possibly in time, possibly too late, realise what they are doing and change their tactics and will come over to the main movement. At present they are doing what is, I believe, one of the most dangerous things that a political movement can do. To put it more plainly, I believe that the present line of development of the old Congress in India, the Independence League and its other offshoots. I believe, many a sections of the Youth movement which is essentially of the same nature as the class opposition—are developing along the line of capturing, distorting and turning against the movement of masses, which is developing in India and trying to establish the same kind of dictatorship which has been established in China, in Italy and in so many other countries. I want you to realise that is its inevitable tendency, as far as one can see, and there is one alternative to that and that is a genuine spirit to espouse the movement that is developing from below which is spreading for its purposes. I do not say, of course, that that movement is necessarily developing directly in the Socialist direction. I quite agree with Pt. Jawahar Lall, who, although declares himself a Socialist,

says that it is not proper to put forward Socialist slogans-the suggestion that we should establish a Socialist state. It is physically impossible to put forward that suggestion.

After all, we want to establish Socialism we have to work for the revolution of the working class, for the purpose of its dictatorship. Though I think it is a physical impossibility, we have, however, to encourage the movement of the masses in whatever way it may develop in its revolutionary tendency for the purpose, primarily, of overthrowing British Imperialism. That, is all we need worry about. At present, we need not specify whether it is going to be a Socialist movement or any other movement, a revolutionary movement of the masses for its own purpose. It may be put in another way by contrasting the two slogans of these two different classes "revolution for the masses" and "masses for the revolution." That again, is the very same contrast which I want to put before you.

The object of my speech is to concern you with that contradiction with these two sides which you may take up, - whether you will espouse the cause from below or from above- in fact whether you will join with the masses or the Independence League which pretends to be an organisation for the preparation of the masses. I may have expressed myself too strongly, I may have been rather abusive of personalities. That, I think, is the worst part of my speech. But I think I have managed to put in a more logical manner, if not clearly the essential differences of the position and to concern you with what, I believe, to be the dividing line which is now appearing in the Indian movement and I want to ask yourselves on what side you will go.

Sd. J. M. Mitra.

Sd. B. N. Chatterjee.

Govt. Reporters.

18/ 12/ 28.

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**P. 1916.**

Full text of a speech delivered by Mr. Phillip Spratt at the Youngmen's Conference at Malda on 8th November 1928.

"Mr. President and Comrades:- I am afraid I have to inflict

another speech upon you, but I shall do my best to make it short and rather more interesting than it was on the last occasion. I was asked to speak about the Youth movement in general, but, as I explained yesterday, I have no belief in the Youth Movement. So, how can I speak about it? I do not want to be rude but what I mean is that I do not regard the Youth Movement as having any original function. A movement, in fact, cannot be based upon differences of age, a movement has to be based on differences of class and the function of the Youth Movement is, therefore, simply an auxiliary one. At the same time, of course, I think, it does represent what is a very healthy and valuable reaction on the part of the youths of many different classes against modern civilisation and it is characteristic that the youth movement is the strongest in those countries such as, India, China, Germany, and Russia, which have been in recent years, seeing the seamy side of modern capitalistic civilization, and it is characteristic that in England, where I come from there is no Youth Movement to speak of. That is not quite true. What I mean is there is no non-class (?) movement such as exists here and in other countries, because there it is possible for the members of the middle class and other classes to regard their civilization as a satisfactory one. The working class youths in England are becoming now organised in trades, but, of course on a definitely socialist and communist basis. The middle-class and other youngmen think more about motor bicycles, horseracing etc and are naturally not very much interested in politics. Their only politics is Fascism, they are Imperialists to the backbone. They regard themselves as a heaven-born race, intended to govern the world and so forth, and there is no movement among these men as 'Youth movement? So, I think you will see my point. I have nothing particular to say on that subject, but I do regard the movements in this country which, as I say, have suffered more than they have gained, as the youth movement in this country as a useful and valuable organisation, primarily for the circulation of the ideas of socialism and communism and so on. So I propose to devote a few minutes to talking about them.

Fortunately, these two subjects are inter-related. Well, I should first stress the point that 'communism' is fundamentally is a movement(it is important to grasp that) essentially of the industrial working class in industrially advanced countries, but, of course, it has other sides. In particular, it arose as a set of ideas, more or less vague, more or less tentative, long before there was an industrial class. I think the essential idea of it is to reorganise society on some better basis. Society, as it has existed at present, is full of inequalities, such as the domination of one man over another, of one class over another class, the existence of the ruling class which monopolise luxuries and so forth of the society, the existence of the working class which has to do all the work and so

forth. There was, in some cases at any rate, the proposal to organise society in this way on international basis, but, of course, there was one obstacle, which could not be overcome, to the idea of reorganisation of that sort and that obstacle was that mankind was not capable of producing enough. At any rate about 200 years ago it was the fact that if people were to live in a decent way, they had to work extremely hard in order to do it. So, unless they adopted Mah. Gandhi principles and reduced their wants down to the lowest minimum, they had to work so hard in order to produce the means of livelihood that they could not enjoy them, and that was the material basis of the division of society into a slave class and a ruling class and there was a small ruling class living upon the labour of sweated slaves. But that problem began to be solved about 200 years ago. By that time in certain countries in western Europe there had grown up large accumulations, on the one hand, in the hands of merchant capitalists and, what we may call capitalists, land-owners, on the other, and there had also developed, to a sufficient extent, physical science. These two together—these two developments together very soon resulted in the application of the science to production and they developed modern machine-industry and that, within a short time, solved the question of how mankind is to increase productive capacity. Mind, that if society was reorganised on the basis of equality people could work and produce sufficient for their living and at the same time live with sufficient culture and leisure. This obstacle to the demand(?) of communism was removed by the arrival of modern industry. But, of course, there remained another obstacle and that was the people were obstinately opposed to turn society upside down. They wanted to remain as they were and that obstacle seemed to be insuperable.

The machine-industry has certain thinkers principally in England. It is said that these communist ideas were imported from Moscow. In fact they mainly originated in England and the talk about 'Moscow-imported' ideas is wrong. The development of industry also brought about another factor which certain clever persons seized upon as the means of establishing society on the basis of equality—that was, industry, in its development, produced the industrial working class. There had always been throughout the existence of society struggle between various classes, but when industry was established on a modern basis with large factories and very large Works, in which a great majority of the participants were wage-earners, while a few people managed and owned them, there grew up an intense class struggle between these two for the division of the product and it was seen by the early thinkers in England and in Germany that this provided the means whereby we could bring about this difficult transformation, that is to say, we could organise

and construct the decaying working class, so that they would be able to pursue the work of overthrowing the domination of the class of proprietors and establishing a new society, and it would not be difficult to alter its ideas to a certain extent and turn them into communist ideas and give a political move also for establishing communism, and I think that is the essence of the idea of communism. The idea is that we have now the material basis of a decent organisation of society, that is to say, our reductive capacity is sufficient and we have also in the class struggles, which exist in the society, a means whereby society can be overturned and reorganised according to communist ideas. And, as I said, that seems to be the essence of the subject. It also resulted, from the beginning, in the idea that society in this way can be reorganised internationally, because it is a fact in Europe, at any rate, and I believe it is more or less the case elsewhere, that nationalism is the product of capitalism. It was only when capitalism arose as an organisation which was a leading factor in the society that society became divided into national groups which fought each other fiercely for those things which capitalism holds dear, viz. trade routes, raw material, markets and these things. That was the basis of nationalism in its unpleasant aspect in Europe, and it was quite clear that communism would be able to get rid of that. In fact, even before this kind of theory was spread about the working class had developed a fairly large amount of national consciousness in Europe. I believe it is a fact that the first British working class organisation, which grew up in the first two decades of the 19th century, were in correspondence with organisations in France, calling each other brethren, comrades and so forth and that showed very clearly their society, which they hoped to establish, must be international.

To turn to the essential subject this outline that I gave, was worked up in considerable detail principally by Marx and Engels, who supported a great deal of economical and historical facts, along two main lines—this form of modern development and the theory of communism we have to follow to a certain extent.

This idea of utilising class struggle for the purpose of altering the nature of society, is not at all a new one. It is, in fact recorded in history as the history of class struggle. Society has existed upto the present under various different forms and if you trace the history of these forms from one to the other, you will find that by the class struggle which went on it, resulted in the old ruling class being replaced by the new ruling class. The history is a history of class struggle and this class struggle is developing. We can predict that we can bring about a factor ultimately, at any rate in the industrial working class, and establish a new type of society. All we have to do is to see that this new type of society is a desirable one and to prepare, so far as we can that this factor shall come as early, as

quickly and as painlessly as possible, and that is our task—the task of communists, of people who have communist ideas. At the same time we have to see of this is at all a practical scheme. What, in fact, are the lines on which society is developing at present under capitalism? Marx and Engels, in particular a later school of their followers, of which the most important is Lenin, discussed the subject at some considerable detail and came to certain conclusions. They decided that capitalism, as I believe, was, revolutionising the world on its own to a very large extent an extent which is also hopeful from communist point of view. It was bringing the whole world up to the same level. Even those countries of Asia, which are regarded as backward are becoming capitalistic. There are big factories railways and all these things. Thus capitalism is expanding to fill the whole world in such a way that it is quite clear that before long there will become a sort of a crisis of over-production a crisis whereby capitalism will have no further room to develop. That is putting the thing too simply. It does not mean in itself that it will collapse in this way but, nevertheless, if you consider the nature of capitalism as an organisation based essentially on the production of profit, it is clear that this spread of capitalism throughout the world, will bring about a state of crisis, and further, it is a fact that there is the tendency, which these economists were able to discover for the increase in the intensity of the struggle between the classes that as capitalism goes on it tends to make the rich richer and the poor poorer.

Here again, is another source of conflict of inequality. Further, there is the question of international and colonial rivalries which this expansion of capitalism has set up. As I said, capitalism is even now in a state of great instability and, in fact, already in the process of decay and collapse in the present period. That, incidentally, is what has brought about the modern phenomena of war, and the decay of civilisation, and a sort of break down of that idealistic type of modern capitalism which we saw during the last century. This brought about incidentally the rise of Youth Movement in such countries as this. It is becoming very clearly seen that capitalism is not a desirable kind of society. It must be replaced by some other kind but as to what is desirable and what is possible ideas differ still a great deal. 'Those who hold communist ideas, are quite confident that they have the key to the problem.' We have the solution. We think that our ideas, on the one hand, are desirable and on the other, that it is the only possible one, and on that basis we ask people to agree with us. An analysis of capitalism as it exists, reveals that it is even now in the present period in a state of great instability. Even in the period of imperialism, it is on its own, experiencing such difficulties and such collapses that its existence is absolutely threatened, and from the point of view of the working class, who desire generally

to overthrow capitalism and re establish their own state of society, that is an opportunity. Even given this general solution of the problem whereby to replace capitalism by Socialism, it is still a very difficult thing. It is a fact that the working class in the European countries, for examples was organising throughout the last century and throughout this century, yet in one country alone Russia has been able to achieve its end.

People's idea are very difficult to alter, and it is very difficult to convince a man who is pursuing the ordinary business of life, that he should take action and go about smashing society in order to erect on the ruins some new state of society, however more desirable that may be. But, as I said, the present period provides our opportunity. This capitalistic society is, on its own, without our interference, experiencing a period of very great storm and stress. It has experienced wars within its own ranks. This converts enormous numbers of people to our ideas. When they are taken forth to other countries to fight each other, naturally their bodies and mind are shaken up. 1919-20 when men came home from the battle field they came home Bolsheviks. They were prepared to alter the society which had behaved in this way, and there are many other things going on which also tend to move people's ideas in that direction. As I said, this gives our opportunity which we have to seize. In the same way such occurrences which have taken place in colonial countries, also give us our opportunity. In China, for example there has been developing a very strong movement for the overthrow of the Imperialist domination of China and its replacement by national rule. It has resulted in a very fierce war between the two sides, between the foreigners and the Chinese, and generally a state of acute crisis, chaos and misery prevails there. And I believe the same sort of thing is likely to develop in this country, and the people here, who have taken part in the Youth movement, who have got their ideas sufficiently detached from the current ideas of society should join in a movement of this sort.

I want to put these ideas very briefly before you to see whether you will follow them or not. Before I close I want to give one or two more points in connection with the theory of communism. After all, it is a very complicated and very extensive theory and, in particular, the working out of it in practice is a very complicated matter. In a country such as this, for example, everybody has pointed out to me—what about peasantry? In fact, this subject was tackled with more success by communists than we think at first sight

There have been, throughout the existence of society, a system of landlord and peasant, which began in Europe in about the 12th or 14th century. There have been, throughout that period, very fierce struggles between landlords and peasants. In some cases in industry you get a fairly decent relationship established between



the capitalist and wage-earner, but I think never in agriculture you get good relationship established between the landlord and the peasant. Peasants have always a fierce hatred towards landlords and throughout the history of agrarian organisation, there have been peasants revolts. In France, the great French Revolution was to a large extent, a peasants revolution for the overthrow of the landlord system in Russia also, this was the case and it is quite clear that it will be useful for us to take advantage of this fact and to bring the peasants with us in our revolutionary objective and to secure that, while we attack and overthrow the capitalist class, they can attack and overthrow the landlord class. There is no humbug about it. There must be a complete revolution for the expropriation of landlords. We think that would give us a means whereby agriculture can be reorganised in a satisfactory way. Up to the present no satisfactory scheme has been adopted for the organisation of agricultural life. Even the American system of capitalist farming on a very big scale; is far from satisfactory. We think in this way we can possibly establish in the course of a year, an organisation very satisfactory because it can begin from the domination of the class of small owners of land. - We think we can influence the peasants, small owners of land, in socialist direction, and in time we can convince them by means of cooperation in co-operative selling associations and similar bodies, we can convince them of the necessity of co-operation and get them to establish scientific agriculture on a large scale instead of their present small scale, primitive unscientific agriculture, and eventually turn them into an agricultural working class on socialist basis. That, I think is the only possible solution of this awful problem of what is to be done with the land. And, as I said, it is the first stage. It is essentially a revolutionary programme, it is to bring about the revolution of peasants against the rich, against landlords.

Well, I think I have finished a very brief and a very scrappy outline of the essence of Communist outlook upon the present-day problems and the way in which we propose to solve them, and many people, after hearing an exposition of that sort, will say how brutal, how bloody, how destructive a civilisation it is. I want to point out that is the attitude essentially of a person in the position of middle class, protected to a large extent from the evils of modern civilisation. If you go to the working class and explain the situation, they will see nothing unpleasant about it. If we consider the world, as it exists today what have we got? We have, in the industrial countries, an organisation of capitalist class for the exploitation of the working class and even in the most advanced countries, such as America and Britain, we find that exploitation goes on in a very brutal manner and the majority of the population feels very intensely the seamy side of modern society, that struggle breaks out frequently in this country into large strikes

in which often there is open war declared against the workers. It is a common thing in America to bring out machine guns for people to be shot.

Let us consider what is going in the colonial countries. In general terms the same sort of picture is presented in more lurid colours. Throughout these colonial countries, now and then they break out into revolts and are ruthlessly shot down. In the course of this century we find elaborate arrangements made for the construction of armaments, navies and air-force for the purpose of destroying and fighting each other. Even now in India, I believe it is a fact that enormous forces are being prepared for the purpose of attacking Russia.

Considering all this, it seems to me that we, who are communists need not apologise, we need not be careful to disguise the brutal blood-thirsty side of our proposals. We say these things are inevitable. Modern society is based upon fierce brutality and if we want to get rid of it we have to use fierce brutality. We shall not also disguise the fact that in the course of attainment of our aim and the establishment of Communism, we shall have to indulge in brutal dictatorial methods. We shall have to indulge in civil wars in mot countries. We think it is worth while, we think that is coming in any case not only civil wars but war between nations. that is vastly more destructive. If we are to overthrow that system of society, we can perfectly afford to go through a period of cruelty, oppression and misery in order to attain it. Well, as I said at the beginning, it is not very clear what youth organisation has to do with it, but I think there is a body of people who have got some freedom of thought, perhaps some enthusiasm in them. The exposition of ideas being perhaps their main object, it is useful to have such ideas as those put before them. I believe, even in Engand and in many other countries, it is the fact that people from the middle class such as yourselves, are coming gradually to take up ideas of this sort. They are realising as a result of their experience that the world, as at present constituted, is an unpleasant place and some method must be adopted to alter it, and there is a small minority who are of opiaion that this is the only practical and desirable method of doing it. They are coming to assist the working class which, after all, is the body who will carry these things through fundamentally, and I want to point out that people of your type can conceivably assist, can take up ideas of this sort. In India,, I believe, the time is getting ripe when we are before immense political changes which can only be productive of good, if they take lines similar to these, and it is because of that, that I wanted to make this exposition to you and appeal to you to think what action you can take on the basis of it.

Sd. J. M. MITRA  
Sd. B. N. CHATTERJEE  
Govt. Reporters  
28/11/28.

## P. 1917.

Full text of a speech delivered by Phillip Spratt at Malda on 8th November 1928.

"Mr. Chairman and Comrades :—I want to address a few words to those members of the working class and peasants who happen to be present here & through them, as it were, to those who are not. I want to express to them in a few words the substance of the ideas which we are thinking of presenting to them and the message which we want to give to them.

We want to point out to them that owing to modern technical and economic development, the day is coming, and is perhaps not far off when they will at least come into the position which is theirs, as we think by right, when they who are the producers of the wealth of society, the people who do all the necessary work of society, who constitute the majority of society, will take their right place which, in fact, is theirs and will be able to constitute, to establish, for the first time, in the recorded history a society which is based on social solidarity and not on class divisions, not by establishing themselves as a ruling and oppressive class in place of those who are at present ruling and oppressing them, but by absorbing all ranks of society into their own ranks by establishing a class-less organisation. And it is obvious that before that can be done these people have very much to learn and very much to do, but I think if they begin in the right direction, the rest will come without very much difficulty. In fact, they will be able to carry on more or less automatically, and I think the first step is to organise themselves for the purpose of fighting collectively for their collective needs.

They must be asked to realise that although they are weak, perhaps in wealth certainly weak in education—they are strong in numbers and can easily become strong in that other necessary psychology of solidarity and they must utilise what power they have in virtue of these facts to ruthlessly. I may say, push for the needs, for the necessities which they feel. They should have no scruples, I think, in any circumstance which we can conceive, arising in this country, they should have no scruples in pushing to every advantage they have for what they could get. They should regard that not as an anti-social use of their privileged position but as a social duty by increasing the benefits which come to them. They are, to some extent trying to do away with the inequalities, which exist in Society and preparing the way for the establishment of an equalitarian society, If they are members of the working class, for example. I do not think there are many of that sort in Malda, - but the remarks will apply generally if they are members of the working class, they must use what solidarity and

what strength they can master for purpose, first of all, of increasing the rates of wages.

Many organisations, ostensibly for the purpose of Trade Union and so forth in India, do not take that as a part of their programme. I think it is an obvious and essential one. As regards the question of hours they work, they must be reduced to a decent and respectable standard. They must fight for many other necessary reforms—for suitable holidays in the course of the year, for proper arrangements within their place of work, for sanitation, for ventilation, for protection from dangers which often befall them and all these I need not talk about in much detail.

If they are peasants I think again, their programme is quite clear. They must find out who are the persons who exploit them (and they are many) and they must arrange among themselves to fight against these persons. If there is any increase, for examples in the rates, at which they have to pay for the rent of their land, they must resist by all possible means, or if there is no occasion for increase, they must fight in the same way for taxes. They must fight those who exploit them by lending them money and arrange amongst themselves in some suitable manner. (I believe it can be done successfully) the means whereby they can overcome that method of exploitation and they must have ultimately in view not merely reduction, not merely alleviation of their position but complete expropriation of the wealth of those people who exploit them.

As I said, I think if we begin on these lines, if the peasants who constitute the enormous bulk of the population of this province and, in fact, the whole of the country, begin on these lines to organise on a militant and in a ruthless manner for the prosecution of their own interests as a collective entity, they will be doing enormous service not only to themselves but to the country as a whole and they will be waging essentially the only war which is worth waging—the class war—and will be fighting a battle in which the victory is the victory worth winning, viz—victory for the benefit of the whole of mankind, and because I have that conviction so, in spite of the apparent dangers and difficulties of the policy, I want to urge it very strongly upon them and to assure that not only in this country, but in most other countries the same kind of movement is going on. I think I can claim to represent myself in some small degree, I constitute a sort of representation of the international solidarity of the working masses of the world. It is only because there is a fairly strong movement in England, from which I come, for the prosecution of this kind of war and because it realises in a small degree, that its needs and interests are essentially international and that it will prosper when other countries prosper—it is because of that, that I am here. That is all.

Let me stress the point that this movement is a world-wide one and, while it may appear to be back-ward in the early stages in India, it has advanced to a considerable degree of development in many countries and that, in consequence, there is every hope here for a successful future for it. It is with this that I want to close.

Sd/- J. M. Mitra.

„ B. N. Chatterjee.

English Reporters.

13-1-29.

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## P. 2224.

Proceedings of the Meeting at Karbala Maidan, Bauria on 2-12-28.

On 2-12-28 a meeting was organized by the Bauria Jute Workers' Union at the Karbala Maidan Bauria. About 3000 workers of the Fortgloster Mills assembled and they were addressed by Kisor Lal Ghose, Radharaman Mitra, Mr. Johnstone, Bankim Chandra Mukherjee, Kalidas Bhattacharyya, Hemanta Kumar Bose, Gopendra Chakravartty, Dr. Kristakamal Bhattacharyya and Morinal Kanti Bose.

\*             \*             \*             \*

Mr. Johnstone said that strikes were being noticed not only in India but in all parts of the world in the year 1928. The cause of this strike was, the attempt on the part of the Capitalists to curtail the cost of production in order to compete in the market. The oppression of the Capitalists was greater in the Colonial Kingdoms. It was the duty of India as well as other Colonial Kingdoms to strive for freedom without which their condition could not be improved. It is said that India is not fit for self government but what then, did the British do, during their two hundred years rule? No nation had any right to rule over another and to attain the freedom of Nations they formed a League known as "League Against Imperialism" in 1927 which got the sympathy from every nation in the world. This League was ready to help

any country which would strive for freedom and his sojourn to India was to gain a knowledge of the people in order that mutual help might be possible. He asked the people to remember everyday that their struggle was not only economic but also political and the freedom of their country was their ultimate goal,

Sd/- Harendrabejoy Basu S. I. D. I. B.

3-12-28.

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## P. 2225.

Proceedings of the Meeting at Bauria on 29-12-28.

On 29-12-28 a meeting was organized by the Bauria Jute Workers Union at the Karbala Maidan, Bauria. About 300 workers attended the meeting which was addressed by K. C. Mitra Kalidas Bhattacharyya Radharman Mitra and Bankim Mukharjee.

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Radharaman Mitra explained the causes of their absence from Bauria on Thursday last and said that he was very sorry to learn that they were losing faith in their Union and were ready to join work because the leaders could not come to hold meeting on Thursday last. He said that the labour agitation was not a child's play, and its object was not to gain increased rates. The workers would be trained as national Soldiers who would be ready to fight for their country at the call of their leaders. The days of this struggle were not far off. He said that they had asked for Rs. 25000 from the congress for the relief of the Bauria workers. He asked all to be present in the meeting the next day where they would settle how they would proceed in future.

Sd/- Harendrabejoy Basu.

S. I. D. I. B. 30. 12. 28.

## P. 2226

Proceedings of the meeting at Bauria on 4-1-29.

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On 4-1-29. at about 5 P. M. a meeting was organised by the Bauria Jute Workers' Union at the Karbala maidan under the Presidency of Jawaharlal Nehru. About 2000 workers of the Fortgloster Mills attended the meeting and they were addressed by Jawaharlal Nehru, Mr. Bradley, Mrinal Kanti Bose and Kisoril Lal Ghosh.

\* \* \*

Mr. Bradley spoke highly of the patience of the Bauria workers and said that the workers of all the places had now resolved not to submit to the damnable condition to which they were put by the Capitalists but to better their condition at any risk so that they might live like men and not like so many cattle. The conditions of the Managers and Supervisors of the Mills who were living here, in plenty, would have been the same as the workers here, had they been in Dundee. The Capitalists finding that labour was cheap in India, opened Mills and factories here, leaving the poor at home to starve. But as the labourers all over the world belonged to the same class, they should combine and fight against their common enemy. The Mill owners had their association which devised ways and means to lower the wages of the workers. The workers, too, should organise themselves and put pressure upon the Mill Owners Association to realise their demands, on the pain of general strike all over the Jute area. The speaker appealed to the Congress Committee to contribute a sum for relief of the workers.

\* \* \*

Submitted.

Sd/-Herendrabojoy Basti.

S. I. D. I. B. 5-1-29.

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## P. 2227

Proceedings of the Labour Meeting at Bauria on 6-1-29.

On 6-1-29. at about 4 P. M. a meeting was organised by the Bauria Jute Workers' Union at the Karbala Maidan, Bauria. About 2500 workers of the Fortgloster Mills attended the meeting and they were addressed by Sib Nath Banerjee Bankim Chandra Mukherjee, Samsul Huda, Gopendra Chakravartty and Suresh Chandra Chatterjee of the B. N. R. Union.

Sib Nath Banerjee said that he was sentenced to 9 months' R. I. by the High Court and he would go to jail in a day or two. He wished that he could see the Bauria workers succeed, on the eve of his departure. He spoke of partial success in a strike in Bombay where the workers amassed Rs. 85,000 after the strike was over, in order to fight their battle more effectively in future. He instructed the people not to break up their union even though they did not succeed this time but to unite more strongly so that he might see that the workers had realised their demands when he would return from Jail.

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Submitted.

Sd/-Harendrabejoy Basu.

S. I. D. I. B. 7.-29.

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## P. 1937 (T)

Maidan Labour meeting,

Near Ochterlony Monument.

dated 19. 1. 29; time 5- 15 p.m.

Radha Raman Mitter delivered the following speech:-

My brethren!

We are sympathisers of all the labourer and poor brethren. It is, therefore, proper that (I should inform the labourers and peasants, the people who have assembled here of the wrong done to them (in connection with the Simon Commission)\*

\*The brackets This gathering which is present before us shows what regard we people and especially the labourers appear in the original-Tr. have in hearts regarding the Simon Commission which is in Calcutta. These people (and) all



men together have shown that they do not want this Simon Commission (and that they) have nothing to do with their Commissioners) actions and proceedings. We say that all the human beings in India, men, women or children, say: "O Simon! Leave our country and go to the place you have come from." Our labourers who are present here today will say something about this matter if they get an opportunity.

Labourer brethren ask what the Simon (Commission) is. You know this much that ten years ago when we told this Government what India wanted and when we raised an agitation and when these people realised (lit. saw) that something was to be given, (they) sent a few men and gave out that (they) were giving liberty to us. That is not liberty but a farcé (lit. deception). Ten years' experience has opened the eyes of the people. They have come to test and try us again whether, or not, we are fit for Swaraj and for conducting administration (lit. Government). Now brethren! This Simon and six other persons have come with him from England to test whether we are fit for carrying on our own Government and Administration in our own country or not. They say that they will give us the second instalment of Swaraj. What (will happen) will be that we shall have to be dependent on England, and India will continue to be a dependency of England, but the objection of all this gathering is that the Simon Commission which is greatly connected with

labourers (sic ?), its objection particularly is that the poor and the labourers are greatly oppressed and that our condition in their administration is so bad not clear. that no other nation is in a similar condition. These people have come (here) to suck all the wealth producers in India, and the poor subject people and labourers and to take work from them and to make them work after giving them half bellyful of food. For this reason we say to you to see that it (? Commission) can give some liberty perhaps to please the rich and wealthy men, but it can in no way improve our condition. What is our condition under this capitalistic (lit. wealthy) Government, which wants to have strike stopped and which fires at the strikers and turns them out from (their) quarters. These people (?) take thousands of rupees, but if we demand fifteen rupees, boundless oppression is practised (on us). We therefore, want that there should be such an administration, such a Government under which the full right to strike should exist and if the managers (? munib, declare a lockout, if would amount to an oppression. We want a Government under which bullets will not be fired, nor will this be so that one man will get a thousand rupees - and the other will get Rs. 10/ or Rs. 15/ to fill his belly. If freedom may be given to the rich, their condition will undergo further change. So long as the Mazdur Dal will not be happy, we will carry on our agitation. We will not keep silent so

long as our condition will not be improved in India (and) so long as a Government of us, peasants and labourers and the poor, is not established in India.

Sd: A. M. S. Raihan Ahmed,

Govt: Reporter.

22. 6. 29.

Translated by

Morid Husain, Urdu Translator.

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## P. 2469 [T].

Meeting held at the Maidan near the Ochterlony Monument on 19-1-29 at 5 p. m.

Radha Raman Mitra in his second speech said :—

Formerly when I stood up, the gathering was so great that I could not speak. Some congressmen stood up separately and said something which may cause a misunderstanding in your mind, therefore it is necessary that I should explain something to especially the worker brethren about Simon. I have not come here to show my lecturing (speaking) capacity. The workers have come from 3-4 miles distant places, and suffered much inconvenience (not ?) only to see a *Tamasha* and go away without gaining any benefit. This is not proper. Therefore, I wish to say that you have seen that separate classes were present here, on the platform and in the meeting, and have already spoken. There were some school and college students, some big and rich men and these workers. Now have all men come only to say "Simon go back ! Simon, we don't want you". Have all of you come here to say this ? If you think so, you are greatly mistaken. We the Indians, and especially the workers, who have to work every minute, have not much time to make a *Tamasha* and only say "Simon we don't want you". We ought to understand that we have assembled (with some vital object ?) But all are not of the same object. One

*Note by translator.*

The language of this speech is very bad. Mostly the sentences are unintelligible and on by Best rendering has been done.

not clear.

young man says that he does not want Simon. This he says with his own ideas. The big men of the Congress and the rich men of the community say so, with a different one. When the school and college students utter these words, they say with another idea. We say 'Simon we don't want you.'\* This not the purport of our saying\* Simon is not a thing. We are not angry with the Englishmen also.

When we say "Simon! We don't want the principle on which you have come. We don't want the thing which you have come to give. Go back with all those things." Had Simon come to our country, to visit it, we would not have objected. What for has Simon come? Ask Simon. In English language it is said:—

"What does Simon stand for? For British Imperialism\*."

\*Speaker's words. "Why has Simon come here. The British Government which crushes the poor of the world and says that its duty to is to purify all the wild nations and take burden on its own shoulders.

Simon wishes to give this Imperialism to us. He has come here to strengthen the foundation of Imperialism which was laid in India 200 years ago. When we say Simon go away. We mean go away with the Imperialism you have brought.' Not only for Imperialism. We don't say only so much.

Simon has not come for Imperialism only. 'Simon stands for Imperialism' as well as "Simon stands for capitalism? He has come to strengthen the government of the Capitalists. He (lit. you, should take away this capitalism with him. (lit. you) We don't want capitalism. You can not give us a government different from what we are seeing to-day. Whatever government you may give us, under it we shall remain in the condition in which we are now. No! we don't want all this. When we say 'Simon we don't want you' we say along with it we don't want, what is called zamindari." We also say "We don't want finances, Capitalists, and the masters of the workshops." Therefore you must understand this Simon thoroughly. At least our worker brethren should be under no misunderstanding. We unitedly say "Simon go back' let him (the Simon) be an Englishman or an Indian

As far as we—the workers—think our object can not be achieved until the capitalists possess their power—therefore we wish that if Simon has come to strengthen and increase that power, he should go back from our country. There are some classes among the wealthy who say 'we won't co-operate with you.' We wish to boycott you? Why (do they say so?) Because not even one Indian has been taken in it (the commis-

sion ?). Look ? even the moderates, and the title holders, such as Sir's and Knights' boycott (him) their idea is that if 2-4 Indians have been included in it they would say that they would co-operate with it and not boycott (lit. non-co-operate). it. There are also men of other views. They say that they have nothing to do with Simon. They think that the most which Simon can give to them is the Dominion Status, but what do they want? They want complete Independence and sovereign Independence. Therefore men of that class say that they have nothing to do with the Simon Commission what do the workers say. The workers say that their salvation does not lie in the Dominion Status, that their good does not lie in it. Their object is (to achieve) complete Independence, (they say that) their salvation does not lie even in Complete Independence itself and that their salvation would be effected only when the labourers get Complete Independence. *Therefore\* I say to the labourers that I have told*

them a great deal. There can be no better and  
 \* Not clear. brave Swarajist army than of the labourers—  
 Subash Babu says that if anybody can attain the  
 independence of India it is the labour and Peasants Party. What  
 does it mean. It means that he wants to take work from the  
 labourers by patting their backs and applauding their bravery.  
 (he wants to act like the Imperialists, who) applaud the bravery,  
 of the Pathans and the Sikhs, give them Rs. 15/- and send them  
 to the battlefields by saying that there is no one braver than  
 them and these Pathans and Sikhs risk their lives for these pattings  
 and applauses. Of course death comes only those who get Rs. 15  
 but to whom does go the benefit obtained by their death and by  
 their bloodshed? That benefit goes to the capitalist who pats their  
 backs and sends them to the battlefield. Therefore we say that we  
 have understood your tricks and won't forget them. We are not  
 for the Swaraj. The Swaraj is for the workers, who ever may  
 attain it, whether the youths or the Educated. If there is ever  
 complete independence for anyone, it is for the workers and pea-  
 sants. The Angrez (Englishmen) shall run away with this  
 Complete Independence and India shall be free. Therefore they  
 say "Give no complete Independence, more than what we de-  
 mand." Now they are sitting with their faces turned, hoping  
 that by doing so they would get more than is to be given to  
 them. If such complete Independence is given——we don't  
 say that it may not be given, of course we don't wish it. But we  
 won't forget and we won't be deceived—we will understand that  
 until the labourer gets Complete possession of it, no good shall  
 be done to them. Therefore we don't want the Simon Commis-  
 sion. Whatever Simon has got it is Capitalism, Imperialism,  
 Landlordism etc. etc. We want none of these. Our object is  
 clearly before us. We have come today for it. We have come

here at the Summons of the Congress and to declare our views. We have come here to tell why do we not want Simon.

Shouts of:—Lal Pathan Ki Jai. Mazdur Kesan Hukumat Ki Jai.

(Sd.) Abdul Lais Mohd.

Government Urdu Reporter,

CALCUTTA.

19 Oct. 1929.

Translated by

Ali Muhamed.

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P-2470 [T]

*Meeting held at the maidan near ochterlony monument*

*On 19-1-29 at 5 P.M.*

**DHARANI KANT GOSWAMI SAID:—**

I want to say only 2-4 words. There is only one thing. Why have the workers assembled here to-day from each workshop, each mill, and each place? The thing is, this that the literate Babus who are with you, have joined you in this object. They have raised their voice on behalf of the Babus, i. e. the Congress and other parties, that (as?) there is no room for the Indians in the Simon Commission therefore it must be boycotted. But I say that the matter is not only relating to our being taken; or not being taken in the Simon Commission. We want to show that the Commission whether the Simon Commission, or any other, has no authority to determine our independence, our Government. It is in the hands of us Indians to determine our condition. Therefore I say on behalf of the labourers that Indians have not been taken in the Simon Commission we have not come to the meeting to oppose it. We wish that India should get complete independence, an independence which, as pointed by my colleague, may be for the 98 percent workers and peasants, living in India therefore I make this appeal to you. I determine and I make an agreement, today that

until our India gets such a Government such an independence I shall not take rest for a minute.

Sd. Abdul Lais Mohamad,  
Government (Urdu) Reporter,  
Political Department,

,19. 10. 29.

Translated by  
Ali Mohamed

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## P. 2459 [T]

Speech by Radharaman Mitter at Sraddhananda Park on 20-1-29.

Five years ago, the 21st January 1924, was the day of Lenin's death. After 5 years, this probably is the first time in India that we have come to observe the anniversary of Lenin's death. 4 years have passed by, we did nothing any where. But there is an English proverb better late than never. That even after 5 years, from this death we have learnt to understand him to some extent, and that he is an object of reverence, and that those on earth in particular who are persecuted and trampled on it behoves the people of such countries to remember his name and think of him and it is perhaps necessary to consider at least once on the day of his death, how far it is possible to progress and if it is at all possible to do so, on the path along which he advised his own compatriots to walk.

On the day of Lenin's death, as there was such a big demonstration yesterday about Simon-to boycott Simon if such a big demonstration on our part was necessary to boycott the Simon Commission was—was there not such a demonstration at least one such public meeting necessary on the day following? Certainly it was. But many people probably know that in regard to Lenin—the mere mention and name of Lenin is a sort of bogey, specially to our educated classes, those who have come here today certainly know something about Lenin or know about Lenin that he was the disposer of Russia's destinies and the creator of Present day Russia. I know that they respected him from before and hence have come today. But I thank.

those who are here today. But there ought to be a larger assembly than that I see before me. But the leaders in the country do not think that they have any duties in this connexion, at such meetings, or such occasions, that it is necessary for them to hold meetings. It has not come to be recognised as the duty of the majority just at this moment, on the day of Lenin's death to observe the anniversary of his birth or of his death. Whose duty is it? It is the duty of the poor, of workers and labourers, and of the workers' and Peasants' party (cries of hear, hear). Let it pass. Many will probably say—I know, I am a member of Congress & of the B.P.C.C.—many will probably say that Lenin was an individual. It is not a great thing in this age—specially this 20th century to show honour to an individual. It is not a sign of intelligence or of good sense in particular. Indeed, we have all come to be equals. Lenin was of such intelligence, of such mentality—he was great himself. If he did anything in life, he did this—his sole message is that the individual was nothing, counted for little—As Buddha once said that he should not be worshiped after death, that it would be a mistake to regard him as a divinity, but as things have turned out his followers since that have begun and worship him as a god and an incarnation. So Lenin never wanted that men all the world over were to worship him. He never wanted that. So, we who have come here, have not come to worship or to hold up as a divinity or incarnation any individual, be he ever so lofty minded and honest. We have not come to worship Lenin. We have assembled here to show respect, faith and reverence an principle for which Lenin lived, and worked and died, and the system and order for which he worked all his life and for which at last he died. Mr. Spratt has spoken to you for about an hour about Lenin's life in detail. I am not not very well up in Lenin's life, I know very little at least I am not so well-educated as he is. It is necessary today to detail his life and you have listened to it. In reflecting on some points about Lenin, about the Communistic or socialistic system of present day Russian rule, or about Communism or socialism, some problems confront the Indian now. It is necessary for us carefully to discuss those problems. It is necessary for us on this occasion, on the day of Lenin's death, to think of those problems. I shall say something about those which specially suggest themselves to me. In speaking of Lenin we are first reminded of Karl Marx who was his preceptor. For though none can say that Lenin's achievements would be impossible if there were no Karl Marx, possibly, they would not be lasting. In English there are the two terms Marxism and Leninism.—Though we know that Lenin carried out Karl Marx's theories in practice and made them effective, still it has not been said that Lenin was merely a follower of Marx's teachings and nothing more. For in certain respects, he went even beyond Karl Marx, and the policy and principles he has established are

called Leninism. Karl Marx preached his principles and messages long ago. In 1848 when he published his first Communist manifesto, this new principle of nationalism had not been preached in Europe. The message of nationalism had not yet been preached in Europe. Mazzini, the founder of the creed of nationalism was at that time very young. He had not at the time preached his message. At that age, in his manifesto of 1848, Karl Marx showed what the principles of Communism were, what was its policy, what path we are to tread forth. As with his growth in years he grew in wisdom, he analysed consecutively all his thoughts and began gradually to put them in book form. He has left behind many books. It is impossible for any individual to finish studying all his writings, in view of the difficult, utterly dry language of his enormous books—For us many of us have not the patience to finish reading his \* \* \* \* work. Lenin read them and added to his stock of wisdom. Lenin read all his works thoroughly. You may call him a fanatic. He got all Marx's writings by heart and digested them. He was an authority on Karl Marx. Upto the last, he was guided by Marx's counsels. But Lenin's individuality consisted in this—that, as in our country, it happens that such and such a one did such a thing—such a writer of sacred books or Mahatma has preached such and such a message—so as he has said it, without regard to time and place and object, apply it to every case wholly in all occasions—but with him this sequence was changed. He used to respect himself and his own brains and his own aim, with which he had worked, as much as he did Lenin. Understanding the whole policy of Marx thoroughly, he first began putting into practice principles—such as might be enforced in Russia, his own country, in its present conditions, within the limits and in the manner which appeared possible. He then travelled thoroughly for a year in the Russian villages and first inspecting carefully for himself the condition of the Russian poor, especially of the peasantry, he prepared an economic survey. Political agitation has been in progress in our country so long, but so far in our country there has been no political preceptor like Marx.—as a prophet has been born from amongst this working class. I admit that Mahatma Ghandi, Lokmanya Tilak, Deshbandhu Das in our country are great very great men, with powerful brains, but no creator, no saint, no preceptor has been born in our political world, such as Mazzini who has left the philosophy of nationalism, on which present day Nationalism stands, as mark built up the foundations of the working class movement—the amount of \* \* \* \* necessary to create such a scientific philosophy .....In our present working class movement..... it has not been.....who knows when it will be. What is the present day political condition all over India—our political preceptor do not regard it as their duty to have a survey a careful sitting political survey prepared. They have so far done nothing at all.



But Lenin was not of this kind. He believed in objectivity. He carefully examined what the real situation was like. He tried to understand it thoroughly and hence began first to examine what was the real situation of Russian politics, what was her condition at the time, and whether or not it was possible to apply Karl Marx's principles to that situation and after examination he came to realise that they could be applied.

What are the principles of Marx? Let me speak broadly from two aspects—one from the economic stand-point—his greatest contribution has been the definition of capital. What is capital? What does it mean? He has told us what it signifies, what is called capital. But he has explained it in a way different from that of other economists. His explanation of capital, whence it arises, what is its source, upon this explanation, upon this theory of capital the present day working class and socialism or communism is based. Many big books have been written about the meaning of capital—based on the dialectic method of Hegel. In plain language which you can all understand—the theory of surplus value. What is surplus value? Surplus value is this: I am a factory workman—I prepare a thing. The proprietor spends money and brings up machinery and gets me to do the work. I am a worker he has bought me up. He has purchased my labour and hereafter has set me to work the machinery. Having done so, he is getting work out of me. I am doing work. At the end of the day it is found that I have woven so many yard of a sheet, it is sold in the market calculating the money invested in that machinery and the wages paid to me, it appears that at the end of the day he has spent Rs. 30/- and is trying to sell that article in the market, it is found that the sale of that sheet brings in, say, Rs. 150/- now the difference between Rs. 150 and Rs. 30/- or Rs. 120/- represents capital. The thing is prepared by labour. If full price is paid for that labour rendered by me, there would not Rs. 120 left over. What are the capitalists doing here to me? Instead of paying me full for my labour, they pay me less and keep the balance to themselves and by repeating such accumulations and investing them, are adding to it. In this way, from humble beginnings of Rs. 5 or 6 rupees, a hundred thousand Rupees are being amassed.

At Bauria, where there is a strike and where I am secretary the Fort Gloster Mills there, with a capital of 28 lakhs (14 lakhs to start with and 14 lakhs later on) — they began with this 28 lakhs now after 56 years years, they have spent more than 3 crores on machinery and building and have built up a Reserve Fund of 2 crores. The dividends they pay range from 100—200—300 to 400 percent. All these profits they have yielded, after keeping the working expenses under control. Every year, they paid by something. Whence has this money which accumulated come! From

these 28 lakhs, so many crores of Rupees have come. Machinery did not produce it, it is men who produced it (cheers). Had these 15 or 20 or 25,000, men who are working day by day, been paid what they should have got - this money would never have accumulated. But instead of paying them proper price for their labour, the price due to them was kept back for them, They were robbed of their just dues and thus they built it up (cries of shame! shame!)

In politics there are two principles of Marx - a great one is the materialistic interpretation of history - You know he was a pupil of Hegel. He was greatly devoted to Hegel but subsequently came to oppose him. You know Hegel began; like most Indians, on the Indian Vedantist lines. All think that we emanated from the idea. Call it *Brahma*, or *Sat Chit* or *Ananda* - from it, from thought, from consciousness emanated all this - which is called the material world. The idea was.....not awake. It probably developed in revealing itself. This is the world probably developing. Thus from Hegel's standpoint, it appears that there was first the idea and it, with the help of the material, is gradually revealing itself. Hence the supreme goal of the idea is the idea. Creation began in the idea and will end in the idea. Marx began from the reverse direction. He held that it was not so. Matter was the original thing in the world, and idea arose from that matter. Man's environments, economic, social etc - it is from them that men develop. Thus is the world moving forward. He has thus interpreted the world in a new way. If you read that work of Hegel's the philosophy of History - which is taught in the colleges - he has explained the significance of the development of the world. Marx, controverting that interpretation, declared it all wrong being unworthy the name of interpretation. The (proper) interpretation of the world was that all movements on the world, if examined closely, - be they mass or class movements or economic or political movements, all movements you see on earth - which are implied by the term History - all big incidents and affairs - be they the fight between Ram and Ravan or the abduction of Sita, or whatever else examined closely, at the bottom of all incidents was not a competition between kings - struggles between protestants Catholics regarding religion were all irrelevant. He explained that underlying all them was the bread problem. Underlying everything was money - that was the primary thing. This money is the primary thing it underlies everything. He has explained it quite clearly thus - that rape of Helen by Paris, which led to the Trojan War with the Greeks, - the explanation of it was that the Greeks in order to sell their merchandise and extend their trade in the Asia Minor coast were looking for a means - hence this war. This is the materialistic interpretation of history. Marx first gave it to the world. The second thing he gave to the world was his Proletarian movement and the theory of the dictator-

ship of the proletariat. What did he show from the theory of capital before mentioned? He showed that this capitalistic system of competition and of government would not permanently last. It has in itself the seeds of its own destruction, of its own ruin or of its own selfdestruction. And the more capitalism is developing and becoming strong and extending the more the principle of destruction within itself - that which is to destroy this Kangsa, as Krishnaif - as he bred up in prison - so that which is to destroy capitalism is growing inside the capitalistic system. Historically inevitable facts. Everywhere on earth, whether it is industrialism or capitalism which comes it will never last permanently, for it is killing itself. How? There were formally small capitalists. There was no capitalism. Now the Capitalists are the industrialists. When the mechanical revolution came, as soon as steam came to be an applied force forth with big factories grew up. What have these big factories led to? The cobbler in the past, used to sit in his own house and work on his own leather, with his own implements, and prepare the goods and sell them in the market. All that he turned out belonged to himself. The needle was his own, the leather was his own and the labour was his own. Nothing belonged to anybody else. Each used to be employed separately in his own house. They would not work together. But when industrialism began and simultaneously, the tide of capitalism set in strongly these factories were the outcome - the present day factory and mill became possible. It is found that in consequence, where, in the past, thousands of men used to sit separately and work on their own house - none knew the other they used to live apart and not talk to each other - none could talk to another about his joys and sorrows, -, but after the industrial and mechanical revolution, it came to be found that thousands of men abandoning their own homes leaving utterly destitute and stripping themselves of and renouncing, everything they have come to stand in the same place side by side shoulder to shoulder. They have come to be enemies of capitalists, who are the enemies these utterly destitute people. They have lost home and village they have nothing to call their own. When they come and assembled in their thousand in one place, - they have no talk incessantly every minute, - there is mutual talk of wants and grievances and joys and woes - and there is also secret counsel being taken there as to the means for preventing the oppression being committed on them. So if those who were thus made utterly destitute had remained separate they could not have discovered the path of emancipation had this capitalistic system of competition not led to the creation of these mills factories. This organisation about which we make an outcry means nothing else but assembling thousands of men in one place. We do not know what are its potentialities, what are its significance and possibilities. Hence we do not bestir ourselves about these meetings, which we held and attend them. It may now a matter

for ridicule, but there is a tremendous possibility behind it. To mobilise the men to take them from one place to another, thus to organise them is a great and difficult work. You and we who work in the political sphere know that. How difficult it is to go to village and call a meeting so difficult that it is impossible to get the people together those people in their thousands assemble of themselves in their thousands and hundreds of thousands for a factory. Why? Perforce, because of the nature of their work, which is organising them. And having organised, they are simultaneously finding out means for their own emancipation—Then there is another aspect. We began with small capitalists. Unrestricted freedom was given up. Capitalism is nothing else-but competition to produce goods at the cheapest price possible. I reduce my price, he cuts it down, and hence come about a competition to sell things in the market at the cheapest rates. Hundreds of thousands of capitalists come together in the competition on all sides. In this way after this first industrial revolution, in England, and other country the small capitalists became big once. One man started a factory with 50 hands, one with 100 hands. In this way, small capitalists always have each his own small factory for ever, ultimately one of them would gain. At least they found that they must monopolise a market, must occupy it wholly as a monopoly that would not be possible if there were so many capitalists existing. Hence capitalists thereupon built up an internal organisation among themselves. Small capitalists then combined. You read every day in the papers of the steel merger or the other merger, that is merely a mutual combine. Big steel companies with crores of rupees combine together. The Dutch Shell Petrol etc. will mutually combine. Hence we find that the prophecy made by Marx, who understood this so long ago, is now coming true to the letter. The tendency of capitalism is to expand itself and increase itself - which means to extend itself all over the world to displaying a monopolistic tendency, this tendency to capture, to exercise unquestioned sway and after that capitalism will be eliminated, will gradually disappear and gradually all the nation's capital will be concentrated in the hands of 4 or 5 men. Next he had said that it will come to be concentrated in the hands of the four or five men and what will be the next step? Ultimately control over capital will pass into the hands of 4 or 5 men, there will be a very big combine and that is the state, in which all the population will have rights. When it will come into the hands of four or five men, it will not be long before it is nationalised. After enunciating this theory, he said, what is called scientific socialism. Read Marx's works will come about of itself. Nationalisation will come of itself, its tendency is towards that. It is bound to ensue, even if we do not make any effort to that end. Capitalism will be eliminated. The combine of capitalists will be very big. The next step to nationalisation

thereafter—make ready for that. His primary principle is the proletarian revolution and dictatorship of the proletariat. What then is our duty—our work? If that is so, if capitalism itself generates the methods of its own destruction, if it does that itself, what are we to do! Our duty is to hasten it, to strive to accelerate its pace. This is your duty and ours. Who will do it? Marx you know let me mention a point not strictly relevant about the labour movement. I have joined the Labour Movement only this year. Many hear that there are strikes on all sides especially in the beginning of 1928 and 1929. We find that this is the biggest and most powerful movement. But all people have not personal experience in this matter. Hence remaining at a distance, you hear of many things. And when you hear the labour leaders thundering from the platforms and crying out about Labour and when mention is made of the oppressed class or working class, you smile that these *bhadralok* themselves spick and span—they carry on a labour movement. You may consider all this is hypocrisy. I admit that, I agree with you there. It is hypocrisy on the part of many people many have come in to subserve private interests, to grind their own axes, to fulfil self interest. My name will appear in the newspapers or I shall be elected or nominated to the Legislative Council or possibly may go to Geneva, with these various objects they have come in. I also have after thought what regret these *Bhadralok* who are in service have to approach labour and carry on a labour movement. If a labour movement has to be carried on systematically, one should renounce all this and be one of themselves and begin working in factories. If we can do that, we might carry on a labour movement else we ought not to come forward. I have thought of this repeatedly,—as to whether first I shall begin working in a factory or workshop. At first I thought that possibly that was the course necessary to adopt, Now I realise it is not hypocrisy not because I can (cannot (?)) become a worker,—for I believe that I have done this job of a worker, and can do it. So I know myself that I can do it. But I have seen, I know, I realise that is not necessary. Many people might think that since we cannot become workers, why do we make ourselves ridiculous by carrying on a labour movement? It is not that. Even without being a worker, you are practically a so called worker, for we also are exploited. But we are not what they call workmen on wages. Many have an idea that what we say, without being workmen, does not reflect the ideas of all workers, specially of Indian workers. Workers do not understand and think of many things. Possibly they do not know who Lenin was. It is difficult for us to explain and for them to understand. They are not educated, they are very backward, so what I a labour leader, say on behalf of labour does not imply that every worker understands what I say or that every worker is instructing me. Marx who did not belong to the proletariat and the working class he was a sort of preceptor or instructor, what was he or Lenin himself? He did not

belong to the working class himself. He belonged to the petty bourgeoisie. One of these two have imparted principles which have been applied in practice by the other, he has indicated the path by which the working class movement has attained success and has a chance of being successful in other countries as well. This they have done. The point now is—you often hear of declassed mentality. In carrying on a working class or labour movement, it is not necessary that renouncing wife and children, you should go down to work among them. If one can do that well and good, but a declassed mentality is not the necessary consequence of one being a worker, or labouring as a worker. Before one joins the labour movement, I must be sure not that my mentality, brains, thoughts and ideas are like those of worker Karim Baksh. For among the workers, you will not find a single man who has in advance understood all that I am speaking of. There is no difference between an individual and workers. But he is to consider that he is to have no personal class interests apart from his interests of workers. We make a very great mistake here and deceive ourselves we often undertake public work and work for the country and the public but behind that some one consciously and deliberately pushing down others following the self interest while others again, unconsciously are deceiving the country and deceiving themselves also. He may have his self interests or may not have as Mahatma Gandhi who has eliminated self. But still unconsciously, another self is looming big, - i e. the class. I lived with the Mahatama for 2 years at Sabermati, so there was no blind devotee like myself. Many people can forget self interest. Great lofty people have forgotten individual self interest. But the interest which it is most difficult to forget and renounce and change is the unconscious class..... (English word) when we talk of patriotic and public work before our class, there is nothing but the interest of our own class in advance. We talk then of freedom for the country but the truth that by country is meant those employed in factories does not float before our eyes. They remain quite far away. If you suddenly close your eyes and reflect on (what you mean when you) talk of your country you will find Calcutta city, its houses etc. If a *Bhadralok* youth can join a labour movement, it is just necessary for him to forget his own class interest as far as possible. I do not say that a *Bhadralok* is to go and come to be like a worker it is not that he is to wear dirty clothes like them or talk their language and indulge in assaults like them. But whenever necessary, when the interests of workers will clash with my class, or my class interests, when you understand, are conscious with you will say: I do not stand for my class - otherwise you will be a traitor. Since you have come to serve the interests of the workers, you will indirectly merge yourself in their class and settle their trouble. So the first thing needed is to have your own mentality declassed. If a conflict arises between the labour movement and congress or any other body, the labour

interest is to stand first in my estimation when it comes. I shall say: if necessary let all of you go, but let my workers live. Let me have this strength. This is about Karl Marx. It was he who first discovered what is called class-consciousness. Though himself belonging to the *Bhadralok* class he so identified the interests of the workers or the poor with his own interests that he understood nothing other than their interests. Hence they are spoken of as having a declassed mentality. Lenin possessed this declassed mentality. Those whom you see to be princes from birth - from the Nizam of Hyderabad to Raja Pradyot Kumar Tagore - they are aristocrats. Next are the bourgeoisie some are capitalists, others financiers, bankers, industrials, and Zamindars. The capitalists belong to the bourgeoisie class. Next is the class of men like me the petty bourgeois class - clerks, School masters etc. There are two grades among them - one the upper grade e. g. Barristers who themselves work, but are not capitalists, since they do not employ labour upon the income of capitalists hang their lives. Hence they are petty bourgeoisie of the upper class. Next are we - clerks, school masters etc. And next are the masses. We are not considered among the masses. There are three classes among them. What does the term "Masses" imply? If we define the term masses, we find among them peasants in places like China, Russia and India to talk of the masses, means the peasants. In Europe, in England and in Germany, it means the working class. Next come the workers or the working class. In this working class there is another division - the worker, labourer, who does physical labour on the field of others - has no holding of his own - in return for ten annas, he reaps the paddy crop on the field of others. They also are labourers. They are field labourers. But they are proletariat—they cannot be called anything else. Who exactly are the proletariat? Those among labourers who are industrial workers, - i. e. those employed in factories, mills and mines - these people do not possess even a thatched cottage of their own. What is the condition of England? Who are called the proletariat of England? First, the industrial workers and secondly he who unless he works daily, cannot procure food, he who has to pay rent from day to day for accommodation, he who has to live in houses owned by others, and who, unless he does daily labour in a workshop or factory has to starve with his whole family. For this reason, in England and other countries, every week, or month, labour statistics are published. Every week an account is taken. At present in England a million and a half are unemployed. But there is no such thing in our country. For in our country it is unnecessary, whereas it is necessary there.       \*               \*               \*               \*

Sd. K. B Roy.

6. 11. 29.

## P. 2471-[T].

Meeting at Mirzapur park on 20. 1. 29.

Muzaffar Ahmad spoke as follows:—

I have been asked to make a gist of the speech of our friend, Mr. Spratt, so that our Hindi-speaking brethren may understand it.

The meeting held today is the 5th anniversary of Lenin's death. You must have heard Lenin's name. He was the biggest leader of the Bolshevick party in Russia and was the Chief factor in the Revolution of workers and peasants which took place in Russia in 1917. On that occasion an International Communist was formed, by which it was intended to estallish a Revolutionary Society and assemble and organize the workers and peasant of the

entire world. It is said that, that (sic) too was the outcome of his brain. It is said that Lenin died on 21. 1. 24. We are celebrating his death anniversary today the 20th. of January 1929. We held the meeting on the 20th. instead of the 21st. because today being Sunday, our worker - brethren could attend it. Such a meeting has not been held at one place only — Meeting are being held at different places such as Matis Burj, Kiddrpore etc.

Lenin was born in Russia and worked mostly for Russian Revolution. But we must not understand that he was simply a Russia. No. His brain was full of revolutionary 'ideas' for the whole world. What steps he did take during his lifetime was for spreading the revolution in the whole world. Therefore the observation of Lenin's Day is the duty of the whole world and especially the duty of the workers of the whole world. Who was Karl Marx? You ought to know that the theory of Socialism.....under which the entire Govt., the entire affairs, and the entire strength can be in the hands of the workers.....had been in his brain and the brains

not clear of all from of old. In future a time shall come when no one shall be governed by the other, and all shall get equal shares. The idea had not clear. struck to all the men, but no one knew how to approach that path. Karl Marx spread that idea first of all.

He was the first to spread this idea. After examining the different conditions of the world, he came to the conclusion that the last hour of the world had come, when all the power and strenght should pass off the hands of the wealthy and go to the workers. Lenin desired to utilize the preachings of Karl Marx, and show to the world. It was Lenin who was the first to show this. Formerly people used to say that only the peasants could do something. The workers are full of revolutionary spirit and they alone can take a step in the field of revolution. Lenin had thought it before in the very begining. As my friend has said Lenin tried much for it. He thought that those



who accepted it as a programme should act upon it. (Best rendering). Lenin said that this party of the workers and the labour movement, which should have to be run, shall form as if, party of leaders. This party should decide everything as to how the fight should be conducted. This party should point out all these things. They never admitted? their party, any one, who might have said that he accepted the programme. They did not admit such men in the party. They admitted only that men, from amongst those who desired to be admitted, whom they found capable of doing revolutionary work. Therefore Lenin had to face a lot of obstructions in respect of the restrictions laid by them (Not clear). After that also they accepted to maintain these restrictions and began their first work by bringing in good friends. The first Bolshevich party was a very small one but subsequently it extended and you know that in 1917 this party of the Workers and Peasants made a revolution in Russia and established a Peasants and Workers Government there. Lenin was born on the 10th of April 1870. He was born in a Peasants family. Lenins father was a man of Moderate party and was an Inspector of schools. When he (Lenin) was receiving his education at the school his elder brother was executed for being a member of the Terrorist Party which secretly made a society to murder the tyrants, with a view of creating a revolution in Venice (not clear). Such was the elder brother of Lenin. He tried to murder the Czar of Russia but the secret for leaked out and he was executed. Lenin thought that Russia could not be liberated on the lines adopted by his elder brother, that to liberate Russia, the workers should be organised and should be given a front position in the war for the liberty of Russia and that Russia could be liberated only in that case. He tried in this respect. After passing the school examination, when he proceeded further, he was placed under surveillance. After that he was sent to Siberia. He had to live in Europe also. He had to undergo a lot of suffering. When a number of men have undergone sufferings. his sufferings should not be taken into consideration. He is treated as a great man because he understood that in the liberation of the workers, the workers only would stand in the front line and that the workers alone could bring about a real revolution (not clear) Only the workers brought about the revolution and established labour government in Russia.

Sd. M. Abdul Wadood

Urdu Reporter

5-10-29.

Translated by—

Ali Mohamed.

## P. 2472.

Transcription of a speech of P. Spratt, at the Mirzapore Park on the 20th of January 1929, in connection with the 5th Anniversary of Lenin's death.

Comrades, in memory of the fifth Anniversary of the death of Lenin, we might very reasonably and profitably indulge our passion for admiration and simply contemplate the greatness which human race can achieve, in producing one who was certainly, and in the true sense of the word, a business-man that has ever appeared in the world, but I have no intention of doing so myself. I think what we have to consider, as practical people, is the lessons which we can derive from the work which Lenin did during his fifty years of life, especially in regard to the conditions in which we are living in India at the present day, and I certainly while giving so far as I can some sort of account of Lenin's life and chief work, will try to shew in what way that is applicable in the present conditions in India. In order to understand the actual work which he did and which his party and his friends accomplished, we should have to understand something of the situation in which he found himself. On the one hand there was a situation, generally, in the world at the time, specially in Russia, perhaps summed up in a most perfect manner in Russia at that time, on the other hand the stream of theoretical discussion which originated in Germany and had from that time spread throughout the world, formed itself into a socialist movement with these two tendencies Lenin had to contend, and it is in the light of this we can understand what he did.

As I said Russia at that time seemed to summarise the contradictions weaknesses and horrors of the way in which the world was being continued in the period before the war. Russia was a capitalist country like the other European countries and extended its dominion by methods of sheer force all over the Western part of Asia, Siberia in Manchuria and also in central Asia. At the same time its political structure was, among the European powers, the most backward of all. There were no symbols of democracy in this regime, and in its practical effect, Russia was the most brutal and oppressive of all the powers existing in the world at the time in political structure. With regard to the political position, Germany was essentially modern and in the front rank of progress, and it has been a sort of significant feature of the world situation that whereas from '18) 50's onwards, Germany had been the centre of the movement for the revolutionary overthrow of capital and the establishment of Socialism. Russia is now looked upon as the country in which the revolution occurred, and that actually was worked out long ago, and was the first to break,—It was therefore appropriate that the first successful Revolutionary Workers' Party

and the greatest man of the party the greatest revolutionary perhaps of all time, appeared in Russia.

Now, there had been, as you know, many currents, many tendencies within the structure of Russian Society, all having various revolutionary aims. Lenin himself was profoundly communist, I believe, in his early days, on account of the fact that his brother was implicated in some terrorist attempt on the life of the Czar. Then there were various other methods of dealing with the situation. Tolstoy was typical of that kind of people belonging to the middle-classes, who realised in some vague way the critical situation in which the country was, and experienced the insoluble economic and social problems that the country had to deal with: In fact all strata of society in Russia were inculcated with some kind of revolutionary intentions at altering the then-existing state of affairs, and the political situation in which Lenin came to work was one of extreme complexity. In that situation he was among the first, I think, with the terrorists of the Russian democratic movement, to realise that the situation in Russia was fundamentally altered by the growth of modern Industrialism. Then there was the group who realised that fact and were able to assist & to bring about practical changes in the position of Russia, and these, at any rate, one perhaps the most important points regarding India, which give us the key to a practical solution of the problems we have to face. In his early efforts to follow up the line of work of his brother and to find some more practical means of emancipating themselves from the conditions in which they were and in his efforts to find some rational philosophy which would suit even Tolstoy, Lenin went straightforward from his home in some remote village to Petersburg (?) and there devoted himself for three years to practical work among the working classes. At the end of that time, I think he was picked up by the Police and deported to Siberia where he stayed some three years, and the rest of his life up till the time of the revolution, was spent sometimes in Russia, conducting newspapers and sometimes travelling.

On the other hand, as I pointed out, we have to consider the position in which the democratic revolutionary movement in the world generally was at that time. This movement is essentially based upon the industrial working class. It had developed itself first in about the (18) 40's or 50's of the last century, and then later on the movement was conducted by Marx (?) (Name not clearly heard) and a few other literary men of that period, and therefore the history of this organisation is essentially the history of a revolutionary movement. They had no illusions about the possibilities of peaceful evolution of capitalism then existing, they knew that socialism had to be achieved by forcible revolution.

Now after the end of the democratic revolutions in

Europe in 1870, when Marx died and Engel took his place, new events took place. Capitalism in Europe which upto that time had been the cause of all sorts of revolutionary outbreak and terrorised the world, became more or less stable. It had begun its imperialistic expansion in the economically backward parts of the world and as a result of that, could effectively crush all attempts on the part of the working class against it, and that condition of things lasted about three or four decades, and naturally in such conditions the whole movement which was based upon revolutionary attempts at the overthrow of capitalism, changed fundamentally. It got into the hands of people who used revolutionary phrases, but had no revolutionary intentions in mind, and nevertheless when this realistic Russian revolution came, particularly Lenin entered into the stream of events. On theoretical side the work of Lenin is to be looked upon as a struggle, to a large extent, for turning back the movement into its original and proper revolutionary parts and also for turning it into what had originally been a practical instrument for achieving revolution.

Let us now look upon Lenin from two points of view theoretical and practical points of view, and for us in our present position, the latter is of greater interest, and therefore I propose to deal with it for a few minutes.

In think with regard to the practical work which he did, he himself would never divorce practice from theory. If you examine his life, you will find that all his theoretical ideas were derived from the practical interests of the movement. He was faced with a situation in which it was necessary to get some instrument for achieving revolutionary purposes, and so he began with the formation of his party. He turned his attention to Marxian movement, but found that in his efforts to establish a party which would really carry through revolution, Marxian doctrine was one which would suit his purpose theoretically but in practice, it was quite unsatisfactory. \* \* \*

When the question was discussed as to what the revolution-ary or Marxian would do in the event of a war—Say German—British war—breaking out in Europe, many of the orthodox type of thinking talked of preparing for a general strike among the workers, when the war came they would bring about a general strike, and Lenin fought bitterly with those who favoured this view and shewed that the idea of organising a general strike was un-workable, but what the revolutionist had to do in fact in the event of war, was simply to concentrate on establishing local parties for the purpose of overthrowing the existing Government. "We must prepare ourselves to fight our own Govt: in a practical manner". They realised what other countries realised that when a war comes, you

find yourselves in a difficult position, you have to put forward from the beginning, all your own efforts, for the purpose of defeating your own Govt; and, of course, this was a very hard doctrine for the socialists to swallow, and in fact, 99% of the internationalists (?) was against it. And when the war actually occurred in 1914, 99% of the population joined with their Govt: to fight against the enemies of the country's capitalist class; and it was Lenin and his few followers who were able to carry through a regular revolutionary struggle. In this discussion I was trying to point out that his theoretical developments in regard to the question of the position of his party, arose entirely out of practical questions, and so it is rather artificial for me to attempt to dissociate these two factors, but we have to do it.

As I said the chief practical achievement of Russian Bolsheviks, who, after all, were responsible for what went on during the period of war, was, in the first place, the formation, for the first time in country, of a revolutionary workers' party. That was in itself an achievement, and a thing in which Lenin prided. For the first time an actual social revolution was brought about successfully, and finally he began, at any rate for the first two or three years, the actual construction of a socialist state.

I must leave it in your imagination to realise what an achievement that thing was—to bring about a revolution in a country of 130 millions (?) of a people at that time and to attempt, for the first time in history, to construct socialism in that country. I shall have no more to say about it.

I now want to devote myself mainly to the questions which he solved in the course of building up the party for achieving revolution. I want you to realise that, with the actual building up of socialism, he hoped to launch throughout the world a struggle similar to the one which he had begun in his own country. One of his closest friends, a chief member of his party says that we have to regard the theoretical work of Lenin as threefold:—

In the first place we think he brought up Marxism from the slough of 'reformism' into which it had sunk and remodelled it with the revolutionary spirit which he had originally held.

Secondly he brought Marxism, as it were, upto date, and thirdly the seizure of power by the working class as the ruling class of society.

With regard to the three chief divisions of his work, he first began to solve the problems which confronted him in dealing with a situation which was revolutionary in his country, and for that purpose he caught hold of Marxism and turned it back to its original purpose which was a revolutionary one.

In the second place, as time went on he was able to show that the party of Imperialism was altogether a new phase in the history of the world, which he summed as a party in which we see nothing but a revolutionary attempt at the overthrow of capitalism(?)

Now in regard to the first division of the subject, I wanted to make one or two remarks. As I said Lenin found the socialist parties- and even to some extent in Russia- in a state which, from the point of view of revolutionary workers' party, were useless. They admitted no body into their ranks which professed sympathy with the party in Germany.

\*\*\* (The speaker proceeded with the point but could not be distinctly heard on account of his low voice) \*\*\*

He recognised that situation and recognised that was the case throughout the socialist movement and sought to alter it, and he established, first of all, a party which he was able to found in Russia, known as the Bolshévik party, a party of extreme rigidity and discipline.

The question of organisation and discipline is one which is urgently needed in India. When we read of the history of Bolshevik party, we feel we ought to hang our heads in shame at the licences of the organisation which we have set up in India. There when they meet they talk of their business in an orderly manner, here the members go on doing whatever they like and, from the first attempts are made to establish that this or that party should really conduct the movement, or this or that party should be the leader of the movement.

We should insist on the most rigid discipline within the party. The economic conditions are preparing the world for a revolutionary situation in general, and we have to be ready to take advantage of that. Lenin formed his party on that basis- his party devoted all their time to theoretical discussions or practical work in the direction of bringing about revolution, and in this way he was able to bring about in 1917 the first successful social revolution.

There are a number of other theoretical questions which we can usefully discuss here. Lenin was the first to give an analysis of what we called "reformism" or "opportunism". This theory of 'reformism' is essentially a product of very artificial and temporary conditions in the European labour movement, & was in every way to be fought out (?) He shewed that 'reformism' was originated in the European labour movement and would ultimately turn out to be a line of defence of the capitalists, and so it has always proved in practice. The people who called themselves 'reformists' turned out as the defenders of 'capitalism' against the working class. I think he was the first to point out the dangers, the real nature of

the formation and its ultimate value in the working class movement.

In India you can easily appreciate this. You know what the British Labour Party has now turned itself out to be. It was generally held up as a revolutionary organisation, at any rate having revolutionary ideas, but there were in it seeds of 'reformism', and now when the situation in England is going to be more and more revolutionary and peculiar, they have turned themselves out to be the defenders of 'capitalism'. You can see them more easily here, because you have no illusions now about them. In regard to 'Imperialism', you know how they defend the British Government in its depredations everywhere in India.—How in fact, when they were in control of Government in 1924, they carried out the dirty work which the Conservative Government had not the courage to do against India, and even as long ago as between 1900 and 1905, Lenin was able to predict this sort of thing about social democrat, he predicted they would turn out to be the defenders of 'Imperialism' and 'Capitalism', and they had to be fought by every possible means.

I want to point out that in India, we are in the hands of 'reformists', and this is a situation of the gravest danger, and we have no greater task before us than to fight with the Trade Union movement, within the working class movement for the exposure and destruction of the 'reformist' theory.

There are one or two other points which come under this section, and one which is of the greatest importance in India is the agricultural question. It is perhaps no use dealing with the matter here in detail, because everyone realises, at any rate in a general way, that the question of land is very important in a country of this nature. In Europe it has played a very important part. Again it was the reformist theory, the 'Social democrat' theory.....

I need not deal with the question as, in fact, every body knows roughly about the agrarian question and how important it is in this country. The question of the position of agriculture can be dealt with in a revolutionary manner, and the only people who can do it, is the working labouring population.

The only other theoretical question which I want to deal with, and which may be of some interest to you, is the colonial question. Marx had not dealt with the question in detail at all. Since Marx's time the colonial question had become important. The question of colonies in the European movements must become very acute, and the policy which the orthodox socialists were pursuing then (?) was, while in words they talked of self-determination in the colonies, in fact to support their own Govts. in their repressive measures, and Lenin with the Bolsheviks first pointed

out that it was necessary to support by every possible means the movement in the colonies for the freedom of colonies from the Imperialist control. He said the line which the democrats should take in the case of war was, to concentrate all their energy to free themselves from the Imperialist control and to turn the country as far as possible, into a revolutionary direction e. g. it is the duty of British communists and British Socialists to go on agitating about the horrors which took place in the French Congo or the atrocities committed in Egypt and other places and to do what they can to see that the revolutionary movement in the country is strengthened.

This doctrine was most unpopular in the first place, but it has now achieved some result and certainly gained the whole-hearted support of the communist movement in India, and it is now a recognised part of the duty of the communist parties in the Imperialist countries to support the practical revolutionary movement in the colonies. Well, I want to hurry up and finish as quickly as I can.

\* \* \* Lenin (?) was the first to support revolutionary theory among the socialists of Europe. I do not say he gained immediate success, he was in a minority, but nevertheless by using the opportunities as they came, he was able to point out the correct path for the success of this movement and you will easily see how different that socialist movement was from the movements which were actually going on and which often disgraced the name of Marx in Europe, and I shall only point out that Marx's method of the analysis of social affairs has been justified,

We now come to the conclusion of the period of Imperialism, when the capitalist powers were extending their sway over the rest of the world, and for a moment I will touch upon the discussion of revolution in the colonies. This revolution is to develop on three main lines of division - the first of these of which we have already experience is that during the period of Imperialism, international rivalries became very much acute and we got international wars between the countries of Imperialist type, secondly, at the same time, class struggle within those countries became very much acute, and thirdly the question of colonial revolution comes up and for the first time we get a serious movement within the various colonies of Imperialist powers for freedom.

Now I finish a careful analysis of colonial countries for the purpose of shewing how revolutionary movements in the countries develop and pointing out that it is the colonial capitalist class which take leading part and which form the first Nationalist party - as time goes on, a change in the structure of the movement comes about.

In the case of India it is already clear that the capitalist class has become a really non-revolutionary class, and we can no longer



expect them taking an active part in the emancipation of India from the Imperialist control. In India we have to see that the movement is based upon its proper foundation and does not depend for its support or for its line of policy or slogan upon any capitalist-class. At the same we have to see that our tactics (?) in the revolutionary movement do conform with the realities of the situation. And finally I should mention that we experienced in Russia - and the experience gained in colonial movements has shewn that in the Colonial countries as well as in the Imperialist countries the only and fundamentally revolutionary class in the industrial working class and that we have to depend on this class for any revolutionary action that we want to take

Well, I have very little further to say in regard to the theoretical work which Lenin did, but I think, from our point of view in India, there are two outstanding questions at the moment, which we have to concentrate on. Perhaps, of these two questions one will not interest you so much, i. e. the question or (?) the nature of reformism', which appears to be insidious throughout the colonial country.

The second question is the question of war. Now we have to deal with the same kind of situation as Lenin was working in the early period of the first Russian revolution in 1905 and up to the war in 1914. The international situation is developing towards an inter-national war, and this time we shall have even better opportunities than they had in 1914-18, of developing international war into a civil war and seizing that opportunity for the overthrow of Imperialist Govt. throughout the world and, at the same time, we are confronted with, in some ways, even a more dangerous situation that we had in 1914 (?) Every one knows that the British Govt. has for years past been busily engaged for preparing a war against Russia, and it is fairly clear that those war preparations are on the point of conclusion, for now and then we see some item in the press, which goes to shew that some new step is being taken in the deplomatic field. I saw in the papers yesterday that two more squadrons landed at Karachi (?) and stationed in the N. W. F. P., and therefore it is quite clear that the policy which the British Govt. would pursue, would be an attack upon the Khyber passes(?) and southern Russia. I mention these points just to shew that the war situation is developing and the war is almost on us, and this time we have the question of seizing the opportunity for revolutionary purposes, and it is a task of the greatest gravity, one which should tackle with the greatest determination. It is a matter which is absolutely vital to the future of humanity. If the worst comes to the worst in the next war, as is quite possible. I believe we should really be passing through one of the greatest catastrophies in the history of mankind.

I want to urge upon you the importance of the situation which is now developing and the necessity of dealing with the thing in a realistic manner. It is very difficult, of course, to go into details as to what must be done with the war situation in India, but there it is. Perhaps the most sacred duty in the present period of your revolutionary movement is to defend the first revolutionary Government, the Government of the Socialist Soviet republic against the attack which the Imperialist powers are now developing upon them.

Well, I have detained you for longer than I expected. I will now abdicate and ask some other comrade to deal with the many other phases which an examination of the life of Lenin reveals.

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Sd/- J. M. Mitra

English Reporter

7. X. 1929.

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

# U. P. SPEECHES

IN CONNECTION WITH

THE MAZDOOR & KISAN CONFERENCE

MEERUT

AND

The Political Conference Meerut.

## P 1087 T.

Kisan and Mazdur Conference, Meerut, Dt. 13. 10. 28.

The resolution which Abdul Majid, of Lahore, seconded is given below :—

While expressing its heartfelt sympathy with the political prisoners, this Conference appreciates their work and severely condemns the treatment meted out to them by Government.

Speech made by Abdul Majid, of Lahore, on the 13. 10. 28. at the Meerut Kisan and Mazdur Conference.

Mr. President and my respectable worker brethren :—

I do not in any way deserve what my respectable President has said about me. He has exaggerated the remarks. In connection with the resolution I am now here to second, I shall give in brief words an account of the jails of the two Governments. The account that I have to give is of the state of affairs prevailing inside the jails of a civilised Government which calls itself the most powerful, the most civilised and the teacher of civilisation and of the Government whom the former describes as savage, dacoit and apply the worst sort of appellations. (I have had a personal experience. Who are they who are sent to jails? They are the persons who are to be made a victim to sedition. Not one (or two) but hundreds of such sedition cases have taken place. You might have heard of the recent Lahore incident, K. C. Benerji of your city went there to implicate our President especially. Government wants to throw him in jail somehow or other. Similarly, many other sedition cases take place a mention of which I may possibly make at some other time. A man of your city went to our city to create sedition. I shall certainly acquaint you with his account at any other time, if not now. In this way they send men themselves and get (cases of) sedition prepared. (They) describe Deogarh and Kakori (cases) as (cases of) sedition. I clearly say that we do not want to remain slave. We want to become free. We do not want sedition. Come arrest us. Throw us in jail. We do not want sedition. Come, we shall stand before your guns with exposed chests. We shall talk of liberty. We are prepared to lay down our lives for it. We do not want sedition at all. The Government prepares sedition itself and reduces the young men. You might have recently heard that a letter of M. N. Roy, who is described as a big agent of the Bolsheviki, (while I am only a small agent (sic).) When I read that letter in a newspaper, I understood that it was a fictitious letter. You will know when you have seen that. The Government intercepts (lit: sees) all our correspondence. It sees our private letters as well.

All our letters are intercepted. We openly do whatever we want to do. Why should we then create sedition (The Government) tried to make the Public Safety Bill a law, but they failed (in their efforts) to do so. Efforts were made to get the Public Safety Bill passed on the strength of this letter. Letters of this type and sedition always come at their proper time—a fact which is known to us. We know that they create sedition day and night. The fact is that they send to their country the money belonging to our country and nation. When they see that we people raise voice against (the sending out of) our money, they throw us in jails. Are (prisoners) treated like human beings in jails? Are they regarded as human beings? I, myself many times asked the jailor in jail whether he considered me a human being, but I received no reply. I was put in charge of the press in jail. Once a matter was received for printing and there was a mistake in that. I passed the mistake as it was. Out of the 5000 copies 2000 copies were printed. In the evening the jailor came for inspection. He said: "You are quite blind". I said, "why? what right have I to interfere with your work. There is no question of my wisdom here. We have to make use of your wisdom. If (a matter containing) mistakes is received, I shall pass that on, and if (it is) correct, I shall pass that on". They do not regard human beings as such. Such a bad treatment is meted out there (in jail). Not to speak of accommodation, one cannot even see towards the diet (supplied there). The clothing also is of strange kind. You might have heard all these accounts of the jails here, I shall give you an account of the jails in Russia. I shall relate (the state of) affairs especially of that dacoit Government. You might have heard accounts of the civilised Government only. The prisoners are not handcuffed and fettered there. They go without them. The rooms for their accommodation are clean and tidy. If a prisoner does not know any work, work is taught to him and if he knows any work, the same is given to him. They work for eight hours. After that they are allowed time for recreation. Roads are fixed for them. There are gardens and club rooms. They hold discussions. There are reading rooms. The reading-rooms here are only nominal. Newspapers are supplied in libraries. They go to theatres and cinemas there. The comforts (lit: materials) of clubs and theatres which are not available to the workers and peasants (here) in freedom are enjoyed by the prisoners (there). We the free workers and peasants do not lead even in our dreams the life that they are leading (in prison). These things are to be found not under a civilised Government but under a dacoit Government and not under a Government which claims to be the teacher of civilisation.

You think that we are free. But we are imprisoned in a big jail. I consider India as central jail. We are all animals sitting in India. Illtreatment is being meted out to us both in and outside the jail. What treatment is meted out to workers in workshops. Brethren: Will we remain beggars? I do not request Government to accord good treatment to their (prisoners), but on the other hand I place (this resolution) before you with the words: 'Brethren: If you want liberty. If you have in your heart a true love for liberty. If you want to see your country free, nay, (if you) want to establish your own Government, bury for good the existing mutual differences. These Mullahs, these Pandits and these priests alone are the root-cause of (creating) mutual differences. I am, therefore, not prepared to listen to them. We want to see India free, but in order to see it free (we) shall have to undergo hardships. (We) shall have to get our throats cut off like Ashfaq Ullah and Ram Parshad. (We) shall have to make sacrifices like those made in the Kakori and Deogarh (cases). (We) shall have to go to jail and do the worst and the meanest tasks. After doing all this we shall show to the world that the Indians are prepared and are strong enough to suffer (?) your oppressions.

With these words I resume my seat.

Sd: M. Singh Tewari,

S. I., C. I. D., U. P.,

Allahabad.

Translated by

Morid Husain

Urdu Translator

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## P H O I T

Presidential address of Lala Kidar Nath Sehgal of Lahore, which he read at the Kisan Sabha, Meerut, on the 13th October 1928:—

Brethren:

I did not at all deserve the praise lavished on me. I think

I shall consider to have done my duty on the day when every limb of my body (lit: hair) be cut asunder for the sake of the country. For this reason what I have done up to this day according to my capacity, I have not done any great work. I want that every Indian who lives in this country and who loves it should get himself cut (to pieces) for the emancipation of the country. I have no more words than these to place before you.

My dear poor worker and peasant brethren: I thank you for the honour you have bestowed upon me in making me the President of this important and momentous Workers' and Peasants' conference. At the same time I cannot help saying that the President of this conference should have been some worker who hardly gets a piece of bread in the evening (or) who gets up at five in the morning and goes out of his house and then even does not get sufficient food (lit: full meal), (or any one of the) poor people who always continues working in order to prepare roads for us. I place before you a full account of the sufferings of the workers and peasants and a (?) vivid sorrowful picture of their helplessness. I cannot describe the troubles you often experience. I feel helpless and my heart aches (lit: I cannot help drinking the blood of my liver) even when I recall to mind those calamities. For this reason you will (please) excuse me if I fail to serve you according to your wishes. I want to give a description of capitalism and labour and want to place it before those friends of little understanding who give expression to their feelings against labourers, nay who consider labourers as those communities, who build their houses or who bring earth in baskets. They say that their wages have gone so high that it is intolerable. Previously they (labourers) used to accept two annas, but now they do not feel pleased even with a rupee. They consider themselves different from workers. (But) they are not capitalists. Who are capitalists and who are workers, before describing this I may tell you that the population of India is about 32 crore of which the workers and peasants form thirty one and a half crore. Who are workers? House builders, those who carry material, those who metal roads, carders, weavers, washermen, oilmen, babarers, shoemakers, compositors and representatives of newspapers, article-writers, whether they write in the interests of the country or not, those who teach self-respect to the poor brethren, those who report the proceedings of your meeting to the bureaucracy, Police employees, military employees, employees of all types, hawkers, inn-keepers, shopkeepers, masons—in short whom should I count and whom not—all these are workers and peasants by profession.

Friends and brethren! The bureaucracy is capitalist which obtains millions of rupees and makes merry freely. (The member of) the bureaucracy draw two, four and even twenty

thousands rúpées as salary, live in houses (covering) two to four miles (of land) and indulge in merrymakings. A capitalist is one who owns hundreds of shops and houses. A Capitalist is one who buys grain and articles from others, stores them in granaries (lit: rooms) and swallows up all the profit. A Capitalist is one who take contracts from Government and does not pay the poor workers even their full wages. A Capitalist is one who owns hundreds of acres of land. A capitalist is one who is a *Mahant* of some religious place and swallows up property worth lakhs of rupees. A capitalist is one who devours lakhs of rupees belonging to the poor and becomes a leader, who cannot stay anywhere except in the Cecil and Savoy hotels and who, if he is taken ill, is visited by eminent doctors whom big sums of money are paid in fees. A capitalist is one who is a *vakil*, loots the public and passes his life in ease and comfort. A capitalist is one who keeps lakhs of rupees for his consumption. All these are capitalists.

*How ( sic. ) sad the plight of the Workers  
and peasants in India.*

That India which in the eyes of the world has previously a glorious Government is the abode of owls today. What (is) there today where streams of milk and *ghee* used to flow. (Verse).

“The relishes of milk and *Ghee* of the by-gone days have become dreams,

“Dry pieces (of leaves are left) for eating today.

The bureaucracy should now review the record of its black deeds. People make eloquent and expressive speeches bearing big headlines and invoke the ‘help (.....sic). I shall tell them (?) and shall try to describe the condition of this country, unfortunate country, from their own statistics (lit: papers). The sons of India have neither sufficient food nor clothes, nor is there any special arrangement for their education,..... The number of houses in our country is five crore in which as many as 32 crore of human beings live. The houses are *kacha* house. (We) have not the power to construct *pucca* ones..... The houses are (lit: population is) congested and surrounded on all the four sides by heaps of dung, etc., etc.,.....This is the (condition of) Indian public. (Now) what is the condition of cities in India. I place before you a few and true facts of this type. I shall give, in brief an account of all the well known cities in India. At first I shall show you Lahore. There is a Governor’s palace (there) in which there are lofty trees and in which great cleanliness is observed. I am not telling you the condition of the Montgomery Hall or of the house of some *Rais*. Let me show you the (condition of the) canal round the city. On the other side of the canal live



the people from whom lakhs of rupees are realised and spent on roads..... What will be the condition of that person below whose house the water and filth of the whole city pass. Going further I shall go into the Mohalla, where lives a well know poet of India..... I do not want to disclose the name of that well known national poet (fearing) lest he should get displeased.....

Let us leave Lahore and go to Calcutta, where the English came 175 years ago. Eighteen families live in a 13 feet (? wide) room on the Harrison road. Eleven persons pass their lives in each room. Thirty students live in one room on the College street.....

Helpless people go to Calcutta and Bombay for the sake of their stomachs. There they do not get any place to live in. Hundreds of men sleep on roads. See a family in a small room in Bombay. They have no place to spread a cot. They sleep there on the ground. This is the condition of the first class Government of the 20th century. This is the condition of places where big municipalities exist and where big *raises* live. But, what will be condition of the places where they are not in existences. The bureaucracy will not like such (lit: those) places even for its dogs and swine,..... I may give an account of five years back. Plague has ruined the country. Lakhs of men die of plague because they do not get food and clothes. So much poverty.....

There are forty millions of such persons in India as get one meal daily throughout their lives. Sir Charles Elliot writes that there are such persons in India as do not know how to eat to their fill even once throughout a year.....  
.....Despite (their doing) so much hard labour, they do not get food.

“Extreme cold prevails, water freezes in rivers.

“Grass gets destroyed by frost (lit: burnt) in field and leaves on trees.

“You will (hardly) find a *khaddar* shirt on their bodies.

... ..

The number of crimes is increasing day by day in this country. The statistics of crimes for the last year are worth hearing:—

| Crimes:—      |     |     |      |
|---------------|-----|-----|------|
| Murders       | ... | ... | 4497 |
| Dacoities     | ... | ... | 2984 |
| Other serious |     |     |      |

|   |       |     |     |        |
|---|-------|-----|-----|--------|
| offences  | ...   | ... | ... | 43838  |
| Burglaries  | ...   | ... | ... | 29415  |
| Petty thefts  | ...   | ... | ... | 94246  |
| Executions  | ...   | ... | ... | 294    |
| Transportation<br>for life                            | ...   | ... | ... | 20023  |
| Fined and sent to Jail.                               |       |     |     |        |
| Sent to jails   | ..    | ... | ... | 174190 |
| Fined   | ...   | ... | ... | 626210 |
| Sentenced for a<br>period less<br>than 10 days        | } ... | ... | ... | 34504  |
| Executions  | ....  | ... | ... | 294    |
| Children  | ...   | ... | ... | 19134  |
| (Children) of age<br>varying from two<br>to ten years | } ... | ... | ... | 100    |
| *   | *     | *   | *   | *      |
| *   | *     | *   | *   | *      |

Is not this number calculated to cause hair stand at their ends? Work should be provided for the poor ... ..

Crimes were never committed in so large a number before their rule. How many instances should I put forth. Big volumes (lit: offices) are required for it. Evil has spread through out the country. Workers weep on the one hand and shopkeepers on the other. Government is responsible for it. The whole of the responsibility rests with capitalism and imperialism. While on the one hand lakhs of rupess are being hoarded, on the other hand even a house it not available. If you will hear their full accounts, you will be wonder struck (lit: the ground below your feet will slip away). I had an opportunity to visit a workhsop in the Madras Presidency. On being questioned they (workers) told me that they used to come in the morning and go in the evening, that they were given annas -/3/- as wages (per day) and that pice were deducted from their wages in the event of their falling ill or coming late. The hair (on your body) will stand at their ends if you will hear the condition (of the workers) in Dhariwal. A worker worked there for 30 years. He died there having been bitten by a snake and his wife was given a pension of Rs. 3/- ... ..

### The bureaucracy of India.

The bureaucracy is in fact the root- cause of all diseases. Average income of the inhabitants of India is five pice a day. Crores of Indians do not earn even a single pice. Out of four if two men only.

\* \* \* \* \*

Similarly calculate. The Viceroy's salary amounting to Rs. 20,000/- a month is equal to the income of 8000 men. Similarly, there are five Governors, Deputy Commissioners and thousands of (other) officers. Is it not economic loot? This is why the Major portion of the income of peasants goes into the pockets of the bureaucracy.

### Capitalist leaders of India.

I shall speak the truth what I have in my mind.

I therefore want to ask you to hear me attentively and dispassionately. A barber used to go to shave the king of his time. Whenever he went be talked of the prosperity of the subject people

\* \* \* \* \*

The condition of our present-day leaders resembles that of the barber. Why have they not been able to bring about a change in our condition? What do they know of the condition we are in. What do they know of our grievances since they pass (their lives) in comfort. They travel in first class carriages. What do they know of the condition of 3rd class passengers. They participate in Viceregal parties. On their being taken a bit ill they can secure the best medical aid. They stay at the bungalows of Rai Bahadurs and Khan Bahadurs, What do they know of the condition of peasants and workers;

"A leader has many anxieties intermixed with comfort".

\* \* \* \* \*

Since their sons study in England, how can they know about the education of the sons of the poor peasants and workers. This is why the leaders command no influence in the country, He alone will lead the country who will live among the peasants and workers

\* \* \* \* \*

\* \* \* \*

For this reason you will have to make your *Sanghs*. When the condition of France was like that of India, the ruler of that country enquired from his Counsellor why those people were making noise. The reply given by the latter was "For failure to get bread". The ruler said that if bread was not available, why did they not take biscuits. This proves that so long as you will not secure your rights there is none in the country to save you. Strikes were observed in Bombay and other places, but the leaders of the country did not take any part. Workshops are owned by capitalists and the leaders of the country are their friends. We shall have to request these pro-capitalist (lit : capitalist) leaders that they should either side with us or with the capitalists and that they should join either their followers or we poor people.

*Religion and monopolists (lit : contractors) of religion.*

I want to say (something) about these. Religion points a path. None is required to interfere with that. A true religion does not teach fighting with any one. \* \* \*

\* \* \* \*

But such religious strifes have sprung up (sic) So many religious strifes have never taken place during the past. What is now going on is not a secret to anyone. What the employees of the bureaucracy are getting done is not hidden from any one. Do those (who create) religious strifes are in intrigue with the bureaucracy? Are they prepared to clear their position?

*Simon Commission.*

I want to say (something) about it. I think I may say a few words about the Simon Commission as well. They (Commissioners) have not been called to India by any one. So, to have anything to do with them amounts to suffer unnecessary botheration. When the commission reached Mission (? Egypt), the people observed complete *hartals*. Therefore, Oh friends: you should similarly confuse the (members of the) commission and make them run away.

*The Nehru Committee Report.*

I shall now say (something) about it. We want complete independence. We agree with it if they expunge out (the demand for) dominion status. We agree with the joint electorate also.

I shall say (something) about the disease prevailing throughout the country. The Bolsheviks are being talked of on all four sides nowadays.

The Government is much afraid of the Bolsheviki. If Bolsheviki 'come into India danger (?) will increase in India. I want to say that be it Afghan or Germans \* \* \*

\* \* \* \* \*

I shall break their mouths if they come to India to make us slaves. We do not want to remain even under this British Government. There is no nation in the world which now wants to remain slave to some other (nation). I think it advisable to give a few extracts. I shall at the most accept(?) that severity. The sort of rules that are in force in Russia (sic) This report pertains to a period some years back.

#### *Advantages of Revolution of Russia.*

The condition of Russian labourers and workmen is better than their condition some years ago. \* \* \*  
The Russian workers and peasants have scored a complete victory (and got ?) advantages under this Government. They have ceased to entertain any anxiety regarding edibles. Difficulties in respect of food, drink and other necessaries have been solved. \* \* \*  
Each worker can earn to the extent of Rs. 90/- a month (and) in certain cases (he) earns even Rs. 225/- (a month). This (material) has been taken from the report of Englishmen. Government is responsible for other expenses. Government pays the premiums of life insurances. (Workers) work for 48 hours a week. In work involving danger work is taken from them) only for six hours a day. Herbert Smith's report :— \* \* \*

\* \* \* \* \*

In 1913 these people had to work for 12 hours and were paid Rs 3/- a day, while in 1924 (they were paid) Rs. 4/- a day and had to do very little work as compared with the pre-war time.

#### *House rents and sanitation.*

The Bolshevik Government is very rich. Every house has been built decently and very nicely. Sufficient distance has been left between two houses. They (houses) has been provided with every sort of comfort. A good number of labourers and workmen have derived benefit by the construction of these houses. (They) have derived good advantage. (You) will not believe me, for the people say that we are opposed to the English \* \*

#### *Rest Houses and Sanitariums.*

Labourers and workmen in Russia are sent to sanitariums on their being taken ill. Seven lakhs of men were sent to sanitariums during the past years, and their expenses were borne by the Government. Factory-owners pay the insurance premiums of workmen. \* \* \*

During unemployment when a workman and labourer gets no work, a part of (his) pay is given to him for six months—(and besides this) light, water fuel and other public services (lit : expenses) are supplied to him free of cost. Pay is given to (him) in case of his being unfit to work. Pay is also given in case of his meeting with any accident.

### *Female Workers.*

It is a law of the Soviet Government that women workers do not work before and after giving birth to children. Special allowances (lit : means) have been allotted for that. The responsibilities of (?) their education devolve upon factory-owners. \*  
 Workers can even see theatres, cinemas \* \* \*  
 \* \* \* \* \*  
 \* \* \* \* \*

Tickets are issued to them free of cost. The Workers clubs, etc., (e. g.) refreshment clubs, dramatic clubs are two thousand in number. Labourers and these people can take part in all the departments (lit : parts) of Soviet Government. Labourers can also become leaders. In fact the labourers are rulers there, while in other countries the laws of capitalism are to be observed. My dear friends and comrades: You might have got tired of my lengthy statement. You have heard how *badmash* the Soviet Government is. The statements that have been placed before you are (taken from the enquiry reports, prepared by Englishmen. Our brother Abdul Majid is blamed for receiving money from Russia on account of his carrying on propaganda in favour of the Bolsheviks. I may tell the Government that if the Government also makes a similar (?) statement, I shall be the first man to read out that statement. Pandit Gauri Shanker sent money (sic : ) I want complete independence. I want a Government of workers and peasants. All the land has been created by God. It is the property (lit : Government) of peasants and workers. Land is not the property of a single individual, nay, it is that of all. Land is our mother. We people want to establish a Government according to our own wishes, but people give up all ideas and become slaves for the sake of a piece (of bread). Disputes and strikes first arise over (the question of land. \* \* \* \* \*

\* \* \* \* \*  
 Other people were compelled to do labour and they were called as labourers. What liberty can be obtained in such circumstances. There should be sufficient for eating and drinking. In that case none will feel the necessity of committing a theft and dacoity. There is no great and small, no untouchable and mean. What will then happen. Every one will pass his life happily, and people

will walk with satisfaction during the time of recreation. They will neither themselves suffer nor do harm to others. We should toil for them. We shall have to do as much real work as told (sic :) Oh Ye peasants and Workers of India ; Unite ! Establish Unions, form Panchayats use articles manufactured by the Indian workers and do not like those manufactured in other countries. The national flag should be of uniform colour. Make gymnasiums of one and the same type. Do not try to offend one another's feelings. The national shout should be one and the same Hindus, Musalmans, Sikhs, Parsis, Christians and all should unite into one (nationality). If you may have to sweep bungalow and remove night-soil for this (purpose) you should do that even. Oh young friends ! I have read out so much to you, I now want to say something to the youngmen particularly. Your blood is fresh. You have the right to liberate the children of India. Send the old workers on pension. You possess the ability to make all these children free. You also have the power to face further difficulties.

"Skirt may wipe the tear from the eye full of tears (lit : water ). \* \* \* \* \*

\* \* \* \* \*

Friends ! It is not the time to think. It is the time to work. We will not take rest so long as we do not get each limb of our bodies cut for this (purpose). After supporting the words previously uttered by all (of my) friends I resume my seat. It is not the time that you and we should become moderate (lit : lenient). \* \* \* \* \*

\* \* \* \* \*

He who invokes the help of God does not turn his face from his aim. He who teaches the *mantra* of liberty, has to suffer. Liberty is the right of the brave. We are Indians. The inhabitants of India, the residents of Hindustan, whoever they may be, are all brethren. All Indians high and low are our brethren. India is our glory, our country. O *Ishwar* ! Remove our weakness and cowardice. Long live Indians: Long live the winners of liberty for the country ! \* \* \* \* \*

\* \* \* \* \*

Sd. M. Singh Tewari,

S. I., C. I. D., S. B.,

1-2-29.

Translated by

\* Morid Husain,

Urdu Translator.

P. 1092 [1].

Professor Dharamvir Singh's speech at the Political Conference, Meerut. Dated 14-10-1928.

I Place the following resolution before you:—

This conference recommends to the subjects Committee to take into its hands the organisation of peasants and workers, to carry on amongst them propaganda for their political uplift and to frame an economic programme for their progress.

Dear brethren!

All the resolutions that have hithertofore been moved were ment to congratulate some one or other. We are asked (to say) what our opinion and feelings are in respect of independence or dominion status but no programme has been placed before you to show how independence can be obtained. If there can be any programme it can be the one which is explained to you in this resolution. You will wonder how the peasants who are a prey to strange diseases and ignorance will help in the work of (securing) independence, but you do not know that in them lies a very great strength of India. Some people say that they do not possess strength enough to bring pressure to bear upon the Government. I say that if peasants organise themselves you will know what they can do.

The peasants of Russia were also in the same condition as Indian peasants are now but their leaders organised them in such a way that they are ruling that country to-day. Stress is being first laid on those things which are useful to them. I shall say something about the peasants, for the workers are already organised more or less, as strikes have been observed by workers in Bombay; Ahmadabad and Jamshedpur. But the peasants observed hartal in Bardauli only. I say all these things to Government, but there is none to hear them. Not to speak of this Govt. even the British Govt. Will hear you if you will possess Bardauli-like strength. I shall say to my political brethren who regard peasants' organisation as an ordinary thing (that) I am glad that it (?) has been given a place in the conference.

Peasants constitute a source of the major portion of Government's income. The condition of peasants is worse. If the peasants will be organised, they will be able to say that they cannot pay land revenue more than this (and that) they will keep so much of the land produce for their own purpose. A scheme may be framed (under which) they must keep so much portion (for themselves).

The first proposal of the Kisan Sangh will be that the land-



~~revenue should be equitable and (the result will be that) this~~  
Government which is becoming strong by sucking your blood will  
fall. The second question is that Hindu-Muslim question should be  
removed. By forming a Sangh the peasants will organize them-  
selves in every way. They will be able to form Panchayats and  
improve their condition.

Sd. M. Singh Tewari.

Translated by

Morid Husain Urdu Translator.

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## P. 1088 T.

Resolution moved by M. A. majid at the "Kisan and Mazdur  
Sabha" (Conference), Meerut on 15. 10. 28.

Resolution:—

(a) This conference decides that the question of caste and  
creed and black and white be uprooted. This conference decides  
that the deficiency of education among the public be removed very  
soon and that for the achievement of this object primary education  
be made free and compulsory.

(b) This conference decides that hospitals and rest houses  
be opened every where for the workers and peasants and maternity-  
house for their women and that arrangements be made for delivering  
lectures on health.

(c) This conference decides that factory-owners, improve-  
ment trusts and municipalities should make proposals for (the  
supply of) good residential houses to mine-workers and charge  
such a minimum rent from them as they can (conveniently) give.

(d) This conference decides that such laws be framed as  
may prevent the employment of women and children on work  
involving danger of life.

(e) That children below the age of twelve be not employed  
to work and that every women be granted leave on full pay two  
months before and two months after the birth of a child.

(f) This conference decides that a law be enacted to prevent  
adulteration in food stuffs and especially in milk.

(i) This conference requests the All-India Kisan-Mazdur Sangh (All India workers and peasants Party) to propose a strong organisation of the peasants in India, the object of which should be to try to secure reduction in (lit reduce) the land revenue so that the present-day peasants may be able to escape starvation and diseases.

The existing system will not give you (any) concession unless you change it and replace it by another. You can lead a life like the labourers of Russia. It will take hours to describe their condition in full.

This resolution was seconded by Ch. Dharamvir Singh  
M. L. C.

(Sd). M. Singh Tewari.

Translated by

Morid Husain Translator

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## P. 1090 T.

Speech (made) by Sardar Sohan Singh Josh on the 15. 10. 28  
at the Kisan and Mazdur Conference, Meerut.

I place this resolution before President and Workers and  
peasants brethren.

### Resolution:—

(a) This conference decides that (the system of ) Zamindari and Taluqadari be abolished altogether and land be made the property of the whole nation so that every one may have equal right over it and that a law be enacted by which land be given on behalf of the nation to peasants for a longer period.

(b) This conference decides that workshops, big market places and banks of all kinds be considered as nation's property and that their management be placed entirely in the hands of the nation

(c) This conference decides that no worker (be made to) work more than eight hours (a day) and that he should work for five and half days a week at the most. ३ ५१२५

(d) This conference establishes the principle that such laws be framed under which each worker may receive such fixed wages as

given wages not less than the fixed one and that wages be paid after a week at the most.

(e) This conference decides that such laws be made for workers in every business occupation as may enable them to make suitable and full arrangements for their board and lodging during their old age, illness, unemployment, etc.

(f) This conference decides that the laws, by which a worker or his heirs receive compensation in the event of his getting wounded or dying while working in a workshop, be revised liberally and enforced at once, if possible.

(Note) These resolutions were printed and distributed to a few only.

We are holding a new conference here. It has come into being in a very short time. Before this you might have heard resolutions passed by the Congress. I have to explain fully the attitude of the Congress. It is generally said that our brethren are fighting so nicely. They are fighting for their own personal motives. The Congress is in existence for the last 42 years. What has the Congress done for the workers and peasants? What reduction has been brought about in the afflictions of workers? Before expressing my own views I want to say that these vakils do not want liberty. When I say this, it concerns all such (?) classes. Rich men do not want Swaraj and liberty. They loot you. They want liberty so as to become the partners of the English. They want a share (lit a loot) from what the English loot from houses. Some of them want to become Ministers, some Nawabs and others Sardars and Khan Bahadurs. This is their Swaraj. They do not want Swaraj. They do not want it i. e. liberty. Liberty is wanted by those who starve day and night and long (for bread). This is the condition of the general public. I can give you such accounts. You might have heard accounts (lit incidents) of Madras \* \* \* \* Foundations of the present day society have been based on injustice. No justice can be done in the world unless it is changed. A heart rending incident of Madras was recently published in a newspaper. Some person's wife used to perform the work of a Barsoiya. When her boys and girls were starving she did not get any thing (to give them) for eating. Thinking it better to die than to live such a life she committed suicide along with her children in the present age. Such is the condition of the poor here. You will come to know when you will see their clothes, food and the condition of their children. Such being the condition of society, how can these evils (lit. innovations) be stopped in the world? Why should the persons who sit under electric fans need Swaraj or liberty? Do they want Swaraj? It is wanted by those who are starving and longing for bread. Swaraj

is wanted by those who understand that this society is based on wrong foundations and that it should be changed. Songs of equality might have up to this day been sung before you. This equality does not give us food, clothes, or anything (else). Equality means that every one should have no anxiety for (lit. freedom of) bread. Every one wishes to dress well and eat well. They wear superior and good clothes, while a majority of the people are unable to cover their bodies for want of clothes. We want liberty so as to put an end to this filth. What is needed is Proletarian revolution. Those who are our masters are backed up by the Government which is capitalistic out and out. It always supports them. Zamindars have (?) son. The father gives property to him (i. e. the son) Thus an incompetent son becomes the owner (of property) owing to his having taken birth in the house of a Sahukar (i. e. richman). Is it justice? The first principle of the system of Government we want will be that food should be given to the person who does manual or mental labour. Food should be given to him who works for 8/10 hours. Those who keep sitting, placing one leg over the other, will be allowed to starve. Labour (lit. work) should command great respect in society. Those who live in society should work. But what is here being done. The justice is that a richman remains sitting in his house. He is called by big names. A time will come when the persons whom you call untouchables will become our friends and those who are worthless will be made untouchables. Such a time is fast approaching. I have told you that Swaraj is wanted by workers and peasants. Liberty is wanted by the hungry who have neither houses nor money. What is this society? Uttar Sen took us to a house of chamars. Kidar Nath and Spratt were also accompanying us. We thought that the house might be a good one. But, eight persons were living in that small house. There were 3/4 cattle as well. They were leading the life of cattle

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Karl Marx was a Mahatma. Read his life. The first thing (sic) is how can we have }  
 you killed (since) you are already dead. Is this life that you are }  
 leading? It is worse than that of a dog. The Englishmen who }  
 have gone from here write that men die like dogs and flies in India, }  
 but none takes case of you here. We who want to kill you shall }  
 die before you do The Congress passed resolutions, but it did not do }  
 anything practically. The Government introduced its public Safety }  
 Bill in the Assembly. but it could not be passed. It will be re }  
 introduced in the next session. These preparations are being made }  
 to bind us hand and foot Ten C. I. D. (men) are following each of }  
 us with a view to see what we do amongst the peasants. We }  
 are leading you. Come and see we are outside (jail) today. We }  
 shall be in jail tomorrow, then you will come to realise (what we say).

I ask you, and am constrained to ask you, to take work from us. When you think that we want to deceive you, you may turn us out of your meetings by the ears, I want that there should be no undesirable (lit. filthy) persons in this Subha. Keep such men as might stand by you (lit remain prepared) in all difficulties (lit. hot and cold). Three or four men who are workers will be no more after a short time. Government will first arrest us. It will be you who will secure Swaraj. It will be the poor who will secure Swaraj. Government will arrest us and will bring forth against us the charge that we organise the workers and peasants. I tell you that when the time will come not only the peasants and mills in a large number will stop work but also all people will stop work at their respective places. In this way the whole of the machinery of Government will be paralysed. I want that there should be complete organisation every where. I want that workers should unite in factories, workshops and where ever they work. Their houses and your houses are separate. Both they and you are longing for bread. You should have a common house now, for in the long run you have to go to one and the same direction. We shall not let imperialism and the rule of richmen exist, nay, we shall establish in India a Government of peasants like that in Russia. He who has courage, hope and boldness in his mind should come (forward). We shall make him understand (sic:) we shall take him in (sic:) and do his work. Society is based on the foundations of injustice. There are many complications in it. (What you have said about the Nehru report (sic).) You should not use very strong words. Brethren; (ask him) whose house is on fire and people extinguish it gradually, not to hurry up or ask that man whose sister is in the possession of an dishonest man to liberate her gradually. What he has in his mind is that he should not let his sister be dishonoured even if he loses his life. What he wishes is to liberate her as soon as possible. I want to establish justice and equality not that which has so far been taught to us in the name of religion and Dharma and not that sort of equality which does not provide every one with bread and clothes.

Wealth cannot be obtained without (having recourse to) dishonesty, *Badmashi*, lying and backbiting. Vakils loot you. Vakils create lissensions by crafty and deceitful methods and loot (? the peasants). They take what they can get from peasants. They say "great injustice has been done" You know it. What can I tell you, you are not unaware of all these things. How unjust, dishonest, etc., this society is. It is not based on justice and equality. Land should not be owned by rich people, but on the other hand it should constitute the property of those who plough it with their own hands. Every peasant in the Punjab cultivates with his own hand, and (lit but) there is a small number of zamindars. Thus they lead a life of comfort. Those who maintain themselves by land should rest-assured Their land will not be acquired. On the other hand (land)

of those persons will be acquired who suck your blood and whose land is sacrificed on the head of their sons (sic) I lay stress on the case of peasants, because workers are in a small number here. Similar will be the case with factories. Factory-owners turn them (workers) out whenever they like. They suck their blood by making them work for 12/13 hours. I want that these factories may pass into the hands of the nation (so that) those who work may reap the benefit. There are certain items of this resolution which have not so far been explained. If I discuss all items in detail you will know what can be done (with regard to) our financial and economic science (sic). If every man works in the society there can not remain any deficiency. This is what the scientists have calculated. Peasants have no time even for dying. They work day and night. Their hands and feet ache. Despite their working day and night why and where goes all (the harvest) to-day. Either the sahukar or the zamindar takes away cart-load (of grain). This cannot be stopped unless you organise (yourselves) and unite and unless the workers and peasants in general unite. Unite and make it clear to your masters and the world that you will secure them (?). I shall tell you that this is not the time of merely passing (resolutions). Your resolutions will not solve anything. This is the time of seizing your rights on the strength of your *Jatha* (organisation). If you can seize (your rights) by force seize them, otherwise no one will save you. You are starving. We are also starving. This society is filthy. Injustice is (being) done to you in it. Consequently, try to sweep it (out of existence). When we shall unite, we shall start proletarian revolution, and we shall in this-way establish Workers and peasants rule in India and prosperity will increase.

Sd. M. Singh Tewari,

29. 1. 29.

S. I., C. I. D., S. B, U. P.

Allahabad.

Note. The printed resolution in Hindi is attached herewith.

Sd. M. Singh.

Translated by

Morid Husain,

translator.

## P. 1091 T.

Speech made by Muzaffar Ahmad on the 15 10. 28 at the Meerut Kisan and Mazdur Conference.'

Friends !

Your President has told you that I come from Calcutta. You must know that we Bengalis do not know Urdu full well. What I shall say will be in Bengali Urdu. Anyhow, I shall try my best to make you understand. (I) cannot speak in good Urdu.

I have been directed to place this resolution before you:—

This conference directs the Subjects Committee to form a strong U. P. Mazdur Kisan Dal. Delhi will also be included in it. This conference recommends to the "Akhil Bharti Mazdur wa Kisan Sangh" (All-India Peasants and Workers association) which (shall) form the U. P. Dal, to send these members as representative to the Calcutta Congress. It vests in these representatives the power to enlist (lit: take in) other members.

### NAMES OF MEMBERS.

1. Dr. B. M. Mukerji, of Gorakhpur.
2. Puran Chand Joshi M. A., of Allahabad.
3. Gauri Shanker, Worker of Meerut.
4. Balwant Singh.
5. Feroze Din Mansoor.

All the arrangements for food are made by peasants. Workers do the whole work. Do you enjoy at their expense? There are many complaints against capitalists. I have seen the statements of the dividends of shares of all concerns (lit: states. I have come to know that after investing one hundred rupees, (they) have distributed six hundred rupees. What about their capital. (They) got it in one year. Similarly, after collecting two lakhs (of rupees) a factory was started. The factory building was erected. It cost him (? factory-owner) Rs. 125,000/- (A sum of) fifty thousand was kept for workers. The whole amount was earned in two years. (The cost of) machinery, building and all is saved. There are hundreds viz: zamindars, mahajans, etc, etc., to swallow (lit: eat) the products of peasants. How can a worker get hold of political Government? How will a peasant and works be able to get possession of it? Is he not a man? Has it not so happened in Russia? British rule is in existence in India. When the British rule will cease to exist, Indian, *raj* will come. This is not the thing. What I want is that British rule may disappear and the rule of India may pass into the hands of the workers and peasants of India. This India should be

in the possession of neither any zamindar nor any other capitalist. In order to maintain their Government in India the English have made a compromise with the rich people and are (thus) ruling India. "English Capitalists" now want to take such a strong (lit:firm) step. This is why they have given a few shares to Indian factory-owners and (thus) want to maintain their rule.

A political party of workers and peasants should be formed which would be called the Workers (and) Peasants Party. You should establish this party without fail, for a political party is highly essential for the people here.

Sd: M. Singh Tewari,

S. I. C. I. D , U P.

Allahabad.

28. 1. 29.

Translated by

Morid Husain,

Urdu Translator.

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



# PUNJAB SPEECHES

IN CONNECTION WITH

NAU JAWAN

Bharat Sabha Conference,

Workers' & Peasants' Party Conference,

&

OTHER SUBJECTS.

## P. 1902 [T].

Copy of the speech made by Abdul Majid on the 24th, February 1928, at the 2nd. Naujawan Bharat Sabha Conference held at Bradlaugh Hall, Lahore.

M. A. Majid moved the following resolution:—

In the opinion of the Conference all wars are waged and bloodsheds caused to promote the cause of capitalists and imperialists, it therefore, strongly requests the youngmen not to take any part in the war which is to take place in the near future and to induce the masses to do the same.

Speech:—

The existing circumstances show that a war is about to take place in the near future and if it does not break out in the near future it must take place in the distant (future). None can deny it and so we have to consider what should be our position in the wars that are to take place. Have we any concern with these wars or not? I want to invite your attention to the fact that war broke out in 1914 and lasted for about seven years. The Indians surpassed all in their contribution to the war, nay, the Indians topped the list in making other nations slaves. People can (well) understand to what extent India was considered to be ignominious, contemptible and despicable by other nations owing to this. Those people who had to deal with other nations know how they passed their life there (in foreign countries) and in what estimation they can be held.

Why was it so? Because we Indians had done harm to them (and) snatched their liberty. We ourselves were slaves but we left nothing undone in making others slaves. The same is to happen now. If a capitalist lives in a mohalla, he always wishes to seize (lit: extend) all the buildings in his mohalla, similarly Governments wish to extend their territories. This is greed. This greed of imperialism increases in their mind (sic). When they can get help to satisfy greed, why should they not get it. For this reason we also want that we should wage a war in return for which we also might get something. You might remember that many promises were made to us during the (last) war, but what did we get— Martial law and Rowlett Act. But these things are to be granted to us later on. At present we are starving for bread. We are hungry. We want to pass our lives like human beings and educate our children

well. What have we to do with these wars which have no concern with us, nay (to take part in them) is to strengthen (the bonds of) our slavery. We have been committing mistakes heretofore. (You) should realise (your) mistake now. We should not fall into this folly now, nay we should try to wipe off this old brand—a brand which was put on our forehead a few years back and which the people read wherever we go. For this reason we should not participate in any war in future (and) should not render any sort of assistance. We are prepared to help in a war, which after having accepted our freedom and removing our economic slavery, may bring (to us) the promise that our position will be the same as that of other countries, that there will be no difference between India and other countries and that Indians will no longer remain slaves, nay, they themselves will govern their country and will take the administration of their country in their own hands. They themselves will sow, distribute and eat. Why should not the producers be its owners. What right have others got to take possession of countries others (than their own)? We do not want to see foreigners holding possession of our country. If India apprehends that some foreigners (lit: country) will come and try to make us slaves, I shall be the first to oppose them (lit: it). How shall we accept the slavery of others India is no longer prepared to accept the slavery of any one. In order to establish freedom they (Indians) will themselves take up the administration in their own hands. We have nothing to do with the war. May it be a blessing to those who have anything to do with it. Why should (we) fight and die in war? (They) may send for troops from England or from any other place. It is better to die than to live if you have again to participate in the war and get the reward you were given previously. We shall die but we shall not give any sort of help in this war. What enmity do we bear towards anyone? What opposition the Germans and Indians have against each other? Others were inimical to one another and they should (have, therefore) fought and quarrelled. Similarly, even now the whole of India has nothing to complain against any other country. Then, why should they (Indians) fight? Those who have any complaint, may fight. What have we to do with that. If he practises any oppression on us here (sic), when we are the masters of India and have the wealth (of our country) at our disposal for consumption, we shall (shed) our blood to the last drop for our interests, and shall not see any enemies (lit: the steps of our enemies) on our soil.

Our first and foremost duty should be to consider how we can remove the chains of our economic and similarly political slavery. People will make efforts to strengthen (the bonds of) their slavery.

With these words I place this resolution before you.

Sd. ARJAN SINGH,

S. I., C. I. D.,

PUNJAB.

Translated by

MORID HUSAIN,

Urdu Translator.

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## P. 1903 (T).

Copy of the speech made by Sohan Singh Josh on the 24th. February 1928 at the 2nd. Naujawan Bharat Conference, Bradlaugh Hall, Lahore:—

Sohan Singh Josh moved the following resolution:—

This conference condemns the attitude of the Government relating to the detention of Bhai Santa Singh, Gajan Singh and Daswanda Singh under Regulation III of 1918 and congratulates the said sardars. Further it strongly condemns the action of the Government in banishing those brethren who had expressed their sympathy with China and congratulates them.

SPEECH:—

Gentlemen: Most of you brethren might not be knowing, and I think that 99 per cent of you are such as might not be aware of this, that brave men of the Punjab also have been detained in the same way as other brethren in Bengal have been detained. Three brethren have at present been detained under Regulation III. You will perhaps wonder that you have (bit might have) read the stories of Kanso and Mumtaz Begam in newspapers but you have (lit might have) not heard the names of such patriots.

It is our misfortune that our press is in the hands of such people as are running it on such lines for the sake of their stomachs and are leading our thoughts to such directions as cannot be useful to the emancipation of India in the real sense. The names of persons who are prepared to make sacrifices and face all sorts of calamities are not even mentioned. Santa Singh came here after

touring through all the European countries. He had in his heart sympathy for workers and youngmen. He wanted that there should be real freedom in the country and that the rigours practised on us should be removed. He wanted to join us and do one and the same work. But a Mussalman of Madras went there and told him that he was the Secretary of the Khilafat and the Congress committees and that he would send him (there safely). He thus deceived him, brought him in the British territory and got him arrested under Regulation III. This is justice—justice on the part of that Govt: ( which claims to be the guardian of law and order and says that it does this (and that) for the sake of justice.

Without producing him in any court and without proving his guilt this Govt: is still keeping him in jail and a year and a half has elapsed when he was imprisoned. Next to him come Gajan Singh and Daswanda Singh. These brethren were in China at the time when Congress passed (the resolution) that forces should not be sent to China since our sympathies were with China (lit: the liberty of China) and we did not want to see India being subjected to the taunt that they (Indians) went to strengthen (the bonds of) slavery and did not ever make efforts to gain freedom. The Congress also passed that it wanted to send a commission for medical aid. But this was ignored and Indian forces were sent there. Your eyes will open when it (lit: history) will come to light that our Indian brethren showed practical sympathy towards China and co-operated with them (chinese) and you will come to know that the report published in 1919 to the effect that M. N. Roy wanted to create disorder in the forces in China was only a hint. But they played their part (and showed) that they were with the Chinese. They went to military camps and said to them: 'Brethren' We are oppressed persons. These Chinese brethren are (also) oppressed persons. We bear no enmity towards them. The English are in reality our enemies.

These brethren worked in such a way that disorder became apparent. Certain persons wrote histories and declared that they had not gone there to make China slave. They were arrested and in utter disregard of International Law, were thrown into jail for one year and subsequently banished and (again) arrested in India. It is a misfortune for the country. And be it known that you do not know even the names of those who sacrifice their all for the sake of their country.

These brethren, students and patriots of Shantung—a territory in China—made demonstrations against ( lit: with ) the British Government. These Englishmen enacted (the scene of) Jallianwala Bagh there. And when the Chinese enquired why so much ZULUM

was practised, the English said that bullets were fired by Indians as a result of which the incident of Shamin took place. When the Chinese came to know of it they declared that they would not let even a single Indian live there. But when they (? Indians) became aware of this move on the part of the English they came to the conclusion that they could save themselves and live with freedom only by sympathising with them (Chinese) practically. Accordingly, they held a meeting and resolved that they were, with the Chinese, and were ready to get themselves enlisted in the Chinese army and were not prepared to give any help whatsoever to the English. They got themselves regularly enlisted in the army and joined the revolution of China. The people who joined hands with China ? (sic) the revolution did not succeed. The result was that the Indians who were there after the revolution of China were then turned out of the army and were arrested while they were in quest of service and those to whom they.....

\* The blanks appear in the original-Tr.

\* they were let off there.

More than a dozen of such persons have so far come here. This is the treatment which is meted out in other countries to us and to those who have a love for freedom.

Sohan Singh Josh moved the following resolutions:—

(1) This conference congratulates (the workers of) the Naujawan Bharat Sabha and other zealous workers i. e. Gopal Singh Qaumi and Kabul Singh, on their conviction under section 124-A.

(2) This 2nd. Annual Conference congratulates Kidar Nath Sehgal, Munshi Ahmad Din, General secretary, Ram Chandar member, Executive Committee, Arjan Singh Gargaj editor, the KIRTI and Panda Sant Ram, respectable workers of the Sabha, on their arrest under Section 124-A and expresses its sympathy with them.

The resolution was passed.

An unknown person recited a poem composed by Ram Parshad Bismal, of the Kakori case, and Sohan Singh Josh recited from the same poem a few verses which are given below:—

“To who n do this country, this cup and wine belong ?

My darling (lit: life): From whom comes this blow, and to whom does this throat belong ?

"Whose blood is this that flows for the sake of the country  
'O heaven! Say clearly, to whom art thou opposed;  
'Why dost thou change new colours to put me in agony.

'Enquire from the sympathisers about  
\* The blanks appear }  
in the original Tr. } \* condition of the country.  
} 'Just enquire from the dying about the  
pleasure of martyrdom.

'Just enquire from the eager eye about the ungratified longing  
for the sight (of beloved)

\* \* \* \*

'Just enquire from the moth what is meant by burning.  
'It will matter (something), only if we determine (and)

'Sacrifice all (of our) lives for the country

\* \* \* \*

'O counsellor; damned this advice of yours!

'O youngmen! This is the time, rise and play some game (and)

'Suffer the calamity that befalls while serving the nation.

\* \* \* \*

\* \* \* \*

'Obtain the blessings of mother (India), you won't be able to  
obtain them again.

'Let us see who comes forward to carry out the order."

Sohan Singh Josh moved the following resolution:—

A programme has been chalked out to the effect that District  
Nanjawan Sabhas subordinate to the Provincial Sabha be opened in  
all the Districts, that sabhas be also opened in Tahsils, subordinate  
to the District sabhas, that a sabha be established in every Police  
station and in every village or in a few villages combined together  
and that each District, the Amritsar District in particular, be  
prepared and notice should be taken about Patwari, "Thikari pehra"  
begar and especially Police tyranny and other undue influence.  
This work should be completed within seven months" "Study  
circles" should be opened for these sabhas.

The resolution was passed.

2nd. resolution.

This conference decides that under this sabha be formed a Relief and Defence Committee which might help the Sabha in time of need. The following will be the members of this committee

- 1 Abdul Majid.
- 2 Ehsan Ilahi,
- 3 Sodhi Pindi Das,
- 4 Gurdas Ram,
- 5 Bawa Hukam Singh,
- 6 Sada Ram

The following gentlemen have been elected office bearers for the next year

- 1 Sohan Singh Josh — — President.
- 2 Abdul Majid — — Vice President.
- 3 Hari Singh — — General Secretary.

The Working Committee will elect Secretary and Treasurer.

The following eleven (gentlemen) were elected members of the Working Committee—

1 Sohan Singh Josh, 2 Feroze-Uddin Mansur, 3 Daulat Ram, of Jullundur, 4 Eshan Ilahi, 5 Ram Kishan, 6 Abdul Majid, 7 Hari Singh, 8 Dhanwantri of Lahore 9 Ajit Singh of Amritsar, 10 Premi (?) of Ludhiana and 11 Chhabil Das.

Sohan Singh Josh

We have held the conference here for three days. We have passed a number of resolutions in these days. I want to let you know what those resolutions are. If there had been the Congress (in our place) it perhaps might have couched (lit passed) these resolutions in strong words. It has been our tradition up till now that we have been going faster than the Congress. We still retain this spirit, but the calamity that has befallen us has compelled us to couch the resolutions in more guarded and lenient words. The reason for couching them in lenient words is that we want that the few youngmen left behind may unitedly finish the work that is left undone. For this reason we have couched (lit passed these resolutions in lenient words. These resolutions are sufficient if the



passage of resolutions .....\* means something.  
 The blanks But the adoption of resolutions merely (does) not  
 appear in the bring any good. If you Indians want to get (some  
 original—Tr. thing) conceded, the future is in your hands. You  
 can liberate the country by making sacrifices. I am  
 sure if the country will (ever) be liberted it will be liberated by  
 sacrifice on the part of youngmen. If my words perhaps offend  
 anymen (sic.) Why should those who have become Ministers and  
 are holding charge of Ministries in Councils fight and die for Swaraj.  
 Why should Jogindar Singh and Fazl-i Husain make sacrifice for  
 Swaraj? They have everything at their disposal. If Swaraj is  
 needed it is needed by we poor people and the youngmen who are  
 interested (lit: linked) with their poverty. And our condition is  
 similar to their condition and besides, we are also starving. The  
 resolution has been placed before you. Young M. As and B. As are  
 daily increasing in number. After coming out of the machinery of  
 slavery they are becoming slaves. You might be daily seeing how  
 many people are openly committing suicide. They acquire higher  
 education, but fail to get any employment. Youngmen who possess  
 some zeal and spirit cannot be in favour of maintainig this system.  
 We should with all the might we are masters of, destroy this system  
 and must destroy it. What is required is that people should possess  
 zeal and should know what we want to do for the sake of the  
 country. We youngmen require your help and unless you join us  
 (sic). Those who work, keeping in view their own interests, cannot  
 succeed in the world. Religion is only a means of exploitation now.  
 These hymns are only a farce. One things of hymns only when he  
 attains liberty. But we are being pushed out everywhere (lit from  
 door to door). Our men are coming from China. They ore being  
 turned out from there. We are turned out from America. No  
 self respecting person can walk with his head erect under such a  
 system of Government. Should we live in such a bad condition?  
 If we should live (at all), we should live for one thing (and that is)  
 that we should have liberty, and that we should die for liberty and  
 live for liberty. The view point of we youngmen differs from (that  
 of) the Nehru Report. But we have not taken up this question  
 lest we should quarrel over minor differences.' Now as the Cong-  
 ress has given an ultimatum, oppression has now become the order  
 of the day. We are sure that even if all of us are arrested, India and  
 the Punjab will be proud of again raising in the Punjab the standard  
 of liberty which was lowered at the Calcutta Congress. The  
 Punjab will prepare such youngmen to die as will make them unable  
 to stay lit plant their foot) in India. I know that you are with  
 us and will join hands with us. I am glad that we youngmen have  
 showed that we have life in us. We have not felt confused at the  
 arrests made in connection with the Saunders (murder), nay, we  
 have accepted Governments' challenge! nay, the Government may

arrest as many youngman as it likes, we do not care for that.

Sd: Arjan Singh,

S. I. C. I. D.

Punjab.

Translated by

Morid Husain, Urdu Translator.

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## P. 1914 T.

Copy of the speech made by M.A. Majid at the youngmen Conference, Amritsar, on the 12th. April 1928:—

This Conference congratulates the members and workers of the League Against Imperialism for freeing (lit: and) the labourers and labour nations throughout the world from the dreadful grip of imperialism and assures them that the youngmen in India will help in every way their league in its success. This Conference congratulates the Youth Party of China for making unique sacrifices for the sake of (their) country, expresses its feelings of sympathy (with them) and condemns the aggressive action of the British Government and other Governments.

You know how much money Italy got from Afghanistan for (lit: from) a man, but four or five men died in the boundaries of Turkistan and Afghanistan, but the Indians do not know Sic! (even) their names. But he was a slave, a poor and a helpless man. His name was Khair Din, tailor of Amritsar. None raised voice for him, as we had none at our back, as we were slaves. (None) shows sympathy towards slaves. For this reason none enquired from us as to how they (?) fared. We came to know of our position when we went out (of India) and we realized, brethren, that we enjoy great honour at our home (?) Those people used to look upon us with contempt. I myself once had an opportunity to see the Russian and the Turkish Consuls. I had seen what our condition was here. I wished to come back to (my native) country and ask my brethren to rise and get free if they wanted to be called human beings in the world. But other kingdoms that were in my way proved an obstacle in (the way of) my coming. But the reply given by the Turkish Consul (was) that he was there for the sake of Turks and not for the

sake of Indians and that I should go to my legation and make a complaint there.

This was the reply I got from the Turks. Then I went to the Persian Consul. He also gave a similar reply. He would never have meted out such a treatment, if an Englishman, an Italian or an Afghan had gone to him. Why it was so? Because we belonged to a slave nation. There is no difference between you and other people i.e. those (that) are in (lit: pressed under) the grip of Imperialism. We are prepared to help them in every way and come what may, we shall try to put an end to the curse of Imperialism. Our full sympathy is with that party of China which should be called the extremist (party) and who were subjected to atrocities by the agents of these imperialists and we look upon the oppressors with hatred.

Sd: Arjan Singh,  
S.I., C.I.D.,  
Punjab.

Translated by

Morid Husain, Urdu Translator.

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P. 1879 [1] [C]

SPEECH DELIVERED ON 1-5-28

BY

*"Sohan Singh Josh.*

" Young men (lit. young) and worker brethren, I too want to say something to you today. My young brethren, if liberty can be secured in the world, then it can be secured through young men. The leader movement has been in existence here in our country up to this day: and the *Kirti* movement has not sprung up in this country up till now. It is for this reason that we have not seen the face of the goddess of liberty up to this day. We are leading our respective lives by becoming shameless, and our shamelessness knows no bounds. It is my belief that if liberty is to come, it will come through *Kirtis*, otherwise we shall never be able to gain

liberty. "Hear, hear." By *Kirtis* I mean peasants and labourers. These workers and peasants who are 90<sup>th</sup> per cent are starving. If you know the condition of these people of India, who are passing their lives in a miserable way and several peasons die of starvation daily-then you will certainly say that you have become sick of leading a disgraceful life. I understand that at present there is very little awakening among the labourers and workers of India. Today is a day of festival for the labourers of the whole world, for celebrating which we have held a meeting here today. Today labourers weigh their strength. I regret that we have not achieved much success here in Lahore today. It is regrettable that we have not achieved any great success. We should have made demonstrations and rallied under our blood-red flag. We are all being looted todays, and Capitalists are looting us. And Government too is looting us by enhancing its land revenue. I think that the Naujawan Bharat Sabha has now determined to (lit. that we should) remove the idle leaders from the platform (lit from the *Gaddi* of the platform) and start work here by becoming sepoys. "Hear, hear." We should honour ourselves and then other people too will honour us. We should prevent the recurrence in future of the insult offered to us by Dyer and O'Dwyer by spitting at the faces of our sisters and mothers and calling them bitches and sows. Brethren, we wish that the *raj* of the *Kirti* should spring up in the world in the real sense of the term and that administration also should fall into our hands. At present we\* an international of labourers in the world. Labourers think that every labourer who works in Russia or America is our brother. So we should try to free ourselves from the yoke of capitalists. Thank (God) that such awakening has now sprung up among us that we want to remove the (control of) Capitalists from over us. "Hear hear". A small number of Capitalists keep Capital in their hands and go on bleeding labourers white (lit-go on bathing in the blood of labourers). You see what value we have to-day. When we sympathise with our brethern and share their sorrows, then we resort to strike (sic). I wish all labourers and workers of the N. W. R. could resort to strike today and come here at this time. But it is regrettable that this did not happen. We should have strength in us today, so that our Capitalists might have come to know what *Kirtis* can do. It is to be hoped that these people will not recede from the task they have undertaken even on receiving bullets. "Hear,hear". Now we have become ready to get out of the noose of Capitalist. It is a matter for gratitude that even the Congress has passed not to help the Capitalist English in the coming war. It appears that in that war the English will be on one side and Russia on the other. I ask my labourers and workers of India not to help the English in that war at all. "Hear, hear." I point out to Sikhs and they must be aware (of the fact) that

when they demanded & went to demand 33 per cent representation (lit. rights), the people of Egypt kicked them (sic.) Dr. Gurbux Singh said that an Egyptian lady spat at him there and also remarked. "This man is one of the Sikhs who have elected to remain slaves themselves and have made us slaves as well". Now I tell the Sikhs that they, Hindus and Mussalmans should delcare by beat of drum in every street that they will be made to fight in the coming war to be waged by the English in the name of freedom and nation-phism, that they should not fight in it at all and that they should not be taken in by their false promises. This capitalist British Govt. will practise all moves in time of wars, just as *Akhand paths* were arranged in our gurdwaras during the last war. I ask you not to be duped under this pretext of religion. "Hear, hear". Every Indian can join our society for liberating India. What will you gain if you wage a war? Thousands of children will lose their parents and become orphans. Lakhs of ladied will become widows. The outcome will be that English will earn thousands and lakhs of rupees. I again ask you to destroy this Capitalism and imperialism; and *Kirtis* should join together and establish their own *raj* in their own country. You can see what (mal) treatment this imperialism has meted out to your mothers and sisters.

I have one more request to make. The energy you are devoting to your Communal strifes should be spent against this tyrannical Govt. which wants to keep you slaves for ever. We should tell this Govt. that we the *Kirtis* have now awakened and shall set it (lit. its'plank) topsy-turvy. This May-Day is the day of all *Kirtis*. To-day we demonstrate. Brethern, we should remember this day to-day and inform all next year that this May-Day will be celebrated with great pomp and show.

"*President:*

"Now Dr. Satyapal will make a speech".

Translated by

Sher Singh B. A.

Translator (Punjab Govt.)

## P. 1879 (2) (T).

Mr. Abbul Majid delivered the following speech on 1-5-28 the May Day :—

The day we are celebrating to-day is the May day. The greatest reason for celebrating it is that during the French revolution the Commune of Paris was established & at this Commune of Paris, Mars (? Marx) who was the prophet of labourers laid the foundation of labourers' work on this day (lit at that time). He issued a manifesto and then gave it currency (lit glorified it). Labourers form 98 per cent of the population in our country and we demand the rights of the 98 per cent and want to establish their Government. Lala Ram Chandar will tell you in detail about that. Certain people say that we preach against religion. A misconception is being spread against us that we are irreligious (i.e. followers of no-religion). But these people have not understood us (and what) we say and what we preach. Certain friends have even said that we do not want to see any religion (in the world). But this idea is also being wrongly given currency to. Certainly, our object is to make the youngmen in India, Indians. As regards the establishment of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha we have (now) felt the necessity of establishing it on a permanent footing. Comrades! we had declared that all the members of this Sabha would not take part in any communal society. A resolution was passed that religion Politics should be kept separate. On this a newspaper began to raise a hue and cry. It is not our object that you should give up your religion, Mustafa Kamal has in no way given up his religion. Nay, it means that Government has no religion. Certain people ask us the question whether we shall establish a Hindu, Sikh or Muslim *raj* after the attainment of Swaraj. Gentlemen; (I) am trying neither for the Hindus nor for the Musalmans, but on the other hand I am trying for the (people forming) 98 per cent (of the population), who are suffering at the hands of others. We are making the demand for the 98 per cent only, among whom are included Hindus, Sikhs Musalmans, Christians and even Irreligious people. You know that the Russian Government has no religion. I have seen Musalmans of that place and also people professing other religions. Musalmans are in a sufficient number in Tashqaud and Moscow. There is no religion there. There the Musalmans are Musalmans as individuals but as a community they have no religion. Religion has nothing to do with administrative affairs there. In a country which is not free, people die in the name of religion. It is essential for us that when we get liberty we should also declare that we have no religion for administration (lit. country). Your All-Parties Government has also said the same thing.

Gentlemen I am standing here to-day to serve you. I may tell you that you are not irreligious people. Nay, you believe in

your own respective religions. The rebellion of khost broke out in Afghanistan because the Amir had spread education there. The enemy was thinking (lit was on the look out for) what to do. The enemy got a pretext; and then Abdul Karim fled to that place and they started a rebellion. All the mullahs there joined them and a rebellion broke out there throughout the country. After the outbreak of rebellion there a man came to me who was known to me owing to my connection with Australia.

He told me that the Amir had become a follower of Mirza (Ghulam Ahmad Khan of Qadian), and that for this reason they had rebelled (against him). I told him that it was a sign of their being illiterate. When we went to Muslim countries, they first intended to kill us. They sent men from there. When the Turkmans came to know that \* \* \* we remained prisoners for six days. After that they robbed us of all of our clothes and belongings. We remained in prison there for seven days. They imprisoned us deliberately. In fact, some of the persons who accompanied us on HIJRAT were weak and cowards and they brought us into disrepute. Weak men always make religion "instrumental." This is the work of the weak and the cowards. Cowards and weak persons have started propaganda against us here also. Journalists also sell their newspapers in the name of religion, for otherwise their newspapers will command no sale.

They got many innocent persons killed.  
\* The brackets We are sick of all this and these leaders appear in the and these newspapers got innocent persons killed. original—Tr. (Hear, hear)\*. No religion enjoins the murder of a person professing some other religion.

Neither Hindu religion teaches this, nor do Islam and Sikh religion teach you to kill one another. All the persons believing in religion are doing that in the name of religion. To-day we want to tell those who work in the name of religion that their desire (lit : work) can not be fulfilled now.

On this many persons took exception and declared that they did not want to hear anything about religion.

Voices : We don't (want to) hear you. You yourself are an irreligious person and you preach 'no-religion'.

Voices : Finish this speech.

Kidar Nath Sehgal : Please listen quietly to what Abdul Majid says and then consider over that.

Voices : We don't want to listen. You too sit down.

religion. You should stop religious exploitation (Hear, hear) \*. It is necessary for us that we should look to the interests of (the people forming) 98 per cent (of the population). We do not demand Communal rights, nay, we demand the rights of the 98 per cent.

Translated by

Morid Husain,

Urdu Translator.

## P. 1879 [3] [I].

Speech made by Kidar Nath on 1-5-'28—The May Day:—

Mr. President and my Hindu, Muslim and Sikh brethren! Before I read out the resolution entrusted to me I want to say a word or two to Mr. Shafi, who got displeased on hearing some remarks about religion. I want to tell him that he is mistaken. Just as he respects the Prophet Mohammad and the holy Quran, so do we do. Like the Sikhs we also respect the Granth Sahib. I want to tell him that the riots (lit fight) that took place in India recently were started under the pretext of religion. Friends! I want to say that recently when the newspapers in the Punjab and India were publishing these humiliating things, we found that while the muslim newspapers were writing in favour of (Mussalmans), the Hindu newspapers were writing against them (Mussalmans). I wished to start for the newspapers which used abusive language for religions other than their own; a "Jutiao" (shoe-beating) committee which should give a shoe-beating to the editors of those newspapers. But certain people said that newspaper men were their friends and that they should be first advised (not to do so). I told (them) that I would be the first person to become a member of the committee and give a shoe-beating to the newspaper men.

Question from a peron:—Which fight has been fought in the name of religion.



Kidar Nath:—These RAGRAS and the rejoinders to them that are being published incite feelings (of the people.)

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I now place before you the resolution entrusted to me:—

This public meeting of the inhabitants of Lahore expresses its abhorrence at the firing opened on the Bombay and Lillooah strikers, and requests the nationalist members of the assembly to get like Egypt some law passed regarding the national unions.

As regards the plight of the strikers in Bombay and Lillooah, Government is helping the capitalists and does not protect the rights of the workers. I shall narrate an incident. I went to Rajmandri in Madras. I met such men there \* \* \* \* you fight in the name of religion. Go to Nankana and see what was done there. Friends! He is an idiot and the son of an idiot who sets the Hindus and Musalmans at loggerheads. If seven crores of Musalmans embrace Hinduism, curse be on them if they still remain slaves. And if 22 crores of Hindus be converted to Islam, accursed be they if they still remain slaves. (Hear, hear.)\* These resolutions are daily passed in vain and they will never end. The fact is that all these skirmishes will never come to an end unless the English go away from here. So long as you do not drive out the English from here, no work of yours will be done satisfactorily. You will remain slaves as you are and will die as such. You should feel ashamed that you talk of religion and religion alone and do not destroy the capitalists. You are being governed by a nation which wants to keep you slaves for ever. You should destroy the Government of these Englishmen and the capitalists. (Hear, hear).\*

Translated by

Morid Husain,

Urdu Translator.

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## P. 1881-T.

Mir Abdul Majid made the following speech on 13-5-28:—

You might have heard a number of speeches. I ask whether those who demand land revenue from us have brought land with them from England. Land belongs to us and we cultivate it. What right have they got (over it). Firstly, we do not possess so much land as we can cultivate and secondly, after paying land revenue we are not left in such a position as can enable us to educate our children or sympathise with any one. This is so because we are ignorant and do not think that these (i. e. Englishmen) are gaining their footing. When they came to India, they advanced and to-day they are holding possession of the whole of the land. I shall speak about land revenue but if an unlawful land revenue is realised, we shall raise voice against it, no matter whoever it may be who realises the land revenue. Why should we pay revenue when our crops fail. Tell me some remedy for it. What was necessary was that in case of the failure of crops they ought to have enquired from us) whether we would be able to maintain ourselves and if we were unable to do so they ought to have given some relief. But they know only how to realise (lit: take) money. In 1920-21 I was in Central Asia. A great famine visited that place and the Government (there) used to give us bread in those days. Similar was the case in Moscow. Why (it is so); because there it is their own Government. They feel the trouble of their brethren. The Englishmen do not realise this. They say that the 'black' may suffer, but the English, white soldiers and judges should not suffer. Reduce the salaries of Englishmen drawing big salaries, reduce the budget for Police that beats us and thus make up (the deficiency in) the land revenue. Councils have been opened. It is stated that your representatives go there. But in reality they are the representatives of (their) stomachs. Have they ever fought for you? It was their duty that they should have at once raised an agitation over this matter in the Council or the Assembly. You have been a prey to many other calamities. You should, therefore first acquire education so that you might be able to realise your right. Labourers and peasants live throughout the world. They form 98 per cent of the population. Peasants form bulk of the population in India. If there should be a Government here (at all) it should be of those who preponderate. Enquire from the Government how many representatives of yours there are in the Council. Our representatives should be according to our numerical strength. Rai Bahadurs and Khan Bahadurs go there. They fight for their stomachs. You have had enough of religious war. The war for stomach is going on at present. Be prepared for it. If you yourselves will not get ready none will do anything for you. Lambardars

and zaildars are not with you. They are siding with the Englishmen, for the Government gives them something or other. Zamindars should also demand that land should be distributed among them because they cannot maintain themselves. We should form a Government of peasants and workers. Why should a third (person) profit by our income. If he wants to gain profit, he should plough with us. You should urge the remission of land revenue and if the land revenue is not remitted, then do not pay land revenue. We have yet to consider what we should do if the land revenue is not remitted.

Translated by

Morid Husain, Urdu Translator.

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## P. 1913 [T],

Copy of the speech made by M. A. Majid on 15, 5. 28 at the Jallianwalla Bagh meeting held under the auspices of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha:—

M. A. Majid:—

My dear Punjabi brethren; I have not come (here) to make a long speech. I am a soldier and have come here to deliver a soldierlike message. We want that just as we have entered the field of action for the sake of the country, similarly we should invite other brethren (to do the same). We had established a Naujawan Bharat Sabha in Lahore. And there was no Sabha there. It was extremely necessary to open a branch of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha in Amratsar also. We should not take rest so long as the youths of the Punjab are not strung in one chain. It is the duty of every youngman not to take rest unless we are organised one by one.

To a large number of people my speech caused the misapprehension that we preached 'no-religion'. These things are probably being published in newspapers. It is essential for us that our Sabha should have and shall have nothing to do with any particular association or community. Our Sabha is and will be a Sabha of Indians purely. The first and the foremost thing needed at the time is that we should produce Indians and make Indians. So long as we shall not remove this bigotry and hatred from our minds we shall never prove useful for the country. You can daily learn a lesson for some calamity (or other). It is necessary that we should organise Indian youths and prepare them for the service of the country. We do not require Mussalmans, Hindus or Sikhs alone. We invite all the youngmen professing any religion to join our Sabha but their religion will be a personal thing and shall have nothing to do with the Sabha. The fact is that this society will have no concern with any particular religion. Neither it shall have anything to do with the religion of Mussalmans nor shall it have any concern with that of the Hindus. Certainly we ourselves have to govern our country in the near future (it: tomorrow). Then tell me—I ask the Hindus—will the Hindus establish a Hindu Government here, the mussalmans a Muslim Government and the Sikhs a Sikh Government? No community is prepared to accept the sovereignty of the other. (Since) no person is prepared to work under the other as a slave, how can one community remain a slave of the other. Our future programme will be social programme which will be carried on with (the help of, Hindus Mussalmans and Sikhs. We do not want a Capitalistic Government. I declare that we want to change the system of capitalists and the labourers who in reality are the masters of this country will govern (it). There lie no differences among them. It is the capitalists who cause all this cleavage. They set us by the ears for the sake of their stomachs. Come, enter the field and fight for your stomachs! Come, let us work together! We have fought many a religious fights and have sent to jails and killed (many) useful men. We want a war which might benefit not only us but also our coming generations. If you cannot gain anything by it, the coming generations will gain tomorrow.

As my respected friend has said that we differ a bit with the Congress, we do not differ from the principles of the Congress, but we differ with the persons who have control over the Congress. They are capitalists and are involving the people in different sorts of quarrels for the sake of their interests. (The separation of) Sind is an ordinary question. Mussalmans are insisting upon having Sind separated. Who are the persons who want it to be separated? They are capitalists, and those who are opposing it are Hindu capitalists. I ask you to tell me what will the Muslim labourers and Hindus in Sind gain if the Sind province is separated.

If anybody will get something, it will be the big Khan Bahadurs. It is possible that we also may make provinces according to our rules ( ? interests ) at the time when the Government will be in our hands. This will not give rise to disputes over seats. You were opposed to the Simon Commission but what happened in the Council. They pass... \* The blarks appear in the original-Tr. || these things which have been concocted (lit: created) against us are wrong. There were only two Mussalmans in our Nauja van Bharat Sabha but ever since opposition has been started, Mussalmans have begun to get themselves enlisted (as its members) Their applications have now begun to pour in. This is a question of our life. Do not mind these people. Those people are opposing and will oppose us on whose interests we are striking a blow, and who are apprehending a loss ( at our hands ). It is, therefore, necessary that if you want your welfare and want to change the existing system, come, join us and act upon the principles of this Sabha after joining it. The *Inqilab* and the *Paras* have now published against us poems headed "War against God " These papers will certainly raise a hue and cry, for these newspapers act upon the policy of winning the support of one party and writing against the other. If you entertain any doubts, please see our members and after getting your doubts removed join the Sabha and try to make it a success.

Sd: Arjan Singh,

S. I., C. I. D.,

PUNJAB.

Translated by

Morid Husain,

Urdu Translator.

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**P. 1883 [!] T.**

Speech made by M. A. Majid at Jullundur, on 26-5-'28.

If you want to have freedom you should get all to unite with you. At present the population of our country is 33 crores. But I am wrong if I say that our population is 33 crores. There are half (Illegible.) They ? are in our country. The balance is 16 crores If the half join us, we can get freedom very soon, so that they may teach a lesson to their children to this effect :—

"You should not live if you don't get the country to be liberated". A slave nation has neither religion; nor honour; nor can such a nation stand before other nations as men. How are you treated when you go before free nations? When they see that you are one of the nations, which is the slave of the English, they look towards you with hatred. You are not slaves yourselves, but you help the English in enslaving others.

First of all you should (some words omitted) this place. Sentence where the white bureaucracy gets all sorts of help..... incomplete. of money, and of grain.....

Who fought in France during the last war? Who fought with Turkey? Who fought with China?

Brethren! You should, first of all, remove the curse slavery, and remove the things which are obstructing our way. The dearest of the dear.....there is nothing dearer than life .....if a man is ready to sacrifice his life for liberty, nothing can stand in his way. All religious splits should be given up. If you wish to keep religion, that too requires liberty. There should be no distinction among us if one of us is a Sikh, a Christian, a Hindu or a Muslim. We should be Indians. The duty of the Naujawan Sabha is to unite Indians, we want neither Hindus nor Musalmans, nor the Sikhs. We want the Indians. We want neither the speeches; nor to hear them; nor to make them; nor do we want the leaders. We want practical work.

Youths: Get up. If you think yourselves men (then) make yourselves members of the Naujawan Sabha, begin practical work and try to liberate your country. Until you liberate your country you won't get anything. There is unemployment in the Country. This cannot be removed until you crush the existing system (of Govt.) like Russia.....like the present Russia.....and create a new system (or Govt.).

The object of our Naujawan Sabha is to liberate the Country and form a Govt. of 98 per cent people, and that this 98 per cent should have the right to govern.

I wanted to speak much. But I am sorry that the time is very short. My other brethren wish to speak. When you join this Sabha, you should join it as pure Indians.

Translated by  
Ali Muhamed.

## P 1883 (2) (T).

K. N. SAHGAL'S SPEECH AT JULLUNDUR, ON 26. 5. 28.

Before I say anything, this is the first chance that I have come here.

I have come to a city, to a district, whose men are very sincere, and whose men have made great sacrifices for their Country. I congratulate you for producing such men whose names shall be remembered for ever and ever. I won't take much of your time and shall try to conclude very soon.

The foundation stone of national institution was laid 40 years ago. In the beginning it was found by sincere Government men. For a number of years this *Sabha* was called 'Moderate' (?). Long after this, Bal Ganga Dhar Tilak began to take interest in it. He pointed out the duties of a national institution. He was opposed, but he remained firm. After him came Mahatma Gandhi. He breathed a new spirit and made it a strong institution. The Congress explained to 32 Crores of men that they were slaves and (that) they should liberate themselves from the bureaucracy. Time has come and a change is going to be made (not clear) \*I want to conclude this play very soon. The Congress gained \*Not much strength. Thousands of men went to jails and a clear. number of men are still lying in them. The Congress produced a waking among the women also, and they also have begun to work in the national movement.

The Govt.....who has got a number of flatterers.....acted to the contrary and Hindu Muslim disputes were produced. The Congress tried to stop these disputes, but the Hindus Muslims and the Sikhs lowered it weight. These disputes went on because the Congress wanted to displease neither the Hindus nor the Muslims.

Now the Naujawan Sabha has come into existence. First they will understand them to be the Indians and then Hindus, Muslims, or Sikhs. There will be nothing religious in it; nor will the religion be discussed. The Bharat Naujawan Sabha has formed a principle to the effect that (its member) may he be following any religion.....shall get the same position as can be given to a nationalist Indian. Anybody, of any religion,.....whether he believes in God or not; whether he follows Mohamed Saheb or Krishna Ji or not.....can join this Sabha and can work as a man.

The second principle (?) of the *Naujawan Sabha* is this:— Hindu Muslim disputes are going on everywhere in the Country. The countrymen think of (lit: understand) nothing but religious prejudices. (The don't understand that) a foreign body has been Governing (them) for 150 years, and has kept the boys and girls

without education. They don't think that so much wheat is produced here and who are the plunderers who are taking it away. They don't know why the faces of their children are pale. They are always busy with:...."What religion is good, and what is bad."

One of the principles of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha is that they won't touch a religious point. The Muslim says:—"The way of my God is the nearest." The Hindu says:—"My religion is true." If a man adopts a distant route he will suffer. If a man adopts the nearer route, he will reach sooner. But why do you fight among yourselves. You should not attack the religion of others. Therefore the most important (lit: heavy) step taken by the Naujawan Sabha is relating to the religion. Keep the Ganges, the Quran and the Granth Saheb at your own houses. We have nothing to do with them. There is another question too. Disputes arise about a cow, a bullock or about music. This is the craftiness of the Englishmen. They know that the Hindus pay great respect to the cow. They induce the Musalmans to sacrifice them on the occasion of I'd. But I'd takes place only once a year. Therefore the English produced the question of music. I say to the Musalmans that railways & motors run near the mosque (?) Do you stop them. No religion teaches prejudice. But this country is so unfortunate that here murder and bloodshed is done in the name of religion.

The Naujawan Bharat Sabha shall teach that no dispute should take place in the name of religion. Friends! Do you know why Jullundur has been made a Cantonment? It was necessary that a Cantonment should have been kept at Peshawar or at Quetta, to be of use in case of an attack by Afghanistan. But why at Jullundur? Because should there be ever an agitation among you.....the slaves....., a telegram may be sent to the Cantonments and you may be destroyed.

The Naujawan Sabha says that the Englishmen are imposing taxes every year and spent 60 crores of rupees on Military. In the first place the militarymen eat that money and in the second they suppress us and ruin us.

Have your religious lunatics ever considered to ask the Govt:—"Rs. 60 crores are spent on the military. How much is spent on the education of the children. How regretting it is that in our country men lived for 100 years. Now the average age according to the Census of these Englishmen, is 23 years only. In other countries people live for 60-70 years. You should decide not to join religious disputes.

\*LADIES: (?)

\*As in Urdu. A War is about to begin in India. You will be recruited. If you possess respect, then do openly say to the Englishmen:—



"We shall not join your army until we are free. We need not (one word illegible) by this money and still remain slaves."

You should tell them that you would no more be deceived by them. They are cowards and hold out empty threats. First they threaten. If (you) don't run away, then they themselves run away. In Railway Compartments they frown first, but if one remains firm they hang their faces low. Now the Simon Commission is to visit India to decide whether or not, freedom is to be given to us. They will write the report themselves and indulge in tall talk that India should not be liberated, that it is a wild country, and that Hindus and Musalmans fight in it. You should determine not to entangle yourself in these matters.

Between yourselves you may fight but when there is a 3rd. party in the front, you should all unite. Don't use any English made article. If you possess respect. If you don't want Martial (Law) then boycott English goods.

Translated by

Ali Muhamed

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P. 1883 (3) (T).

Sohan Singh Josh's speech made at

Jullunder, on 26/5/28.

Brethren and Sisters!

First of all I offer my salutes to you. I want to point out 2 or 3 things to you. The first is "why Naujawan Sabha has become necessary".

If India has any disease, it has the disease of making *Sabhas* and Societies. Some men collect together and form a society. Then they shout in newspapers. At this place also people don't understand as to what was the necessity of forming this Society of children. Time is short. I have to show pictures also. Therefore I will try to finish the work very soon. All the *Sabhas*, existing at present in India, have a communal paint on them. Either they are communal themselves, or they are religious Societies, which are throwing India out of the way. People are taught 'Religion. Religion. Heaven. Heaven.' But those who teach us to live

(even) by starving, they themselves sit in motor cars, and live in magnificent houses. We, the poor work for the whole day and when come home in the evening, we get dry bread. If the condition of India be seen. From 'India' I don't mean 'big men', who have kothis and servants and who have got all sorts of luxuries. I don't mean those who possess money.

and thereby (some word omitted) our money which we earn by shedding our blood, by means of taxes, or  
Vague in original. any other sources which he cannot understand.

The *Naujawan Sabha* has arisen (saving?) that old ideas are not wanted now, that old thoughts should be changed and new ones should be formed.

Ten (?) men of Oil Companies gather and decide that the price of oil should be increased. Oil is burnt in your (or their) houses and the price of oil is increased by 2? pice per bottle. It is a calamity for the poor. In this way the poor are plundered. We wish to save you from this trouble. In the same way our Zamindars work for the whole day and then they are taxed. Now such a time has come (lit. such a waive has arisen) that the crops of the Zamindars are spoiled and they get little grain. Then the sword of Revenue is upon their heads (?) How is this revenue paid? By borrowing money. When once a Zamindar borrows money he can't pay it off for the whole of his life. We have come to destroy (lit. remove) this system. If Indian (lit. Black) bureaucracy comes in place of the English (lit. white) one, we shall not want it. We shall require a Govt. consisting wholly of labourers and peasants, whose number is 98 per cent. You may ask 'what is the necessity of this new sabha. The Congress, the Muslim League, and the Sikh League are working'. But I have seen that our religious leaders raise the question of cow killing at one place and of slaughter by *Halal*, or by *jhatka*, at the other. Our *Naujawns* say 'let any one slaughter by *Halal* or by *jhatka*. We want to form a party to break the mouth of any leader, spreading such communal agitations'. We have stood up for these things. We want to work as Indians. Our Society is neither a Muslim (society) nor a sikh one, nor Hindu one, It is clearly Indian. We want to liberte India by (one word illegible) Indian religion. From 'liberty' we don't mean that our leaders should become in charge of Capitalist Govt. Sardar Jogendra Singh is appointed a minister. Before him Sundar Singh was the minister. How did their ministry benefit the Sikhs (?) How did it benefit the peasants. We wish to create a condition so that he who earns money from money and does not do any work himself, may be treated as a *chuhra* (a low caste). Today we have come to spread the movement of Bread. At this moment the principle question is

Bread. A number of religions teach Unity but the question of Equality (or Unity) can be solved by 'Bread' only. Come ? let us stand up and upset this system and replace it by Unity (or Equality).

Translated by

Ali Muhamed

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## P. 1912 T.

"Copy of the speech delivered by Sohan Singh Josh at the Bardoli Day meeting held on the 12th. June 1928 under the auspices of the city Congress Committee. Amritsar, and the local Nau-Jawan Bharat Sabha.

"Brethren, the brethren who have spoken before me have narrated at length about Bardoli. The awakening produced in the interval between the arrival and departure of the Simon Commission is very fortunate. Dr. Kitchlew has stated that all labourers have awakened. The peasant brethren of Bardoli too are fighting for rights. If (you) think, you will come to know that there is one thing at the bottom of all these things which compels them to oppose the Government. What is that thing? I would like to point out to you. The problem of bread is at the bottom of this whole struggle, no matter by whosoever it has been started. Until the problem of bread (lit: stomach) is solved in the world, no (other) problem can ever be solved. My brethren have remarked that *Satyagrah* will end if liberty is granted. Not at all. I say that if our own Govt. springs up and labourers and peasants are not looked after, even then this struggle will not come to an end. The people of the whole world are uniting because the problem of bread has sprung up. At this time, there are only two per cent people who are sucking our blood and want to keep us under their sway (lit: want to remain sitting on our back.) Until these two per cent people who are fattening on our income end and the reins of Govt: come to the hands of peasants, peace can never reign in the world. It is just possible that you may not realize what your rights are. If peace is to reign in the world, it will reign only when richness and poverty in the world end. Until the people of the whole world become equals, no peace will spring up. If liberty is attained, even then labourers will not be pacified. You may, however, try the remedy of Gandhi. But I am of opinion that if India is to secure complete independence then, as a resolution

was passed at Madras, all labourers and peasants should become organised and start a revolution in India. And we can come out successful only by creating a revolution. Success will never be achieved without this revolution. And so long labourers and peasants do not realize that they have to solve the problem of bread (lit: stomach) so long nothing can be gained. If Govt: apprehends danger at the hands of anybody, it apprehends it at the hands of the masses. A little agitation was started in some districts. Peasants pointed out that their crops had been ruined, and that even ten mounds produce could not be secured in place of forty mounds (secured formerly). Under these circumstances, the members of the Punjab Legislative Council raised a hue and cry, with the result that by way of consolation Govt: remitted land-revenue amounting to forty lakhs (of rupees). Govt: issued a very splendid *Communique*. But I wish to point out to you that mere dust has been thrown into your eyes in this way. The lot of the common peasants cannot be bettered at all by this (means). The general condition of peasants is that they (lit: people) are starving. Owing to their inability to pay fees to doctors and their starvation, they are suffering (lit: dying) toiling the whole day long. Still Govt. is not moved a bit. If even in full of such a miserable plight we do not create revolution, then it is not known how degraded we are. What is happening in Bardoli will take place here to-morrow, and you will have to do (the same) even if the Bardoli (struggle) fails. Zamindars are becoming so much financially weak that they will have to do something or other with a view to better (their) lot. I have heard to-day that Pathans made mean assaults on women in Bardoli. A pathan dragged a lady to the river. There is, after all, a limit to forbearance. Man has naturally a vindictive spirit. How long can it remain (under control)? But man is after all man. His nature crosses its limit when it reaches certain point; and then steps in the spirit of vengeance. While making speech here I feel ashamed that we cannot send message to villages. If we have to narrate our tale of woe, we should do so among poor brethren. If these respectable brethren join us, then Amritsar can be converted into Bardoli today. The people of Amritsar are not cowards; but there is none to lead them. The Zamindar always remains on the look out as to who gives him a lead. While supporting this resolution I would like to point out (lit: request) that the forms and rules of our Sabha have been printed and those who want to enlist can do so.

“(Sd:) Arjan Singh,  
S.I., C.I.D.,  
Punjab.”

Translated by  
Shersingh B.A.  
Translator (Punjab Govt.)

## P. 1911 T.

“ Copy of the speech delivered by Sohan Singh Josh on the 20th. July 1928 at the Mahalpur Diwan (Meeting).

### SOHAN SINGH JOSH.

“ Lectures are delivered in order that the Country may be prepared for liberty. I am not a religious man. As opposed to a man called religious I am a purely political man. My object is that all peasant brethren should be served, some programme be chalked out (lit. placed) for uplifting them (and) the principles as to how we can free ourselves from this political slavery be made known to them. When I begin to put forward a programme, I tremble, Lectures are delivered for securing liberty. Liberty can be secured (1) by non-violence, the principle of Gandhi and (2) by the principle of violence. When I see you that picture comes before my eyes in which every voice is full of liberty (and) every brick is laid on the drops of the blood of several martyrs. This *ilaqa* which has such a high ideal has sent [to the arena] not only the followers of the principle of non-violence but also Babbar AKalis. Who remaining violent, [lit. but remaining violent Babbar AKalis] have done such as work as fill people with great astonishment. These brethren have made sacrifices simply for the sake of liberty and India and not for personal gain. By stepping into the field they immolated not only themselves but their families as well. I have come here not to learn propaganda-work from you people but to learn how the brethren of Doaba attain martyrdom. My whole body begins to tremble when I write an account of the martyrs of 1914 in this *Kirti* and read (it),—The martyrs who staked for liberty all they had with them, mounted the gallows and (lit. but) laid down their lives for the sake of the ideal they had placed before them. Praise, be to the sisters who gave birth to heroes. This occurs in our mind, (and) our leaders say that it was the Babbar AKali, movement which made the Gurdwara movement successful. But on the other hand, we cannot muster courage owing to our weaknesses. I consider their principle right, because they performed sacrifices for the cause in which they reposed confidence. And you deserve thanks. It was talked in your *ilaqa* (lit. country) that efforts were made to throw a veil on your history. But the enthusiasm which you possess is that which takes nations to the highest pinnacle (of glory). No nation in this world can progress unless they have the spirit to elevate their history and tell the coming generations that they are not cowards and that they should remove the curse of slavery by making protest in a spirited manner. This was the ideal for which you continued fighting. For this I congratulate my sisters.

“ I do not wish to speak at length on the Babbar AKali movement.

Every thing in the World has an (extreme) limit. After that limit, (is reached) the spirit of Vengeance gets provoked. A human being tolerates (it) for some time. After that, some time comes when he loses selfcontrol. Silence cannot, therefore, be maintained then (lit. now). When that time comes, the spirit of Vengeance is roused. He does not (even) guess what his mother will do. In short he puts his boat (in bay) and becomes ready to suffer whatever consequences may arise. ( When ) our Babbar Akalis and honoured martyrs saw how Sikhs were being "butchered" at Guru-Ka-Bagh, they lost self-control and remarked that they would remain the advocates of non-violence and that although they had no material forces still they would sacrifice (themselves) for the country. And they sacrificed their all before our eyes. When Sadar Kishan Singh Gargaj and (his) six companions were hanged, I and my (lit. other) companions were in jail. We cannot forget that night. That was a unique spectacle. The Bahi Sahib continued reciting Kabirji's *Shabad* (hymn) throughout the night ..... "He alone should be considered a hero who fights for the sake of religion." They continued to console one another. The spectacle of that morning can never be forgotten. When, after they had finished their *path* (recitation) they were about to be taken to the gallows, three of them remarked: 'Brethern, you are going to the lap of Guru Govind Singh, wait for us on the way; and we too shall come and will all go together.' We people who cannot realize their ideal resort to criticism. We moved (a resolution) at the Amritsar Political Conference that liberty should be attained by every possible means—At that time our big leaders came forward and remarked: 'Why are you dying? Take some rest. The doctrine suggested by Gandhi is right! The resolution moved at that time was got passed. Youngmen said that the slaves of every country had a right to free their country by any means, no matter whatever might happen for securing liberty and whatever price they might have to pay for it.

"It was Patrick Henry—who got America liberated. The people of America asked that [since] they too were just like the English why they were governing them. When spirit sprang up among them, Patrick Henry was the first man to stand in the front row, taking up the flag of liberty. He said that life was so dear that it should be purchased at the cost of slavery. He, I would like to point out to you, remarked that he should be given either liberty or death, and that they [Americans] would mount the gallows and never remain slaves. I have read the judgment (against) that Kishan Singh Gargaj It is written on its second pages that most of the accused (lit: persons) in the Babbar Akali Case were such as had served in the military. It is surprising that a person enquired from a military man whether he had thought over anything. He replied that he (simply) knew how to obey orders, and that military

discipline was to obey order and not to think (over it) at all. Why did this poisonous education which continued to be given to them disappear and why did the movement for liberty spring up? Have you ever thought over it? We cannot make intellectual and social progress. Thousands of B. As. are hankering after employment; but unemployment has become so rife that none cares (for them). Why so? This matter should be attended to. What compelled Kishen Singh to desert the army, hoist the flag of War of independence and immolate himself? Have you ever thought over it? If an opportunity had been offered to Kishen Singh Gargaj and if Commissioned ranks had been thrown open to us, he would have taken the place of General Birdwood. and the command of the Indian armies would have been in his hand to-day. But the doors of Commissioned ranks are shut. When he saw that we were lying enchained in every department and the plight of Zamindars was miserable, he remarked that the time of the trial of luck was over. They have come from a distance of seven thousand miles and are driving in motor-cars. Do they consider themselves to be big personalities (lit: the brother-in-law of Nadhu Khan) simply because their skin is white and ours is black?

“ They realized ( lit: saw ) that they would then show by the dint of their arms that they possessed strength and that they could disorganise this system. They really (? displayed their strength). You already know how the “Babbar Akali raj” remained established here. Liberty can be gained only if you perform sacrifice for it.

“ The Congress continued passing resolutions daily for forty years but it could achieve no success save that a few barristers and vakils, who say that you are their strength, secured some posts. In reality, they secured them through our strength. They point out to Govt. that they have masses at their back. In other words, they obtained everything by exploiting us while we (ourselves) gained nothing. If Jogindar Singh has become a minister, then, say, what any other person has gained ( thereby )? This strength which was gained, was gained through your power. All fear peasants & workers. If Govt. is afraid of ( anything ) it is afraid of my lectures and not those of Gopal Singh. Govt. fears you. Leaders fear you, because of your ( future ) awakening. Whatever battles we fight and whatever sacrifices we make, are taken advantage of by others. We have never obtained any good house. Why should we then fight battles unnecessarily. If, supposing, the English leave this place then big Indian Capitalists will begin to rule. And if rich persons get hold of offices, how will our condition improve and what change will result? This is the question which, in my opinion, we should consider. What battle have we to fight? We should think and do something whereby our lot may better, and also find out the causes of unequal distribution of wealth. This is the battle we have to fight; and leaders are afraid of it. When we do not remain under the control of leaders, they

disown us. All know how leaders tendered apologies. But you were awake. They knew in what lay their good. They knew that they were sitting inside (sic). These sympathizers have now come out ( sic ). These leaders are suspicious. Therefore, they do not awake us. They know that if Zamindars come to know that they should fight for themselves too ( sic ). Hence they do not bring us to the right path. Govt. apprehends lest masses should go out of its control and become revolutionaries, and lest its condition should then become just like that of Russia.

“ Ten years ago the condition of Russia was worse than ours. 96 percent Zamindars of that country were illiterate and quite ignorant. But it dawned upon them that they were 98 per cent in the world and that 2 per cent people had kept them enchained. ( They thought ) there must be some reason for this and why it was so. They found out the reason and said that these two per-cent had financial power in their hands. Haileys & Birkenheads are, in reality, not reulers; rich capitalists are at their back. All the wars that took place in the 18th. Century were waged from financial viewpoint to extend markets. Wars were waged in co-operation with ( ? for ) those markets. The basis of the war of 1914 was that Germany had become powerful and it had a big stock of goods for sale. The death of the prince was a mere pretext under which this war broke out. We gained nothing from this war save that the sons of our mothers became orphans. It was Capitalists who gained. There goods worth lakhs of rupees were thus disposed of. This was the cause of the war. ( What did ) we poor people ( gain )? We are poor. The people of China & Russia too are poor. They are our brethren. Capitalists set us by the ears by pulling our wires. The war was waged for (securing) markets and selling commodities. Blood of thousands of us was shed. Our brethren say that we the Sikhs gave 1/6th. of help to Govt. Hence they should be given 33 per cent ( representation ). ( They ) thus betrayed the community; and the result is that we are becoming more slavish. When I here of this, my head hangs in shame. Sikhs demand 33 per cent ( representation ) Mussalmans 55 per cent. and Hindus 45 per cent. Nationalists say that they do not want (any) per centage. They want sacrifices. Perform sacrifices first. Sir Mohammad Shafi, Jogindar Singh, Sundar Singh and Narindar Nath say that if they have no representation in councils, their (respective) communities will denounce (lit: eat) them. They want to secure 134 per cent rights (for us). These are our demands! This is the question which raises the question of mosque and music! This is the question which keeps us divided! It has brought us to rack and ruin. You have to find out a solution to the problem whether any good lies in securing 33 per cent (representation) or in securing the liberation of India. If 33 per cent .....(sentence incomplete - Tr). When the Bardoli struggle was in progress, Swaraj looked nearer. This was our



conjecture. But Shardhanand and Mulana arose and they taught such crooked methods that we fought (with each other) and thousands of us had to go to jails. We oppose this religion—we are prepared to pull out the roots of this religion. In the time of the Czar of Russia zamindars had no houses. They saw that two per cent (people) were demons with big bellies, who did not let them move (freely) by means of money. Their burden (lit. they) should be removed from our shoulders (lit. head). Some (person) lays down his life for a piece of bread and some rides in a motor car! What is the condition of India to-day? There are crores of people who cannot get even one meal. This Hindustan is that country in which streams of milk used to flow. There was a famine in Bengal. The condition of India makes one's hair stand on end. The whole of this system is rotten. The whole of it should be reduced to pieces and thrown into the sea, and a new edifice should be erected (instead). It is then that these defects (lit. things) can be removed from the world. A report from Madras shows that a man was arrested in connection with a murder case and (then) jailed. He had three daughters, a son and a wife. They depended for their livelihood upon this man who had been imprisoned. They began to support themselves by doing the work of their neighbours. At last, the result of this extreme poverty was that the children began to die in his life-time (lit. presence). At last (the mother) threw the daughters and son into a well with the exception of the eldest daughter, and afterwards she herself jumped into it and committed suicide. This is the condition caused by poverty. The Judge pronounced his judgment stating that they died by drowning themselves owing to starvation. In which society do you live? A man is imprisoned for committing an immoral act. The doctor watches his health daily lest he should grow weak. He who goes to jail is looked after, but his children die of starvation. See, on what unjust (foundations) this present system rests and how we should pull out its roots. Working-people study economics. We see that there is one thing at the bottom of all the defects present in society, and that is hunger. The biggest leader of workers says that although religions may continue and these may go on saying that theft and sin should not be committed still these cannot disappear until poverty is removed. Sardul Singh Kavishar narrated a story stating that he went to Delhi and learnt that there lived an artisan there whose services had been dispensed with. He managed to support himself for some time. When he could not pull on, he said that—'A hungry person has a right to wrest food from another and then take it. It is no sin. The action of moneyed idlers in governing with the help (lit. force) of money is, on the other hand a sin. (Supposing), my father owes one hundred rupees and he cannot discharge this debt during his whole

life-time. He has so scanty land that he cannot meet his household expenses (from its income). He has a debt to pay. My father dies. I am innocent. Owing to my having taken birth in the house of this father, I become responsible for the whole of the debt. The whole of my intellectual and bodily progress stops. On the one hand, the burden of debt pinches me (and on the other) it does not allow me to live in a beautiful house. The result is that my ruination continues; and it does not disappear for generations together. A blockhead who is born to a rich person enjoys himself throughout his life. He does not stand in need of doing any work. Is this Justice? This is the society whose foundations rest on justice. This is the Society we want to overthrow; and (we) want to establish a new system, under which the requirements of every man may be fulfilled. This is the society we want to overthrow. Every person (lit. we wish that every person) who works has as a right to eat. He who does not work has no right whatsoever to eat bread. (If) peasants cease to work, this society can be destroyed to-day. Peasants alone can re-establish the society. Russian brethren realised that they would not let injustice be done (to themselves). They brought about a revolution. I call revolution your (own) *inqilab* (change). You should foster the desire that you have to destroy this system & establish that under which all may eat their fill. There is a revolution of bombs as well. (If) every person works for six hours and spends the rest of time in amusing himself, even then no person in the world can starve. But we starve even though we work the whole day long. The people of Russia created a revolution. After ten years their condition to-day is such and they have become so intelligent that 95 to 96 percent of them have become literate, Lenin clubs exist at every place, where they discuss how to make progress. To-day the big chemists (?) of this place dare not open their lips before the Zamindars of that place, (II) the Mahalpur ilaqa decides that it has not to keep such and such a Judge, that judge is at once dismissed. The officers there are S.P. (?) that ilaqa wants (?). The revolution of Russia has given this much. If you want to remove hunger & poverty from the world, then, I say, you will have to get ready like Russia and create a revolution. (You) cannot see liberty even in dream so long as a "revolutionist spirit" is not imbibed that this system is rotten and is to be overthrown and replaced by that system under which equality will prevail and no (private) property will exist. There can be no hope (till then). Then and then a love can revolution spring up. Hence we will have to become ready. I know that the Workers' movement is in full (Lit: sufficient) swing here. If any movement comes out successful it will be the Workers' movement. The Doaba will again lead India in this matter and we shall all join together and make this movement successful, and have oppression removed from India in toto. The English fear us because they are experiencing trouble in Bardoli. A difficulty was about to arise on

the frontier. A few meetings were held at Lyallpur, Sheikhpura and other places, and *Communiques* were issued the next day \* .....

Whatever power there is, lies in you. It knows that if A gap occurs\* we begin to fight for liberty, then no power can check here in the us. The Akali movement was Workers' movement original-Tr whose (organisers) took it to the extreme limit (and) received bullets. It is you who can win liberty. The Congress too has realized this mistake and it too wants to take you into its fold. We are about to work in co-operation with the Congress. We want to take it forward. We do not want a few congressmen to secure posts and keep us in the same (old) position. The Congress leaders too have joined us, and they say that they should better our lot. Sometimes there was the age of the rich and sometimes of Kings. Now all ages will end. The present age is the age of workers. Now workers' war is to take place. Whether it takes place soon or later is a thing which lies in your hands. If you become organized to-day, you can bring it about to-day. Perform sacrifice for brethren. Angels will not come down to bring this about. Nor will any divine power bring about a revolution. You alone will bring about a revolution. Sisters, hear me. The men who think that liberty can be secured through their sacrifice alone are mistaken. Your population is half the total population of the whole India. Sisters are a wheel of the carriage. Hence you will have not only to send your brothers and husbands to this war of independence but to sacrifice yourselves as well. Owing to our having remained in bondage for a long time our mentality has become slavish. Your sisters in Turkey have kicked off religious principles, and cast aside the veil. Your sister Sirojani Naidu was (once appointed) president of this All-India Congress. You should acquire education. I see thousands of exiles of Doaba who say that the ideal for which they-Ratten Singh Munsha Singh and the youngmen of the *ghada* party are roaming from door to door (sic). When I see them, my heart is filled with excitement, and I wish that I may immolate myself at their feet. When I (?we) see that thousands of Babbar A-Kalis are rotting in jail, it is our duty to attain the goal for which they went there. You should follow their principles and win liberty like them. Arise and join the revolutionary movement. Unfurl the red flag of liberty in this India and attain liberty.

“(Sd.) Arjan Singh, S.I., C.I.D., Punjab,”

Translated by

Sher Singh B.A.

Translator (Punjab Govt.)

## P. 1910 [Γ].

“Copy of the speech delivered by Sohan Singh Josh on the 5th. August 1928 at a meeting held at Jallianwala-Bagh under the auspices of the Naujwan Bharat Sabha, Amritsar.

“The week of the “Friends of Russia” will be celebrated all over the world from the 2nd. to the 8th. The friends of Russia will assemble throughout the world; and they will tell this Government that if it (lit: they) declares War against Russia they will offer opposition, and if possible, create disturbance here. I declare without any fear that I am the friend of Russia. The country which requires the doctrines that are being preached by Russia at this time is India—where people do not get full meals both times. Russia was in the same degraded (condition). It cured (lit: treated) itself. Russians are enjoying themselves there to-day. We get neither houses to dwell in nor any clothes. Brethren, the principles which Russia is teaching are, I understand, calculated to give salvation to India. I want that a Govt: similar to that of Labourers and peasants which exists there should exist in India as well. This fact and this hand (sic). I am the friend of Russia in regard to several other matters. Russia (and) Russians want to put obstacles in the way of War (sic). Humanitarians say that war should not take place. But we want to do away with wars altogether. We want that the labourers of the whole world who are alike should all get loaves of bread. Formerly, (they) fought against Germany. Several efforts are made to set (us) against Russia. What enmity do we bear towards them (Russians)? What harm have they done us? (They) have never said (any) bad thing (against the). Why then all this fuss? Why should we draw swords? (Should we do so), simply because these capitalists Government want to add to their greed and cause us to make other countries slaves by enlisting us (each for ten rupees? They point out to Sikhs that they are a martial race. Why have Sikhs gained so much notriety? The recompense of what-ever help they rendered to the English has been given (lit: seen: in the AKali movement. Sikhs declared at the top of their voice that they gave 1/6th (? of help). They have already got more than sufficient reward in the form of bullets at Juito and of beating at Guru-Ka-Bagh. It is to be hoped that they will now recover the senses I have come to believe that so long as this Government exists here even our religion is not safe. Hence I have made this determination; and other youths are joining me who say that (the question of) religion will be considered (lit: seen) later on, & that (we) should deal with them first. We have made this decision, and (lit that) the Naujwan Bharat Sabha has come into being with this very object. O, You who are called poor, it is said that you alone are the producers of good things in the world. Why then you get worn out mattings and torn shreds of cloth? These are the things. (You) should Consider. They should not be

allowed to enjoy themselves. On the other hand, (they) are to be thrown down the back and hurled to the ground. Russia has done this much. I am, therefore, the friend of Russia. The Factory Act lays down that a labourer shall do work for ten hours. Still, employers get work for thirteen hours together and pay nothing. The labourers of Russia, at first, fixed eight hours (as the working-time) and then curtailed it to six hours; and in special cases they have fixed five hours (as the working-time). If all human beings in the world work for four hours, then no one in the world can remain hungry. (They) again want to drag us into a new war. What is the significance of our fighting and enlisting in the army until we remedy hunger and stand upon our own legs? You should also realize the responsibility of this resolution. You must be aware of the severities practised in the time of O'Dwyer when War was going on. In those days it was pointed out to youngmen that if they did not enlist they would be proceeded against. That time will come again. There are several persons here who hanker after squares of land; and they will betray you and ask you to enlist in the army. But I say that our duty is to first turn these out—Cheers. Until Indians drive these out by becoming Indians first and Indians last, it is our duty (sic) I have \* . . . made up (sic). The hardships already suffered in connection with the Gurdwara movement (sic). I have decided that it is a thousand times better to remain in jail and to mount the gallows. But it is a great sin to help capitalists. War loans will again be demanded (from) you in the coming war. (They) will ask you for help by giving temptation. But the Naujwan Bharat Shaba has decided at a meeting that you should not give any help either of men or of money. Most of us have decided to commence a struggle here if a war really breaks out. It is just possible that we may be shot down. But it can never be possible that we may not (?), fight for our selfish motives. If a war breaks out with Russia, then we shall plague it (Govt) from behind. (lit: put its button into the button-hole). You should get ready; War is not distant. It will take place on the Frontier. In reality, they are finding out some pretext. War is about to break out. You should decide by now that you will not give them any kind of help. If possible, do as indicated—Cheers.”

(Sd.) Ajan Singh,  
S. I., C. I. D.,  
Punjab.

Sher Singh B. A.,  
Translator,  
Punjab Govt.

# P. 1884 [I] [T]

18-8-28. Amritsar, Jallianwala Bagh.

8 p. m.

Sehgal, Sohan Singh Josh, Ram Chandra B. A. Sant Ram, Hari Singh Chakwalia, Som Dev, Mohammad Tufail, Sohan Singh Sewak, M.A. Majid and Hakim Wahab Din.

Som Dev proposed (the name of) Sardar Sohan Singh Josh for the presidentship. Hari Singh Chakwalia supported him.

Sohan Singh Josh:—[verses]

“Shake off negligence (lit. awake from hair's sleep) and see the condition of the world.

“Thy voice has raised a commotion in Europe.

“Thou also shouldst take to action and shouldst not waste time for nothing.

“Thy individuals stand divided (lit: scattered) thou shouldst bring them together at one place.

“Duty to God (?—incomplete)”

Brethren!

You have read the object of (holding this) meeting. “War between labour and capital” is the heading of this meeting. When the Naujawan Sabha was established in the beginning we framed the programme that (while) the congress leaders held meetings in cities only the Naujawan Sabha would (lit: declared that it would) hold meetings in (every) village and at every place. During this time it was learnt that the Government issued a circular, copies of which were sent to Police Stations directing that the people should create disturbance wherever the members of the Naujawan Sabha might hold meetings. It is a fact. It (the circular) was read out at the Bias Police Station and the Sub Inspector of that place announced it. I went to another village and the same happened there also just at the time (when the meeting was held). A person created disturbance and the people ran away from the other side and a confusion arose in the meeting. It is possible that this may be the mischief on the part of some brother. Listen peacefully. Several persons have come who will narrate the sufferings of the afflicted “Kirtis” (workers) and will tell (you) how there are 98 per cent who do not get any thing to eat. It was Mahatma Karl Marx who started a movement. He issued (lit: wrote) a manifesto (to the effect that): Workers of the World unite, because you have nothing to lose but chains and the world to gain.”

This was the manifesto which gave rise to an international movement. He removed class distinction among the nations in the world and obliterated the boundaries of countries. The people of France were hostile towards (the people of) their neighbouring country and picked up quarrels with them. Similarly, other antagonistic nations and their interests were diametrically opposed to one another. This movement has also removed the farce of caste (and creed). The English are called "Gods English". This movement has come into being with a view to remove all these absurdities. No nation has been sent by God, nor is there any special colour. This movement has an international object. It does not mean that people belonging to a certain nation should make progress. The object of this (movement) is that the people of the whole world who work, who work for keeping the world alive and who are in a bad condition, should have power in their hands. For this reason Karl Marx started this movement. He devoted the whole of his life to this movement. He had been passing his life in securing bread for (lit: giving bread to) the poor people. The German Government offered to give him higher posts several times but he refused (to accept them), and said that in order to provide happiness to the world it was necessary that some people should be in distress. Happiness cannot prevail over the world unless some persons become martyrs for the sufferings of the people. For our happiness and for us he pointed out that we had been kept under subjection in the name of communities (lit: nations), in the name of castes, in the name of colour and in the name of religion. (He said) "Do not fight with one another. If you stop to produce all the articles in the world, the world will die of starvation to-day. The world does not rest on the work of those who sit down with bahis (account books nay, (it rests) on those who plough, work in factories and provide other necessaries. The world depends on that (?) If I get an opportunity, I shall speak about this movement again. I shall now request my brethren who have come from Lahore to express their views.

Translated by

Morid Hussain,

Urdu Translator.

## P. 1884 (2) (T).

Speech delivered on 18-8-28 at

Jalianwala Bagh.

M.A. Majid:—

The subject for to-day as the President has said is not one on which we need not deliver a special lecture. It is a practical thing of which every worker is reminded by his heart in the morning and evening when he goes to work or sits in house.

The condition in which we the workers are under this system to-day is not unknown to us. But, in spite of the fact that we know that each of us always remains (lit: is) involved in calamities and troubles, we have never tried to remove these troubles. These troubles cannot be removed by mere talk. The oppressions which are being practised on behalf of the capitalists cannot be averted unless we make a struggle. Nothing in the world can be obtained without sacrifice. Unless (we) make sacrifice, nothing can be gained. For this reason so long as men from among us do not get ready for making sacrifices, no good can come to us. To-day Russia has set an example (lit: taught a lesson) to the world and has shown how workers are governing and how (they) can take up the reins in their own hands after destroying big Governments. You should note (lit: see) this. At present Russia's revolution is a lesson. We daily see (its) accounts in newspapers. Most of these (accounts) are usually incorrect; 90 per cent of accounts about Russia are (usually) incorrect. I myself have seen the condition of Russia. In what condition I saw it? That period was a very bad period and all capitalists wanted to destroy and ruin Russia, but the workers of Russia stood up steadfast and gave such a repulsive reply—British Government was her greatest enemy—and gave such a repulsive reply that LLOYD George's Government was buffed. There was a locomotive factory there. We saw the condition of workers (working) there. Their condition was very bad. Their clothes were torn. One pound of bread was given for seven days, and a bucketful of fish soup was given to them. They lived on it. I asked one (of them) what was their condition in Tzar's time and whether they used to receive bread. He said: 'It is a fact that we could get more bread, but we were greatly degraded politically and economically. We have to starve now. But now we work for ourselves while previously we used to do the same work for a capitalist. Previously we were kicked out even for a trifling mistake. None can now raise his finger against us. We are quite free politically. This very freedom keeps us alive.' I saw the soldiers.



Not clear. (Although) they were in a bad condition still they treated the counter revolutionaries (?) very badly. In spite of the fact that cleavage was caused among them, they were made to starve and were not provided with clothes, still they bore cold and fought against the enemies so zealously that they (enemies) laid down their arms and took to flight. In what way they acted? Did they get it without any effort. No! See the Russian history. It shows when did they start a struggle (for freedom). They were going towards terrorism from 1882-87. They were of opinion that their condition could improve when they would kill the Tzar. When they killed Alexander II, they found that their condition did not improve. After that they created socialist ideas. Russian history can be compared with the Indian history. The (incident of) 1905 of that place and the Jallianwala (Bagh incident) are a like. Strike was observed there and just as bullets were fired on the unarmed & oppressed (persons) and (just as) they were shot at by Dyer in the most tyrannical way (here in Jallianwala Bagh), similarly, the merciless Czar sent for troops and got bullets fired on the workers who had gone on strike and killed thousands of them. Did their sacrifice go in vain? That movement was not wiped off. The Czar wanted to crush the movement. The resolution arises of that place wandered about in Switzerland, Germany and England. Lenin the organiser (lit: founder) of this (movement) went to Switzerland. They worked there and were fomenting the movement in the country (i. e. Russia) and in 1917 one morning the troops which were governing with Czar (as their head) the previous night either imprisoned their Commanders or killed them. They (the revolutionaries) did not lose heart and (they) got a reward for their sacrifice in 1917 and now they have reformed their condition to such an extent that you will not find the workers in as good a condition anywhere (in the world). A man belonging to the middle class here does not get a chance which a man of the lowest class gets there. Is this thing (lit; condition) found in the Governments which are in existence in India, England and Germany? What is the difference between our Government and that Government. This (Govt.) looks to the interests of the Capitalists. (It) never looks to the interests of the poor. If any Government claims that they look to the interests of the workers (it should say) whether the Trade Disputes Bill which has been introduced to-day is beneficial to workers. The workers had with them only (one weapon of) strike with which they could bring pressure to bear upon (their) masters. The Government is trying to wrest that (weapon) as well. I have not yet gone through the sections of this bill and so I do not want to say more about it. A resolution about it has been moved. Other brethren will throw further light on it. In what thing lies our salvation? The world is no longer a limited one now. We should study the times, take lesson from them and reach at a useful

conclusion. Labour movement is in vogue throughout the world now. Europe and America have taken a lead in it. Just as capitalism is increasing in India so should Trade Unions increase in number. But we workers are paying no heed to it. We should make unions of all classes and every class of workers should have its own union. We cannot have any of our demands conceded unless we are strung in one chain. We cannot remove our troubles so long as we do not unite. What is most necessary is that each of us workers should try to form his own union. When Unions are formed we can secure our demands from the capitalists and so long as we stand divided, we cannot secure our demands. What is so far happening is that if they (?) turn out one worker, ten more will come in (to take his place). When shall be organised, we shall be able to control each and every thing. In the existing circumstances we cannot do any harm to the capitalist.

Unite together like ..... (illegible) and give (such) a blow on the face of the capitalist that his teeth may fall out. Take your bread from him. We workers are described as dacoits and *badma-shes*, but none calls that capitalist a dacoits who indulges *badma-shi* day and night and thinks out crooked and deceitful (moves to swallow and exploit the labour of the workers. It is my belief that so long as this capitalistic system exists in the world, no evil can be obliterated from the world. If you want to reform the world change this system which in itself is the most impure thing of all impure things. This very capitalism causes a theft to be committed this very capitalism (is responsible for) evil deeds. All the evils are the outcome of this system. When the system will be changed no evil will exist. A gentleman came to the house of my friend Kidar Nath and said that he had put his (Kidar Nath's) name for delivering a lecture on drinking. I said that they might spend money in a large quantity and make speeches against drinking, but it could never be stopped. He asked me the reason for it. I replied that the existing system, the existing Government, was the cause of it. All the evils are being perpetrated by this Government; by the capitalists who are a part and parcel of this Government. You are the producer of everything. You are king-maker. Who are Municipal Commissioners and member of the Assembly? You have made them, You elect (lit make) them without thinking over this matter and then they do not care for you in the least. No one represents your interests. They have gone there after making you a (mere) tool, and they represent the interests of their stomachs. He alone keeps in view the interests of our stomachs, who is hungry. How can he who has not made a journey realise the inconveniences of a journey. It is high time that we should consider as to how long we would remain (involved) in this calamity. When we produce things, we have every right to use them also. We should now think that we are

all in all. Russia has shown that workers are all in all lit every thing. The whole of the world will now show the same thing. But you should make sacrifice. Do not care for religious matters.

A person says that such and such a thing has happened to religion. You do not consider over that and follow him blindly. Give up communal strifes now. They will give you nothing. They can do nothing except that they will further strengthen the bonds of your slavery.

If you want to destroy capitalistic system, you should unite together. You have fought many battles. Wage a War for your stomachs now. It is possible that you may fail (in this struggle). Strikes are observed and they fail and the result is that workers use abusive language for leader.

Brethren ! Our failure is leading us to success. We are yet weak. Our (? organisation) is not sound. When our—(?organisation) will become sound, we will succeed.

Translated by

Morid Husain, Urdu Translator.

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## P. 1908 [T]

Copy of the resolutions passed at the Kirti Kisan Conference Lyallpur, held on the 28th, 29th, and 30th September 1928:—

*Kidar Nath Sehgal moved the following resolution:—*

“Keeping in view the military preparations of capitalists and imperialists this meeting of the workers and peasants strongly appeals to the inhabitants of the country to refuse to be duped again as they were during the last Great European war when the clever and selfish held out temptations to them and used them to serve their purpose, and clearly declare that they will not take any part whatsoever in such bloody act. This was seconded by Shankar Lal of Delhi and supported by Sadhu Singh Satnam.”

*M. A. Majid moved the following resolution:—*

“This meeting of the Kirti Kisan Conference expresses its hatred against the conspiracy which the Indian capitalists and

alien bureaucracy have hatched in holding unlawful the rights, [e. g.] strikes etc., of labourers and in getting the Trades Bill introduced."

"Sohan Singh Josh seconded this (resolution)."

*Sohan Singh Josh moved the following resolution:—*

The meeting of the Kirti Kisan Conference congratulates the authors of the Nehru Report for their having tried to unravel communal skeins and regards the declaration of rights in the said report as a step. This conference condemns their action in demanding Dominion Status for complete independence as their goal and showing criminal negligence towards the rights and interests of the workers and peasants and declares that nothing short of complete independence can satisfy the workers and peasants".

It was seconded by Ram Chandra B. A. and supported by Swami Bal Swroop.

Ahmad Din moved the amendment that instead of "condemns" the word "regrets" should be inserted. It was seconded by M. A. Majid and supported by Kidar Nath

*Dev Narain Pande moved the following resolution:—*

This conference passes (the resolution) that our flag shall be of uniform colour and that it shall be of red colour.

Kidar nath seconded it.

*Kidar Nath moved the following resolution:—*

"This meeting of the Kirti Kisan Conference makes the inhabitants of India (lit: country) realise that for the sake of freedom and the protection of self-respect it is the natural right of every human being to keep arms and so appeals to the country to carry on a strong agitation for securing this lawful right."

Seconded by Sohan Singh (of) Kalowal.

Translated by

Morid Husain

Urdu Translator.

## P. 1906 [T].

"Copy of the speech delivered by Sohan Singh Josh on the 28th. September 1928 at the Workers & Peasants' Conference held at Lyallpur.

"Sohan Singh Josh:

"You must have read that the President of this conference will be Dange. A telegram was sent to Dange at Bombay. The reply received is that strike is prevailing there. A lakh and a half labourers have struck work. They have put forward their demands and are sticking to them. At first, Russia sent them twenty thousand rupees, and now it has sent fourteen thousand. Other countries too have sent money. They are supporting themselves with it. He is the leader of labourers. Therefore he says that he cannot come. And a conference is going on between the Govt. & labourers.

"Again, Nimbkar who is a leader of workers has sent a telegram stating that it is essential for Dange to stay (there). We have again sent a telegram. It is not known whether it has been with held and whether or not he is coming. Now it has been decided that Lala Chhabil Dass Principal, National College, be made President (instead).

"Ram Chandarji is the disciple of Lala Chhabil Dass.

Sd. Arjan Singh,

S. I., C. I. D. Punjab"

"Copy of the speech delivered by Sohan Singh Josh on the 29th September 1928 at the Workers' & Peasants Conference held at Lyallpur-

Sohan Singh Josh.

"No Imam Mehdi nor any avtar will come down from above to rescue you from bondage. You constitute the power that confers victory on all rulers in the world. An opportunity has come to-day that we should fight for ourselves and establish raj in the world for 98 per cent people), Such acts of injustice continued to be perpetrated towards us as beggar all description. You should consider over all factions (?) as to how long your condition will remain degraded. If you resolve that you have to bring about your salvation yourselves, than you can become free following this principle. And real freedom is the freedom of bread. Until it is secured (lit-one will secure it) no peace can be maintained. If religions do not stand in our way we shall say nothing against them. (Only) that person who earns should eat. We wish that he

who lives upon the income earned by unlawful means should get no bread.

“(Sd.) Arjin Singh.

S.I., C. I. D. Punjab”.

“Copy of speech delivered by Sohan Singh Josh on the 29th September 1928 at the third sitting of the Lyallpur Workers' & Peasants' Conference.

“Sohan Singh Josh.

“A letter has come from Rajisthan:

“India (n) states' People' (s) Conference-B. S. Pathik”.

“He is a very enthusiastic worker.

“Expressing inability to attend the Conference and wishing success for the conference. Hoping that the workers & Peasants of the Punjab will not make it (? will make it not only) successful but a dread to Western interest.

“The second letter has been sent by Chaman Lal, a reporter of the Hindustan times, expressing his inability to come for certain reasons ( and stating ) that he will come on getting time and work with us.

“ As a Workers '& Peasants' Party has been established in the Punjab so Similar parties have been established in all ( other ) provinces throughout India. They are joining together and casting away the yoke of slavery, Mazhar Ahmen, a KIRTI ( worker ), of Bengal writes: ‘ We considered it very essential to come to Lyallpur and attend your conference. But when ( we reached Bombay, circumstances so changed that we could not come. Dev Narain Pande has come from Cawnpore. The condition of peasants there is miserable. He. therefore, takes an active part in the peasants' movement. At present he is editing a newspaper entitled the ROTI.

“(Sd) Arjan Singh,

S. I., C. I. D., Punjab.

“ Copy of the 2nd. speech delivered by Sohn Singh Josh on the 29th. September 1928 at the third sitting of the Lyallpur Workers ' & Peasants ' Conference.

“ Sohan Singh Josh.

“ I would like to point out two main things. Whatever things we are learning ( ? ) are new. What is socialism is the

alphabet of the new system we want to establish. All this movement which is obtaining here has been set afoot by a great person whose name should be learnt by every poor and hungry person who requires two loaves of bread. If any person is to be remembered [ lit. if the beads of any person is to be told ] that person is "Caral Marks" [ ? Karl Marx ]. He is the first man in the world who looked upon the whole history of the world with a new eye, and told the poor people of the world—"You are being looted. Recover yourselves. You can cure yourselves. You are suffering from hunger. If you arise, roar, and play the lion to-day, all mean fellows will take to flight to-day. Class-struggle means "SHRENIJANG. It has been pointed out upto this time that there are such and such religions in the world. There are three communities in the Punjab. But this great man remarked that all such (class-)divisions in the world were wholly wrong and false, and that there were only two classes and two religions in the world, and nothing else. He pointed out that one was poverty and the other richness. The rich are strangulating the poor and sucking their blood. If you understand the two communities—one the rich and the other the poor ( sic ). The great man pointed out that struggle between them had been going on since the creation of the world. Rich persons are powerful. They possess wealth. The post-office is to-day meant for opening our daks. Railways and the C. I. D. ( sic ). And efforts are made to suppress us and we are not allowed to get up. The poor are always crushed. The rich always suck the blood of the poor. Injustice has been in practice in the world, especially since the establishment of mills ( ? ). The rich are becoming more rich and the poor more poor. He further pointed out the existing system which is altogether unjust and untrue should be overthrown. He added that it could be overthrown only if "proletarian revolution" took place in the world. Its meaning is the bringing about of a revolution by you all poor people unitedly, in other words—the ending of this system. People now want a change ( sic ). But if anybody has read history he must be knowing that change is the cause of prosperity and justice. Change is to take place, and it is to take place and can take place only if all labourers of the world join together. Karl Marx pointed out that—( The division of ) all countries or nations or classes in the world is wrong and that people are set by the ears under the pretext of vindicating the honour of the King. This is wrong. The demand of all poor people of the world are one and the same. They want to get good food, clothes and houses. He added that it could be possible only if the labourers of the whole world join together. You might enquire how this can be done. A lakh and a half labourers resorted to strike here in Bombay. Two lakhs labourers can get no money. If they get no money, they will die. But Karal Marx pointed out that since the labourers of the whole world were alike, every labour

society should help the other (lit-other societies), so that they might win their rights. At present the labourers of Bombay are firm. The people of Russia, England and other countries have given them much help. You must have heard that the land-revenue of the peasants of Bardoli was enhanced. They refused to pay it saying that injustice had been done to them. The myrmidons of Govt. effected attachments, auctioned lands and perpetrated whatever high-handedness they could. But those lionine persons said that they would pay the old land-revenue and not the enhanced one, even though they may have to go to rack and ruin. They suffered all (this) severity. The rest of the country began to help them. They said that they did not require money. Still, the country replied that as money would be required they would give it. The country collected three lakhs and a quarter of rupees in Bardoli. If our movement is to succeed in the world. (Sic). Let us suppose that the Lyallpur ilaqa refuses to pay taxes. Attachments will then be effected. Whatever happened in Bardoli will take place here (in this ilaqa) Squares of land will be wrested. But all labourers of the world who have now awakened will help Lyallpur. They will collect money and render every kind of help, just as the people of Russia and other countries are doing in Bombay. This is the foundation of this movement (sic) This resolution (sic). The first thing is that Govt. does not tolerate (this). The Capitalists of India have hatched a plot. Labourers strike work, but others follow suit by way of sympathy. In this way this movement goes on gaining ground. When post-office men resort to strike Railway men too will follow suit. In this way strike will accelerate and (thus) plague them (capitalists) full well. This Bill lays down that if post-office men want to observe strike, none else can follow them (by way of sympathy). If any persons do so, they will be considered unjustifiable (in their action). As regards labourers who receive monthly salaries, they cannot resort to strike without giving a months notice. This means that labourers have been divided into two sections. One who draw monthly wages and the other who draw daily wages. He who will henceforth support an illegal strike will be imprisoned. In this way this plot has been hatched to crush the labour movement. This amounts to oppression on the poor. We will not let it continue. If a law is passed against this strike, when we shall have to join together, resort to a still bigger strike and get this law broken.

“(Sd) Arjan Singh,

S. I., C. I. D., Punjab.

“ Copy of the speech delivered by Sohan Singh Josh on the 30th. Sept. 1923 at the fourth sitting of the Lyallpur Workers' & Peasants' Conference.



“ Sohan Singh Josh.

“ This session of the Workers & Peasants' Conference congratulates the authors of the Nehru Report for their having tried to unravel communal tangles and considers the declaration of right in this report as a step (?). It condemns their action in fixing (lit. demanding) Dominion Status as their creed in place of Complete independence and showing criminal neglect towards the interests of Peasants & Workers. At the same time, it declares that nothing short of complete independence can satisfy Workers & Peasants.

“ Those who support the Nehru Committee Report betray the nation. Our opposition is calculated to take (the movement of) liberty forward and not to put obstacles in its way. It is designed to drive the enemies out of this place soon and not to let them remain here any longer. Why do we offer opposition? You have come from the Congress pandal. Big leaders have come. We are not leaders. We want to start a movement in the nation and to point out that the labourers of the world are always crushed and that they should now get up. Those who have captured the Congress are Capitalists. The leaders of the Congress are the persons who are very rich and whose good will lie in looting us like the English, in case they come to rule. It is for this reason that we oppose the Congress. Why did the non-co-operation movement fail? When the movement spread among peasants, they remarked that—They will pay no tax to those who have one hundred squares of land each. Land should be given to those who do cultivation themselves. If therefore we refuse to pay taxes to Govt. We shall pay nothing to these persons who live upon the income earned by unlawful means. When this became commonly known and an awakening sprang up among peasants, they declared that the tenants had a right to do cultivation and give (their produce) to none else. Govt. exists in order that “property” be protected. When this happened, the Congress became nonplussed. The rich men in the Congress called a meeting and passed a resolution stating that as the atmosphere was unfavourably, satyagrah was stopped. At first, there were all workers & peasants in the congress; but when they (rich persons) captured it, the congress movement failed. What has the Congress movement achieved? It has been in existence for half a century—sometimes Deputy Commissionerships are increased, and sometimes some are made

officers. If ministerships are increased, who will gain? What has the Nehru Committee done now? It has done this; Traders want to increase trade. Capitalists too want to become ministers. Hence they have asked the English not to please people all alone but to set apart their share as well."

" (Sd) Arjan Singh,

S. I., C. I. D., Punjab.

Translated by

Shea Singh B. A.

Translator ( Punjab Govt. ).

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## P. 1907 [T.]

Copy of the speech made by M. A. Majid, on 29/9/28, in the 3rd session of the Lyalpur Kirti Kesan Conference.

**M. A. Majid.**

The resolution entrusted to me is as follows:—

"This session of Kirti Kesan Conference expresses its hatred towards the conspiracy of Indian capitalists and foreign bureaucracy, in presenting the Trade Bill, and holding the lawful rights of the labourers, in respect of Hartal etc., to be unlawful." We have to see what was the necessity of this Bill. The labourer works whole-time in the workshops and lets his perspiration flow like water. When he comes back in the evening, he can not feed himself and his children.

Why the Hartals were deemed necessary. Does the labourer want to strike work unreasonably No. Never. The labourer does want to get work and pass his life but the capitalists... whose business is to commit dacoities in the open daylight and not to do any work wish to employ the labourers and derive unlawful gain from their labour (of wages). When a labourer goes to them, it is their business to give the least possible wages. It was the only weapon in our hands (sentence not complete) those who starve us and themselves live luxuriously. (Not clear). We wish to show you (or them) the fun as to how can they run the machine when we don't work. The labourers lived a wretched life so long as they did not realize them-

~~saves.~~ But now they are not the same They have realized themselves. They have understood that it is the labourer only who produces everything in the world. Tell me if any thing can be produced spontaneously without the labourers help.

From the highest to the lowest equality, every thing is prepared by the labourers. They prepare silk clothes, but they are not destined even to touch them. The labourers produce the best grains, but they are not destined to eat them. What is the reason. The reason is that they produce (these things) for those capitalists only, who take advantage of their labour. Now the labourers have understood that if they disappear from the world, nothing can be done in it. The capitalists say that without them the labourer can not live.

*Vek ek chiz rahi jo ke hamare hath faoa kashi ki halat* (A collection of words carrying no sense) But for this  
*Ab inhou* also they say that when they oppress them (the  
*inka ab kuch* labourers) they begin to form unions and resort to Hartals. See ? there have been some strikes at  
Bombay. If one labourer does not get livelihood, the masters suffer loss they shall never be ready to give to us, the labourers. But they have begun to form another bill for it. When any body wants to liberate his labourers my claim is that, the Govt. does not listen to the poor. Although Govt. is with the labourer, yet we can acknowledge it only if we might have seen it with them on any occasion. But the Govt. is always with the Capitalists. The interest of both is common. Therefore they help their own men. Class struggle (Sic.) As yet our labourers have not understood (the meaning of) mass action, owing to which the world is battling with them (Best rendering). I say not even one Bloshevik can be seen. It is the Govt. itself which produces thousands and thousands of Bolsheviks every day and every night. Bolsheviks are appearing day by day from amongst the peasants and labourers. The Government and the capitalists are responsible for this. If the Govt. wishes that there should be no Bolsheviks, why does it kick away their (Labourers'?) demands. The Govt. should not give them a chance of resorting to strike. My claim is that we are never prepared to resort to strikes. It is the capitalist who makes them to commit *Hartals*. The capitalists are responsible for this. If we (sic) wish that they (sic) should run our (sic) workshops then it is their duty to treat (lit. understand) their servants as men. Should they keep themselves in this position, and then see, they, would find that the labourers were on the right. The responsibility of all this is upon the capitalists. They should if they wish to get rid of all these things (sentence incomplete).

As yet it is only the beginning of Hartal. They will see later on how the matter stands. The labourers shall take their rights by their own exertions, they shall not fail to take them,

they shall take them by force from you (lit. by strangling you), and they shall tell you that you are tyrants.

We are men, we shall make ourselves men and shall take a man's rights from you. No labourer shall ever relinquish any of his rights. They should give them enough to live upon. When, ill they should be properly (one word illegible) Arrangements should be made for their housing and for the education of their children. Tell me, is there any thing which a capitalist does not do for the education of his children. Is not the labourers' child the child of a man. Why should he (space blank) thief, thug & ca & ca. ~~Who is~~ responsible for this. Either the society or the Govt. If the Govt. is allowed to exist, there will be no principle in the world. We can not improve our condition until we change this Govt. Every step that we take is towards changing this Govt., therefore the demon of Bolshevism can not terrify us. If this is Bolshevism, then each individual among us, shall—and shall necessarily—be a Bolshevick. Now that time is gone when they hid themselves in their houses, on hearing the name of a Bolshevick. As long as I did not know them, I also did not know what they were. But when I saw them, & found them human beings like myself, I said—He is a Bolshevick". There is no particular mark on the forehead of a Bolshevick. My idea is that any one who tries to better his condition, is a Bolshevick. Then Brethren! come on! let us be Bolshevicks. The Govt. wishes that we should not get our rights. Now we can not live such a wretched life. We are men. We shall show them like men that we also have got hearts and blood like you. It is not the fact that the rich have dropped from the sky and we from the earth. If you are hungry, you feel as much as we do. Then \*not clear why do you not realise our \*sufferings. Now we are not prepared to die for 2 per cent. Now we don't care if 2 per cent should die at all. Now we shall take the Govt. for 98 per cent(?). We don't want the Govt for 2 per cent. Let it be in this form or in that. Let it be external or in the form of internal capitalists. They can make the Trade Bill today. Can they assure us. Our interest can never be safe in their hands. They call us *Dacoos*. We are not *Dacoos*. It is our duty to earn our livelihood in whatever way we can, but they commit dacoities without necessity. They take money from our pockets. They can not be called *Dacoos*. I say that they should be called "Civilised *Dacoos*". When they (labours) don't get any work they are helpless. There is no arrangement for our services here. They don't get any work. How can they live upon. If the Govt. wishes that there should be no disturbance, it must make some arrangements for the "unemployed people" when it does not make any arrangement, it itself wishes that "corruption" should be created. Hence this "Bill". You should look to the cause, which necessitated it for them. We should see as to why *Hartals* were made. When a patient goes to a doctor, he

feels his pulse, sees his condition, and treats him. When the cause is known, then the "causes", which created these strikes, should be removed. They should not make a law to destroy our other rights. Now this Trade Bill can not crush our movement. The Govt. can make any number of strong laws in India. We believe that as soon as they are made we shall change this system. They call us rebels. I say that we are not rebels. "A rebel is he who acts contrary to your wishes. We show your mistakes to you. You are cutting your own roots (lit you strike hatchets on your own feet). We point out to you that improper treatment is done to the labourers, that if this is not set right these labourers who have bowed down now (space blank) when they realize (space blank) its result will be that these who are (space blank) shall be up. This will be the condition of the labourers. We also are over-burdened (lit our waists are being broken). We are bound to stand erect and when we do so, we will crush them and they shall not get up.

Sd. Arjun Singh

S I. C.I.D. Punjab.

Translated by

Ali Muhamed

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## P. 1905 (T)

"Copy of the speech delivered by Sohan Singh Josh on the 16th. December 1928 at a meeting held at Jallianwala-Bagh in connection with the Kakori-day, under the auspices of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha, Punjab.

"Sohan Singh Josh:

" Perhaps to-day is the first day in the Punjab when we are going to commemorate the martyrs who could not tolerate this slavery and adopted the means they could (when) they saw that their brethren were in distress and wretched Condition and that India had become the resort of oppression. To-day is the first day in India when we are going to commemorate those martyrs who disinterestedly sacrificed themselves and became martyrs with a view to ending the slavery of Bharat and freeing it (lit: Mother India).

"(Sd.) Arjan Singh, S. I., C. I. D., Punjab."

"Copy of the speech delivered by Sohan Singh Josh on the 16th. December 1928 at a meeting held at Jallianwala-Bagh in connection with the Kakori-day, under the auspices of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha, Punjab.

" Sohan Singh Josh:

" The subject is difficult. It is very difficult to lay down (one's) life. It is fortunate that we have made bold to arrange such meetings. Study the history of any country which remained slaves (&) you will come to know that several such persons were born therein as wanted to gain liberty as soon as possible by shedding their own blood and killing (lit: taking the blood of) others. They took up the sword, the pistol and what not, and shed the blood of tyrants and spilt their own. Although liberty could not be gained still they immolated themselves for it. Such persons have existed in all countries. Since India became slave its first effort to free itself and drive out the aliens was the mutiny of 1851 (? 1857), which was, in reality, the war of independence. This effort which was the 1st. war of independence failed. Our brethren shed the blood of many Englishmen they could get hold of; and you should read in Thomson's book—"The other side of the medal"—What reprisals the latter made. It used to be remarked that "if there is a well at Cawnpore there is a well at Ajnala." The D. C. of this place remarked that. 'If a well had been made at Cawnpore, we have made a well at Ajnala too.' Thomson says that the English should feel ashamed that they shed (lit: bathed in) the blood of the innocent to take revenge. They did not care for children (even). He says--that village after village was burnt. The truth is that when America fought the battle of independence it was called the war of independence, because they came out victorious. When such an effort succeeds it is called the war of independence and when it fails it is called mutiny. Similarly, the effort of 1857 was characterized as mutiny. The effort on the part of Americans was called the War of independence. There is no doubt that the spirit of a slave nation changes, but its slave-mentality cannot disappear—so long as slavery exists in the world. Nevertheless, several darlings of their mothers rise who court all risks (lit. jump into fire and face the mountain) and go on advancing. The world calls them mad. But they keep one goddess of liberty in view. They keep a spectacle before them in which all are (seen) free. Keeping that spectacle in view, they (lit. he) takes up the sword. Although we may not be at one with them, still they (lit. he) follow the principle. Hence we will dub them martyrs. Efforts continued to be made after the mutiny Pictures have been shown to you several times. Several martyrs "recklessly" put themselves into danger (lit. fire) and tried to protect India. War again commences in 1914. Then several persons come forward and remark that. When 'England may be in trouble

we should go to India, create disturbance there, not let troops go but and (thus) free India.' Many persons came here from America. It took place at the time when big leaders had decided that Govt. was in trouble and it should be helped. Indians (India) unanimsly decided that they would see later on whether or not Govt. proves honest in its motives and that they would suspend this movement for liberty there and then. But those who did not repose confidence in their promises came in ships from very distant places. (In (? China), Japan and America. They preached that Brethren, arise, and advance. No one should give recruits, because this is the time to recover (yourselves) and to stand upon ( your ) own legs. We should arise (?) and free India. They fixed a day for creating a *ghadār*. But a few persons disclosed the secret. All were arrested. The Lahore and Delhi conspiracy cases were launched in courts, (against whose judgments) no appeals could lie. Sentences were passed. Death ( sentences ) were ( also ) inflicted and (the convicts) were sent to the Andamans. Those darlings of Bharat are still in jails in the Andamans, and are watching what their brethren can do for liberty. They do not care for misfortunes. Therefore they are quite firm ( lit. ready ) and are still rotting. The Kakori (case people) committed dacoities so as to collect money and free India. Four of them were hanged. Many were sentenced to transportation for life and to five to seven years imprisonment—Four persons have been hanged. All these four were the leaders of the violent movement, namely—Ramparshad Bismal, Ashfaq Ullah...When a poster was issued many persons thought that you ( ? members of Naujawan Bharat Sabha ) too were going towards terrorism. Are you too treading this path ? I would like to point out that our Naujawan Sabha or (?) does not repose confidence in terrorism. We understand that "individual terrorism" has not succeeded anywhere. We can murder a few persons by this method, but they can be replaced by other tyrants. In this way this system cannot be changed; nor can any injustice and oppression be ended. Hence our object is to change the system and not to murder individuals. Mass civil-disobedience and Mass no-tax campaign should be launched. It is for this reason that we lay emphasis on organisation. Zamindars and clerks should all organise themselves. Now again a "War" is to commence. You can paralyse the machinery of Govt, by means of your organisation. What is the present condition of Zamindars ? (Their) crops have failed. They submitted petitions, but (the land-revenue) was not remitted. Wrong is being done to them. We wish that the No-tax Campaign should be launched and we should set up a morcha like the people of Bardoli. We understand that this process is a lengthy one. But until masses join us and class-consciousness springs up, no liberty can be gained. For this reason, our programme is to prepare people. In the world one is the oppressor and the other the oppressed. Nothing can be done

by means of terrorism. If we all become prepared we can stop the machinery of Govt. A lakh and a half labourers observed *hartal* in Bombay. Mill-owners, entreated (lit. followed) the Strikers who made them grant (their) rights.

\* A gap occurs here in the original-tr This system under which ...\*...has been given an ordinary status and thousands of persons are shot down should be destroyed. We think that we should dub those who performed sacrifices banishing selfishness, as martyrs and our own men. Although we do not follow the path chalked out by them, we should have regard for them; because the nation which has no regard for (its) martyrs cannot prosper. If sikhs perform sacrifice they do so because they remember the martyrs. We too should always remember the common martyrs of India. Although we may not adopt those methods still the person who has self-respect cannot tolerate the existence here of the existing system which can become the cause of Lajpat Rai's death and trample our leaders underfoot at Lucknow. You should arise and destroy and annihilate this system. Because until it is destroyed India cannot recover from its (degraded) position. The people who produce thousands of maunds of corn are hungry. So long as the British Imperialism remains here we cannot improve the condition. Ramparshad Bismalji gave a message on the eve of his execution that this movement of terrorism could not succeed in India. This message was published in the swadesh news-paper. He pointed out that (people) should not bring this movement into practice but organize India. Everyone should make a resolve that he (lit. we) will not let this system (of) Govt. exist.

“(Sd.) Arjan Singh:

S. I., C. I. D., Punjab.”

Translated by

Sher Singh, B. A.

Translator (Punjab Govt.)



## P. 1904 (T)

"Copy of the speech delivered by Sohan Singh Josh on the 24th January 1929 at a meeting held at Jallinwala Bagh under the auspices of the Khilafat and Congress Committees' Amritsar.

"Sohan Singh Josh:—

"The persons who know my views know already that we are totally against kings. We do not want king nor should we become as such. We want to cut the roots of capitalism. The point at issue is why I have stood up to support this resolution. If there is (lit. can be) any persons to give a practical shape to these views, he is Aman Ullah. I am the great enemy of the British Government, (and) want to efface it. The king of Kabul is the enemy of the Government. He has sympathy with Russians. The Government is the enemy of Russia. Mutual enemies are usually friends. Hence I have stood up to support this resolution.

"When the Naujwan Bharat Saba movement sprang up the greatest charge levelled against us was that we (lit. these) people preached no-religion. We are neither Hindus, nor Moslemns nor Sikhs. Although (you) may call us men of no religion still this is fanaticism and we are always against it. Whatever bloodshed was caused in India during the last (few) years was all due to these Indian Satans who are called maulanas, granthis and pandits. And the result of this was that India had to step back a good deal (in its march of progress). We understand that in our (lit-my) dictionary an orthodox Indian is he who is the inveterate foe of the British Government. You should learn it by heart. The people who are inveterate foes of Great Britian are orthodox Indians. But the people who cleanse the books of Great Britian are the enemies of religion. With these words I support this resolution.

"(Sd/) Arjan Singh,

"S. I. C. I. D.,

"Punjab."

Translated by

Sher Singh B. A.

Translator, Punjab Govt.

## P. 1882-[T].

Sohan Singh Josh read his presidential address:—

Page 9.

That programme is (as follows):—

(1) Zamindari and Jagirdari (landlordism) should be abolished without any remunerations and they should be given as much land only as they (themselves) can cultivate.

(2) Every man should have a right to vote by the right of his being a man and not by the right of his possessing property.

(3) It should be prohibited by law to take work (from labourers) for more than eight hours.

(4) The debt outstanding against India should not be acknowledged, since it has been incurred to bind India and not to liberate her.

(5) (Indian) States should be ended.....

(6) The peasants and the workers should be organised separately according to their requirements enumerated ( lit: included) in the programme, and prepared for revolutionary mass action.

Translated by

Morid Husain Urdu Translator

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

**ENGLISH - - -**  
**- TRANSLATIONS**  
*OF*  
**BENGALI EXHIBITS**

## P. II-T.

### Conference of All India Peasants' and Workers' Parties.

The first conference of the All-India Peasants' and Workers' parties will be held at the Albert Hall, 15 College Square Calcutta, on the 21st, 22nd and 23rd December next. Delegates from Peasants' and Workers' parties from Bengal, Bombay,, Punjab and Agra and Oudh will assemble at this Conference and prepare a considered programme of work to carry on the agitation of the persecuted and oppressed masses. This is the first attempt of the kind in India. Our appeal to the exploited and oppressed peasant, worker, small shopkeeper, office clerk, workman and other lower-middle-class brethren is that they make it a point to join this. Different Workers and Peasants' parties of India combining at this Conference will be transformed into an All-India peasants' and workers' party.

It is the men in the community who by their labour produce all things, who have to pass their days in starvation and semi-starvation. It is the men who do no work at all or work only to deprive others of the fruits of their labour who enjoy all the comforts and conveniences of the world. It is because this class of men have been able to keep in their hands lands which yield crops, and factories and mills and other appliances of production that they are able at will to exploit the masses, i.e. the peasants, workers and the exploited lower middle classes. It is to carry on the fight of the exploited against the exploiters that the Peasants' and Workers' party has been formed. About 97 per cent of the country's population are the exploited. The All-India Peasants' and Workers' party will be of this 97 per cent. So in the near future, it will be the most powerful party in the country. It is to exploit our country that foreign merchants are now ruling it. Their interests are gradually coming to coalesce with those of our indigenous exploiters. In plain language, the power of Government is at the back of all classes of exploiters—30th. foreign and indigenous. So, in order to bring all kinds of authority into the hands of the exploited masses, it will become our unavoidable duty to secure full freedom for India from the hands of British exploiters. The Peasants' and Workers' party want that it is the tiller who should be the proprietor of the soil; that it is the labourer who should get food, and that all should have an education. These matters will be solemnly debated at the conference of All-India Peasants' and Workers' parties.

Peasants and Workers' parties of Bengal, Bombay, the Punjab, Agra and Oudh may send delegates to this Conference. Those who personally are members of the Peasants' and Workers' party or any of its branches before the 15th December

will have also the right to attend as delegates. Peasants' and Workers' parties or other bodies affiliated to the four Peasants' and Workers' parties above named may also send delegates to the Conference.

Peasants and Workers may personally become members of the Peasants' and Workers' Party by paying a minimum subscription of 4 annas in the year, the amount being one Rupee in the case of others. The Executive Committee of the party will admit as members those who want personally to be members, with the assurance that they accept the policy, aims and programme of the party.

Delegates are to secure Delegates' tickets for a fee of 4 annas.

Visitors' Tickets will be sold for Rs. 5, Rs. 3, Rs. 2, and As. 8 respectively. Students may have Visitors' tickets for 4 annas. Peasants and workers will receive visitors' tickets for two annas. Tickets are available at the office of the Reception Committee of the Conference at 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

The Albert Hall will accommodate only a thousand people. Those who want to join the Conference will kindly inform the Reception Committee in advance. Accommodation will be provided for those who come from outside Calcutta.

But each must arrange for his own boarding. Visitors and delegates will kindly each bring with them their bedding, quilts, mosquito-nets and the like. On receipt of intimation of arrival, our volunteers will escort them all from the station. The Telegraphic address is "Ganavani", Calcutta.

Resolutions and addresses at the Conference will be drawn up in English, Hindi, Urdu etc. So nobody will have any difficulty in understanding. Peasants and workers who understand will make it a point to attend the Conference. They will be able to see and learn many things at this Conference. Mr. Sohan Singh Josh, editor of the well-known *Kirti* (labour) paper, in Gurmukhi and Urdu of Amritsar has been elected Chair Man of the Conference.

Large expenses will be incurred for the Conference. Well-wishers of mass agitation are requested to make the Conference a success by helping it with funds. 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.  
December 3, 1929,

We subscribe ourselves.

Autul Ch. Gupta

President, Bengal Peasants' & Workers' Party. Muzaffar  
' Ahmed.

General Secretary, ditto.

Pulin Bihary Dinda,

Chairman, Reception Committee.

Dharani Kanta Goswami,

Secretary, Ditto.

K. B. ROY,

23-8-29.

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## P. 16-T.

Account Book of Dhakeswari Cotton Mill Workers' Union.

February 1928.

| <i>Incomings.</i>        |       | <i>Outgoings</i>              |       |
|--------------------------|-------|-------------------------------|-------|
| 28-2-28.                 |       |                               |       |
|                          | Rs.   |                               |       |
| Subscriptions realised.  | 6-6   | Travelling charges            | 1-15  |
| For 32 Members subscrip- |       | Invited on 28-2-28 to a       |       |
| tions @ /2/- each        | 4-0   | public meeting at (?) travel- |       |
|                          |       | ling of Aftab Ali and Gopal   |       |
|                          |       | Ch. Basak.                    |       |
| 29-2-28.                 |       |                               |       |
| Gopal Ch. Basak.         | 2-6   | Boat hire both ways.          | 1-0   |
| For 19 members, subscri- |       | Train fare                    | 0-15  |
| tions @ /2/-.            | 2-6   |                               | <hr/> |
|                          | <hr/> | Carriage hire                 | 1-15  |
|                          | 6-6   | Deduct 1/-/- on               | 1-0   |
| Less 2-15                | <hr/> | account of advance rent       |       |
|                          | 3-7   | for house No. 6/1 to lo-      |       |
|                          |       | cate Head Office              | 1-0   |
|                          |       |                               | <hr/> |
|                          |       |                               | 1-0   |
|                          |       |                               | <hr/> |
|                          |       |                               | 2-15  |

MAR CH.

| <i>Incomings</i>                |            | <i>Out goings</i>   |
|---------------------------------|------------|---|
| Brought over                    | 3-7        | Travelling charges of Debendra Bijay Guha and Gopal Ch. Basak for attending a public meeting on 3-3-28. 0-9 |
| Donation                        | 12-0       | Printing charges. 8-14  |
| Donation from Comrade Aftab Ali | 7-0        | Printing letter head for Dhakaswari Cotton Mills Workers Union. 1-0-6                                       |
| Donation from Gopal Ch. Basak.  | 5-0        | Printing and Paper. (Vide No 127) 3-12  |
|                                 | <hr/> 12-0 | Printing receipt books (1000) Advance. 2-0  |
|                                 | <hr/> 15-7 | Printing application forms for members (1250) with paper 3-2  |
| Deduct                          | 11-7       |   |
|                                 | <hr/> 4-0  |   |
|                                 |            | <hr/> 8-14  |
|                                 |            | House rent 2-0  |
|                                 |            | Taken on a/c of House rent for March. 2-0   |
|                                 |            | <hr/> 11-7  |

APRIL 1928.

|  |           |  |
|--|-----------|--|
| Brought over   | 4-0       | Travelling charges of (?) Sen Harinath Guha Debendra Bijay Guha, Comrade (?) Ray who arrived as the delegate of the Calcutta Peasants' and Workers' party, of Gopal Basak on 5-4-28 and 14-4-28 for attending Executive and General meetings. 1-10 |
| Subscriptions realised.  | 4-2       | House Rent 3-0   |
| Subscriptions on a/c of Rajendra Deb, Secretary and Harinath Guha. | <hr/> 8-2 | House Rent for April paid on 27-4-28.  |
|  | 7-14      | Printing charges for 500 Membership cards and cards 3-4  |
| Deduct   | 1-4       |  |
|  |           | <hr/> 7-14   |
|  |           | (Vide No. (?) 158)   |

MAY 1928.

Borrowed from (?)  
Sen Gupta.

| <i>Incomings</i>                                    |              | <i>Outgoings</i>   |              |
|---|--------------|--|--------------|
|   | 3-0          | Travelling charges of 5 men accompanying Gopendra Kristo Chakravarti Secretary of the (?) Bengal Jute Workers Union. | 3-3-3        |
| Brought over  | 0-4          | Carriage Hire  | 0-4          |
|   |              | Boat hire  | 0-7          |
|   |              | Bus.   | 1-0          |
| Borrowed from Debendra Bijay Guha.                  | 3-0          | Return Boat Hire.  | 0-8          |
| Collection from Narayananj through Gopal Basak.     | 2-0          | Train fare.  | 1-0-3        |
|   |              | Printing Charges   | 2/6/-        |
| Donation from Radha Kanta Basak through Gopal Basak | 1-0          | Printing leaflet entitled Appeal to Dhakeswari Workers.  | <u>5-9-3</u> |
|   | 6-4          |  |              |
| Deduct  | <u>5-9-3</u> |  |              |
|   | 0-10-9       |  |              |

June 1928.

Borrowed from Gopal Basak. 6/-

| <i>Incomings</i>   |                | <i>Outgoings.</i>   |              |
|--|----------------|---|--------------|
| Brought forward.   | -/10/9.        | Travelling charges of (?), Khagendra and Kader to attend on 20/6/28 meeting of Executive Committee. | 1/12/-       |
| Donations from Peasants and Workers of the Dacca Branch. | 3/10/-         | House Rent, for June and for previous month.  | 6/-          |
| Held in deposit for Debendra Bijay Guha.                 | 6/-            |   |              |
|  | <u>10/4/9.</u> | Postal charges.   | 1/5/-        |
| Deduct   | 9/1-           | ( For sending <i>Ganavani</i> , Postal stamps and envelopes.  | <u>9/1/-</u> |
|  | 1/3/9.         |   |              |

July 1928

| <i>Incomings.</i> |               | <i>Outgoings.</i>  |                |
|-------------------|---------------|--|----------------|
| Brought forward.  | 1/3/9.        | Postal charges for letters to Rajendra De and to Calcutta and for sending 10 copies of <i>Ganavani</i> | -/3/6<br>-/1/6 |
| Deduct.           | <u>1/3/6.</u> | House rent, paid in part.  | 1/-            |
|                   | -/1/3         |  | <u>1/3/6.</u>  |



August 1928

| <i>Incomings.</i>                            |   | <i>Outgoings.</i>  |   |
|--|---|--|---|
| Brought forward.                             | -/-/3.  | 5/8/28.  |   |
| Donation on account of Gopal Basak.          | 1/-/-   | Travelling charges of ( ? ) and Gopal Basak for attending meeting to change the name of ( illegible ) into ( ? )   |   |
| and of Harinath Guha.                        | 10/-  | Textile Mill Union.  | -/6/2   |
|  | <hr style="width: 50%; margin-left: auto; margin-right: 0;"/> | Travelling charges of Comrade Philip Spratt from the Bengal Peasants and Workers' Party ( on invitation by the ( ? ) Works ) of Muzaffar Ahmed, Dharani Kanta Goswami, Khagendra Burman, Benode Ghosh, HariNath Guha, Gopal Basak, etc. of the Dacca Workers and Peasants Party. | 6/14/-  |
| Subscription Gopal Ch. Basak for 23 members. | 2/14/-  | Gharry and Bus Hire.   | 2/-/6   |
|  | <hr style="width: 50%; margin-left: auto; margin-right: 0;"/> | Boat Hire ( Twice )  | 2/15/3  |
| Deduct.                                      | 13/14/3.  | Less my Boat and Train fare.   | 1/6/9.  |
|  | 11/8/-  | Charge for meal ( Tiffin )   | 2 /5/-  |
|  | 2/6/3.  | Printing charges.  | 2/6/-   |
|  |   | Handbill.  | 2/6/-   |
|  |   |  | <hr style="width: 50%; margin-left: auto; margin-right: 0;"/> |
|  |   |  | 11/8/-  |

September 1928.

| <i>Incomings.</i>                     |        | <i>Outgoings.</i>  |          |
|---------------------------------------|--------|--|----------|
| Brought forward                       | 2/6/3  | House Rent in Advance.   | 8/-/-    |
| Subscriptions realised.               | 12/4/- | Arrears for July   | 2/-/-    |
| Through Harinath Guha for 19 members. | 3/10/- | August & Sept.   | 6/-/-    |
| Through Gopal Basak for 47 members    | 5/14/- | Miscellaneous File, ( ? ), Proceedings blank book, Pencil, Inkpot, ink, etc. | 2/3/-    |
| Through Harinath for 22 members       | 2/4/-  | Expenses incurred through strike Committee from 9th— 21st Sept.              | 62/12/3. |
|                                       |        | Travelling charges.  | 35/10/-  |
|                                       |        | Expenses of strikers   | 23/1/-   |

Collection by  
 strikers between  
 9th and 23rd in  
 connexion with  
 strike on 6th.  
 Donation Collected 19/12/-  
 by strike committee,  
 Borrowed by Strike 32/12/-  
 Committee Through  
 Gopal Basak for  
 the Union.

12/4/-  
 10/7/3.

Deduct  
 77/9/6.  
 73/2/3

4/7/13.

9-9-28.

*Incomings.*

|  |                  |
|--|------------------|
| Through Harinath<br>Guha ..                    | 1-0-0.           |
| Borrowed from (?)<br>Through Ditto.            | 2-0-0.           |
| Through Rabin<br>Banerji ...                   | 3-0-0.           |
| Through Gopal ...<br>Priay Nath<br>Banerji ... | 2-5-0.<br>1-2-0. |
|  | <hr/>            |
|  | 9-7-0.           |
| Less   | 8-6-9.           |
|  | <hr/>            |
|  | 1-0-3.           |

10-9-28.

|                             |        |
|-----------------------------|--------|
| In hand                     | 1-0-3. |
| (?) ...                     | 0-6-0. |
| Through Kader<br>Miyan ...  | 0-4-0. |
| Trough Harinath<br>Guha ... | 0-2-0. |
|                             | <hr/>  |
|                             | 2-5-3. |
| Less ...                    | 1-5-0. |
|                             | <hr/>  |
|                             | 1-0-3. |

1-0-3.  
7

Telegrams, Stamps, Kerosin  
 oil, etc. 4/5/9.

62/15/3

73/2/3

9-9-28.

*Outgoings.*

|  |                  |
|--|------------------|
| Travelling<br>allowance ...            | 0-8-0.           |
| Do. of Priya Nath<br>Chakaravarti ...  | 1-8-0.           |
| 15 Moslem's (Hotel)<br>(Illegible) ... | 0-9-0.<br>0-2-9. |
| Telegram ...                           | 0-14-0.          |
| Rice or pulse ...                      | 1-2-0.           |
| 28 men coming from<br>Narainganj ...   | 3-2-0.           |
| (?) Travelling ...                     | 0-9-0.           |
|  | <hr/>            |
|  | 8-6-9.           |

|                                   |         |
|-----------------------------------|---------|
| Telegram ..                       | 0-12-0. |
| Sona Mia travelling<br>expense .. | 0-9-0.  |
|                                   | <hr/>   |
|                                   | 1-5-0.  |

|                          |        |               |                        |
|--------------------------|--------|---------------|------------------------|
| 11-9-29.                 |        |               |                        |
| In hand                  | ...    | 1-0-3.        | Through Kadar          |
| Through Anil             |        |               | Miyan, (Rice and       |
| Ray                      | ..     | 2-0-0.        | Pulse). ..             |
| Through Jagadis          |        |               | 3-0-0.                 |
| (?)                      | ...    | 3-0-0         |                        |
|                          |        | <u>6-0-3.</u> |                        |
| Less                     | ..     | 3-0-0.        |                        |
|                          |        | <u>3-0-3.</u> |                        |
| Hotel                    | ..     | 3-0-3.        |                        |
| 12-9-28.                 |        |               | Priyanath Banerji's    |
| Through Khitish Sarkar   |        |               | Travelling.            |
| Jagannath Hall           | 1-0-0. |               | Through Khitish Sarkar |
| Moslem Hall              |        |               | for Rice and Pulses    |
| Sahidulla                | ...    | 2-0-0.        | Oil ...                |
| Through Kalipada Banerji |        |               | 0-2-0.                 |
| Moslem Hall              | ...    | 0-6-0.        | Kalipada Babu          |
| Inter Hostel             | ...    | 2-0-0.        | Through (?) ...        |
| (Collection)             | ...    | 5-6-0.        | Item ...               |
| Through Hari-nath Guha   | ..     | 0-4-0.        | 1-7-3.                 |
| Sailes Ch. Sen.          | ...    | 0-8-0.        | Hari Mohan Das         |
|                          |        | <u>9-2-3.</u> | 0-4-0.                 |
| Less                     | ...    | 5-9-3.        | Oil, Salt, etc. ...    |
|                          |        | <u>3-9-0.</u> | 0-2-0.                 |
| In hand                  | ...    | 3-9-0.        | Abdul Karim ..         |
| Through Promode Ghosh    | ...    | 0-4-0.        | 0-2-0.                 |
| Through Gopal Basak      | ...    | 2-7-0.        | [for coming to         |
| Through Kalipada Banerji | ...    | 0-0-9.        | Narainganj].           |
|                          |        | <u>6-1-9.</u> |                        |
| Less                     | ...    | 5-0-9.        |                        |
|                          |        | <u>1-1-0.</u> |                        |
| 14-9-28.                 |        |               |                        |
| In hand                  | ...    | 1-1-0.        | Travelling expenses    |
| Through Gopal            |        |               | through Khitish        |
|                          |        |               | Sarkar ...             |
|                          |        |               | 2-0-0.                 |
|                          |        |               | Telegram ...           |
|                          |        |               | 1-9-0.                 |
|                          |        |               | (?) card ..            |
|                          |        |               | 0-7-0.                 |
|                          |        |               | ? ...                  |
|                          |        |               | 0-12-6.                |
|                          |        |               | Batasa ...             |
|                          |        |               | 0-3-0.                 |
|                          |        |               |                        |
|                          |        |               | Meals for Ananda ...   |
|                          |        |               | Bhattacharji ...       |
|                          |        |               | 0-1-3.                 |
|                          |        |               | <u>5-0-9</u>           |
|                          |        |               | Unboiled rice (for ... |
|                          |        |               | 2 meals a day). ..     |
|                          |        |               | 2-1.                   |
|                          |        |               | Visit of Picketers ... |

|               |     |                |                          |                |
|---------------|-----|----------------|--------------------------|----------------|
| Basak         | ... | 1-0-3.         | to certain villages      |                |
| 15th.         |     |                | (9th-14th.)              | ... 12-7-6     |
| Through Gopal |     |                |                          |                |
| Basak         | ... | 1-0-0.         | Rice and Pulses Refresh- |                |
| Through Gopal |     |                | ments for (illegible)    | 9-11.          |
| Basak         | ... | 22-0-0.        |                          | <u>24-7-6.</u> |
|               |     | <u>25-1-0.</u> |                          |                |
| Less          | ... | 24-7-6.        |                          |                |
|               |     | <u>0-13-6.</u> |                          |                |

16-9-28.

|                     |      |              |                              |               |
|---------------------|------|--------------|------------------------------|---------------|
| In hand             |      | 0-13-6.      | Going to mill with strikers. |               |
| Binod Bhattacharya. |      | 4-13-6.      | Train Fare                   | 5-1-3         |
| (?) Collection      |      | 5-11-0.      | Gharry Hire                  | 1-13-3        |
|                     |      |              | Boat "                       | 1-9           |
| Loan from Gopal     |      |              | My fare                      | 2-12-9        |
| Basak.              |      | 6-12.        |                              |               |
|                     |      | <u>12-7.</u> | Refreshments &c.             | 14-6          |
|                     | Less | 12-2-9       |                              | <u>12-2-9</u> |
|                     |      | <u>0-4-3</u> |                              |               |

17-9-28

|         |  |              |                         |     |
|---------|--|--------------|-------------------------|-----|
| In hand |  | 0-4-3.       | (?) Going to Narainganj | 0-4 |
| Less    |  | 0-4-0.       |                         |     |
|         |  | <u>0-0-3</u> |                         |     |

21-9-28

|                    |   |               |                           |               |
|--------------------|---|---------------|---------------------------|---------------|
| In hand            |   | 0-0-3         | Journey to Narainganj and |               |
| Through Gopal Bask |   | 0-10          | back, to see (illegible)  | 2-10          |
| "                  | " | 2-6-3         | Ajit Sen.                 | 0-4-0         |
|                    |   | <u>2-15-3</u> | Probodh Sarkar.           | 0-2-9         |
| Less               |   | 2-15-3        |                           | <u>2-15-9</u> |

October 1928.

| <i>Incomings</i>     |              | <i>Out goings</i>       |               |
|----------------------|--------------|-------------------------|---------------|
| In hand              | 4-7-3.       | Printing (illegible).   | 1-12-0        |
| Borrowed by strikers |              | (Illegible)             | 1-1-6         |
| through Gopal Basak, | 1-12         | House Rent for October. | 3-0-0         |
|                      | <u>6-3-3</u> |                         | <u>5-13-6</u> |
| Less                 | 5-13-6       |                         |               |
|                      | <u>5-9</u>   |                         |               |

Acct. upto 20 10 28.

K. B. Roy. 28-8-29.

## P. 49-T. ...

The *Langal* (Calcutta) of the 16th December 1925 publishes a poem by Kazi Nazrul Islam entitled "Samyavadi" (one professing the doctrine of equality of all men) of which a translation is given below :—

I sing the song of equality,—there where all obstacles and distances have come and become one, where have united the Hindus, Buddhists, Muslims and Christians, I sing the song of equality, Who are you? a Parsi? a Jain? a Jew? a Santal, a Bheel, a Garo? a Confucian? a follower of Charbak? Say on, say more Friend; whatever you choose to be; whatever manuscript and printed books you carry in your stomach, on your back and shoulder and in your brain,—the *Koran*, the Purans, the Vedas and Vedantas, the Bible, the Tripitak, the Zend Avesta and the Granthsahib you may read as much you like, but why is this useless labour, why do you hurl the javelin at your brain? Why this haggling in the shop? The fresh flower blossoms on the road. There are in you all the books, the knowledge of all time; friend, open your own soul and you will find all the scriptures there. In you are all the religions, all the epoch-making incarnations of God, your heart contains the temple of the universe of the God of all. Why do you vainly search for gods amongst the skeletons of dead books? There He smiles in the solitary seclusion of the heart of ambrosia. Friend, I have not told a falsehood, all crowns prostrate themselves when they come here. This heart is that Nilachal, Kasi, Mathura, and Brindaban, it is Bodh-Gaya, it is Jerusalem, Medina, Kaba-mosque, it is the mosque, it is the temple, this heart is the Church, here sat Jesus and Moses and came to know the truth. On this battle-field, the youth with flute sang the great Gita, on this field cow-herds became prophets and friends of God. Sitting within the cave of contemplation of this heart, Sakya-nuri forsook his kingdom, hearing the appeal of the great suffering of mankind. In this cave the darling of Arabia used to hear the call, and sitting here he sang the Sam hymn of the Koran. Brother, I have not heard wrongly, there is no temple or mosque or kaba greater than this heart.

### God

Who are you, brother, seeking God throughout the length and breadth of heaven and the nether world? Who are you wandering in the woods, who are you on the summit of the hill? Alas, you rishis (saints) and darbeshas (Moslem religious mendicants), while bearing within your hearts the gem of the heart, you seek Him from one country to another. Creation is looking at you, but you remain with your eyes closed; you seek the Creator—(in that) you are going about seeking but yourselves? Voluntarily, blind one, open

your eyes. See in the mirror your own image. You will see that on all your limbs has fallen His shadow. Do not be startled; hero, do not fear the men conversant with the scriptures, they are not directly the Private Secretaries to God. He is manifested within all, He is within all. Looking on myself I come to know of my unseen father. The trader sells and buys pearls on the sea-beach; but do not for that reason even in forgetfulness ask him for information about the sea. They are pearl—dealers; they know about pearls, and for that reason they think that they know even the sea, the mine of pearls. They have not dived down to the fathomless, deep bottom of the sea of pearls. Friend, dive without handing the scriptures into the water of the sea of truth.

#### MAN

I sing the song of equality,—there is nothing greater than man, nothing more sublime. There is no distinction of clime, age and individual, no distinction of religion and race. He is the kinsman of man in every house, in all climes and in all ages. Worshipper, open the door, the hungry god stands at the door and the time of worship is come. Made anxious by the dream the worshipper opened the house of God, surely he would be made a king or something like it by the boon of God! His clothes tattered, his body emaciated and his voice weakened by hunger, the wayfarer called, Open the door, Sir, I have had no food for seven days." Suddenly the temple was closed, the hungry one turned back. The night was dark; on the whole of the way, shone the gem of his hunger. The hungry one called aloud. That temple is of the worshipper, alas! God, it is not Thyne. Offerings of food were given yesterday in the mosque and heaps of meat and bread had been left over, so the Mollah Sahib was all smiles; at that time, there came the traveller with marks of disease on his body and said, "Sir, I have been hungry and in empty stomach for seven days this day." Assuming rough manners the Mollah shouted, "What trouble! If you are hungry, go and die where carcases of cattle are left to rot. Fellow, do you perform *nemaj*?" The hungry one said, "No sir". The Mollah shouted, "Then, *iaschl*, go your way at once", and taking the meat and bread, locked the mosque. The hungry one turned back, and as he walked he said,—Eighty years have passed away and I have never taken Thy name, but Lord! Thou hast not for that reason denied me food when I was hungry. On Thy mosque and temple, Lord! man has no claim, the Mollah and the priest have locked up all their doors. Where are you Caengis and Muhammad of Ghuzni, where are you Kalapahar? Break open all the locked up doors of that House of Worship! Who is it that closes the doors of the House of God, who puts them under lock and key? All its doors shall remain open, ply the hammer, and the crowbar. Alas! for the House of Worship, the hypocrite climbs

upon your minaret and sings the triumph of self-interest. Who are those who, despising men, are continuously kissing the Koran, the Veda and the Bible? Forcibly snatch away the books from those mouths, the pack of hypocrites are worshipping the books, having beaten away the men by whom the books were brought. Listen, ye ignorant ones, men have brought the books, the books have never brought men!! Adam, David, Jesus, Moses, Abraham, Mohammed, Krishna, Buddha, Nanak and Kabir,—who enrich the world, they are our own forefathers, and within us here, it is their blood that runs in every vein, more or less. We are their children, their relatives, and have bodies like them and who knows that some amongst us at some time may not come to be like them. Do not laugh, friend! how very fathomless and limitless is this Self of mine; do I myself know—who knows—whether some highly exalted Being is within me! Perhaps the *Kalki* is coming in me and Mehdi (the Reformer who will come)—Jesus in you, who knows the beginning and end of anyone, who the identity of anybody? Whom do you despise, brother, whom do you kick? Perhaps it is within his heart that God keeps awake day and night. Or perhaps he is nothing; neither noble nor exalted and is down in the abyss of misery, besmeared with filth and sorely wounded, yet all the sacred books and houses of worship in the world are not as sacred as that one, small body. Perhaps, brother, from his loins and in his dwelling house of a cottage, some one is being born who has no match in the history of the world. Perhaps in this one's home are coming the message which the world has not heard as yet, the possessor of great strength whom the world has not seen yet.

Who is he? A *chandal*, (an untouchable one)? Why do you start? He is not a contemptible being. He, even he may be Harish Chandra, (or), the God *Siva* of the cremation ground. To-day, a *chandal* to-morrow he may be the highest amongst the great *yogis*, to-morrow you will offer him the oblation of eight ingredients and recite his praise. Whom do you despise as a cowherd, whom does that despising affect? Perhaps the cowherd of Braja has come incognito in the grab of a cowherd. You despise (somebody) as a peasant. Take care whether Janak or Balaram has not come incognito in the grab of a peasant. All the *nabis* (prophets) were shepherds, they too grasped the plough, it is they, who brought the immortal message which always has been and will be. Beggars and beggar women turn away from the door every day being rebuked, I did not know when Bholanath and Girijaya came in their midst. Lest your own share of food become short by the distribution of a handful of rice, to each, for alms, you have driven away God by causing Him to be beaten by your gatekeeper. That beating is put to your credit. Who knows whether the insulted goddess has pardoned you? Friend, your heart overflows with greed, on both your eyes are blinkers of self-interest; otherwise, you would have seen that in order to serve

you, God has become a coolie. The little of god that there is in the heart of man, the nectar churned out of agony, brute that you are, will you sack it for yourself? Are you going to satisfy your hunger with it? Your own Mondodari knows what is your food when you are hungry—in which part of your palace is the arrow that will kill you. It is your own queen of desires that has pulled you, brute, generation after generation, down into the pit of death designed for you.

### S I N .

I sing the song of equality. All sinners and all who are afflicted are my sisters, all are my brothers. Who is there, man or woman, who has not committed sin in this sinful world? Not to speak of insignificant people like ourselves, even the redeemers of the sinners are themselves soiled with sin. Heaven itself totters on account of the sins of thirty three crores of gods and goddesses, the army of demons enter heaven by the path of sins committed by the gods. All, beginning with Adam down to this Nazrul, have slaughtered virtue more or less by the knife of sin. The universe is a place of sins, half of it is God and of it is Satan. Listen, you who are blinded by religion, before counting the sins committed by others, count the sins committed by yourselves. In the mud of sin there is the lotus of virtue, in every flower here, there is sin. This beautiful earth is filled only with frauds and curses. The incarnations of God and such others, being none of them able to avoid them, gave their souls and hearts to virtue, and their bodies to sin. Friend, I have not told a falsehood. From Brahma, Bishnu and Siva, come down gradually lower, leave apart men, (and take) all the men of contemplation, ascetics Rishis and Yogis,—their souls are full of abnegation and austere devotion, while their bodies are addicted to enjoyment. This world is a house of sin. Here the empty sack of virtue is on the back of the ass of religion. All are here sinners equally. (We) measure the sins of others with the weights of (our) sins. If you are a god indeed, why do you make such a fuss about explanation? Though wearing a hat, you keep a tuft of hair on the head whereby you seem to say that you are not a sinner. If you are not a sinner, why this pretence, this multiplication of trade marks? You have worn the uniform of the police and become a sinner in hiding. Friend, let me tell you a funny story. Once at a heavenly assembly, the sinless angels were all holding this discussion, blaming the law of Providence: "Though we worship Him so much day and night, and make such effort to please Him, still He does not seem to be pleased. It is on the human race made of clay and earth and addicted to sin, that all His love and kindness are showered. "God heard everything and smilingly said to them all—they are children of dirty dust, with very weak minds, in every flower there is the pain of mistakes committed, in the eyes and in the lips are curses. There in the sandal-paste is the sting of desire,



the warmth of the kiss in the moon. There in the eyes of women is the paste made of soot mixed in oil, *chandrahar* on their hips, *lac dye* on their feet and betel on their lips, at the sight of which desire lies overcome. There the watchman is the devil in beautiful body with sharp eyes. There in every breast is the curved flowery bow, in every eye the flowery arrow." All the angels said, "Lord, we should like to see how the earth is like, how the flower blossoms there, which has at its side death and decay." The Lord said,—“Let the highest two among you to go to the earth and see how terrible the temptation of the earth is. “Harut” and “Marut” who were the sun and the moon of the glory of the angels, entered the dwelling of man and became partners of the dust of the earth. Here every separate body weaves a spell, here every shadow sets a trap, the one moon in the sky has become seven hundred in the tank where there are lotuses. Sound, smell and colour have set here an invisible trap. Here at every bathing place, in every pond, there is smile overflowing from pitchers, in every meadow wails the flute. Within two days the fiery souls of the angels became moistened by the spirit of the earth, the coquetish ingenuity of the eyes comparable to those of the *Safari*,\* dug deep into the heart. Flourishing the skirts and swinging the the pitcher, the coquetting “Johora” (Venus) goes; the messengers of heaven were drowned in that beauty and sold themselves to the to the pink feet. The fear of the Hell-fire was drowned in the juice of the pomegranate lips, the earthen jar became intoxicated being drenched in the blood of grapes. The resistance of self-control was washed far away, breaking down the fence of prohibition. They drink with their whole hearts the wine of the earth from the vessel of flower-like lips. In heaven, God said similingly to all the angels, “Just see what the dangerous earth has done to ‘Harut’ and ‘Harut’ Friend, here the pupils of the eyes know witchcraft, at one sign made by the eyes, the great austere devotion of a lakh of ages evaporates, nobody knows where. The beautiful earth is of eternal youth; her God is not Siva, but Kama (the god of love) and Rati (his wife).

### THIEVES AND ROBBERS.

Who calls you a robber, friend, who calls you a thief? In the four quarters sounds the robber's drum, the rule of thief is in force. Who is the impartial judge who tries the thief and the robber? Ask him who is not to-day a robber throughout the world? Judge, take up the rod of impartial justice. To-day the big ones have become big by stealing the all of the poor. The bigger the dacoits, robbers, cheats and impostors (they are), the more are they honoured and regarded as worthy, to-day, *in the League of Nations*. The King's Palace is built up with bricks of the congealed blood of the people. The factory

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\* A kind of small glittering pot.

of the dacoit of the capitalist is run by destroying a crore of homesteads. Very fine is the mill established by the deceitful mill-owner which grinds down men ; like canes from which the juice has been extracted, come out bands of hungry men. Wringing out the manhood of a crore of men the millowner fills his wine glass, fills his coffers with gold. The *mahajan's* belly is inflated by his glutting himself with the food of those in distress, the zamindar drives his coach drawn by couple of horses, having destroyed the homesteads of the starved. The commercial *varshya* has set up in the world the brothel of money. Below there, the *saki* wine which is sin and satan, sing the triumph of Yaksha, the spirit of money. Having lost food health, life, hope, speech—all, man who has become bankrupt, closely follows in the wake of destruction. There is no away to escape ; on every side the demon hankering after money has to-day dug ditches. The world has become a prison house, all the warders are dacoits,—amongst them, between thieves, there is the relation of cousins and of friend between Thugs. Who calls you a dacoit, friend ? Who says that you steal ? You have stolen money, cups and waterpots, but have not struck the knife into the heart. You might be a thief but you are not in human like them. You are Ratnakars who may turn into Valmikis on meeting a man (properly such).

#### THE PROSTITUTE.

Mother, who calls you a prostitute, who spits on that body ? Perhaps you have been fed on the breast of a mother as chaste as Sita. What if you are not chaste, you are nevertheless of the race of mothers and sisters ; your sons are like us, they are our kith and kin. They also may achieve fame, reputation and honour like us, their endeavours may effect a breach on the front door of heaven. The son of Ghritachi, the prostitute of Heaven became the great hero Drona. Krishna-dwaipayana, who is worthy of the reverence of the whole world, was the son of a virgin. Karna who was the son of a girl in her unmarried state, became a hero of renunciation and great warrior. Ganga was degraded from Heaven got Siva as her husband and King Santanu again wooed the same Ganga. The immortal Bhisma was their son, one to whom Krishna himself bowed. We hear that Satyakama who was an illegitimate child of Javala became an ascetic. Jesus whose birth came about in a marvellous way, was the man of great love. Here no one is besmeared with the mud of sin, no one whatever is worthy of contempt. Tens of thousands of pure lotuses are blossoming in the Kaliya ditch of desire. Listen to the message of man, after birth no reproach attaches to the human race. Have you no right to virtue also, because you have committed sin ? The godhood of the gods did not suffer by committing hundred sins. Mother, if Ahalya can achieve salvation, if Mary can be divine, why should you also not be. by ministering to the unsullied truth, worthy of worship ? Which bigot abuses your child as being illegitimate ?

I ask them only these two things,—I ask, Oh my saint, one hundred and fifty crores of children inhabit this earth. How many of the parents of these, desired sons and daughters, in a state of freedom from desire? How many of them were good and chaste? Brother, how many of them engaged in austere devotion in order to get children? For whose sins a crore of infants meet death in the lying-in room as soon as they are born? All men and women unite here with only animal-appetite; we are the issues of that desire. And yet how much pride there is! Listen, you upholder of religion, I do not see that there is any difference between an illegitimate child and a child born of lust. If the son of an unchaste mother is an illegitimate son, then most certainly the child of an immoral father is an illegitimate child.

### THE LIAR.

Who has caused you pain of mind because you have lied? Sin does not touch one who tells lies for the sake of truth. All truth does not consist only in telling the truth. It is we alone who can show ourselves devoted to truth even in telling lies. He who tells the truth is not much after all, but how many live the truth? How many of speakers of the truth have put down their lives for the sake of truth? The more are persons timid at heart, the more are they weak, the more do they set themselves up as moralists and make a pretence of speaking the truth. The heroes devoted to truth who are worthy of reverence even from Satyakam, those who smilingly offered their heads for the sake of truth, had perhaps spoken many lies all their lives, and still they were heroes, they sacrificed lives to uphold the truth. Who is he who is weighing truth there in a balance like a grocer? He thinks in his mind what an exploit he has accomplished, how very wise he is! I say, you trader in truth there, is truth like rice and cereals, (so) that you want to indulge in abuse when truth weighs somewhere some grains less? The fact about the trader in truth is this—Oh, you see here so much of truth has been found wanting in the life of such a hero. By Lord! Who comes there? These men, after all, weigh the truth, but he—courts it. Truth stands imperfect by ten words; I die with secret laughter. The paternal and maternal aunts of truth come with weights and measuring cord. They weigh carefully and fill up the sacks, they count carefully and tie up the goats. Friend, do not listen to all the elephants, horses and camels of casuistry, if you have devotion to truth in your heart, speak falsehoods recklessly.

### W o m a n .

I sing the song of equality. In my eyes there is no difference between man and woman. Half of all the great and ever beneficent works which have been in the world has been done by

woman and half by man. Half of all the sin, grief, pain and tears that have come into the world has been brought by women and half by men. Who hates you, woman, as being the fiery pit of hell? Then say that the original sin was not woman, it took the form of Satan in the form of man. Or perhaps sin or satan is neither male nor female, but is a Neuter, and hence remains associated in equal measure with both man and woman. Woman gave to all the flowers that have blossomed in the universe, to all the fruits that have ripened in the universe, beauty, juice, honey and fine smell. Have you seen the marble of the Taj Mahal, have you seen its soul? Inside it is Momtaz, a woman, and outside is Shahjahan. Woman is the goddess Lakshmi of knowledge, or song and of corn, it is woman the goddess of beauty who goes on investing forms with beauty. Man has brought the glare of day, the scorching of the hot sun, woman has brought the coolness of night, the breeze and clouds bearing rain. During day she has given strength and courage, and at night has become the bride; man has come with the thirst of the desert, woman has supplied honey. The corn field has become fertile because man drove the plough and woman sowed corns in that field and made it beautifully green. Man carries the plough, woman carries water and that earth and water, mixed together, (and) burst out into corn with the golden crests of the paddy.

The burden of gold and silver has become ornaments having had the good fortune of touching the body of woman. Man acquired the poet's soul through separation from woman and union with woman, and all his words became poems and all his sounds songs. Man gave hunger, woman gave nectar; nectar and hunger mixed together and from it is taking birth by slow degrees the superchild of the superman. All the great victories and all the great expeditions in the world have been ennobled by the sacrifices made by mothers, sisters and wives. There is written in history how much of blood man has poured out in a war but there has not been written by its side how many woman had to remove the vermilion from their foreheads (as a sign of widowhood). Whoever has written on the monument erected to commemorate heroes, how many mothers offered their hearts, plucking them up, and how many sisters offered their ministrations? At no time has man's sword been victorious alone, the inspiration and strength were given by woman, the goddess of victory. The King governs his kingdom, the Queen governs him; the Queen's sympathy has washed away all the sufferings of the realm. Man is heartless; in order to make a man of him, woman lent him half her heart. Luxurious fathers gave life in a fit of caprice to those immortal superman whose fame overflows the earth and in whose memory we celebrate the festivities every year. Ram abandoned Lava and Kusa in the forest; Sita brought them up. It is woman

who has taught the male infant affection, love, pity and sympathy, anointed his lustrous eyes with the black paste of the deep shadow of anguish. In a strange manner did the rough man pay-back that debt; he put her into seclusion who folding his in her arms kissed him. He who killed his mother striking her with the axe by the order of his father is a human incarnation of god! The god (Siva) who is (half man and) half woman l s turned from the side on which he was lying; so long woman was suppressed, today man is suppressed. That age is passed in which man who is strong made woman helpless slave girl. Today it is the age of sympathy, the age of humanity and the age of equality; none will remain in bondage to any one, the drum is sounding. If man keeps woman in prison, then in the next age man will suffer to death in that prison made by himself. The spirit of the age is this, if oppression is committed that operation is sure to recoil on you. Listen, you beings of the earth, the more you oppress others, the more impotent you yourself will become. Woman, say who is that oppressor who has imprisoned you in the abode of *Yakshas* of gold and silver ornaments. There is not that eagerness of yours to-day, to assert yourself, to-day you are timid; you speak from concealment, from behind the screen. Today you cannot look in the eyes; woman, tear away the bracelets from your wrists, the anklets from your ankles and the veil from your head, break that chain. The veil which has made you timid, fling away that veil! Fling away all those ornaments which are the symbols of slavery. Darling daughter of the earth! you do not any more walk over the hills, in valleys and in woods singing in tune with the birds. Unawares, came Pluto the king of Hades, flying on the wings of night, caught hold of you and trust you in the dark den of his house. That was your original bondage; from that time you have been lying dead in the abode of death. Night fell on the earth on that day. Mother, come breaking through the abode of death, piercing through the nether world, serpent-like. Your broken bracelets, mother, will show you the path in darkness. The dog of hunger of *Yama*-like man, at the kick of those feet released from bondage, will fall prostrate at those feet. along with the trampled *Yama*. So long you have distributed only nectar; today since it is necessary, the hand in which you offered nectar to drink, in the same hand you will have to offer deadly poison. That day is not far off when the world will sing also the triumph of woman along with that of man.

### THE KING AND THE SUBJECT.

I sing the song of equality, the state in which all have become brothers in sympathy. It is a very simple question, all being the children of the same earth, why is one a king and the other a subject? It is a strange philisophy. 'Brother, if I say this simple

thing, it will be sedition ! The subject alone commits sedition; but whom shall I ask, why a king too, who has done wrong, is not accused of treason against the subjects? It is the people have made the king, the king has not made the people. Is it for this reason that the grateful king forcibly makes eunuchs of his subjects? Friend, you are splitting with laughter. We all have come to be slaves, servants and porters in our own home. What price have we got, for our manhood which we have given away to others? To stand guard for the king, his domain and his harem, we have become eunuchs and slaves. Oh, to whom shall I tell this miserable story that the owner of the house has no right thereto, while an intruder enjoys all the good things in it. Those who constitute the country have no right to the country. The god of the king possesses endless objects of enjoyment while we are gasping. To whom shall I complain against it? Victory to the king, victory ! Fair justice is dealt out to us, for the king alone there is no court of justice. Heavily the war-drum throbs, boys rush out in bands and smilingly they pour down fresh blood, jar after jar. Sighs make sounds as of blowing the conch by blowing in the holes made in hearts; the cry of ULU of lamentation rises from every house and crows fly over every roof, the path has been made ready. Blow, blow the conch, there is the chariot of the goddess of triumph seen. Mothers, cry; darling sisters, lay yourselves low on the dust; wives it does not matter if you do not put the vermilion marks on your foreheads. Come, let us go, the storm has becalmed. The boys have not returned? The brothers have not returned? The husbands have not returned? Why, what is there in that to be sorry for? They have, in fact, found place in the lap of the goddess of victory. To-day, throughout the kingdom, there rises over the storm of lamentation, the cry of victory to the king, victory. Beat the drum sound it, after so long the king has come outside the fort. The king's chariot rushes along trampling dead and wounded heroes beneath it, you lame and crippled men, back from the war, run, run-away, step out of the path. Friend, it is thus, the people won the victory, they cried victory to the king. The people supply food and cloth, but see the travesty of justice in this that they are not the people's officers but the king's. We must SALAM servants whom we pay. Come and have a look at the " public servants ". Let the wheel of time revolve, on the necks of one hundred and fifty crores of human beings, one hundred and fifty crores of thieves. This hope of ours is not a desperate ambition on our part, nor is the day far off when in the united voice of kings we shall hear the cry of victory of the people.

#### EQUALITY.

I hear the song of equality In every heart here fresh happiness bursts, in every face fresh life. Friend, here there are no kings and subjects, no rich and poor men. Here one does not

get broth of refuse rice and another, milk, cream and butter. Here nobody bows to the horse's leg or the wheel of the motor car. Here contempt is not roused in the minds of the whites at the sight of black skins. It is the abode of men professing the equality of all men. Here there are no separate burial grounds for the blacks and the whites, nor are there here separate churches for them. There is no fear of orderlies and peons, nor fear of the police. Here is that haven, here is that paradise, here there is no distinction. All affrays have been composed here by our clasping one another's hands as brethren. Here there is no religious difference nor the wrangling over the scriptures, here parsons, priests, MOLLAS and BHIKSHUS drink water from the same glass. Here the House of Prayer to the Creator is this body and this mind, here His throne of sorrows is in the anguish of man. Here He responds to any one who calls Him by any name whatever, just as the child gets response to its call to its mother under whatever name it chooses to call her. Here they do not come to blows over PYJAMA, trousers and DHOTÉE, here all are content with the mourning garment made dirty with dust.

#### COOLIES AND LABOURERS.

The other day I saw in the course of a railway journey a gentleman pushing down one because he was a coolie. Tears burst into my eyes. Will the weak be beaten in this way all over the world? A gentleman came to take his seat within, while the coolies fell under, though they are the DADHICHIS whose bones make it go. You have paid wages? Hold your tongues, you liars all! Tell me how many crores have you got for the pies you have paid the coolies. In the public streets your motor car is driven, in the sea your ship plies, on the railways the steam engine runs, the whole country is covered with machinery. Say, whose gifts are these? With whose blood has your palace been reddened? Remove the blinkers and see it written on each piece of brick. You do not know, but each particle of dust in the street knows the meaning of that street, that ship, the engine and the palace. Auspicious days are nearing. The debt has been enormously increasing from day to day, the loan will have to be paid back. Those who broke hills with hammers, crowbars and pickaxes, whose bones are scattered on both sides of that path cut out of the hill who became labourers, porters and coolies to serve you, who smeared their sacred limbs with dust in order to carry you, they alone are men, they are gods, I sing their song, the new revival comes placing its feet on their agonised hearts. To-day it is a false expectation that you will lie down on the second floor of the house, while we remain on the ground and yet call you a god. Those whose whole bodies and minds are saturated with affection for the soil, under their control shall be the helm of the boat of this world. I shall take the dust of their feet in the hollow of my

folded palms and place it on my head. I shall walk on the street in the company of all, the dust has touched my feet. To-day besmeared with the blood of the oppressed of the whole world, afflicted with anguish, the new sun of the new dawn rises there, dyed through and through in red. To-day listening to the call, pull down all the jammed doors, take away all the covers off that painted skin. To-day let all the winds of the heaven which have solidified in blue boisterously rush against this breast, let all the bolts be undone. Let the whole sky crash on this house of ours, let the moon, the sun and the stars drop down on our heads. Come all the men of all ages and all climes and standing at the same opening, hear the flute, singing of the union of all into one entity. Here the pain inflicted on one, causes suffering equally to all; dishonour inflicted on one causes shame to the whole human race, it is an insult to all. To-day is the day of the supreme revival of the supreme anguish of the superman. God smiles aloft, below trembles Satan.

Translated by

K. B. Roy.

A. M. office

3 6-26.

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P. 53-T.

Is a Bengali Union of ex. 52.

K. B. Roy.

6-11-29.



P.72 (1)-T

Berlin,

January 3, 1928.

Dear Sir,

I have not had any letter from you for a long time. I trust you got my letter all right. I wrote in my last letter about your paper and about opening a Labour Information Bureau in Europe on behalf of the Indian Trade Union Congress. I am awaiting a reply thereto. The Trade Union Conference will meet here about the end of February. On that occasion, the people of other countries may be informed about Trade Unions in India and our specific disadvantages and help secured from them. It would be very serviceable if at this time I had got from you a nice detailed report about Trade Unions. Hence my request to you is, I shall be much obliged if you send me embodied in a Report an account of the difficulties, since the commencement of the trade Union movement in our country you had to pass through till the present, and of the difficulties now facing you. I shall circulate it to the Conference in your name. The historical aspect of the trade union movement in India is to be there and along therewith accounts of concrete particular Trade Unions. It would be very well if you could mention how individual Unions are formed, and all other kinds of possible detail. You must do this bit of work. I will not allow this opportunity to be missed. Send it to the name and address of Agnes Smedley. Letters to my address miscarry far too often, send it in Smedley's name and then I shall get it all right. Send it as quickly as possible.

Agnes Smedley,

Holsteinische Strasse 36 II

Berlin—Wilmersdorf,

Germany.

Be sure to send it registered. It is terribly cold here, 20 below zero. Just imagine once the extent of cold. How are you? Do you meet Arun? If you meet him, remind him of me and convey to him my love. I am quite well.

With sincere regards,

Yours

Sri Soumuendranath Thakur.

K. B. Roy.

23-8 29.

P. 76-T.

12th June 1928.

Dear Sir,

I have got your letter. I understand that you did not get my letter. I wrote you a letter on the 24th April. In two previous letters, I wrote many things about the News Agency. I do not know whether you got the letter I wrote to you on the 24th April about the left wing paper and other matters. Can you not come over here once even for 6 months on behalf of the Bengal Federation? I cannot find language adequate to tell you what good will accrue to the labour movement if you come once. You are intimately associated with the labour movement, if coming to this country you explain clearly about the workers of our country, there is no doubt the results will be beyond expectation. I have kept the field prepared as I could, and now it is necessary for men like you to come and the harvest to be reaped. I can assure you that the cost of residing in Europe for 6 months, you will be able to procure from Europe itself. I find in the papers that Dange has been arrested. There is no end to oppression. We must fight with all our strength against these oppressions. Fight we must, staking life itself. The timidity which puts us silently with wrong is possible only in an impotent country like ours. I have written a pamphlet regarding the oppressions of the English in India. It will now be published in German, Russian, French, Italian and English. It is a brief picture in 40 pages of the mediaeval barbarism with which the English have suppressed and are suppressing all the movement since the *Swadesh* movement. One cannot find language adequate to explain how strong the propaganda of the English is in Europe. We must contradict these damned lies and break them down. I have already written to you about the article you have sent up regarding the trade union movement. It will soon be put into print. But there is in it no mention of the workers of the country. It is necessary to make known in this country in what terrible form exploitation is going on. It is necessary to paint a picture of the daily life of the Indian labourer in minute detail. I have already given a detailed picture as far as possible of jute mill labourers. It would have been very convenient for my work if separate reports about textile workers, seamen, Railway workers, etc, were available. If genuine sympathy is to be secured from these people, an account is necessary, of the form of the Trade union organisation in these key industries & along therewith of the condition of the labourers. The seamen's Union, the railwaymen's union are all affiliated to your Bengal Federation. Can you speak to the Secretaries of these said unions and persuade them to send (me) their reports? If they do send, I shall spare no pains to help their unions. I have remitted £60 each for a paper for Kali Das Babu's Jute Workers' Association of Bhatpara and

for the Bombay Textile Workers, respectively to both places. I have got a promise that each month, for each paper, I shall get £20. I have remitted the money for the papers for 3 months in one instalment. I can procure money for papers for the Seamen's Union, the Railwaymen's Union, if they send me a detailed report of their conditions and authorise me to speak on their behalf. Is there any reliable man, known to you in these two organisations who will not misappropriate money, if remitted to him for workers papers? Let me know if I can help your Press Employees' Association in any way. I shall do it gladly. What are the things wanted, what is the number of members,—let me know these in minute detail. I shall collect money and remit it. Do not hesitate to utilise me as far as possible. I shall begin work when I get all your letters. I cannot begin work until I get some kind of authority from you. The money for the Jute Workers' Association I have remitted in the name of Muzaffar Ahmad, to Bombay I have sent it in the name of Dange. Inquire if Muzaffar has got the money. I do not know how the money I sent in Dange's name has been disposed of. Let Muzaffar write to Bombay and thereafter let me know in whose name I am to remit money hereafter. I am not well. I want rest, but have no time for it. How are you? Inform me of everything. If this letter also miscarries, I am helpless.

With sincere regards,

Yours,

Sri Som.

K. B. Roy.

22-8-29.

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P. 82-T.

May 25, 1928.

Dear Kishori Babu,

I got your letter the other day. I could not make time to go again in the interval. I send herewith notice of a general meeting. Please publish it in a prominent place in the Amrit Bazar of Saturday and Sunday. The matter of the scavengers cannot be left over further on any account. After this public

meeting, go on strike we must. There is no help for it. Yourself and Mrinal Babu must make a point of attending the meeting. Do not miss it by any means. When you come to the meeting, I shall hand over the money to you there.

Yours

Muzaffar Ahmad.

Sd. K. B. Roy.

6. 11. 29

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## P. 107-T.

A monster meeting of the Workers of the Bauria Jute Mills.

### *Notice.*

A monster meeting of jute-mill workers will be held at the Kerbala Maidan punctually at 3 P.M. on Thursday next, the 27th December. All the big leaders of great *Anjumans* or societies all over India have come to Calcutta. They want to see with their own eyes how the workers at the Bauria Jute Mills have fought with the very influential Jute Mill *shahebs* for the past six months or so, the more so, since the police and the law, instead of protecting the labourers are subservient to the these *Shahebs*. So our appeal to our brother and sister labourers of Bauria is that when at about 3 P.M. or 3.15 P.M. on Thursday these leaders from Calcutta will muster at the Kerbela *maidan*, let them find the *maidan* filled with a crowd. Remember these leaders are heads of big *Anjumans*, and if they go away seeing your enthusiasm with their own eyes, the strengths of all *Anjumans* combined all over India will be at your back to help you, and that help will not be mere lip sympathy. Let all of you come, do not forget to come even if you have to leave aside all other work. Such an opportunity is not likely to occur again in a year. After finishing reading this leaflet, please pass it on to some other brother to read.

### *Speakers:*

Srimati Kamala Chatterji.

Sj. Jawahar Lal Nehru.

Mr. Bradley.  
„ Spratt.  
„ Ryan.  
„ Daud.  
„ Mahabubul Huq.  
Sj. Mrinal Kanti Bose.  
„ Bakhle.  
„ Kalkarni.  
„ Siva Rao.  
„ Joglekar.  
„ Mirajkar.  
„ Abdul Majid.  
„ Muzaffar Ahmad.  
„ Muzammil Ali.  
„ Abdul Huq.  
„ Fazlur Rahman.  
„ Abdul Karim Sharet.  
„ Radha Raman Mitra.  
„ Gopendra Chakravarti.  
„ Kalidas Bhattacharyya.  
„ Bankim Ch. Mukherji.

We hope labourers of each jute mill will attend this meeting.

Kishori Lal Ghosh,

Secretary.

Bengal Trade Union Federation.

President, Bauria Jute Workers'  
Association.

Sd. K. B. Roy.

23. 8. 29

## P. 108-T.

A Monster Labour Meeting.

Place—Raja Bagan, Shaheber *Hat*.

Date—Nov. 25, at 1 P.M.

Subjects of discussion.

(1) Trying to remove the highhandedness perpetuated on brother and sister labourers.

(2) Decide on means for raising their wages.

(3) Decide on means for the effective conduct of the All India Peasants and Workers' Conference which is for meet on the 21st, 22nd and 23rd December next.

Our appeal to brother and sister labourers at the Jute Mills, (Cotton) Spining Mills, B.I.S.N. Co's R.S N. Co's. and I G.N. Co's. Docks and at the match factories is that they make a point of attending this meeting. Comrade Philip Spratt, delegate of London labourers and other eminent labour leaders will speak.

We subscribe ourselves

1. Bengal Peasants and Workers Party,

2/1 European Asylum Lane,

Calcutta.

2. Bengal Textile Workers' Union,

Garden Reach Road, Matia Burz.

Sd. K. B. Roy.

23. 8. 29

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## P. 110-T.

The *Lal Paltan* of the 11th December publishes an article on the alleged story of "Fiendish oppression" by the jute mill authorities at Bauria under the caption; "Nacked guise of Exploiting Government."

Sd. K. B. Roy.

4. 10. 29

## P. 119. [T]

( Extracts from an Account Book ).

|   |        |
|---|--------|
| Paid from my own pocket cost of Journey to Bauria and<br>Back.....                              | 14/6   |
| Borrowed from Upendra.....  | 1/-    |
| Debt to Anujapal, shopkeeper till this morning.....   | 1/10/3 |
| Borrowed from Akhil Nandi which Kisori Babu repaid.   | 2/-    |
| Received from Miral Rabu.....   | 20/-   |
| Return fare myself and <i>Buro</i> (the old man) upto Bauria.....                               | 1/3/-  |
| 12 tickets from Fuleswar.....   | -/5/6. |
| Paid for cost of copy of First information to Mukhtar Akhil<br>Chander Nandi.....               | 5/-    |
| Texi hire to Ulmbaria Station.....  | -/12/- |
| Two tickets from Ulmbaria to Bauria .....   | -/3/6  |
| Paid to Kadar for the treatment and ford expenses of 8 ( illegible )<br>at Howrah Hospital..... | 6/-    |
| Bus fare to Syam bazar. ....  | -/2/6. |
| Bauria return ticket.....   | -/9/6. |
| Cost of meal for one wounded man.....   | -/3/-  |
| Ford for self and Atul Babu.....  | -/8/9. |
| Cost of sending the wounded men home.....   | -/5/-  |
| For conveying the wounded to Hawrah Hospital.....   |        |
| Bus fare from Howrah to Shyam bazar.....  | -/2/6. |
| Fare to Atul Babu for going to Howrah.....  | -/2/3. |
| Settled a bill for Atul Babu's charges for.....   | 2/4/-  |
| Upananda.....   | 1/-    |
| Akhil Babu.....   | 2/-    |
| Three tickets from Bauria to Fuleswar.....  | -/3/9. |
| Paid to Debkumar Gupta.....   | -/14/- |
| Received from Kisori Babu.....  | 10/-   |
| Left with Debkumar to repay debt.....   | 7/-    |
| Received from Kisori Babu.....  | 5/-    |

Will pay to Upananda.....1/-  
 Bus fare upto Harission Road for 4, myself Hemanta, Debkumar,  
 and Bankim .....-4/-  
 Borrowed from Bankim .....1/-  
 Bus fare for self and Debkumar between Howrah and Beadon  
 Street.....-5/-  
 One return ticket for Bauria.....-9/-  
 Bus fare for self and Bankim between Howrah Station and  
 Syam bazar.....-5/-  
 Bus fare from Howrah to Beadon Street.....-2/6.  
 Journey from Calcutta to Bauria and back.....-5/-  
 Paid to Debkumar.....-4/-  
 Charge for one of Debkumar's volunteers coming from Howrah-2/6.  
 Cost of coming to Howrah Court.....-3/3.  
 Tickets to Bauria—.....-9/-  
 Subscription collected through Abul Hussan.....18/15/-  
 Ditto through Ram (illegible) Babu.....5/10/6.  
 Badges..... I/14/-  
 Tea for Kisori Baband uncle.....-1/-  
 Paid to Darwan and Head constable for taking the finger  
 print of the accused on the *Vakalat nama* at Howrah Court .. 3/8/-  
 For Muburi who went to Bauria to collect money for accused  
 Safar Ali's bail  
 Diet money for Atiar Rahman.....-2/-  
 Subscriptions collected through Dina Babu Somantha Thai,  
 and Bulia Sardar.....8/-  
 To Asutosh Ghosh, Captain for going to Andul to raise  
 Subscriptions.....-15/-  
 To boat hire for Abdul Headman's party going to Anta.....1/-  
 To Atiar Rahaman's Party for going to Matiabrus.....1/1/-  
 Boat hire to Mani Lal Giri's Party, for going across the river to  
 collect money.....-6/-  
 To Ramkristo Babu's party for coming to Howrah.....1/11/-  
 From Debkumar on A/c of Panchanan Parui.....4/-



|  |        |
|--|--------|
| Diet money for Ramkristo Bahu.....                                   | -/2/-  |
| Train hire for Akbar Ali.....  | -/-/9. |
| Bus hire for self and Sri Kumar ... ..                               | -/5/-  |
| Train hire for return from Hawarah for Ramkristo Gosh's party ... .. | 1/11/- |

Send half a mound of *Shar* per Ramkristo Gosh's Party and 13½ seers of rice per Austosh Gosh's party.

Handed over a maund of rice to Bibhuti Bhushan Dutta for relief week.

|   |                      |
|---|----------------------|
| Received rice from Ramkristo Gosh ... ..  | ...½maund.           |
| Ausutosh Ghosh ... ..   | ...13½seers          |
| Atiur Rahman ... ..   | ...4½seers.          |
| Paid to Debkumar... ..  | ... 1/-              |
| „ „ Atiur Rahman ... ..   | .. 1/-               |
| Paid to Rahim for bail expenses ... ..  | ... 20/-             |
| Paid to Sri Kumar ... ..  | ... -/12/-           |
| From Bibhuti ... ..   | ... ..               |
| From Asutosh Ghosh, for subscriptions collected ... ..  | ... 11/8/-           |
| From Amulya Dass ... ..   | ... 1/-              |
| Paid to Badri Narain ... ..   | ... -/9/-            |
| From Phulkumar Adhikari for subscriptions & other items ... ..  | ... 17/8/-           |
| From Javed Shekh... ..  | ... 8 seers of rice  |
| „ Ram Kristo Gosh ... ..  | ... 11½ seers rice.  |
| Sher Ali ... ..   | ... 9½ seers of rice |
| „ Atiur Rahman ... ..   | ... 13/-             |
| From two copies of <i>Ganavani</i> .. ..  | ... -/1/-            |
| To Bhupen Datt for going to Bauria ... ..   | ... 1/-              |
| To paying off debt to Bankim ... ..   | ... 1/-              |
| Received from Javed Ali ... ..  | ... 6/7/-            |
| „ „ Nani Lal Giri ... ..  | ... 10/15/-          |
| On a/c of Abul Husain ... ..  | ... 1/10/-           |
| From Javed Ali ... ..   | ... 13/10/-          |
| To Kader Bux for taking men to the Howrah Court to stand bail for Aizuddi and Pacha and taking them back to Alipur ... .. | ... 3/2/-            |

|   |       |       |      |        |
|---|-------|-------|------|--------|
| Loan to Debkumar  | ...   | ...   | ...  | 1/-    |
| Paid to Indu Bhushan Sarkar for office expenses as suggested by Kisori Babu                                 | ..    | ...   | ..   | 20/-   |
| Advance to Debkumar for visit to Bauria   | ...   | ..    | ..   | -/8/-  |
| Paid to Jatindra Neth Gosh Shopkeeper   | ...   | ...   | ...  | 10/-/6 |
| Advance to Bibhuti for minor expenses   |       |       |      | 5/-    |
| { Expenses of three people for crossing over from Bauria to Budge   |       |       |      |        |
| •                    budge....  | ....  | ....  | .... | -/4/-  |
| Paid to Debkumar for expenses at Budge Budge.....   |       |       |      | 1/-    |
| Paid to "Bura" (the old man) for securing the release of Aizuddin and Pacha                                 | ....  | ....  | .... | 10/-   |
| to Sri Kumar for going to Bauria  | ....  | ....  | .... | -/6/9  |
| Barrowed from Nitai Dutt  | ...   | ..    | ..   | -/2/-  |
| From Debkumar for subscriptions collected   | ..... |       |      | 1/-    |
| From Sri Kumar  | ..    | ..    | ...  | 12/3/3 |
| "Bibhuti  | ..    | ..    | ...  | 2/-    |
| Bus fare for going to Lal Mohan Ghosh at office   | ...   | ...   | ...  | -/2/6  |
| Travelling charges for self and Lal Mohan Ghosh going to Howrah Court to talk matters over with Barada Pyne | ...   | ...   | ...  | -/4/6  |
| Paid to Kisori babu for going to Bauria and back  | ...   | ...   | ...  | 1/-    |
| To Nitai Dutt   | ...   | ..... | ...  | -/3/9  |
| To Jatindra Nath Ghosh  | ...   | ...   | ...  | 13/-   |
| Repaid to Abdul Azid amount advanced by him to Halim ..   |       |       |      | -/8/-  |
| Deb Kumar advanced, Rs. 4/- for sending back Abdul Azid and 10 volunteers.                                  |       |       |      |        |
| Paid to Kader   | ...   | ....  | ...  | -/2/9  |
| To Jabid Ali for food for Airaddi of the "Orient"...  | ...   | ...   | ...  | -/4/-  |
| To Abdul Aziz for lemonade  | ...   | ...   | ...  | -/1/6  |
| To Pucha for household expenses   | ...   | ...   | ...  | -/6/-  |
| Received from Debkumar  | ...   | ...   | ...  | 4/-    |
| Loan to Kader Bux   | ...   | ...   | ...  | 1/-    |
| Paid to Kisori Babu for (illegible) expenses  | ...   | ...   | ...  | 7/-    |
| Bus fare from Shyam Bazar to Presidency Jail  | ...   | ...   | ...  | -/4/-  |
| Received from Kisori Babu   | ...   | ...   | ...  | 2/6/-  |

|  |       |
|--|-------|
| To Bankim for going to Bauria ... ..   | 1/-   |
| Received back from Bankim ... ..   | 1/-   |
| Bus fare to Campbell Foresters house and back...   | -/2/6 |
| To K. C. Rai Choodhwvry's office ... ..  | -/2/6 |
| Ditto Ditto ... ..   | -/2/3 |
| Took from Kisori Babu for coming to Bauria ... ..  | 1/-   |
| Taken from Kisori Babu ... ..  | -/8/- |
| Ginger water for Spratt ... ..   | -/2/6 |
| Conveyance charges for Spratt coming from Howrah to<br>E. Asylum Lane ... ..   | -/2/3 |
| Bus fare for fetching K. C. Mitra... ..  | -/4/3 |
| Bus hire for K.C. Mitra and self from Lillooah to Howrah   | -/3/6 |
| Bus hire for Mitra from Howrah to Lillooah ... ..  | -/1/9 |
| Received from Kisori Babu .. ..  | 2/-   |
| Bus fare for Bankim and self from Howrah to Syambazar  | -/4/- |
| To cost of a quire of ruled paper for writing an article regarding<br>Bauria .. ..   | -/4/- |
| Paid to Ajit at Kisori Babu's suggestion ... ..  | 3/-   |
| Bus fare from Syam Bazar to Harrison Road for coming to the<br>"Yuga varta" press at the Sushil printing works to print Appeal-1/1/- |       |
| Tram hire from Harrison Road to the P. & W. party office to<br>consult norstors' years Book ... ..                                   | -/1/3 |
| Tram hire from K. C. Chowdhuy's office to the P. & W. party<br>office for the same purpose .. ..                                     | -/1/3 |
| Received from Kisori Babu ... ..   | 2/-   |
| To (illegible) printing works for printing 5000, copies of Appeal 20/  |       |
| Train and Bus fare for coming to Calcutta to take over receipt<br>for the Auna fund from Kisori Babu ... ..                          | -/7/- |
| Bus hire for going to the commercial Library to take note<br>about Jute mills ... ..   | -/3/- |
| From Syambazar to Saldah to visit the union and Balishatter<br>Jute mills .. ..  | -/1/6 |

|   |    |   |   |
|---|----|---|---|
| Tram hire from Howrah to Shidpur to see the Hawrah<br>Ganges & Fort William Jute mills ...  | 0  | 0 | 9 |
| To see the New central Jute mills (tram hire from<br>Hawrah to Salkia) ....   | 0  | 0 | 9 |
| For Bankim and self two return tickets for Nilpur<br>to attend the meeting at Hirapur Bazar ...   | 1  | 0 | 6 |
| To fare from Howrah station to attend office of P. & W.<br>party for printing appeal in Urdu and for discus-<br>sing things ...         | 0  | 3 | 0 |
| Received from Kisori Babu ....  | 1  | 0 | 0 |
| Bus fare for coming to the P. & W. party office to<br>enquire about the Urdu leaflet ...  | 0  | 3 | 6 |
| Tram hire to Belgaehies and back—having been dis-<br>patched by Kishori babu to get money from<br>Upen Da ...                           | 0  | 2 | 0 |
| Fare for Gholam and Ismail for return to Calcutta ...   | 0  | 9 | 0 |
| Tram hire from Hawrah to Court and back to meet<br>Kisori Babu ....   | 0  | 1 | 6 |
| Received from Kristo Gopal Bhattacharyya in aid of<br>Bauria ....   | 5  | 0 | 0 |
| Bus fare for self and Bankim for going from Shyam<br>bazar to the party office ...  | 0  | 3 | 6 |
| Train hire for self Bankim and Gopen from Bhatpara<br>to Calcutta ...   | 1  | 3 | 6 |
| Received through Bankim Subscriptions raised from<br>Chengail ...   | 30 | 0 | 0 |
| Paid to Sibnath on a/c of train fare for Gopen, Shib-<br>nath and Shiraj (?) to Bauria ...  | 1  | 0 | 0 |
| To Bankim for going to Changail... ..   | 0  | 4 | 0 |
| To Miyajan and two others for distributing Hindi appeals<br>as travelling charges ...   | 5  | 0 | 0 |
| Miyan Jan's other expenses ...  | 4  | 0 | 0 |
| Travelling charges to Gholam forgoing to Chandipur ...  | 1  | 0 | 0 |
| To Nur Ali for going to Bagnan ...  | 3  | 0 | 0 |
| Two tickets for Fulgachhia ...  | 0  | 6 | 0 |
| Railway fare for return of Hemanta and Bankim for<br>Fulgachhia and return fare from Fulgachhia for<br>self, Shamsul Huda and Gopen ... | 4  | 9 | 0 |

|  |     |     |     |    |   |
|--|-----|-----|-----|----|---|
| Paid to Kali Babu for cost of journey  | ... | ... | 0   | 8  | 0 |
| To Gopen for crossing the river  | ... | ... | 0   | 4  | 0 |
| Paid to Hemanta  | ... | ... | 1   | 0  | 0 |
| Train fare for self and Gopen for going to Calcutta                            | ... | ... | 0   | 9  | 0 |
| Bus fare from Sealdah to Mani Mukherji's house                                 | ... | ... | 0   | 2  | 0 |
| Paid to Gopal for going to Bhatpara  | ... | ... | 1   | 0  | 0 |
| Received from Satinder Nath De in aid of Bauria                                | ... | ... | 4   | 0  | 0 |
| Train fare and refreshments for 3 people going to Bagnan to Abdul Aziz         | ... | ... | 1   | 14 | 0 |
| Received Subscriptions through Gopen from Bengal Jute Worker's Association     | ... | ... | 10  | 0  | 0 |
| Cost of telegrams to Joshi at Bombay and to Subhas at Jamshedpur               | ... | ... | 3   | 8  | 0 |
| Fare to Bhatpara for Kali Babu and refreshments                                | ... | ... | 1   | 0  | 0 |
| Cost of coming up to Shyambazar for Bankim Hemanta and self                    | ... | ... | 1   | 0  | 0 |
| My charges for going from Howrah to the Party Office                           | ... | ... | 0   | 3  | 0 |
| Tram Hire for going to Party Office at night                                   | ... | ... | 0   | 1  | 6 |
| Bus fare from Howrah for going to Party office                                 | ... | ... | 0   | 3  | 0 |
| Refreshments for Gopen and self  | ... | ... | 0   | 7  | 0 |
| Cost of telegrams to Saklatwala and Soumyen Tagore                             | ... | ... | 9   | 9  | 0 |
| Cost of going to Belgachia Hospital from Party office... Gopen self and Bankim | ... | ... | 0   | 5  | 3 |
| Bus fare for going to Party Office from School                                 | ... | ... | 0   | 2  | 6 |
| Sibnath offers help from the Lillooach Union in aid of Bauria                  | ... | ... | 6   | 4  | 0 |
| Bus fare for self from Howrah to Lillooach to meet Sibnath and back            | ... | ... | 0   | 3  | 6 |
| Kali Das Babu sends through his son in law, as contribution from Dunda         | ... | ... | 250 | 0  | 0 |
| Paid to Abdul Aziz for going to Chengail                                       | ... | ... | 0   | 2  | 0 |
| Cost of my journey from Howrah to Elgin Road to meet Subhas                    | ... | ... | 0   | 2  | 6 |
| Thence to Howrah Court to Baroda Babu  | ... | ... | 0   | 3  | 3 |

|   |     |    |   |
|---|-----|----|---|
| From Howrah to Salkia to Khagan Ganguly's House<br>and back ... ..                    | 0   | 1  | 6 |
| Tram Hire for Gopi Raman and self from Bauria to<br>Changail ... ..                   | 0   | 1  | 6 |
| To Gopen for going to Calcutta and back to make a report                              | 2   | 0  | 0 |
| Tulsi Babu's lad stole from my pocket at night  | 20  | 0  | 0 |
| Tram Hire from house to Madan Mohan Barman's House                                    | 0   | 2  | 3 |
| Bus Fare for self and Hemanta from Bowbazar to Forward<br>Office ... ..               | 0   | 2  | 0 |
| Bus fare from Forward office to European Asylum Lane                                  | 0   | 1  | 0 |
| Cost of Hair Cutting and shaving by Gopen and Bankim...                               | 0   | 2  | 0 |
| Paid to Azhar for his brother Muzaffar who is in hos-<br>pital for food ... ..        | 1   | 0  | 0 |
| Cost of visit to Calcutta and back by Aswani  | 0   | 14 | 6 |
| Cost of journey to Bhatpara and back by Gopen Babu                                    | 1   | 0  | 0 |
| To cost of a man's visit to Bagnan and back...  | 3   | 0  | 0 |
| To Aksar Ali ... ..   | 4   | 0  | 0 |
| Cost of lights at meeting. ... ..   | 1   | 0  | 0 |
| Bus to Howrah station from Haren Ghosh's House  | 0   | 1  | 3 |
| Reimbasing Hemanta for cost of telegram to Dundee,<br>paid from his own pocket ... .. | 10  | 0  | 0 |
| Paid through Hemanta cost of printing 6000 copies of<br>Hindi appeal ... ..           | 30  | 0  | 0 |
| Paid to Khitish Babu... ..  | 30  | 0  | 0 |
| Out of £ 10 remitted by Saklatwalla, got from the<br>Chartered Bank ... ..            | 132 | 6  | 6 |
| To Gopen for going to Bhatpara with Hindi leaflets                                    | 2   | 0  | 0 |
| To fee for my Membership of the R.C. of the A.I.P. & W.<br>party ... ..               | 2   | 0  | 0 |
| Cost of telegrams to Germany and Holland ... ..                                       | 19  | 14 | 0 |
| Received from Azahar for subscription raised from<br>Chitraganj ... ..                | 2   | 0  | 0 |
| Bus from Durga Babu's house to Howrah Station   | 0   | 2  | 9 |
| Tickets for Gopen between Bauria and Howrah   | 0   | 4  | 6 |

Borrowed from Surya Babu ... .. 1 0 0

Out of the sum of Rs. 332/6/2 there is balance about  
Rs. 120/- less expenses, of this, keeping Rs. 10/-  
with me. I deposit Rs. 110/- with Bankim's  
grand mother.

Spend through Sadat Ali—

|  |         |       |       |           |   |   |
|--|---------|-------|-------|-----------|---|---|
| Debt to Jotin Shopkeeper   | ...     | ...   | ...   | 10        | 0 | 0 |
| Rail expenses for Nur Ali and Sher Ali   | ...     | ...   | ...   | 9         | 8 | 0 |
| Aid to Bora Sareng   | ...     | ...   | ...   | 0         | 8 | 0 |
| Travelling expenses (twice) to Kali Babu                                       | ..      | ...   | ...   | 3         | 0 | 0 |
| Cost of taking voleentēers from Bauria to Changail                             | ...     | ...   | ...   | 0         | 6 | 6 |
| With Kishori Babu to Nur Ali for meals   | ...     | ...   | ...   | 1         | 0 | 0 |
| Travelling expenses of 2 Volunteers to Bagnan                                  | ...     | ...   | ...   | 1         | 4 | 0 |
| Application for bail at Ulubaria Court   | ...     | ...   | ...   | 1         | 0 | 0 |
| Cost of sending a men to Chitraganj  | ...     | ...   | ...   | 0         | 4 | 0 |
| To Majahar pleader for Atiar Rahman at Howrah                                  | ...     | ...   | ...   | 10        | 0 | 0 |
| Tickets for Gopen and Moti between Howrah and Bauria                           | 0       | 8     | 0     |           |   |   |
| In aid of a Sareng   | ...     | ...   | ...   | 1         | 0 | 0 |
| To Asar Ali  | ...     | ...   | ...   | 1         | 0 | 0 |
| To Nur Ali for going to Calcutta and back                                      | ...     | ...   | ...   | 1         | 4 | 0 |
| Expenses of mollaji for Journey to Ulubaria                                    | ...     | ...   | ...   | 0         | 2 | 6 |
| Cost of 6 men's journey to Chakkasi  | ...     | ...   | ...   | 0         | 9 | 0 |
| To Akhil Babu.....   | .....   | ..... | ..... | 2/-       |   |   |
| Tickets to Bauria for Moti and Aswini.....                                     | ..      | ...   | ...   | -/9/-     |   |   |
| To Akhil Nandi.....  | ....    | ...   | ....  | ..-/1/-   |   |   |
| Travelling charges and refreshment for Chengail volunteers                     | ..-/8/- |       |       |           |   |   |
| To Mojahar.....  | ....    | ..... | ...   | ....-/8/- |   |   |
| Cost of Gopen's visit to Bhatapara.....  | .....   | ..... | ..... | -/7/-     |   |   |
| Gharry Hire to and from Forward office for Hemanta Radha<br>Ballabh and myself | ....    | ..    | ..    | ..-/5/6.  |   |   |

Diet Monday for Aswini Das..... .. 4/-

Mayadhar Panda

Village Hatirpara,

P. O. Kothai,

Dist. Balasore

Sd. K. B. Roy

16-11-29.

## P. 121-T.

(Extracts from an account book)

Radha Raman Mitter's name appears on the front page.

P. 3

|  |           |     |        |
|--|-----------|-----|--------|
| Due from Bankim  | ...       | ... | 2/1/-  |
| Train fare from Chengail to Calcutta                                 | ....}     | ... | -/5/-  |
| Painting a Sign board  | ...       | ... | 1/7/6  |
| Train hire for journey to Kulada's house                             | ... }     | ... | -/2/-  |
| From corporation to Hemanta's office                                 | .. .... } | ... | -/2/6  |
| Medicines- for Chengail  | ..        | ... | 3/5/-  |
| Bus hire for self and Binay Bhushan Dutt for going to Howrah Station | ... .. }  | ..  | -/5/-  |
| Return tickets of the above to and from Chengail                     | ... .. }  | ... | 1/6/-  |
| Return bus fare for Binay Babu                                       | ...       | ... | -/2/6  |
| My Bus hire from Training College to Arun Babu's house               | ... .. }  | ... | -/1/6  |
| Return ticket for Chengail   | ...       | ... | -/11/- |
| Received from corporation teachers for the strike fund               | ... .. }  | ..  | -/8/   |



|   |   |         |        |
|---|---|---------|--------|
| Bhupen Sen has contributed to this fund .. .. .   | } | .. .. . | 10/-   |
| Due from Bankim .....   |   | .. .. . | 3/-    |
| From School to Abay Assram .....  |   | .. .. . | -1/-   |
| From Abhay Asram to Kali Sannyasi's house .. .. .   | } | .. .. . | -1/3   |
| From there to Kisori's house at Syambazar .....   | } | .. .. . | -1/6   |
| Fare for self and Hemanta to Howrah .....   | } | .. .. . | -5/-   |
| Inter Return ticket for two .....   |   | .. .. . | 1/6/-  |
| Bus hire for self & Hemanta Babu from Howrah to European Asylum Lane .. .. .  | } | .. .. . | -5/-   |
| Going from there to Deb Kumar's house (Bus hire) .. .. .  | } | .. .. . | -3/6   |
| Bhupen Babu's contribution to the Strike fund .. .. .   | } | .. .. . | 1/-    |
| Single Inter Fare to chengail for Bijay Mitter .. .. .  | } | .. .. . | -7/3   |
| My fare from European Asylum Lane to School .. .. .   | } | .. .. . | -2/3   |
| Rs. 2/- was paid to Bijay Mitter for going to and from Calcutta of which he returned Re.1/- this sum was paid to Muzaffar to bring over Kalidas Babu from Bhatpara. |   |         |        |
| Kiran Miter gave me for journey to Lilloch and back .. .. .   | } | .. .. . | Re 1/- |
| Fare for myself and Bankim for going to Lilloch .. .. .   | } | .. .. . | -8/6   |
| Fare for return from Howrah to European Asylum Lane .. .. .   | } | .. .. . | -5/6   |
| Refereshment at night for Bankim and self .. .. .   | } | .. .. . | -8/-   |
| Fare from Chengail to Majer Hat, thence to  |   |         |        |
| Manlali European Asylum Lane and thence to Sealdah .. .. .  | } | .. .. . | -5/-   |
| From College street to Belgachia .. .. .  | } | .. .. . | -2/-   |

|   |        |      |      |      |         |
|---|--------|------|------|------|---------|
| Spratt has paid for me -<br>Lemonade  | } .... | .... | .... | .... | -/2/9   |
| Kali Babu paid for going to<br>Calcutta   | { .... | .... | .... | .... | 4/-/-   |
| Journey to Lilloch and back   |        |      |      |      | 1/7/6   |
| To Syambazar  | ....   | .... | .... | .... | -/2/6   |
| Mr. Mitter paid   | ....   | .... | .... | .... | 5/-/-   |
| Tickets for Bankim and self   | ....   | .... | .... | .... | 3/9/-   |
| Received from Goswami   | ....   | .... | ..   | .... | 10/-/-  |
| Five tickets up to Asansol  | ....   | .... | ..   | .... | 1/9/-   |
| Borrowed from Spratt  | ....   | .... | ..   | .... | 5/-/-   |
| of which Rs. 3/- was paid to Ali<br>Hassain for going to Calcutta.<br>Re. 1/- was paid to Nur Hossain for<br>going to Ondal and back.   |        |      |      |      |         |
| Cost of a <i>Charpoy</i> ,<br>of which I paid Re. 1/-<br>and Dharani paid Re. 1/6/-   | ....   | .... | .... | .... | 2/2/-   |
| Bankim paid off<br>in arrears with the Hotel taking<br>the amount from Spratt. I took<br>Re. 1/- from Ram Charan to settle<br>bills for tea etc.  | ....   | ..   | .... | .... | -/13/6  |
| Received from Dharani Babu  | ....   | .... | .... | .... | Rs 10/- |
| Took from Spratt Rs 10/- out of which<br>5 tickets for Ondal cost 1/9/-<br>1 ticket for Calcutta cost 2/2/-<br>Borrowed a rupee from Spratt<br>for <i>Bazar</i> expenses.<br>Received Rs. 2/- from Ram Charan,<br>Paid it as travelling charges<br>to Calcutta of Makhan Babu, Ram<br>Charan. |        |      |      |      |         |
| In deposit with Chiranjib   | ....   | .... | .... | .... | 3/14/-  |
| Lent to Phani   | ..     | .... | .... | .... | 1/-/-   |

K. B. Roy. 16-10-29.

P. 127-T.

2/1 European

Asylum Lane,

Calcutta 16th Sept. 1928.

Dear Sir,

On sudden receipt of a Telegram, myself and Spratt had to proceed to Bombay. On return, I got your letter. I have not got the letter written in reply to my wire. You will have to attend the Conference at Lyallpur. Probably for want of money, it will not be possible for anybody else to go. I am soon sending you the necessary papers.

Now about the book-stall instead of troubling our heads about the location of the stall, what is necessary to trouble our heads about is about the books to be placed. The time is very short. It will take a very long time for books to come from America. Books may be had, if orders are placed even now. In doing business for the first time, it is necessary that money should be remitted simultaneously. If not the whole amount more than half must be remitted. The books you have written about are probably not prohibited. It is necessary to place orders forthwith for the books. What arrangements will be made for money for that purpose? Write soon. On receipt of your letter something will be done. Rs. 300/- is of course a very small sum. But there is hope that some money might be had on loan. It would have been very well if we could spend at least Rs. 500/-

I trust you are all right.

Yours,

Muzaffar Ahmed,

P. S. what will be done about the party subscriptions? Without some money work is coming to a standstill.

M. A.

K. B. Roy.

4 10-29.

## P. 229-T

Victory to the Workers and  
Peasants and Lower Middle Class!  
Down with Imperialism!

K. B. Roy

4-10-29.

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## P. 232-T.

The *Ganavani* of the 25th August 1927 writes:—

The Red Front.

(by Soumyendra Nath Tagore).

I shall long remember the 3rd June. The streets of Berlin that day were flooded with the warm stream of hundreds of thousands of revolutionary lives, like a stream of lava, issuing from a volcano. For the last three years, the German workers have been celebrating their great annual festival in June. They have named this festival the Red Front. We went to the quarters of Berlin inhabited by workers and waited. We saw hundreds of thousands of people waiting to see this procession. Hundreds of red flags were flying on the houses on either side of the streets. So far as the eyes could reach, I saw though every thing had been dyed in the colour of blood. The sound of music was wafted from a distance. Soon, they came up in bodies. The International was sounded, and these 3,00,000 marched in step with it. The workers of each workshop, in Germany sent their representatives. Workers came in bodies from Ruhr, from Central Germany and from the extreme frontiers of Germany to join this festivity. On the right arm of each worker was the red badge, and the leader of each band carried a flag to indicate wherefrom they had come. As on *Chait Sankranti* day in our country, various kinds of cartoons are taken out, so these men too, paraded the streets with various kinds of images in caricature. I noticed many cartoons that day of capitalists and factory owners. One of these cartoons related to the conferment of the Nobel prize on Chamberlain preserving peace. Pictures of Lenin, Rosa Luxembourg, Liebnichtov were carried in front of the procession. Underneath Lenin's picture was written: "Advance along

the path indicated by Lenin for the emancipation of the persecuted on earth." Underneath the pictures of Rosa Luxembour and Liebnachtov was written:—

"Remember we are to repay their blood-Debt." These processions included women, small boys and girls, the old and the young. All had come out today, made restless with the dream of a future emancipation had come out in bodies and assembled. Every moment they were crying out "Red Front" and throwing out their clenched right fist towards the sky simultaneously the onlookers on either side of the street were crying out "Red Front" and uplifting their clenched fists in the air. It seemed as though the sky itself would be rent to pieces with the shock of these hundred thousand hands of theirs. And that is what probably happened. Soon it began to rain in torrents. The visitors began to depart. We also moved homewards. From a distance the roar from a hundred thousand throats "Red Front", "Red Front" reached my ears.

*Berlin.*

K. B. Roy

26-10-29

The *Ganavani* of the 28th July 1928 writes:—

India's place in the future conflict between England and the soviet.

by Soumyendra Nath Tagora.

In a previous article we have attempted to give a brief account of the various means by which from the establishment of soviet Government till now, England has been trying to destory the soviet Government. The matter has gradually become very serious, and a settlement between these two powers in the near future has become inevitable. The black clouds of this impending conflict are casting their long shadows all over Europe. All over Europe a feeling of disquiet is manifest. England is wholly responsible for bringing about this future conflict. Reading a little between the lines, we shall be bound to admit that this conflict is inevitable sooner or later. There is radical conflict between the idea on which the British Empire is based and that on which the soviet Government is based, The full supporter and supreme exemplar of one idea is England and the soviet Government wishes to support and assert the other idea. Where there is radical conflict between two ideas, both cannot remain at the same place. There is indeed in our country a saying about the tiger and a lamb lying down together but though I have not seen it with my own eys, I can emphatically assert that that the tiger which lay down with the lamb certainly became a lamb, for so long as it was a tiger, it was impossible for it to forget

what its pleasant relations to the lamb were. It seems to be the same here also. Either Imperialist exploiting England will remain or the soviet Government ruled by the masses will remain. The spirit of the age makes the victory of democracy inevitable. The exploiter probably will have to disgorge all his stolen property, i. e., in other words, he will have to become democratic or else he will be utterly destroyed. Those who notice the indications of the age realise that sooner or later, this must happen. But I see no reason to think that merely at those signs England will be upset and suddenly turn nonviolent. The burnt child may dread the fire, but why should the child who has not had that experience be afraid of fire? Secondly, it will not do to forget that it is not easy either for individuals or parties to easily change their views. Indeed it may be said to be almost impossible to change views which enable one to win permanent prosperity. It has not taken the English authorities long, with such intelligence as they possess, to realise that once it is proved that soviet Government in Russia has been a success, labour in England will not allow them long to remain, at peace. The doctrine of safety first for one's own self is a very valuable one. The natural instinct of all living creature is to struggle to defend itself. Hence when we find that impelled by this great ideal, the English ruling class to save their prestige and power are hurling any thing they can lay hands on, to destroy the soviet, we are moved both to pity and laughter. They thought of killing this newly born soviet by throwing mud and brickbats at them. Now they find that far from being killed, it has almost become impossible for them to live in their sacred land, owing to the depredations committed by the infant. This infant has come to know all about the means by which, during all this time, they have managed to acquire the best things for themselves and he is trying with his party to have a share of those things. To prevent this, it will not do now merely to hurt brickbats, they must yield the sword now. This is what England is now attempting. But we cannot regard this conflict like the conflicts of the past. In the past one ruler fought another and inflicted mutual losses, but as a result thereof, there was no revolution all over the world. In the economic conditions of the time, that was not expected. At the present age, all countries on earth are so intermixed that a shock on one sends repercussions to another. All who have read anything at all of the history, on the last war know what penalty our country has to pay as the result of England going to war with any country whatsoever. Indians have more to fear than anybody else from these military preparations of England against the soviet. I shall try to show in this article how India is intimately concerned in this conflict between England and the soviet. Since the last great war, the old relations between England and the Dominions have considerably changed. Australia, Canada, South and East Africa may be said now to have become almost free. In all these countries the national movement became strong after

the war. They are no longer ready as before to admit subjection to England. From the proceedings of the conference at London between England and these Dominions, it becomes quite clear that no matter what pleasant language these daughter states might hold in regard to the mother country, the claims they put forward were meant to compel England to admit them as free states. It is true that they indulged in some pleasant language towards the mother country for appearance's sake, but privately they were exerting such pressure that the mother country was feeling faint, so to speak. The letter again, in order to prevent other people from knowing, could not in her fear, cry out. When departing they all assured the mother country that if anybody sought to interfere with her territories, they would all, as worthy children of the mother, come forward in a body to help her. They would not tolerate any interference with her territories by any body. But in spite of all these assurances on their part, I greatly doubt if England will again in the future get help from her Dominions as in the past. No one will easily agree to sacrifice her political interests for England in future war. Those who have tasted the sweets of the last war will by no means now agree to waste men and money easily for England's sake. Not that England does not know this but so long as India is there she need not be very anxious. England will secure all the necessaries of a war with the soviet from India. India's inexhaustible man power and untold wealth will be utilised for the destruction of democracy in the conflict which is inevitable in the near future between the Imperialists and democracy. India is now the chief obstacle to the securing of freedom by all countries on earth. Wherever a mass movement raises its head, soldiers have been sent from India to crush it. As a result of her subjection, India has long had to act thus as the great enemy of freedom. To Egypt, Africa, Mesopotamia, China - in a word, wherever it has been necessary to nullify a nation's attempt at emancipation, troops have been despatched from India. Large bodies of troops have been sent out from India to put down the existing agitation in China. This shame of India will keep India for ever under a stigma on the pages of the world's history.

In the conflict between England and the soviet, England's mainstay would be India. Let us consider once how great is India's responsibility in the crisis of the world's history. After all these years, in one country on earth above has each man been given his rights of humanity. Only the men of this one country have tasted of real emancipation among the people of the world. They are not content with having secured their own emancipation, they are conveying the message of emancipation to the homes of all oppressed men every where. Today to destroy them it is we who will be used as the principal instruments. I know how weak and helpless we are. We shall be dragged forward, willy nilly. But we shall not have done our duty

simply by sitting idle. If instead of reciting the traditional falsehood that God is the strength of the weak, and that whatever He does will happen. We can preach to the untold uneducated and half educated masses of India the message that it is the weak who are themselves the strength of the weak, only they do not know where their strength lies, we shall be doing our real duty. We shall save India from an immeasurable future disgrace. This is work we must do ourselves. The lofty responsibility of this work must be assumed by our peasants and workers' party. We shall try from now to preach in the villages of Bengal this message and to rouse each inhabitant of the country to his responsibility. We know that the uplifted thunderbolt of Government will fall on our heads, but we are not at all afraid of that. We must try from now on to explain to the public the real significance of the conflict between England and the soviet, in order that India may not be used as an instrument to destroy the soviet. Not a moment's further delay would be proper. Agitation is specially necessary in the Native states. The worthless Princes of the tributary states undeserving of the name of men keep their heads always prone at the feet of England. We would not have anything to object to, it is were merely their heads as individuals. What can be a better use of their heads than this. But it is not their own heads alone - along with them, the heads of hundreds of thousands of men are falling prone at the feet of English Imperialists, Nobody else is so much to blame as these men are, for demeaning India before the world. With soldiers and money they have always appeased England's hunger for increasing the Empire I read in the papers the other day that the Maharaja of Bharatpur had telegraphed to the Governor-General that he and his subjects were eager to help the benevolent British Government against China. Will not His Excellency kindly gratify this desire of himself and his subjects. The unhappy people of Bharatpur are compelled under threats of their ruler's punishment thus to show loyalty by sacrificing their lives. Whenever war breaks out between England and any body else, there ensues a competition among these Princes to show of their loyalty. The money they amass by sucking the blood of their poor subjects is then freely poured out for the English. These tributary native states are an obstacle to India's freedom. A strong agitation should be started amongst the inhabitants of these states. Let not a drop of Indian's blood nor a farthing of her money be utilised against the soviet.

Let us not forget that the destruction of the soviet means the further perpetuation of Indian's subjection.

Let the workers' and peasants' party of Bengal betake themselves to rousing this consciousness in the mass numbered.

Berlin.

Sd. K. B. Roy.  
4. 11. 29



## P 234-T.

In Bangali is a version of the English copy in the same Exhibit.]

K. B. Roy.

5-11-29.

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## P. 238-T.

The *Ganavani* of the 13th October has the following :—

### *The demands of the proletariat*

Although the ultimate result of the wrestling match now begun on the political field of India amongst the leaders cannot be foreseen, it is quite clear that it will not go beyond a struggle and fight with pen and lips only. Although no prophecy is possible as to whether the party of old Moti Lall will triumph or that of young Jawahar Lall will, and which party will lead the National Conference of India at the next Congress, we quite clearly understand that neither party will go further than challenges and uttering invitations to a fight. Let them do what they think proper we do not object there-to, but it is necessary now to talk of all these things because they have not shrunk from dragging us also inside their programme or their unarmed struggle with the hands. The cry is being heard on all lips that without the sympathy of the masses, India cannot secure freedom. We the exploited and persecuted and proletariat,—crores of peasants and workers in India, have come today to realise that India cannot secure freedom without our sympathy. It is not that we hear this anew. When first Gandhi told us this, we responded in our crores of throats our heads were bowed in reverence, we regarded him as a god. But have Congress leaders reflected why they have today lost that sympathy of ours ?

We want clearly to explain today to our political leaders what we want, how we envisage "freedom".

We are daily looking for leaders, but where is the leader? Whenever any of you assuming leadership summons us, we rush

on after you. Whenever misled by your plausible words staking life itself, we blindly rush on, it is you who lag behind and bring forward new arguments to arrest our advance. Do you think that misled by your bluff, we shall always follow you?

Our eyes have been opened today, we have come to realise who has brought us to this plight; we have come to know who have robbed us of our all and made beggars of us now, who are snatching the bread from our mouths. Perpetually blind as we were, we have had our sight restored, we have now come to know who have drained away every drop of the blood of our bodies and reduced us to skeletons. Now we have come to recognise who is our friend and who is our enemy. Remember that the sleeping demon has today opened his eyes. Do you notice the fire in his eyes? Do you notice in what direction his big hands are being extended now? Do you understand what he wants to snatch away now? Beware timid cowards? Do you know whom you are poking out of his sleep? Will you be able to advance on the blood red path, before our angry movements? Flashes of fire gleam now forth from our eyes. Today we feel the sweet taste of blood with our tongues. In our ears we hear only the sweet music of destruction. From all sides comes to our ears the sound of hammer blows. From the throats of workmen hard as adamant we hear the cry: "Break down, break down, break down, this very heavy stone which has been on your breast for thousands of years."

Hark there to the thunderous cry of the workers of the world, which makes the air and the sky quake. Staking life itself, against the exploiting class of the world, they are today proclaiming revolt. From one end of the world to the other, that sound is today roaring out. The exploiting class all over the world with hearts quaking in terror, is now actively striving to put down these sparks of fire.

Will you hear as to what we want? We want full freedom. We want to snatch back our rights from the clutches of the combined exploiters of the world. We are today standing up to snatch away all power from the hands of these robbers who having robbed us of our all, having snatched away the food for our stomachs, are now enjoying all comfort and all pleasure.

Those engaged in this work a exploitation, be they indigenious or foreign are the same in our eyes. Freedom for us means the freedom of the proletariat all over the world. There are no limits to this freedom.

Hence it is necessary for us now to say clearly that our revolt is not merely against a foreign system of rule. We want

now also to be free from exploitation by indigenous Zamindars, merchants and rich men.

We do not want that while we produce the wealth of the world it should be enjoyed by another set of people who produce nothing. We want to be masters of wealth and property in the world and it is for this that the proletariat all over the world are preparing for a struggle.

Will you be able to assume our leadership? If you can, acknowledge our claims and come forward and we shall follow you. Otherwise do not claim to be our leaders. Stand aside from the path

K. B. Roy.

25 10 29.

The *Ganavani* of the 13th October 1928 writes :—

### **The Independence League.**

We have expressed our views about the Independence League. This League wants to build up its fabric of full independence on the basis of economic and social freedom. If that be the aim, it would be for this league to be a league of the masses. But how can that be permitted inside the congress? Congress may be big institution, it may boast of a life of 42 years but it cannot be an institution of the masses. The congress includes capitalists, merchants and Zamindars and infatuated but exploited lower middle class men. The men of the last class, no matter how much they may be exploited and persecuted are all in a state of infatuation. The sham *bhadra* mentality in them keeps them in sympathy with the exploiter class. The goal of many of them is sometime or other to be promoted to the ranks of exploiters. But no such relations can be possibly be established between exploiters and the workers and peasants. For no kind of friendship is possible between the devourer and the food to be devoured. So there is no possibility of the independence League remaining inside congress and becoming an institution of the masses. Pandit J. L. Nehru has made a serious mistake here. No matter how much he may be applauded by middle class youth and students, his propaganda or mission will have no value at all until he mixes with masses as one of them. Many of his supporter say that they will capture congress. If that be true, even so, the Independence League should have been constituted independently. Otherwise how can contact be established between it and the masses? The masses will have their own party and the peasants' and workers' party have been constituted for this purpose. Pandit Jawahar Lal will not be able to adopt a more revolutionary programme than

the peasants and workers party. Instead of forming a separate organisation he should have joined the peasants' and workers' party.

K. B. Roy.

23-10-29.

The *Ganavani* of the 21st June 1928 writes:—

That we want freedom wholeheartedly, that the establishment of democracy is the sole desire of our lives are statements repeatedly heard from the educated youngmen of the middle and lower middle classes of our country. But they are rarely heard to discuss the particular path by which we are to secure freedom and what form our democracy is to assume. Our educated youths are quite content to leave the responsibility of considering all these to their leaders as though independent thinking is not at all permissible to them. They take up the cry which happens to be raised at any particular moment but they never want to test and find out what value the cry which happens to be raised has historically and scientifically and what is the sincerity of those who raise that cry.

We do indeed want democracy. But the point to consider is how far our educated young friends have been able to suit their mentality to real democracy. The masses do not mean the zamindar the rich man and the *bhadralok*, the masses are the peasants, workers' and poor proletariat. If a Government of theirs has to be established how far have the educated youth been able prepare themselves therefor? The main obstacle to real democracy is the aristocratic and *bhadralok* mentality. How many of our educated young brethren have been able to adopt a declassed mentality like this: If they have not been able, there is no meaning in their renunciation, their suffering imprisonment and swinging from the gallows of course, if they do all these things in the name of 'democracy.

Have they adopted any particular revolutionary programme and policy with a scientific historic basis. The country has yet to know it. Their sole policy seems to be to chime in with the tune which happens to be sung at any particular movement. Else under what policy did youths who want to see democracy established in India strive heart and soul to secure the return of Ranjit Pal Choudhry to the Council? Congress might indeed nominate Pal Chaudhary who drains away the hearts' blood of the peasant, who oppresses the tea garden worker, but with what face did youths in favour of democracy help therein? Mr. Subhas Bose, even after preaching democracy in the Punjab might come to Bengal and help the return of Pal Chaudhury the capitalist and zamindar, because he is president of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee. Who does not know that 75 percent of the Congress leaders do not at heart

accept what they profess with their lips? The truth of this will be proved immediately one compares the Madras Congress Independence Resolution with the proceedings of the All Parties Conference.

In making progress with all kinds of work there are two paths, revolutionary and reformative. The Congress is proceeding along the reformative path. The reformists are generally men of the aristocratic and capitalist class or those who are their well wishers. So they are bound to be reactionary and opposed to revolution. But the path of the masses can never be the reformative path the masses have to advance along the revolutionary path. The class conflict which is in society is a revolutionary conflict, i. e., it is fight of the masses against the class which through exploitation spends its time in enjoyment and luxury. Only if the exploiting class can be weakened and upset by this conflict will it be possible to establish real democracy otherwise not.

A reformist if he is a member of Congress has to obey all things done by the Congress. But if a democrat enlist as a member of Congress, it does not follow that he also will have to advance along the reformist path laid down by Congress. The aim of the Reformist is to strengthen the authority of the capitalist, zamindar etc., while that of those who favour democracy is to break down that authority and set up a democracy instead. So even inside Congress, there can never be the same policy for the Reformist and those who favour democracy.

K. B. Roy.

19-10-29

The *Ganavani* of the 21st June 1928 writes:—

*The place of peasants and workers.*

Peasants and workers do not know what their place in society is. If they could understand it clearly, the present constitution of our society would long ago have undergone a transformation. One of our special duties is to rouse our peasant and workmen brethren to their real situation. Our peasant and workmen brethren produce all the articles of food and use. Tilling the fields, it is our peasant brethren who produce paddy, pulses wheat, Barley and other crops jute etc. Next, as regards other articles of human use, clothes, tools, &c. They are produced in factories by our workmen brethren. These ships and Railways which go about have also been built by our workmen brethren and it is their labour which make it possible for them to be working. All the big houses have been built by workmen. But under rules of existing society, workmen are not the masters of any of the these things. Workmen have no control over the means of production. They only manufacture goods at the factories, but they

have no say at all as to its working. Capitalists do not regard them as anything else than beasts of burden. The plight of peasants is just the same. Zamindars, their officers, money-lenders, pleaders and priests all drain away their blood. If we regard the peasant as a tree these classes of society have to be accepted as parasites. These parasites on society every year deprive thousands of peasants of their lands and bones. It is purely as the result of exploitation that both peasant and workmen have been brought to the lowest depth of misfortune.

Peasants and workers do not know what strength lies hidden in themselves. The Bengal Peasants' and workers' party will not merely inform them of this strength of theirs, but they will also point out means by which through their combined strength, they can have all their claims fulfilled to the uttermost farthing. Peasants and workers are despised as low class people by those who do not belong to their order. From all sides, they have been persuaded that low class men are never the equals of aristocrats and bhadralok. Listening to these, a belief has come to fill the peasants and workmen themselves that they really are low class people. But we want to make it clear that not merely are not they low class people, but that if really there be any low class people, it is these men who dub peasants and workers low class people.

As the producers of all things, it is the peasants and workmen who have a right to a special place in society. They must strive actively to-day secure that right. They have always lived under the stress of want. From now on, they must resolve firmly to be well housed well-fed and well clothed. They have been born on earth as men. So they must live as men. Peasants and workers must organise and carry on a struggle against their exploiters. If they do not do things in an organised fashion, they will never be able to survive on earth in these days of exploitation and oppression. The yield of their labour must be realised from those who are fattening on the stolen labour of the worker and the peasant. It is for this reason that at different places, workers' Unions should be organised. Only if they work in organised fashion will they have all their claims fulfilled. Only they who work with their brains and bodies have a right to food on earth and only the peasant can be the master of the soil.

(Sd.) K. B. Roy.

19-10-29.

## P. 241-T.

A monster public meeting under the auspices of the Bengal Peasants' and Workers' Party-Dacca Branch.

Subject:—The Trade Dispute Bill and full establishment of the power of the ~~the~~ passes.

Place:—Coronation Park, (Sadar Ghat).

Date:—August 22, Wednesday.

Time:—5 p. m.

A member of well-known speakers of Bengal, wishing for the uplift of Peasants and Workers will address the meeting.

The presence of Railway Coolies Workmen and employees of factories, carriage drivers, water suppliers, mintis and sweepers, masons, press employes, postal employes, workmen in textile factories, peasants, students and teachers and of all classes of Dacca people without distinction is cordially invited.

Gopal Ch. Basak,  
Secy, Bengal Peasant' and  
Workers' Party, Dacca  
Branch.

22-8 28

Dacca.

(Sd) K. B. Roy.

4-10-29.

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## P. 250-T

Communism and its gradual development.

(Read before the study circle conducted by the Dacca branch of the peasants and workers' party).

In seeking to write of communism, the first point which occurs to me is that historians will want to comment lightly on what I shall

write about it, asking what original authorities I can cite on the subject.

It is true that if there is any question of authorities, the communist will not at this stage challenge them to a fight to show that his views are susceptible of proof. The historian has never felt it necessary to inform himself of the joys and sorrows of primitive humanity; in seeking to write of the gradual development of men of the age following the primitive one, he did not want to speak of those men, he was always busy recording how many races of men came, how many fights were fought, and how many incidents occurred. The historian could keep no count at all how, from what period, men wanted to establish relations with other men, how in their minds, a desire awoke for equality, friendship, freedom or for the full development of humanity and how a baffled impulse towards unrest had been generated in them both in individual and in social life. For since the beginning of creation, a number of scheming men were not wanting who wanted to utilise for their own enjoyment all things from trees and plants to men. They put too much stress on externals and hence spiritually they were bankrupt. It is true that their unsatisfied desire for authority made landlords, princes, kings and priests of them and so brought them into touch with new situations and for this, new revolutions were brought about. But it did not allow them to draw a picture of their humanity, of equality, friendship and freedom. These were to them merely meaningless words, hence they were not revealed to them in any other form, besides, their desire for mastery led them to make use of it in accord therewith. But those words appealed to the persecuted and oppressed and destitute in another form. Hence in unspeakable anguish, occasionally they rose in revolt to bring about a change in the situation then prevailing. But they could bring about a hole hearted development of them, the mere touch of the new had effected them. Hence the demand—the unrest which is apparent in the successive revolutions of the destitute did not take form in the actualities of history.

No explanation has yet been obtained from the historian of the strange transformations undergone by humanity—the attacks and fights of barbarians in the age of nature, the oppressions of religion, Feudal rule, the slave system, and the strange system of slavery and the guild system of the middle ages which replaced it, and next the growth of slavery with workmen under contract, introduced by capitalism—and greatest achievement of all, the establishment of democracy in the name of Imperialism, and now the beginnings of a revolt by the destitute inspired by Communistic clear interest against the age of civilisation. But the communist has explained each incident and each revolution. He has shown that the the sole reason for a change of era has been the revolt of



the masses against their condition at the time. And because they were ignorant and not inspired by the clear interest, different classes of exploiters captured the Government machinery at different times and extended their rights and brought about a new age. In the 15th century and later, as a result of the French Revolution, the Paris Communes, and other world-wide revolutions, the Bourgeois class taking advantage of religious and Napoleonic wars established slavery or rule of their class for a century; ground down by oppression, the destitute rebelled against the middle class bourgeois class, and thereupon the opportunist and capitalist bourgeois class utilised the undeveloped revolutionary tendencies of the destitute, unseen by all, to strengthen their own authority and system of Government—all this can be clearly explained only by the communist. The work of the communist is not merely to discuss what were hitherto the relations between men and men and how all mankind was being pressed down and destroyed in seeking to pander to the whims of a handful of people, and how those in authority had introduced the imperialism of the present day. In seeking to depict the form of oppression or explain changes in the form of administration, they have also had to depict the future. Hence what was written by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels is now happening in different parts of the world, having undergone some change of form owing to change of place and time. The leading idea of communism is to show the masses how oppression began on earth, how differences among men now prevail as a result of that oppression, and how imperialism, is another name for sacrificing the interest of the many to those of one and how it is rendering social life for men a failure and to induce among them a desire to revolt against that oppression. Communism has indicated how full development of human life is possible and painted a picture of society free from oppression. The revolutions since 1840 wanted to indicate means to preserve unimpaired the individual freedom in collective life and to prevent exploitation and culminated in the Russian Revolution of 1917 in a form in which all differences between men were abolished and human life attained all round fulfilment.

## Chapter II

Materials for a History of social life become available only in the Roman and Feudal periods. History of social life in previous ages has to depend only on an analysis on a communal basis. It is difficult to know the manners and social customs of the Central Asian immigrants we come to know of. But it appears from an analysis from the communist standpoint that before social life began, in Central Asia primitive men and women lived in the forests on fruits. There was not family life and they chased and killed such wild beasts as they came across and ate their raw flesh. Free intercourse between the sexes was in vogue, unlike the chiefs in a

later age it was not then possible for one man to take possession of more than one woman. There were women also who could by their strength drive away half a dozen men. After this owing to strife, or to attacks by wild beasts, or to desire to procure food by joint effort, there arose small bands or families. The joint efforts of these small families produced primitive weapons. For protection and regulation of family disputes and the like, these families elected a permanent chief from amongst themselves. These men were occasionally killed when they arrogated to themselves too great authority.

The possibility of victory for the oppressed is now in sight and this has filled destitute workers and peasants in every country with unrest. This effort at revolution by the destitute is now manifest in the life of all nations. It is this eager desire to build up the world anew which has brought about conflicts with Capitalism and Imperialism in different parts of the world. Communism is the great weapon in this fight in the hands of the proletariat. Gradually the chiefs began to dislike being puppets of the people and began indulging in mutual warfare on the plea of conflict of interests. These repeated fights led to the creation of a class of permanent soldiers. Thus the chiefs became wholly separated from the people and concentrated all authority in their own hands. By granting the soldiers peculiar privileges, the chiefs with their help began to exploit the masses. Occasionally, nothing to abuse of authority, the masses became restless. There was gradual development of the arts of civilisation and new wants began to be felt and with this came increase of unrest. While things were thus, a class of men at the instigation of the rulers began to preach religion seeking thereby to pacify the unrestful hearts of the masses. The chiefs with the help of these new ministers of religion began to exploit the masses. This class subsequently developed into the Brahmins. They drew away people's attention from things worldly. After this process had continued for a time, one chief stronger than the rest became a king. All feared the king. To keep up his authority, in the name of order he imposed new restrictions on his subjects. At times, the subjects grew restless, and when things went too far that way, the king divided his subjects into different classes, each with its own appointed work of worship, fighting, cultivation, trade, and so on. The priestly class in the name of religion, then began to exploit the masses in another direction. They facilitated the securing of money by themselves by imposing various *pujas* which they people were to perform. The king gave the priests or Brahmins money and they taught the people that the king was a divine being whom it was not right to offend. The need of a king for the welfare of the community was impressed on the people in various ways, and a time came when the latter ceased to chafe even under misgovernment. The Brahmin enjoyed

great popular respect and influence and even indirectly influenced the king.

The king now felt afraid lest this Brahmanic authority based on the masses might threaten his own. The Brahmans too, by their narrow bigotry had given offence to many people. The popular mind grew restless, which found no vent. The king taking advantage of this situation, incited popular feeling against the Brahmans and soon a conflict arose between the latter and the people, in which the Brahmanic power was destroyed. In order to find help in exploiting the people, the king thereafter created a class of Jagirdars. The people still continued to be dependant on the king's favour. These Jagirdars and other grew in time to be feudal princes who encouraged trade and commerce and the Bourgeois revolution was based on this trade and commerce. Capitalism has triumphed in this Bourgeois revolution and has now developed into Imperialism. Capitalism has taken advantage of different developments to capture kingly power, and learned how to exercise authority in the name of the people. And the rule of this class has lasted longer than that of any other class. They still carry on administration and exploitation in most countries on earth. The process of this development of capitalism in India has been rather slow and in that country Imperialism could not assert itself before the advent of the English. An opportunity arose to repress the popular power, and establish feudal rule with the help of the ruling power. The feudal princes came after a time to find that so long as the king's authority was maintained oppression on them would continue, and they would not have adequate opportunity of exploiting the masses. The king's oppression ere long reached almost intolerable limits. The subjects were impressed by him for military service, and the feudal princes also had to help him with men and money. New taxation pressed on the people. The king continued all the same to exploit the people. A new excitement developed among them and the feudal princes directed it against the king. There was a revolt and the king's authority was destroyed. After this, the feudal Princes grew in power and to keep the people pleased, gave picked man among them some advantages, leaving the generality of the population in their old darkness. The feudal princes soon found new opportunities of oppression and in time the peasants were converted into serfs. Steps were taken to increase income by making them labour hard. There was great suffering because of failure in many cases to pander to the enjoyment of the feudal princes. Unrest grew. Merchants who at this time traded in luxuries were helped by the feudal princes with land and enabled to start markets, so that the enjoyment of the princes might be the better gratified. Wars between rival feudal princes were constantly going on. Still centres of trade developed and these were

towns, outside the forts of the feudal princes. The inhabitants of these towns were merchants and they founded guilds—all burghers being eligible for membership of these bodies. In North Italy and along the Rhine, the old cities declined and these new cities of free townsmen or Burghers developed. It is these Burghers who were the progenitors of the class which in a later age lives on the labour of others.

Feudal wars led to demands of fresh money from the subjects and oppression on them Burghers did not escape these impositions. The people groaned under oppression and fled. Some of these peasants began to work as citizens in the new cities, before mentioned. About 1100 there was a revolt in Flanders and in North France, against the feudal chiefs, enemies of their rights, by the Burgher cities. As a result in 1077 at Cambrai was introduced a system of government in which the general rights of the citizens were acknowledged. Still, most of these revolts were suppressed by the feudal princes. But in the 13th and 14th centuries these Revolts in France and Italy were partially successful. Between 1200 and 1400, these revolts in England were not very successful. In England when these new towns developed, the Barons and clergy were weak and the kings were strong. So the Burghers got charters from the king and exacted rights for the Abbots and Barons. But even here the process was not accomplished peacefully. Guild Masters' associations gradually developed in these towns, and they started monopoly of membership which became hereditary. This drove the craftsmen into discontent. They revolted, but the workman or humble trader did not profit in conference. No democracy was established, power passed into the hands of the more wealthy among them. The democratic movement in North Italy was successful in the 14th and 15th centuries and so in 1573, for a time, cities were ruled by workmen but big craftsmen soon supplanted them. These craftsmen with the help of the King soon established monopolies in certain articles of trade. This led to the displacement of the guilds and the destruction of cottage industries. Capitalists soon started big factories with division of labour. This led to large and easy production. This industrial revolution soon led to the establishment of big ports and fleets of ships. To facilitate trade between different countries books in different languages were composed and the acquirement of education encouraged.

The discovery of America at this time afforded a wide field for the investment of capital by those who lived on the labour of others. To facilitate the keeping of accounts, the study of mathematics was encouraged and this led to the development of the sciences.

In India the industrial revolution did not come till the beg-

inning of the 19th century. The villages regulated social life, in spite of political revolutions during all the preceding centuries. As on the one hand this prevented famine and plague from taking root as now, so on the other, there could be no combined stand against revolution. This why after the English came, very easily the foreign ruling community made arrangements for exploitation, As a result of this exploitation, India's social life was destroyed in an unthinkable way. Under foreign rule oppression, in the mask of righteousness and politics revealed itself in its ruthless aspect. Indigenous industries were destroyed and cotton began to be imported into a country which was the original home of cotton. The people have been more and more thrown back on cultivation.

It is English rule which has brought about a great revolution in the semi civilised social life of India. Owing to the fissures prevailing among the different classes society had become narrow and superstitious. English rule has indeed broken up the old system of family or clan life and given a shock to classes which were once aristocratic, but it has afforded an impetus of movement to the population generally. English exploitation till the last war was opposed to starting industries in India, but since then, for certain reasons, it has began favouring the growth of industries in India. The birth of a proletariat has jeopardised the position of capitalists in England and the Indian bourgeois class are competing with foreign help against English capitalists. This bourgeois class have also started the boycott movement against English goods. The English therefore now want to win over the indigenous bourgeois class and capitalists. Industrial centres are therefore rising in India; with factories, partly or wholly financed with English money, e. g. the Tata works, the Jute mills near Calcutta etc. Thus English capitalism with soon with the help of the Indian bourgeoisies try to kill the national movement and develop in India to the full the two classes—the capitalist and the proletariat.

To facilitate the movement of ships, attempts were made to discover the compass and as a result, the science of astronomy developed. There was a general movement from the villages to the towns, and the masses gradually passed under the control of the capitalists. Production and distribution having come under the capitalists, the decaying aristocracy were still further pushed down. Now there are two classes in society, the proletariat and the capitalist living on the labour of others. The last great war arose out of the conflict between different imperialist powers for a monopoly of colonial profit. This war made some redistribution of rights among the different powers to loot particular colonies, where capitalism had brought the people under its administration and exploitation, but no other change came about.

The proletariat, however, have found in this war where their property is. This war has revealed the real guise of Nationalism the great weapon of capitalists used to delude people. So a greater war is now awaited.

Alike in England, France, and America, the bourgeois class with the help of the masses have managed to set up bourgeois rule, in the name of democracy.

As a result of the state having passed under these men who live on the labour of others, all the social institutions came to be diverted to preserving and increasing capital. This capital has been wrongly described as national wealth. Wars break out in the clash of interest between the bourgeois classes of different nations for the further increase of this capital and ignorant workers, who created this capital but have no share in it, take part in these fights. Thus England and France have fought for more than a century. Trade was surreptitiously often carried on in the midst of such fights, but those engaged in it were killed in the name of patriotism. Thanks to bourgeois policy, no agitation has yet succeeded in stopping exploitation by the Governments. In the past, the property of the rulers was immovable at present under a rule of capitalists who live on the produce of others, and which capitalism has now developed into Imperialism (?), their property consists in 99 percent of the population, *i. e.* the workmen and peasants bound by contract. For this, it is only the proletariat who are responsible. Those who create this wealth have no family life at all, unlike the capitalist class. The wealth produced by the major part of the community is enjoyed by those who do nothing for society. Capitalism, like a parasite on society is enjoying wealth so as to destroy society. The idea of nationalism started by capitalism supported by the bourgeois class prevents the proletariat from recognising this property in its real guise. In the last great war, when the proletariat saw how capital was being prevented from coming into use by the masses who sacrificed their life in the struggle,—that even during such trouble they could not have a farthing of that capital for the benefit of their dependants,—the proletariat awoke to the real situation. Hence they were incited to struggle against those who lived on the produce of others and this fight based itself on communism. Much English capital during the last war was transferred to America, and we have found that capital cannot remain confined within the limits of a particular state, but must seek employment in spheres where it can increase itself by fresh forms of exploitation.

15-10-29.

(Sd.) K. B. Roy.

## P. 251-T.

LENIN.

In the telegraphs room, (illegible) were fighting with each other. Lenin came straight out of that room and entered his small reading room. Sitting on the chair, on small square sheet of paper, he began putting down a few small, round and clear letters.

“Felix Edmondowsky, I agree, make a final arrangement with Yakov Michaelovik. It is absolutely necessary that this work should be done, and as soon as possible, make all the arrangements. Arrange every thing with the leader of the Second Army and before tomorrow, through the Polish Bureau convey my cordial greetings to the communists.”

Yours

Lenin.

After it was written, Lenin pressed a switch and simultaneously a young worker, Lenin's secretary with his grave and honest face came and stood in the room. Lenin sealed the letter with his own hands, & placed it in the hands of the secretary. Next he passed into the telephone room through another door. He began talking with (illegible). Part of it could be overheard “What? Hallo! Is the city centre still in our hands? (Illegible). Is Rosiltoz there? Yes, I hear! The centre is then still intact? Are the workers in arms? Hallo (illegible). From Laisovo? All right. Call me up again after two hours. Good-bye.

And Lenin, immediately afterwards passed through the study where (illegible) were talking, into the telegraph room.

They (the opposite party) were at the time hanging the Bolsheviks at Laisovo, shooting them drowning them and whipping and lopping off their ears. And at Kazan, where Skatinkin's men(?) were frequently discussing at the time on the Verandah what should best be done about the chief centre there, some were passing along by side while others were talking quite boldly. And from the centres at Petrograd, Alakuz and Kremtovnikov.....workmen in black were moving forward to Kazan fort.

And big Iliia Muromez aeroplanes were assembling to raid Nijni-Novgorod, Kazan and Samara.

And in the square in front of the Moscow Soviet Hall, a body of workers and Red soldiers, ready for face to face fight were waiting for Lenin. With their lips frequently on the telephone, they were calling Lenin, and Lenin was repeatedly answering that he was coming. Yet he had not turned up. Andronikov was proceeding

with this army to the edge of (the théâtre) of war. He took the motor from the yard of the Moscow soviet and in order that there might be no disorganisation in the army of (illegible) he drove his motor car through a side alley towards the Kremlin. Just before Kutakla Place he almost came suddenly up on another car. In it, leaning towards the right was sitting Lenin, and on his head was a creased black cap. Seeing Andronikov, Lenin, leaning, forward on the other side of the Motor car called out! Is it for me that you are going? I am coming, I am coming. The two motorcars passed alongside of each other but Lenin stopped his car, and Andronikov stepped into Lenin's car.

His brown face, these furrows on the brow seemed to have been hewn in stone he had been to the gates of hell, so dark it was, the hair on his body was like fire, Andronikov liked very much to see it. In short, such a soft face, leaving out the two eyes, it would mingle straight away in the crowd. And even in these eyes there was such a calm gaze at once kind and stern but from this kindness and sternness blossomed forth the smile of unknown past so full of fun and such a fine smiling face like the Greek woodland gods. Though Andronikov did not understand all this and at times had nothing at all to do with such sentiments, but all these—this mercy, this sternness, this smile, and glow of intelligence, this unique receptacle of truth, simple and humane, used to envelope him from above, used to overcome him, it seemed as though it was unthinkable and just at the same movement, Lenin would embrace Andronikov with the instincts of an ordinary man.

And exactly for this reason when he was asked "What kind of man is Lenin," in trying to reply, he found himself, so to speak, in immeasurable depths.

Lenin drew his creased cap down to his ears, so that the breeze might not blow it away, and immediately afterwards, sitting on the right hand corner of his car, started it.

He asked Andronikov "What do you think.

Will they be able to take Kazan?"

Andronikov answered: "It is doubtful if we shall be able to retain it".

"How is their enthusiasm?"

"Yes, the enthusiasm of our men is great. The lads know dangers

Lenin forthwith looked alive, his left eye was knit, the right eye brow was uplifted. Leaning forward cornerwise with his left ear, he threw his weight on the side of Andronikov. It was thus



that Lenin, when he listened, instead of paying heed in any other direction, seemed to listen with his entire body, so to speak.

Andronikov was saying: "They understand this thing very well, in particular the labourers, and now the Red Army also understand similarly-

"What exactly are their feelings regarding constituting a big army, definite bodies of troops?"

"They have sympathy (with the idea), by whatever means possible, this must be done. Passing through the lane, the car arrived on the Soviet Courtyard.

Exactly in accordance with his disposition, Lenin snatched himself away for his car and running up the stairs in one rush, came up and entered the Presidium room. Andronikov could not keep pace with him.

Next, both came upon the Verandah. Andronikov was grave, his eyes seemed aflame, his looks, pale from starvation and absence of sleep, seemed more stern and distinct. He had on a new coat lined with fish scales, thrown anyhow strangely over his body, but that also seemed to be equally shining. He found it so comfortable to enjoy the feel of it on his body, shoulders, breast and arms. And the heart in Andronikov felt like new. Everything and everybody appeared before him in a new glory—all were new, all were alive: Beside him was standing Iliak (Lenin), like a flame. Leaning on the rails on the Verandah, and at times turning to the right and to the left, Lenin was making a speech. What he was saying—seemed to have been dragged out of the inmost recesses of his heart, and hence his voice was so sweet, so deep and so powerful that like a strong flood, it seemed to be pouring hope into the ears of the listeners.

Each word of Lenin's was quite ordinary yet when it penetrated into your heart, and you grip it, you find the most valuable kernel of the fruit (in it). And this zealous Lenin, this pinched and brown face, these honest eyes in them, were the pupils (balls of) flame or soft green? Again Andronikov was overcome by that captivating spirit, by a strange feeling of the mind, as though it embraced him as wholly his own. It seemed as though this man were his elder brother.

Suddenly, in Lenin's speech, these words particularly reached Andronikov's ears. "It is a very difficult thing to carry on the Government of a country". "Are we really ruling the country with him and other men like him? Andronikov pondered on this. "And such a man; Lenin with a grey coat on his body and a creased cap on his head and how might he is! Everything about him is so close to us, so much our own. And yet how

mighty? Andronikov felt that it was thus that metals melted first we fashion them hot or cold as we like and subsequently after it has been cast, it is transformed into a cold, hard thing, always strong and impenetrable. Hence in regard to strength—it is for this purpose that in the flame—(some words here are illegible) Afterwards as soon as it is cold, it is impenetrable. Lenin had finished his speech long ago. Somebody else from the Army then began speaking.

The words seemed to constantly buzzing in his head.

“We are impenetrable. We are all impenetrable”.

(Sd). K. B. Roy.

4-10-29.

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## P. 253-T.

(Selections from Bengali entries). Diary.

*P. 29*

|               |      |   |   |   |
|---------------|------|---|---|---|
| Carriage Hire | .... | 0 | 4 | 0 |
| Ground-nut,   | .... | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Betch etc.    | .... | 0 | 3 | 3 |
| Tea           | .... | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Betels        | .... | 0 | 0 | 3 |

*P. 33*

*Outgoings:*

*Outgoings:*

|                   |      |      |    |   |          |              |      |   |   |   |
|-------------------|------|------|----|---|----------|--------------|------|---|---|---|
| Purchase of Books | .... | 70   | 0  | 0 | Sundries | ....         | 15   | 8 | 0 |   |
| Repaid debt       | .... | 30   | 0  | 0 | Nam      | ....         | 0    | 2 | 0 |   |
| Lent to Debendra  | }    | .... | 10 | 0 | 0        | Refreshments | .... | 0 | 4 | 3 |
| Nath              |      |      |    |   |          |              |      |   |   |   |
| Lent to Teacher   | .... | 6    | 0  | 0 |          |              |      |   |   |   |

*P. 35*

|              |      |   |   |   |
|--------------|------|---|---|---|
| 25 Gitas.... | .... | 6 | 4 | 0 |
|--------------|------|---|---|---|

Loan to Datia (?) .... 30 0 0

P. 130

1 Rupee—Gopal Chandra.

P. 354

It is a very difficult thing to write all the genuine truth about Communism. A look into the pages of history shows—The history of the mind of primitive man—his ... ..

P. 355

Dues—

Goswami ... Rs. 125/-

(Rs. 100/- in cash,

Rs. 9/- ( ? )

Rs. 6/- in cash)

Also .... .. Rs. 40/-

Almorah, Rs. 60/-

(Rs. 20/- of mine + Rs. 40/-)

on account of ( ? ) Rs. 5/-

P. 356 Rs. 188/-

Brother Amar.... Rs. 20/-

Rajani Babu

Kiran Sanker... Rs. 35/-

Sd. K. B. Roy,

4. 11. 29

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P. 256-T.

Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal, Dacca Branch.

Visit to Munshiganj

and back, with Gopal

Chakravarti,—

Carriage Hire .... -/8/-

|  |     |               |
|--|-----|---------------|
| Tea and biscuits   | ... | -/3/-         |
|  |     | <u>-/11/-</u> |
| Spratt, Goswami,<br>Muzaffar,—<br>Soda Lemonade,<br>Cigaretts, Matches,<br>Kerosine Oil,<br>Spirit,<br>Carriage Hire | ... | -/8/-         |
| Restaurant,<br>Rent for quarters,<br>"Sunirmal" Confectionary,<br>Mess, Charges,<br>Muzaffar                         | ... | 10/-          |
| Restaurant, (Canal View)<br>My own (Illegible)   | ... | 4/8/-         |

Sd. K. B. Roy.

4. 11. 29

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## P. 257-T.

Scavenger's Union of Bengal, Dacca Branch.

*Outgoings:—*

|   |      |       |
|---|------|-------|
| Minute file, Letter file  | .... | -/6/- |
| Gas Light   | ...  | -/5/- |
| Hindi Advertisement (some words are illegible)  | .... | 3/4/- |
| Carriage Hire for 6, including Spratt, Goswami, Muzaffar, etc., on their visiting a <i>Bustee</i> . | .... | 1/8/- |

5/7/-

*Incomings:—*

|                 |     |       |
|-----------------|-----|-------|
| Gopal Das Basak | ... | 5/7/- |
|-----------------|-----|-------|

Sd. K. B. Roy.

4. 11. 29

P. 258-T.

2/1 European Asylum

Lane,

Calcutta, 30-6-28

Dear Comrade,

To-days' "Ganavani" has been despatched.

Fetch it quickly from the Station.

I have got both your letters. On my return, I shall write poems for your "Prabaha". By white time is it coming out? I shall bring up with me all the papers and documents left behind by you. I am coming back in a day or two.

Yours

Abdul Kader,

To

Babu Gopal Ch: Basak,

Albert Library,

Nawabpur,

Dacca.

Sd. K. B. Roy.

4. 11. 29

P. 267-T

1st October 1928

Dear Sir,

I was sure that you were bound to attend the Committee meeting. But the pity is, you could not come. A letter in a separate cover has been written about the meeting of the Reception Committee. The meeting will be held next Saturday. Be sure to come. The paper could not be issued regulary for want of funds. With great difficulty I have to-day brought out two issues together.

Saturday. When you come, all things will be talked over. As our Conference is meeting in December, it would be well not to hold the All Bengal Tenants' Conference in November. Nothing will be gained by dissipating our energies in two places. A sum of about Rs. 2000/- will be needed, if the all India Conference is to be held with success. Furthermore, propaganda must be carried on regularly from now. It will be necessary also to move about everywhere and raise funds. It will not do to waste time now any more. For these two months we must strive hard. The "Ganavani" for want of funds has been published irregularly. Only today is it being sent. Other matters are held over till you come here.

Yours

Muzaffar Ahmad.

Sd. K. B. Roy

4/10/29

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P. 271-T.

October, 5, 1928.

Dear Sir,

I have received your card. I am sorry to learn that you are not coming tomorrow. Your presence yesterday was badly needed. It is our desire to make the All-India Conference a great success. We do not at all want to move along traditional lines like others. Each resolution for the Conference must be drafted in detail. Our special Resolutions will be like theses. During the Conference, each resolution will have to be written out in the following languages:—

(1) English (2) Bengali, (3) Hindi (4) Urdu, (5) Marathi.

It will be necessary also to print them. Otherwise there would be no propaganda. Bulletins etc. will have to be issued in numbers from now onwards. During the Conference, houses will have to be engaged for outsiders and there are many other incidental expenses as well. There will be a large outlay on telegrams. Besides, the travelling expenses of some poor friends would also have to be met. On consideration it appears to me that at least Rs. 2000/- will be required. This sum of Rs. 200/- we must collect. But this work cannot be done by all. I think that if our

men would go to the Atia locality and carry on propoganda, some money would be forthcoming. In short, unless from now on, we work night and day, it will not be possible at all to manage things. Cases of illness have occured in your family. I cannot understand how in view of this, things are to be managed. It will be necessary for carry on considerable propoganda for the two months of December and November, in connexion with the Conference. It will not be right now to waste time even for a day.

It is necessary also to engage in detailed discussions about many minute matters. It will not be possible to write of all things in a letter. In short unless the matter is seriously pondered on we shall not be able to do anything at all.

Funds are badly wanted. It is for this want, that the *Ganavani* is not being regularly issued. I cannot secure advertisements. On all sides there is want and trouble, yet still work has to be carried on.

No special letters about the Peasants' section have been received, such as may be sent to you. I have got two letters from Atia-one is from the secretary and the other is from somebody else. The Secretary writes that he will send word later about our representative going there, and the other writes wanting to be informed when our men will go. A man down Patuakhali way has requested that one of us should go that way also. He wants to take (him) up during the Pujas. I have said nothing as yet.

It is necessary to transform the "Jagaran" further. It is desirable that the paper instead of being theatrical should be agitational. What do you think? On some other occasions also, I could not send articles though I had promised.

I sent the Receipt books, Forms etc., of the party, as desired by Nishi Babu. I do not know what he has done. Since you have gone there, it is ugently necessary that some members should be secured for us there. It would be well if anybody among the educated classes became a member, and there is no harm if one does not. Enlist among our individual members men from among the peasant and working classes. Will nobody want to pay four annas as subscription and become member? If there is a chance of enlisting members there, I shall send the new forms. It is undesirable that the old forms should be used.

I am not in the best of healths. Halim's health is very bad.

His weight has gone down to 80 lbs. ~~Let me have news about you~~  
soon.

Yours

Muzaffar Ahmad.

K. B. Roy,

4/12/29

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P. 272-T.

October 12, 1928.

Dear Sir,

I have just received the letter written by you yesterday. In order to attend a workman's conference at Meerut, Spratt and myself are going there today. There was nothing previously arranged about the visit. We are having to go, because suddenly a telegram and fare have been despatched. We go only because thereby party propaganda will be encouraged. We shall return as quickly as possible. It will not be expedient at all for the scavengers to take money on the terms on which it has been offered. It is very difficult to secure subscriptions from them—at present it is impossible. And even if subscriptions had been collected, it would not be possible to spend that money on a party conference. Somehow or other, this money we must collect. You have not come to Calcutta even once. You have not got intimately acquainted with the party workers. I send forms. Be sure to enlist some members. I am writing to the *Atia-wallas*.

The party conference will meet on the 21st, 22nd and 23rd December cannot the fishermen's Union be affiliated to our party? Braja Babu of Bogra does not have anything at all to do with our party. Since you will be going to your village home, make a point of coming to Calcutta also. The Meerut Conference will meet on the 14th and 15th. We shall return to Calcutta by the 18th.

Yours

Muzaffar Ahmad.

Sd. K. B. Roy;

4.10-29.



P. 273-T.

January, 28, 1929.

Deār Sir,

I got your letter duly. It is not possible to discuss all points in a newspaper. If you once come to Calcutta, it will be possible to discuss with you all matters. I am indeed glad to find that you are arranging for a peasant's league. It would be very good work if a peasant's League or *bloe* could be constituted in accordance with our programme.

I noticed in the *gagaran* the other day that Stalin has been described as a reactionary. Really that is not so. Neither is Trotsky the creator of the Red Army. It is regrettable that such mistakes should be committed inspite of so many books having been published about the Russian Revolution.

Let me know how you are.

Yours

Muzaffar Ahmad.

Sd. K. B. Roy.

4-11-29.

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P. 274-T.

23rd November 1928.

Dear Sir,

I have got your post card. You might also have got my letter. I trust the manifesto has been printed off. Speak to Nisi Babu that there may be no delay in sending it. It has not yet been possible to secure money. Remit here what is collected over there with you. No news has been received from Mymansing. But a visit there is urgently needed. A visit must also be paid once to Dacca Narsingdih. Time is almost wholly up. It is not permissible now to waste even a minute.

I expected you at yesterday's meeting. It is Sohan Singh

Josh who has been elected president. He is general secretary of the Punjab party.

Yours

Muzaffar Ahmed,

P. S. Bhupen Babu prefers to go his separate way.

Sd. K. B. Roy.

4-12-29.

## P. 324-T.

"Workers and persecuted brethren of the world, Unite."

Monday the 21st January is the fifth anniversary of the death of Lenin.

Brother workmen, never forget this day.

(Here is a picture of Nicolai Lenin).

Lenin was the foremost leader of the Bolshevik party in Russia and of the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia in 1917. He was the foremost among the men through whose ideas and efforts the rule of the tyrinical Czar and of capitalists who drank up the blood, and of the landlords, disappeared from Russia and the authority of the

### *Peasants and Workers*

To rule has been established. By constituting the international union named the Communist Internatitnal, he has taken steps to unite peasants and workers all over the world by the same ties. He went to prison, suffered the agonies of exile, and was even shot at by opposing White Guards, in order that the power of the Workers and peasants might be established.

He was born in 1870. He died on the 21st January 1924.

In memory of Lenin, meetings will be held at the following places on the 20th January:—

(1) Mirzapur Park at 4 P. M.

(2) Motiabruz Kerbela MAIDAN, 3 P, M.

All India's Peasants,  
and Workers' Party,  
Bengal Provincial Branch,  
2/1 European Asylum Lane,

January 15, 1929.

Sd. K. B. Roy.

4-10-29.

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**P. 355 T.**

The Bengal Peasants' and Workers' Party.

Annual Meeting at Bhatpara.

Dates: 31st March and 1st April 1928.

The Bengal Peasants' and Workers' Party alone has been carrying on a fight to secure the social and economic uplift of peasants and workers, to save them from high-handedness and infuse strength of all kinds into their arm. Let our brother peasants and workers attend the annual meeting of this party at the above mentioned place on the dates indicated above; and listen to what is said there about them and guide their course accordingly.

The office of the Bengal Peasants' and Workers' Party is located at 2/1 European Asylum Lane. If, however brother peasants and workers want to know more about the annual meeting, they can have it from the office of the Bengal Jute Workers Association at Bhatpara.

The Bengal Peasants'  
and Workers' Party.

Calcutta

March 22, 1928.

Sd. K. B. Roy.

4/10/29.

# P. 357-T.

## Search List.

Date and      20. 3. 1929.      From 5. 30. P. M. to 8 o'clock.  
Hour of  
Search.

*Name and residence of person whose house is searched.*

Nauthni Pasi, son of the late Balchund Pasi, residing at Bow Bazar Kennison Jute Mills Bustee.

Name and residence of witnesses to search:—

Bidhu Bhushan Mitar, Titagarh Municipal Office, Asutosh Chatterji, Titagarh Mahendra Babu's Kutchery' Rambali Pande, Titagarh Bowbazar.

*Description of place where article seized was found'*

Found on the shelf in the eastern wall in the room to the east of Nauthni Pasi's PUCCA room, opening to the South.

*Name etc of person occupying the house in which the article is seized.*

Nathuni Pasi, son of the late Balchand Pasi, residing at Titagarh Bowbazar.

### Remarks.

All the articles are packed in clothes in the presence of the witnesses and sealed and the packets signed by the witnesses.

*Description of articles seized:—*

1. 23 Forms of pledge by members of the Bengal Jute Workers Association, with signatures or thumb marks of the members
2. Pamphlet published of the Bangal Jute Workers' Association entitled about Jute Mills".
3. A list written in ink of 7 names, including Golam (?) Sarwar(?)
4. 1 Sheet in pencil containing 3 names and addresses and 34 addresses.
5. 1 copy of Rules of the Calcutta Tramway Workers' Union in English.
6. In P. G. Gangouly's writing (illegible) for India (illegible) a book written in English.
7. 5 draft petitions written for mill hands

8. Written by secretary S. Benerji, 2 letters dated 20. 1-28 to the Manager, Standard Jute Mill and 5 (9) letters of different dates for the Titagarh and Kinnisson Jute Mills.

10. A hand (letter) of the Bengal paper mills Association.

11. 2 letters in English from the secretary of the Central office at Bhatpara to the Branch office at Titagarh.

12. 1 notice in English about an Executive Committee meeting of the Bhatpara Central Office.

13. A letter addressed by the Manager Calcutta claims bureau to the Secy. Bhatpara Jute Association.

14. A letter in pencil written by C. C. Roy to Shib Nath Benerji.

15. A letter dated 20. 1. 28 written by Sib Nath Benerji to the postmaster at Titagarh.

K. B. Roy

5-11-29.

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## P. 358 [T].

The Bengal Jute Workers' Association.

Pledge by Members.

1. I Sibnath Banerji voluntarily and of my own motion pledge myself now while becoming a member of this Association that
  - (a) while employed in a factory, except under absolute compulsion I will not offer bribe or commission or presents to anybody or accept them from anybody and if I am at any time compelled to do so, I shall forthwith inform the Association.
  - (b) I shall regard every member of this Association as a brother or sister and for my own convenience will never act against their interests.
  - (c) So long as I continue to be a member of it, I will obey all its rules and prohibitions.

Having informed myself fully of the work and rules of this Association and having voluntarily enlisted as a member, it  
I SIGN MY NAME Sib Nath Banerji

put my thumb mark.

Date.....1/1/28

Name of Factory.....

Employment.....

Present Address

Home

Titagarh P. O. 62 Baitakkhana

Road, Calcutta.

Village.....

Thana.....

District.....

There are similar forms signed or identified with thumb-marks by Mopan Lachaia, Syamsunder Missir, Ram umrat Pandya, Mopan Nilema, Ram Kali Sardar, Nirmal Chanda Chatterji Sumer Jessware, Phekeni Mahabir, Shib Sankar Sinha, Aurya Sinha, Shiva Murat Singh, Shibbalak Sukul, Jadu Misir, Ohi Muhammad Haniff Khan, Rupjan Shaw, Fulbul Pandya, Bindeswari Ruhidas, Gursahni Kahar, Bhagirathi Kahar, Kalia Kahar, & Raghunath, Kusahangsi—

K. B. Roy  
4-10-29.

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P. 366-T

Is the Same as Ex. 324

K. B. Roy

6-11-29

## P. 368-T.

Included in Ex. 232.

K. B. Roy.

6-11-29.

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## P 369-T.

The Ganavani of the 9th August 1928 writes:—

Many people talk of revolution and change but, very few think of the means by which that is to be effected. A set of people have taken up politics as a profession. They have no lofty ideal before them and they do not feel the need of having one either. As in other professions their business is to indulge in bluff and makeshifts. One great aim of professional politicians is to suppress the truth that social and economic changes are also necessary for political changes, because a social and economic revolution is likely to cause considerable injury to those who engage their services. These professional politicians merely want a change of political power, they do not at all want to bring about a political revolution. They want to stop the progress of class conflict, for thereby the authority of their masters which exists over the means of production will be lost. It will not do for us at all to look expectantly to these professional politicians. We must decide by what means we can advance along the path of real revolution. We must first rouse the exploited and persecuted masses (to a sense) that it will never be possible anymore to pass the days as they are doing it now, that a change they must have. But this alone will not suffice. The life of the exploited, too must be made such that he can realise in his heart of hearts that it will no longer be possible at all to live and rule on the old system. In brief, when the lower classes of society will be able to feel that it is by no means expedient to lead lives as they have been leading them, and the higher classes also will realise that it is impossible to exploit on the old system, only then shall we succeed in the revolutionary struggle. This point may be stated more clearly. A revolution will never be possible until both for exploiters & the exploited, there is a national

crisis arrived. At first, the majority of labourers—at least those with a class consciousness and political experience must realise in their hearts that it is indispensably necessary to bring about a revolution; and for that they are prepared even to sacrifice their lives. For the ruling class also, an administrative crisis will then arise. That will make even the most backward classes in the political spheres strong. As a result the ruling authority will become weak & the revolutionaries in their place will set up an improved system.

K. B. Roy

4-11-29.

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## P. 370-T.

The Ganavani of the 14th June 1928 writes:—

THE GREAT REVOLUTION.

by Abdul Kader.

Unfurl the red flag today, kindle O kindle the cataclysmic torch O frantic one, arise, break down the doors, break down the prison of the demon. The universe is gasping under the weight of the stone of oppression. The God is a prisoner in the house of the demon, our God is imprisoned. Putting up freely with the frowns of the storm, and passing the night without any companion, march on to the fight for the emancipation of oppressed humanity. At the call of the heart of the submerged masses, march on to the fight of revolt, kindle the submarine fire of revolution. The blustful exhibition of authority by the rulers, who make their rule a matter of enjoyment has increased; massing the bodies of the ruled in heaps, they build thrones thereon. Building palaces with bones, they redden them with fresh human blood the wails of stricken hearts sound to their ears like songs of joy. They drain away the heart's blood, pillaging wealth and prosperity. The king's crown has been formed out of the food for the mouths of a hundred thousand men. The sky is perspiring by contact with the breath of weeping victims of oppression. Kindle the submarine fire of revolution. All those on earth who are accustomed to save, frantic in their infatuated desire to save, are causing pain to the minds of the workers for the sake of sensual enjoyment. The mothers of infants are being sacrificed on the sacrifi-



cial post of factories for asking for food. The wheels of machinery go round and round, crushing ever so many young hearts every instant. There is not the slightest charity in the minds of the capitalist, only there are persecution and false pretexts. Even providence does not shed a few tears at the woes of the workers. O ye who have been destitute through all the ages, show today the might of your arms—kindle the submarine fire of revolution.

Since when and how has the landlord come to be the owner of the land? The wives of the cultivators recalling that story of suffering shed copious tears. The peasants have come to be parasites on the country, tilling (the soil) for the sake of others they cannot procure food and clothing they die of starvation. Not for them to enjoy the crops they who are the producers on earth—paying tax on tax, they die off in hundreds of thousands. O ye dead ones, awake, to take an equal share of the land, uplift your ploughs, o kindle the submarine fire of revolution.

The writers of the shastras have introduced distinctions and thereby created animosities in human society, with their feet on the backs of the inferiors the superiors now greatly enjoy themselves. The vultures in the shape of religious works quoting dead scriptures are, in their ruinous hunger, making away in disguise, the heart's blood of the householder. On your way, burn up without regret the shastras which still keep men prisoner, with their injunctions and prohibitions. Greeting your march, the drum sounds—kindle the submarine fire of revolution.

Sd. K. B. Roy.

25. 10 29

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## P. 371-T.

The Ganavani of the 12th July 1928 writes:—

The name of George Allison *alias* Donald Campbell is well-known in India. He was arrested in Calcutta in 1927 and he was tried at the Bombay High Court Sessions. He was sentenced to 18 months rigorous imprisonment after trial. His offence was using a forged passport. He felt the need of coming to India only to study the condition of workers, yet he has being refused passports. So he was forced to use forged passports. If the personal liberty of an

individual is interfered with, he is driven to resort to various devices. Allison was not well-treated in prison. No friends of his were allowed to see him. Nobody was allowed to know the date on which he was to be released from prison. He was conveyed from Poona to Bombay in a night train, and not permitted to see any friend. He was provided only with two shirts and £ 2 and he was put on board ship. His clothes were lying with Messrs. Cook and Co at Bombay. He was not allowed even to take them away. There is no doubt at all in short that the treatment accorded by Government to Allison was barbarous in the extreme. This unlawful to accord to a man after release from prison the treatment of a prisoner. But the Government of this country do not deem it necessary at all, when they themselves are concerned, to obey the law. When British Imperialism talks of conducting Government according to law, it is nothing but sheer hypocrisy. The truth of this is proved by the treatment accorded to Allison.

K. B. Roy

4-11-29.

The *Ganavani* of the 12th July 1928 publishes the following:—

Without a revolutionary ideal, no revolutionary movement is possible.

Lenin.

Revolution is the moving machinery of history.

Marx.

The first step in the Revolution which workers will bring about is to raise the proletariat to the rank of rulers to achieve victory in the fight to extract democracy.

The proletariat will use all their political authority gradually to snatch away all wealth from the hands of the bourgeoisie, to centralise the means of production under the state in other words in the hands of the proletariat, organised as the ruling class, and to increase all productive forces as quickly as possible.

Marx.

It is more pleasant and effective to pass one's time through an experience of revolution than to write about it.

Lenin.

K B. Roy,

16-10-29

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

## P. 370-T

Extracts from an Account Book, on the first page of which occur the name of Manindra Mitter 30 Wellington Street and of two others.

|   |        |
|---|--------|
| Paid to Ardha Babu a cheque                             | 35-0-0 |
| Advance to Sudhir Babu for tea.                         | 1-0-0  |
| Deposit for sending K. N. De's goods.                   | 1-0-0  |
| Received from Ardha Babu                                | 0-8-0  |
| To Ardha Babu.  | 1-0-0  |
| Bus for Gobar Babu's return home.                       | 1-12-0 |
| T. G. Paid to Mr. Henry (for Tiergarten)                | 1-0-0  |
| Cost of two quires of papers for letter-heads           | 0-12-0 |
| Envelopes (250)   | 0-9-0  |
| Taxi to and back for Tiergarten students.               | 0-8-0  |
| To Ardha Babu   | 8-0-0  |
| T. C. Paid to Henry                                     | 1-0-0  |
| Bus hire for going to Gobar Babu's home                 | 0-1-0  |
| T. L. Paid to Mr. Henry                                 | 0-8-0  |
| T. G. Liftman, Grand Hotel                              | 0-4-0  |
| T. C. Rickshaw hire to Henry's house.                   | 0-8-0  |
| To Gopen Babu   | 0-2-0  |
| To Kali Babu  | 3-0-0  |
| To Halim Sahib  | 1-0-0  |
| From sale of 2 copies of <i>Ganavani</i> through Rahman | 1-5-0  |
| Sale of <i>Ganavani</i> Due                             | 1-2-6  |
| To Gopen Babu   | 5-0-0  |
| To Kali Babu  | 1-0-0  |
| To Halim  | 20-0-0 |
| To Gopen Babu   | 20-0-0 |
| To Mohammad Husain                                      | 0-4-0  |
| To Fida   | 10-0-0 |
| To Rahman   | 30-0-0 |
| To Peary Babu   | 1-0-0  |
| To Sudarsan   | 0-2-0  |
| From the Garden Reach Union                             | 2-10-0 |
| Bus fare for going to Navin Mukhtar's house & back      | 0-1-0  |
| From Nalinendu Babu                                     | 9-8-0  |
| From Peary Babu   | 0-8-0  |

From Sachin Babu

0-6-0

From Akhil Babu

3-0-0

(Sd.) K. B. Roy.

2-10-29.

## P. 398-T.

### *What do Jute Mill Workers Want ?*

- (1) A 50 per cent rise in wages.
- (2) Fixing the minimum wages of workers at Rs. 7-8-0 per week.
- (3) The working hours never to exceed 8 in the day and 44 in the week.
- (4) Provision for pension during old age sickness.
- (5) The existing workman's Compensation Act to be amended so as to make it possible to secure larger compensation.
- (6) Provision for new appliances inside factories which will prevent accidents to workmen.
- (7) Absolute abolition of employment of juvenile and female labour in all work which involves the risk of accidents.
- (8) Prohibition of factory labour for boys below 14.
- (9) Establishment of Hospitals near factories for labourers and of Maternity Homes for pregnant women labourers.

### *What is to be Done to get these Demands Fulfilled.*

(1) All jute-mill and jute press labourers are to unite and form only one big union under the name of the "Jute mill and jute press workers' Union". Its head office should be at Calcutta, and branches should be started in all places when there are jute mills or jute presses.

(2) The work of the Union should be conducted by the labourers. If the workmen in all jute mills and presses join the union, masters of the mills and presses will not venture to turn them out from employment on this account.

(3) If outsiders of the "Babu" class come forward to help the formation of the union, they must carefully tested. If it is found that these men of the Babu class do not regard themselves as belonging to the upper class, and the workmen as belonging to the lower class and are ready at all times to suffer persecution to get the demands of the labourers fulfilled, only then will they be admitted into the unions. If it is found that the Babus have come in, merely to play the *role* of the leading man or to show off their graciousness or to accomplish some other purpose, they will have forthwith to be expelled from the Union.

(4) Workmen's union are nothing else than organisations to solve the bread problem for them. So all workmen should come into the union and carry on a struggle to secure just wages for their labour. No religious or communal discussions should be permitted in the union.

(5) The union must keep in touch with a political party and take advice regarding its programme. This political party will be the Peasants and Workers' party. The party peculiarly of destitute workers, that is the Communist party, also will lead the workers along the path to the attainments of the real power. The Peasants' and Workers' party will always work in cooperation with the Communist party.\*

On behalf of the Workers' and Peasants' party.

(Sd). K. B. Roy.

2. 11. 29.

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P. 415-T.

BERLIN,

Dear Sir,

I send you two more writings. You have not published in the Ganavani the translation of the international I have sent you. After consideration change the name of the Vienna workmen's movement. In my hurry I cannot now fix on another suitable name. Let one writing go in, a different week. Kindly do one thing for me. A volume of the report of the Royal Agricultural Commission has been issued. I shall be much obliged if you can buy it and send it me. I shall await your letter. I trust you are all well. Pressed for time, I cannot write any more today. Convey my salutation to my friends.

Please accept my love for yourself and Halim.

Yours,

Sri Soumyendra Nath Tagore.

August 30.

Sd. K. B. ROY,

2-10-29.

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P. 416-T.

BERLIN,

November 29th.

Dear Sir,

I have received your letter and appeal for the *Ganavani* have got this letter written by you in reply to the one you got from my cousin. Let me know soon where you have settled, after removing the office from No. 37. I shall try to remit my monthly subscription from here. I shall try to send a lump sum in one instalment. You asked for an Urdu translation of the international—I send a copy. I am trying to procure a translation of the Communist manifesto also, I shall send it as soon as I get it. I am awaiting a reply to my letter of the 8th November. I have written home about money for printing my translation of the Communist manifesto in book form, if I find that it is not possible, I procure and send it from here. I have got your telegram Moti Lal Nehru and Jawahar Lal came here. They made a loud outcry about India for the masses at the meeting of the Hindustan Association here. When it comes to practice, however, they tread exactly the reverse path. Such hypocrites these leaders are. I have read here of the rascality of *Forward*. This proves that our work, however small has not wholly gone for nothing. The attention of the authorities has been attracted.

I shall send more writing some time hence. I am little busy now. Send me a prompt reply about those two papers.

Please accept my loving salutation.

Yours,

Soumyendra Nath Tagore.

Please let me know the new address of the office. I think it

would be well if you inform me, after fixing the permanent address at somebody's house. If the office is removed, it will be possible to write to that address.

Sd. K. B. ROY,

4-10-29.

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P. 422-T.

61 Nawabpur,

Dacca,

19.9.28.

Dear Comrade,

I have got your letter. The strike is over for the occasion. I wrote to you to come,—not because I regarded this strike as a very big one—there is no telling how much annoyance the members of our party have caused—so finding myself out of breath, as it were, feeling myself helpless in view of the situation they had created, I called on you. On the third day of the strike I came to know that they had struck. Thereafter they rushed into the hands of their Narain Ganj lawyers—I found them in such a plight that half their vitality had been sapped in the process. Having sent a man to me on the first day of the strike and received no news, (it was because they looked for me at my house—had they inquired at the office they would certainly have got news)—finding themselves nonplused—those who were the leading men among them felt afraid that if they stayed near the Mill area, many would be tempted into returning—hence they went off to Narainganj. There were no men there to remain facing it, in the mill area, and by holding meetings incessantly to fill them with enthusiasm. After coming to Narainganj, finding that the Congress there, the entire public were opposed to them and simulataneously their sense of philanthropy having been roused, they sent more than a hundred back home before 1 o'clock. So when I went, I found only 44 people—it was not possible then to go back with them to the mills, for all were anxious to come to the union office and hold a meeting at Dacca. Immediately after bringing them to Dacca, (I brought over about 35 people) I busied myself providing food for them for, for two days, they had lived on parched rice. Any how on the

first day some among the members of the party whom I had procured' each arranged for meals for 2 or 5 men, but they set themselves actively to explain the mistake that had been made about the strike in my absence. Kader informed them that they should make any kind of settlement and return to the mills, afterwards a fund should be created and after that, they might go on strike. On a procession having been arranged for the next day, Promode Ghosh informed the strikers (this also in my absence) that they ought not to come out with a procession. For the Dacca public—your brother, brother's wife, elder sister, brother's sister-in-law (wife of another brother) etc. were exceedingly irate with these people, so on the procession of those people (three words here are illegible) and so on,—in various ways consciously or unconsciously they are acting as strike-breakers.

Coming to Dacca I arranged for a meeting and a procession. I had printed off at once an Appeal and I posted those whom I had left at Narainganj to picket duty in the villages adjoining the mills and at Narainganj station. But because of the mistake already made in sending the strikers home, those strikers immediately on return home began to return, it was not possible at the time to prevent or detect many. In this mean time as congress tried to intervene through Ganguly, Bhowmik, etc. we were forced to stop meeting and procession and to depend on their negotiations. They only took time and by means of requests and entreaty persuaded the workers and forced me to stop the meeting; indeed they were intensely angry because I had not stopped picketing. Then betrayed the two conditions on the basis of which the strike committee had authorised them to negotiate. Our information was that they acceded to points which would seriously injure the strikers. However things now are in such a pass that no help from any quarter is available. Immediately on receipt of Dharani Babu's letter I took steps to hold meetings incessantly with the strikers about the strike but the strikers did not venture and did not approve. So when the mill authorities demanded, since they paid implicit obedience to the congress inquiry, why we did not venture to trust them,—we were forced to yield those two points merely on their admitting in principle that they would increase the bonus—leaving it to the congress inquiry, we had to take steps to bring the workers back. But even so, the company has indulged in a great bluff; when according to the negotiations, the strikers were taken back to the mills, admitting 30 only into employment. they wanted to pay off the rest—(30 accompanying me and 50 at home, in all about 80). They had paid off about 20 and given them their discharge.

They say they are experts and would secure employment anywhere. They have promised to increase the bonus in a fort-



night—let them do so—this is what we want. Let the principle be established, we might return to work later on. The Company have of course forthwith sent word privately to them to return to work, but they do not want to come back. Because they were not served with one month's notice, such as is provided for in the company's Articles of Rules, they want to know whether they are entitled to compensation. Probodh Sarkar, Ajit Sen and two weavers have gone in among them to explain things. They will go to the Party's office—inquire about them. You can have unions formed with their help for any mills whatsoever. Had you come, you would have realised how eagerly they awaited your coming.

Some congressman (in a leading portion) has today threatened me with risk to life, efforts to punish me in other ways are also afoot. Let them be, I do not at all mind them. But when a party member like (Illegible) comes and starts reproving me that it is I who am responsible for these men failing to get work or going home let it pass. I thinking of distributing among the weavers in 3 or 4 days a notice explaining the whole situation. Some of our workers are daily entering employment. They are proclaiming that steps should be taken to compel the mill authority to quickly carry out their pledge to increase bonus made as a result of this strike. They are raising subscriptions, if compensation can now be secured for 25 or 30 discharged men, their mental atmosphere can be electrified. The mill authority, subjecting itself to various losses and violating many contracts, has set itself against the union, let us see what happens I am so, so. During this strike, there have been at the same time (two words illegible).

Gopal.

I shall soon do something about "Hell Found." Some meetings of ours are to be held at Narsingdih, it would be very effective. If at least one of you could come. If possible one of you should come up, immediately on receipt of this letter. Sunder is ready to accept responsibility for the passage money.

The cover is addressed to Muzaffar Ahmad, Workers and Peasants' Party of Bengal' 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

Sd. K. B. Roy.

2-11-29.

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P. 440-T.

Berlin.

July 13,

Jagow strasse, 44

B/ Arnheßin,

Berlin, N.W. 87

Dear Sir,

I send some writing. It would be well of the articles "Clara Jetakin" and "Red Front" are placed on the first page of the *Ganavani*. Let "Clara Jetakin" go in, the first week. I send also the picture of Clara Jetakin. The big picture on the first page is hers. There are other pictures of girls inside who were the life of many movements. It would be very well, if a block is made of Clara Jetakin's picture and put on the first page of the *Ganavani* along with my article. Please have the papers being issued from Bombay and Lahore, also sent here. And please send me 2 or 3 copies of each issue of the *Ganavani*. I trust you have got my previous letter and writing all right. I am anxious for news of you. Remember me to my friends. Accept my loving salutation.

Yours,

Soumyendra Nath Tagore.

How Fascists kill peasants. a picture of that also you will find here. I have put a mark beside it. If possible, let it also go into the *Ganavani*. It may go in, with my article on the condition of peasants in Fascist Italy.

Inside also there is a picture of Clara Jetakin. It will be easy to prepare a block from it. The picture is a small one.

Sd/- K. B. Roy

11-11-29

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P 494 (T)

You will have to attend very carefully to what I say. Possibly it will appear very hard to you, and there are two reasons

why it would seem hard thus, The first reason is that unless it is attended to very carefully, it will appear very hard and the second reason is that I am not very familiar with your language.

In the notice which has been distributed, you have seen that the workers' and peasants' party have called a meeting. You may ask why the workers' and peasants' party has been constituted and what is its aim.

The party is the party of the oppressed and exploited masses.

Relative position as regard Trade Unions. The Congress is opposed to class conflict. What is class-conflict: Full freedom is wanted. Without that economic and social changes will not come. The Zamindari system will have to be abolished.

Where have parties been organised?

What is the position of the party in Bengal now in relation to other parties?

Organisation of the *Kirti* party in Bhowanipur.

It is desirable to unite with the Bengal party, atleast it ought to be reckoned as a branch of the Bengal party.

The aim of the all India Conference.

Financial other help is wanted from all.

The expenses have been estimated at Rs 2000/-.

Sd/. K. B. Roy

11-11-29.

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P. 513-T.

Included in Exh. 370.

Sd/. K. B. Roy

6-11-29

# P. 519-T.

The Ganavani of the 21st April 1927 writes:—

## *The International*

by Nazrul Islam.

Awake,

Awake. O starving prisoner, arise, all the persecuted and unfortunates on earth :

Hurling the thunderbolt at all oppression today, the message from the wrung hearts of the oppressed masses roars out-A new world, newly born, is come:

The old chains; the traditional *Shastras* and customs they are at the root of all evil-these we shall demolish this time.

Penetrating through the demon's prison, come ye utterly destitute ones: Nobody will any longer remain prone at others' feet.

*Chorus* A new word will arise on new foundations: Listen o oppressor Hark ye, who amass ( money ) :

We were utterly destitute and we shall ( now ) triumph over every thing :

Let all stand today amidst this final struggle, each with his own rights : This International union will be universal humanity.

Upstanding.

Calutta }  
Baisakh 1, 34 }

Sd. K. B. Roy

26/10/29

The Ganavani of the 27th October 1927 writes :—

## *Sacco and Vanzetti.*

The names of Sacco and Vanzetti of America sentenced to death have today spread all over the world. They have welcomed death for the salvation of distressed humanity. There are many things to learn for their statement in Court. Babu Dharani Kanta Goswami has published a Bengali translation of that statement.

Price -/2/- only.

To be had at the Ganavani office and other bookshops.

*Modern India.*

By R. Palme Dutt.

The outstanding book on India today, its domination by British Imperialism and problems of the struggle for national independence.

A brilliant and searching Marxist analysis the first by a British writer of Indian politics. Unquestionably this book will be a classic. To be had of S. Govind & Co. }  
Sandhurst Road,  
Bombay.

Communist Book shop,

16 King Street,

London, W. C. 2.

Sd. K. B. Roy

26/10/29

The Ganavani of the 5th July 1928 writes:—

Names of the president of the next Congress are now being proposed by the different provincial Congress Committee. The names of Mr. Gandhi, Pt. Moti Lal Nehru and Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru have been suggested in this connection. It is Pandit Moti Lal who has been mentioned from the majority of places. The Bengal Congress Committee also have purposed him. Those who want to elect him have also shown the need of electing him. They hold that this Congress will be a special Congress, and the reason for this speciality is the Simon Commission. Hence it is necessary to select as president a man who can conduct himself so as to placate both sides. They hold Pt. Moti Lal to be the best man for this purpose. To be able to placate both sides means to take a compromise with British Imperialism on behalf of the capitalists and zamindars of this country. From the proceedings of the All Parties Conference it has become quite clear that the real aim of Congress is to effect this compromise. Although the Madras Congress adopted a resolution for full independence i. e. for severing India from British Imperialism, at the All Parties Conference, a draft resolution for responsible Govt or Dominion self Govt. has been adopted. From this it appears that this Independence Resolution was nothing else than a sham. Moti Lal Nehru is a reactionary, reformist leader. He does not want the full independence of India. Efforts are being made to make him Congress president because he will help in upholding the interests of capitalists and zamindars. The fact that the Bengal Congress Committee also have supported his election shows how great now is the influence of the upper classes of society on Congress. If the Resolution for full independence were not meaningless, Pt. Moti Lal Nehru's name or Mr Gandhi's name would never have been put forward. Of the men whose names have been proposed,

Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru is the fittest person. He supports the cause of the masses, he wants the establishment of Democracy. Although we do not support his love for Khaddar, we do support his revolutionary tendencies. The country now wants revolutionary leadership, not reformist leadership. From this standpoint, it would seem desirable to have Pt. Jawahar Lal elected Congress president.

Sd. K. B. Roy

26/10/29

The Ganavani of the 19th July 1928 writes:—

#### MASS-MOVEMENT AND CONGRESS.

Dr. Tarak Nath Das has written an article in "Forward" of the 11th July under the heading "The workers' movement in India" regarding Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose's Maratha address. In this article. Dr. Das has not said anything of his own, in particular, from the beginning to the end of it, he has contented himself merely with supporting what Subhas Chandra has said. It will be no exaggeration to say that this support by Dr. Das has taken the form of extravagant praise. He has begun his article with a question of part of Mr. Bose's address. In referring to the attacks being made from Dr. Huent directions on Indian nationalism, or in plain language,.... The Indian National Congress, Mr. Bose says:—

Another attack is being directed from the side of the International workers' movement of International Communism. Not only is this attack lacking in judgment,....it is unknowingly supressing the interests of the foreign rulers. Even very plain men can easily understand that before trying to build up society on a new basis, be that basis communistic or anything else,....it is necessary for us to possess the right of building up our own destinies. So long as India will lie prone at Britain's feet, we can never secure that right. So it is the foremost duty not only of nationalists, but also of communists who are opposed to nationalism, to bring about India's political salvation as early as possible. Immediately after political freedom is attained, the time will come to consider deeply the problems of social and economic reconstruction. So for as I know, eminent communists of other countries also are of this opinion. Those who talk openly of class conflict in order to create schism amongst us or work for it offend seriously against nationalism, in my opinion."

Dr. Das has said that what Mr Bose has said is quite true. The attention of both nationalist and workmen's leaders ought to be drawn to this matter. Next he has said—The communist leaders of Soviet Russia have no symphy with Asiatic nationalism or the Asiatic masses. Whatever they do is for Russia's convenience. Though Soviet Russia has facilitated the path to national freedom of Persia, Afghanistan, Turkey and China, the aim to weaken the

European enemies of Soviet Russia underlay it. After these observations, Dr. Das continues:—Those who know India's real condition will very easily realise that the declaration of class conflict in India will provoke intermeine strife and nobody else will be benefited by it except the foreign masters and British Labour Imperialists. It will also arrest the progress of Indian Nationalism.

It is necessary now to fix the meaning of these two terms. What do Dr. Das and Mr. Bose understand by "Nationalism" and what do they understand by class conflict? Mr Bose has said that the International Labour movement and the International Communist movement have attacked India nationalism and that the preaching of class conflict merely benefits the foreign rulers. D. Das has sung in the same time. But we must see whether or not at present the Indian National movement or the Indian Congress movement can be called a movement of the Indian masses. The higher classes of Indian Nationalists do not understand by "National struggle" what we understand by it. We can call by the name of a national struggle only that struggle which is nothing else but a manifestation of the mass movement in the country. But the struggle now conducted by the Congress is not at all like that. The Congress movement has come to be a movement merely of 2½ per cent (of the population). 97½ per cent of the country population have no influence in Congress. If by nation is understood the masses of the country, i. e. 97½ per cent of the people, the existing Congress movement is not at all a national movement. If at all it is to be called a national movement, it must be called a national movement of the higher classes of society. Mr. Bose is prepared to think of economic and social reconstruction only after Indian political emancipation has been secured. But the Nationalism of which he is the spokesman has never desired full independence for India. The independence Resolution at the Madras Congress has not effected any change in the Congress creed. Even after the Independence resolution was passed, it was possible for the All Parties Conference to meet at Delhi and Bombay. Congress is still engaged in the task of framing a draft of a scheme of Responsible Government. In spite of all these, Mr. Bose says that the goal of his nationalism is the political emancipation of India and he is wholly unprepared to tolerate criticisms of this nationalism.

Personally, Mr. Bose probably desires full independence for India, but the Congress for which he speaks as the mouth-piece certainly does not. Nevertheless he cannot criticise Congress, probably he does not venture to do so. But on the other hand, he does not hesitate to criticise adversely the leaders of class conflict.

There are two national movements in India. One is the Bourgeois movement and the other Mas nationalist movement. The first movement revealed itself through the Indian National Con-

gress and the second movement has revealed itself in the Workers' and Peasants' Party and other radical workers' movements.

Whenever the question of full independence for India has been raised in Congress on behalf of the masses, Congress has turned its face aside. Those whom Mr. Bose has urged from the platform of the Maratha Political Conference to secure India's political freedom, have repeatedly incurred the displeasure of Congress and that was only because they attempted to arise this question of full independence.

Where there are social differences, where a small set possessing opportunities and facilities exploit the vast producing class—a class-conflict is bound to arise itself. Those who oppose class conflict; holding that it will produce internal schisms, do so only to preserve the interest of the exploiting class. The national struggle of the Indian masses is nothing else than class-conflict—The national struggle of the Bourgeois class is also a kind of class-conflict. The struggle of theirs is a struggle of British capitalists. British capitalists want to keep them as subordinate partners, while our Bourgeois nationalists, i. e. Indian capitalists want to be equal partners.

This conflict between the two parties is class conflict of a sort.

The conflict between the exploiter and the exploited is class-conflict. It is not peculiar to any country. Those who say that class conflict cannot or should not be carried on in India undoubtedly do propaganda work for the exploiting class.

If we have to engage in a real struggle for India's national emancipation, a conflict will not only arise with British capitalists, but a conflict with Indian capitalists and zamindars is also ineluctable. Zamindars are like parasites created by alien rule. If we try to uproot these parasites from the social body, a conflict will become unavoidable. Though Indian capitalists and British capitalists have not so far sat on the same seat, their interests are gradually coming to be intermingled. So Indian capitalists also will come to oppose our full freedom. India is ruled in the interests of British capitalists and according to their votes. It is perhaps unnecessary to explain that the interests of British capitalists are economic. We realise that at every step of our lives. It can never be that the economic interests of British capitalists are to remain unimpaired while we secure political freedom. So our full national independence will endanger also the interests of Indian capitalists which are intermingled with theirs in common. And if their interests are endangered a conflict with them cannot be avoided. In brief, neither the workers' movement nor the peasants' movement can be carried on without coming into conflict with a section of



the indigenous population. A conflict is also inevitable between the national movement of 2½ per cent and the peasants and workers' movement. The mass movement can never wait on a class movement (a national movement in the language of Mr. Bose and Dr. Das) which will not bring into the hands of the masses either any political rights or any change in their social or economic condition.

“The mass movement is gradually assuming form in India. Consciousness is gradually being infused into the masses. It will not probably be possible now to put down their movement. The sole question now is about the path along which it should reveal itself. If Congress now neglects the interests of the masses, a movement will be started opposed to a particular class or to speak the truth, to nationalism, and before we secure political freedom, a class conflict will break out among our masses. When we are all slaves, it would be a deadly thing to provoke class conflict amongst us. It will cause rejoicing to our common enemy.”

To support this view that the labour movement should be included in Congress, unions of course class conflict, Dr. Das has quoted in his article the above passage from Mr. Bose's speech. We trust all will read this part of Mr. Bose's speech attentively. The London correspondent of "forward" has complained that the British Trade Union Congress wants to affiliate to itself the Indian Trade Union Congress and the object is to cut off the labour movement from the Indian nationalist movement. Possibly this charge is true. But a deadlier accusation might be brought against Mr. Bose. He wants to unite the mass movement to Congress only to destroy the class conflict of the mass movement, to speak more clearly, to destroy the mass movement. A mass movement necessarily means a movement of class conflict. The cardinal aim of a mass movement is to carry on a struggle against the class primarily responsible for the servitude of the masses—no matter whether that class is indigenous or foreign. Mr. Bose, nullifying this object, wants to make the mass movement part of Congress. His argument is: since we all are slaves of a common enemy, it is not proper for us to foment domestic strife. We shall discuss how far this argument is sound. It is British capitalists who keep us all under foot. It is they who rule us for purpose of exploitation. So British capitalists are the enemies of the exploited Indian masses. But do Indian capitalists also regard British capitalists as their enemies? Never. We have already said that British capitalists and Indian capitalists are gradually coming to have common interests—And the zamindars are the creations of the British—Their sole means of livelihood is to exploit the Indian peasantry. Congress carries on its work with an eye to the approval of these capitalists and zamindars. If that were not so, instead of a draft scheme of Responsible Government being prepared now, a draft of a democratic

system would now be under preparation. Can Dr. Das and Mr. Bose deny this ?

We have already said that our peasants and workers' movement is a mass nationalist movement. It is the mass nationalist movement which really wants to secure full independence for India. Indian communists also favour the securing of political freedom by India. That is what they also are fighting for. Only the Indian National Congress do not want to secure political independence. At Gauhati we saw that Congress instead of standing by the peasant was always ready to stand by the zamindar. In the Legislative Assembly it has been seen that Congress members are not at all unwilling to offer money help to British and Indian capitalists combined. But they are extremely unwilling to fix a rate of minimum wages for workers. In the matter of the boycott of the Simon Commission also we find that Congress takes no count at all of the masses. So Indian peasants and workers can never trust the present congress. Before it can have the masses in its party, Congress must be transformed into an institution of the masses.

In writing of Dr. Tarak Nath Das' article, we have had to write much about Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, the reason being that there is no trace of Dr. Das' personality in the article. He is not at all well disposed towards the communists and the Russian Soviet Government. But not much value attaches to his displeasure. He is not the follower of any particular creed. If he gets some money tomorrow from a communist organisation, he will write out 10 articles in favour of the communists. He runs with the hare and hunts with the hounds. He has in the same breath supported and asspersed the communal movement in India. So we need not attend to what he says.

Sd. K. B. Roy.

4/11/29

The Ganavani of the 5th July 1928 writes :—

#### THE SIMON COMMISSION.

What are we to do when the Simon Commission comes ? This question is coming to be a very urgent one for workers, peasants and others. The bourgeoisie have already settled what they will do. Many will appear before the Commission and ask for Dominion Self Government or, make any other claim which is yet dearer to them. Many will boycott the Commission and through the All Parties' Conference and its press, put forward a demand for Dominion Self Government. But whether or not they boycott the Commission, whether or not they are agreed as to there being a condition to underlie the boycott, it is a fact that they are almost

all agreed in favour of having Dominion Self Government. Almost all of them also admit that the means to secure Dominion Self Government is to ask the British Government to grant it. The London correspondent of *Forward* has shown the greatest imaginativeness. He says that if full freedom is claimed, possibly Dominion Self Government may be secured. (From this will become clear to all the methods of efficiency of many well-known Congress men). Anyway, all these courses lead to the same goal, and that goal is a compromise between British and Indian capitalists in order to exploit the Indian masses.

They have decided on their programme. But what are we, the masses, to decide? Something or other we must do. Exploitation has left us exhausted. We are having strikes now all over the country, we are demonstrating our strength, we are refusing to pay taxes and what not. All these steps we are taking imply that we want the system of exploitation to end. From these strikes we can understand another thing—that is, that we shall continue to be exploited so long as the existing system of Government or a similar system prevails. If we want work, who comes forward to hit us? If any blackleg from amongst us wants to go back to work who comes to be an obstacle to preventing him from returning to work? If nevertheless we ask him not to go to work, who opens fire on us? Although we do not commit any offence, who sends us to jail, so that all our funds may be exhausted? Who prevents monetary help coming to us from foreign friends in time of trouble? Who sets spies on our leaders, so that as soon as an opportunity comes, they may be sent to jail? Who during strikes, evicts us from our homes and who again, egg on the house-owner to turn us out of our Union offices without notice? Who at a mere oral statement from employers arrest large number of our men, and who refuses to listen to most serious complaints from us against employers? Page after page will be filled up if we attempt to write of the "impartiality of Government and of the police the magistrates and spies.

The truth is, we now all understand that it has become absolutely necessary to bring about a very great change. Not only must foreign exploitation end,—along therewith it is necessary that the administrative system through which this foreign exploitation is kept up should also end. In plain language, we want to secure full independence. We clearly realise that it will not do merely to bring about a change,—that change, *i. e.* the freedom of the country—must soon be brought about. Exploitation on all side is becoming quite intolerable to us.

So far, regarding the boycott of the Simon Commission, we have followed the policy of the bourgeois politicians. For supporting the boycott we have got Hartals observed and carried on strikes.

When the Simon Commission will again come to India in October we shall again conduct Hartals and strikes and that very vigorously too; But that will be merely to demonstrate our strength. It will mean no gain to us except as a Demonstration of strength. But we must also adopt a real and effective policy. Work we must and the arrival of the Simon Commission affords us an excellent opportunity for work.

When a crisis like this occurred once before in the country, we relied on Congress and Mr. Gandhi. But they have failed—i.e. they could not assume our leadership. This time, we have not even them (with us). Who can now say sincerely that Congress (under the leadership of Dr. Ansari and of Pt. Motilal Nehru) will be able to guide the masses along the path of freedom—of emancipation from the fetters of servitude? The masses must put up their own leaders.

A resolution on this subject was adopted in March last at the annual Conference of the Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal. In it was said :—

This struggle which will be carried on must include a demand for full national independence.

A constituent Assembly elected on adult suffrage is to be summoned which will centralise the different claims and disorganised struggle of the masses and authoritatively proclaim their views. This assembly elected by universal suffrage will conduct the masses organised and fighting lines such as the All Parties Conference could not do. This Assembly will be the real reply to the British Government and the Simon Commission. By it will be decided the real path of struggle by the masses for full freedom and by it also will be remedied their painful economic wants and grievances.

It does not require any great learning to understand that a means such as has been indicated above or something like it is certainly necessary. We must first set about making efforts to summon assemblies all over the country. There should be a minimum of one assembly for each province. These assemblies will facilitate the summoning of a Constituent Assembly of representatives of towns and districts, of representatives of workers' unions, their branches, of Youths' Associations, of organisations like the Hindustani *Sevadal* etc.

These assemblies will form permanent Committees. Members of the well-organised assemblies will sit on these Committees and their aims will be :—

1. To Demonstrate the strength of the masses, against the Simon Commission.

2. To carry on propoganda and prepare the masses for a Constituent Assembly.
3. To secure help (through the Provincial Committees of the Trade Union) for workmen or peasants who declare a strike or enter into a dispute with employers, zamindars or Government.
4. To organise workers' and peasants' unions.
5. To prepare the workers for a general strike and the peasants for a no-tax campaign and use it as a political weapon to secure freedom.

All these are the specially important items of work before the masses at present. Workers who have recently struck work and many other also know that nothing much is gained by piecemeal strikes. Public help is essential to a strike. No matter what the obstacles on our path are, strike work we must. The sole weapon of the workers is a consciousness of the similarity of interests of the masses. As far as possible, this weapon we must use. Directly or indirectly, there is connection between the interests of our employers and those of others like the Mill-Owners' Associations, Chambers of Commerce and other agencies. Government are behind employers of labour. So we must possess a sense of similarity of interests and organisation.

If we can utilise the strength of the masses directly, we shall be able to secure permanent emancipation for our employers and the rule of their Government. Nothing will be gained by waiting for Congress or the All Parties' Conference. They will be able to achieve nothing. We must betake ourselves to work from now and give a real reply to Simon and Brikenhend.

Sd. K. B. Roy.

30-10-29.

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P. 519-T.

The Ganavani of the 11th August 1927 writes:—

*The Pan-Pacific Trade Union Conference.*

Sittings of the Pan Pacific Trade Union Conference com-

menced on the 20th May last at the Hankow Peoples Club. All delegates were present in strength. Delegates from China, Japan Socialist Soviet Republic, England, France, America, Java, Korea etc. attended the sittings of the said Conference. Delegates from other countries were prevented from attending the Conference owing to the distinctive policy of the police and passport troubles.

Mr. Su- Cheu- Zio,

President of the All- China Labour Federation in a telling speech expressed his views about the efficacy of all subject peoples uniting against the Imperialist powers.

Friends. The day on which we open this session of the Pan Pacific Conference is a memorable one in the history of the world. A new era dawns to day and international relations are established between the Pacific States and the workers of the International Trade Union movement. The programme of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Conference will be very effective against the capitalists and exploiting rulers who are common enemies of labour and help to rouse it to a bitter struggle. At a meeting of the "Arrangements Committee" appointed by the All China labour Federation on the 26th Feby. last, the following programme was laid down:-

- (1) Fight against Imperialism and for Trade Unions.
- (2) Wages and working hours to be regulated by international rules?
- (3) The risks of war on the Pacific.
- (4) Visiting foreign countries and Trade Union problems.
- (5) Establishing constructive relations among the Trade Unions in the Pacific Countries.
- (6) Other Pacific and Far Eastern problems.

In the course of his speech, he observed that this Conference was of deep and varied significance. The work before us was to rouse the workers of the Pacific Countries. The imminent danger before them was a second Great war, all over the world. And we must systematise and unite all our strength to resist this danger. China, with its extensive coastline on the Pacific and with the big provinces which are its hinterland has come to be the scene of the last struggle for mastery in the struggle for exploitation. On the plea of economic salvation with much pleasant language, Imperialist have fixed their eyes finally on China, alone, as a market for their trade and for the sake of the increasing wealth of an income. Owing to the increasing strength of the struggle for competition between the exploiting Powers, a terrible world war in the near future

is fast approaching. But we have learnt a proper lesson already in the last war. In that war, the masses in all countries, engaged in labour had to suffer indescribable and untold miseries and make sacrifices. If a second world war again breaks out, if the Pacific war takes shape, it will assume a terrible form to the workers of towns near to and far from, the Pacific States.

One of the chief duties of this sitting is to remove this growing menace.

China is half a Colony. The Chinese Revolutionaries have taken up arms to vanquish and destroy the exploiters. The Chinese national Revolution is an inseparable party world-revolution. The sooner, the heroic revolutionaries of China triumph, the sooner will traces of Imperialism vanish from the earth. The struggle for emancipation of the working class of the world can never be distinct from this Chinese struggle for emancipation. At the present time, the stream of revolution in China is flowing strong. The advance part of the fight of the Chinese Revolution is passing within assigned limits through various transformations. From the progress really effected it becomes clear that it is the Chinese workers, peasants and mass consciousness which have made a success of this Revolution and it is they who have taken the best share in it. So the entire leadership of the Chinese Revolution will rest in the hands of these two classes. For this reason, the exploiters are to day crumpled up in terror so to speak. They are flying their flag. Everywhere they are spreading wrong and unnatural reports, creating terror in the minds of others, and inciting other Imperialists to send along with them, warships, troops etc. and thereby destroy the Chinese revolution and dragging them over to their own side. Nevertheless, recognising the Chinese Revolution as part of the world-revolution and realising that what is fear to one is terror to another, we shall rouse the workers in the Pacific countries and combining all their strength, utilise it to help the Chinese revolutionary war. This is the second great work before the Pan Pacific Trade Union Conference.

The majority of countries on the Pacific Coast are either Colonies or semicolonies. The labouring classes in these countries smart under the fetters of redoubled oppression. They suffer mightiest oppression and high handedness from their military Governments and also economic and political oppression from Imperialists. Language is inadequate to describe the misfortunes of the peasants in these colonial or semicolonial territories. Inadequate wages long hours of work, passing their days and working under human conditions and the deadly struggle for life of acres of ground down and exploited men is not unknown to us. Though American and Japanese workmen are better off; it is clear that by this unequal treatment and differentiation the exploiting rulers are dividing the working class and using it as a deadly

weapon against them. At the present time, racial, national, religious and other obstacles still split up the working class from the standpoint of the class spirit and of international. And the exploiters are taking full advantage there off. It is quite clear that what is inconvenient to the Pacific countries is injurious to the interests of the International proletariat and to the similarity of interest of the international proletariat. We know the teachings of Karl Marx. He has taught us that workers have no fatherland. We do not recognise any national differences among workers. The Proletariat is international. In this Conference we shall do all that is possible to establish ideal military relations among workers in the Pacific countries we shall discuss and decide the hours of work for workers, minimum wages for them raising their standard of living etc. We shall also come to a decision about eliminating racial and national superstitions. For these differences are used by the exploiters as weapon against the working classes themselves and they make great profit therefrom. This is the third important work before the Pan Pacific Conference.

Though workers in the different Pacific countries have carried on a great and difficult struggle and fought in an ideal fashion, there has been very little of real strong union and organisation among the working classes of the Pacific countries and no special attempt to that end has been made either. We have not succeeded yet in gathering strength against Imperialism. We shall be filled with enthusiasm by example. This is the suitable time for the working class in the Pacific countries to unite and to conduct themselves as a great force. And this is also the suitable time (for them) to be converted into a big army and to carry on the fight bitterly. Our fourth business is to organise and start centres for this work.

Lastly the work of the Pan Pacific Trade Union Conference will be by proper propaganda to take care so that victory may be achieved at the next sitting. If this is done, all the workers' organisations will be able to work unhindered in the Pacific Countries

Our slogans are...

Long live unity of interest among workers in all the Pacific Countries.

To fight against the second world war.

To help the Chinese Revolutionary movement.

To protect strongly against the policy of armed opposition of the Imperialists.

Fixing hours of labour and to regulate the wages of workers in all the countries.



To hinder attempts by exploiters to break up community of  
interest among the proletariat.

Long live freedom for workers all over the world.

Long live the Red International of Labour Unions.

Sd. K. B. Roy

4/11/29

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## P. 520-T.

The Lengal of the 25th March 1926 publishes in part trans-  
lation of an article by Karl Marx, on "British India"

Sd. K. B. Roy

4/10/29.

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## P. 529-T

Is the same as P. 543

Sd. K. B. Roy

6/11/29.

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## P. 537-T.

Included in Ex. P. 519.

Sd. K. B. Roy.

6/11/29.

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## P. 543-T.

### SACCO & VANZETTI.

You are probably astonished to hear the two new names Sacco and Vanzetti. Probably you were still further astonished when those amongst you who keep themselves informed heard that after trial for long seven years, the two men Sacco and Vanzetti were at last lately sentenced to death by the American Republic.

You were still further astonished when you read in the papers that in regard to the death penalty on these two men, the working and peasant classes all over the world made a strong protest against this terrible sentence of the American Republic. Now, who are these two men, in regard to whose death sentence such a great commotion has been created all over the world?

There is not much else to bring forward to make them known. The touching and heart-rending speeches they made before sentence of death was passed in Court by the Judge are alone sufficient to reveal what they are. It is these heart-rending addresses delivered just before death which will earn them the reverence of the world and keep their memories perpetually alive. Translations of their two addresses are given in this pamphlet. The reader will at a superficial glance notice many errors in these two addresses. Many parts will appear inconsistent also. The sole reason is that neither of the speakers was familiar with English. Yet it was in English that they had to express themselves. They have said as much themselves. So it is quite natural that inconsistencies will appear in a translation of their speeches where there are inconsistencies in the English itself in their original addresses. The reader will in this case have only to keep an eye on the two speeches and the feeling animating them.

Although they did not know English well, they expressed their ideas in broken English so finely that all those who hear or read them once will feel charmed and simultaneously with the hearing or reading of these addresses, a picture of the cruel and ruthless treatment awarded by the American Republic to these two fine lives cannot fail to be limned in their hearts.

Let us finish what little more there is to say before publishing the addresses of these men. The thing to state is that we cherish a mistaken respect and love for the American system of Government, American culture and American benevolence. How far this is true has been proved by the death-sentence on this Sacco and Vanzetti, innocent, friends of prosecuted humanity, friends of the utterly destitute peasant and worker, who dedicated themselves to life-long poverty.

Sacco used to make a livelihood as an edgetrimmer and polisher in a shoe factory. And Vanzetti was a fish-pedler. He used

to earn a living by hawking fish from house to house. But why was such a severe sentence passed on these to destitute simple-hearted workers of simple faith and why did their deaths provoke such an echo all over the world?

The sole reason was that they awoke consciousness among persecuted humanity. They were rousing persecuted humanity. Their souls melted at the piteous cries and woes and misfortunes of the utterly destitute peasants and workers. They devoted themselves wholly to the welfare of the persecuted and utterly destitute peasants and workers in all forms. They were working so as to enable the peasants and workers to organise and raise their heads against their sorrows and misfortunes and against their persecution and harassment.

But this appeared intolerable in the eyes of Republican America. And how could it be tolerable? As in all countries on earth, administration and culture are being controlled at present by some members of the capitalist and mercantile class, so civilized Republican America, also advanced in science, is controlled by some men of the capitalist and mercantile class.

So the American capitalistic system of Government cannot tolerate this awakening of the peasants and workers the peasants' and workers' movement. The reason is interests between the capitalistic system and the peasants and workers are conflicting. That is, it is the relation between the exploiters and the exploited. All capitalistic systems on earth are based solely on a policy of exploitation. They live on the exploitation of the poor peasants and workers. America also follows the same policy. It is true that there is a Republic in America, but it is a capitalistic Republic. There is no room there for the poor. Hence the labour movement conducted by Sacco and Vanzetti can never be tolerated by this capitalistic republic of America.

Sacco and Vanzetti were infusing into the hearts of the poor peasants and workers and all men seeking change a new spirit and new ideal. They were giving them a new training and trying to create a new literature all over America. They were participating in strikes &c in which the interests of workers were concerned and by conducting strikes &c. skillfully were building up a strong Workers' Union in America. This was serious offence on the part of Sacco & Vanzetti in the eyes of Capitalistic America.

It became utterly impossible for the capitalistic American Republic to tolerate such offensive activities as making men of the persecuted class. An opportunity arose for punishing these serious criminals. A band of robbers somewhere in America one day looted a train and fled with about £15,000/-and shot two of the guards of the train dead also. But, taking advantage of this incident the police conspired to arrest these two labour leaders. Who

is ignorant of the achievements and manipulations of the police? The police by various devices proved these two arrested men, that is, Sacco and Vanzetti guilty in this affair and ultimately had them executed. The affair was not over in a day or two either. Government came to this cruel and ruthless decision after trial for 7 long years. Sacco and Vanzetti all this long time were awaiting in the Black Hole of the dungeon the end of this cruel trial. At last, on the 23rd August 1927 last, they willingly offered up their lives for the welfare of the world. Hence the whole world today wishes for the welfare of their pure souls and is protesting strongly against the barbarous conduct of the capitalistic system of the world. What has India to do in this matter? Let India promptly organise her exploited masses i. e, the workers and peasants and shake off from her breast the fiendish exploiting system. Then only will the soul of all the Saccos and Vanzettis on earth find peace and their self sacrifice not go in vain.

Here follow the addresses of Sacco and Vanzetti in court before sentence of death was passed on them. An English version of them appears in Ex. P. 418, (pp.3-12).

The Bengali booklet thereafter concludes this:—Last message of Sacco and Vanzetti.

Farewell greetings of Vanzetti to friends:

But for this incident, I would have passed my days chatting on the streets and discussing men on have finished my life thus.

But now we are no longer failures. These are our life's doings this is the triumphant festivity of our life. In all our life, we never hoped for such work of patience, such great work of justice and work of such great good feeling between men and men as by accident we have now done.

Our words, our lives, our sufferings are all trifles. Our lions are ended and all is finished. It is this last moment which is waiting for me. It is this agony of death which constitutes our triumphant festivity.

Sacco's farewell to his son.

My son, weep not, Be strong to console and comfort your mother. Take her out to work, gather wild flowers for her, let her rest in the shade of the tree, and by showing her rivers and streams, otherwise make her enjoy the undisturbed peace of mother nature.

Do not seek your own pleasure. Be forward in helping the helpless who ask for help. Help the persecuted. For it is they who are your best friends. And know that those who like your friend and Bartho fight for the freedom and happiness of the poor workers are your comrades.

The 10th July 1927 last had been fixed for the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti. But it was put off for a time and was carried out on the 23rd August last.

K. B. Roy.

4-11-29.

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P.549 (6)-(T)

Is in same as P. 543

(Sd) K. B. Roy,

6/11/29.

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P. 553-[T].

The GANAVANI of the 27th Sept. 1928 writes:—

**THE ATMASAKTI AND OURSELVES.**

An article entitled "Congress and Class conflict" appeared on the 29th August last in the *Atmasakti* conducted by "Forward Publishing Company." In reply to it we wrote an article in the *Ganavani* on the 30th August last under the same Caption. Reading this article, those who are behind the *Atmasakti* are exceedingly irate and some measure of their wrath has found vent in the article in the *Atmasakti* of the 14th Sept. entitled "Congress and the welfare of the masses." If any reader after reading our article & that of the *Atmasakti* expresses an impartial opinion, he will be bound to say that in the last article, the *Atmasakti* instead of saying anything about our arguments has mostly indulged in useless talk. We have said often and repeat it now that Congress is not an organ of the masses of India. The Congress is an institution only of the higher classes of society i. e. of these who exploit the masses. The *Atmasakti* has no where been able to prove that we have spoken falsely. So it has tried merely by some means or other to vent its spleen against us. At the outset, the *Atmasakti* has referred to the

*Ganavani* as the organ of the illiterate peasants' and workers' party of Bengal. There is no doubt that the majority of peasants and workers in Bengal are illiterate, and for this illiteracy, the class by which the *Atmasakti* is conducted is exactly as much responsible as in the foreign system of Government. But the Bengal peasants' and workers' party is not a party merely of illiterate peasants and workers,—it is a party also of those highly educated workers who in their resourceless condition have been driven by the torment of hunger into selling their labour to the Forward Publishing Co. It is not that the editor of the *Atmasakti* does not know this, but since he cannot reply to our statements, he is forced to talk irrelevantly.

The *Atmasakti* writes:—As those who have taken it on them to read out the message of the masses feel that to secure emancipation, the nation must shed fraternal blood, so we also think that if, nullifying all the efforts of Congress towards equality a section frantically throws itself into enmity against another section, the results will be injurious to the whole nation. That is why we support the efforts of Congress to establish equality". Equality can never be established between the exploiter and the exploited. Can the editor of the *Atmasakti* explain to us how it is possible to establish equality between zamindar and peasant and capitalist and worker? The worthless zamindars, who are social parasites are draining away the blood of countless peasants for nothing. The usurer is perpetually bringing ruin on the peasant. Can it ever be possible that nevertheless, the peasant is to regard the zamindar and the usurer as his best friends? When the worker finds before his eyes that taking advantage of his helplessness, finding that he is overcome by the torment of hunger, the capitalist is robbing him of the wealth produced by his labour, is he still to regard the capitalist as his sincere friend? All the reasons for differentiation are to remain, yet equality will be established—only lunatics and men of the capitalist class can preach such a view. It is unnecessary to inquire why a lunatic wants to express such an opinion. The capitalist preaches such a view in self-defence. Making the labourers lose their bearings and captivating them by propaganda, capitalists deprive them of the wealth produced by their labour. The preaching of equality by Congress is only a thing of this kind. The despicable selfishness displayed in council over the Bengal Tenancy Act by the Congress members—is that also to be counted as part of the Congress propaganda of equality? Fraternal blood has never to be shed to secure emancipation, but history bears witness that it becomes necessary to shed the enemy's blood. If ever a thirst for blood awakes among the masses of the country, that thirst will be slaked only by the blood of the exploited. The exploiter is not the brother of the exploited,—(but an) enemy,—he who will not admit this, is either to be regarded as past recognising anything or as a humbug.

We have said that without economic emancipation, political emancipation can never be secured. For it is economic power which underlies all constructive and destructive activities on earth. The masses of the country can acquire political power only when they are possessed of a large measure of economic power. To suppress this historic truth, the *Atmasakti*, asks us: "Have not England, America, Japan, Germany &c. secured political emancipation? In speaking of free states, people understand these states, though they know that all or a majority of the population of those states have not secured economic emancipation—not even Russia which according to the *Ganavani* is a paradise on earth. The main cause of our economic subjection is political subjection, and until India is free politically, no step can be taken to secure economic emancipation." The ideal free states of the *Atmasakti* i.e. England, America, Germany and Japan—are they really free states? By a country is meant not the capitalists of the country—it means the masses of the country. But none of these countries has so far secured real political emancipation, and in them all, a great struggle is going on, between the masses and those who have unjustly possessed themselves of political power. Can the *Atmasakti* deny this? India will not be converted into a Free State if only the English capitalists are dispossessed of their rights. If India is to be called a free state, it will be necessary that the authority of the Indian masses should be established over the state. But until sufficient economic power is secured this authority of the masses over the state can never be established. It is only because the Russian masses have been able largely to possess themselves of economic power that today alone in Russia on earth has mass rule been established. Yes, the *Ganavani* does not recognise as paradise any country at all. Heaven and hell are the monopoly of those men for whom the *Atmasakti* is pleading. Capitalists take ample opportunity to commit robbery, holding out terror of one and hope of the other.

In the opinion of the *Atmasakti*, the Congress has formed a conception of political emancipation and proclaimed it and nowhere in this proclamation is it said that in a Free India, one class is to keep another out of its rights and repress it—rather it has been clearly announced that all inhabitants of the country possess equal rights". Congress has never formed a conception of an emancipated India. From Gandhi and C.R. Das Down to the Nehru Committee the conception of all never went beyond securing Dominion Self Government inside the British Empire. It is true that a resolution was adopted at the Madras Congress about securing full independence, but it has been proved by the report of the subsequent Nehru Committee that it was done merely to throw dust into the eyes of dissatisfied men. Have not the English made the same announcement about rights as that made by the Nehru Committee? Universal franchise is of course a very great thing, but even if it is secured, it

can never be admitted that power will come into the hands of the masses. We can refer to England for proof. In spite of a wide franchise, the majority in England, i.e. the masses are still ignored. All rights are controlled by the men who control the means of production. There is a wide and powerful press in England for keeping the masses overcome. This press is incessantly carrying on propaganda in favour of the interests of the capitalists. The sentiment of the workers is being touched by false appeals to nationality and patriotic. It is not that there are not examples of similar work in our country as well. It is our educated proletariat who are always misguided as a result of propaganda by press conducted by the capitalists of the country. Under the intoxication of so-called nationalism, untroubled from the capitalistic press, they cannot at all realise where their place is. The same thing is happening in other countries as well. So merely buoyed up with the mention of the right of universal franchise, we cannot by any means accept the proposal of Dominion Self Government.

What the *Atmasakti* has said about the mass leaders exercising an over powering influence on the mass intelligence is wholly false—It is the capitalists and those who preach their cult who have always been trying to keep the mass-intelligence under an over powering influence. The *Atmasakti* itself is one of those who are making efforts to this end.

The *Atmasakti* writers :—The *Ganavani* in trying to explain to us the A. B. C. of Politics has referred to many political truths it does not itself understand, but it has nowhere been able to explain to us how the bonds of subjection will be consumed if only the frame of class conflict can be kindled. We did not take it on us to teach the *Atmasakti* the A. B. C. of politics. We have not the time either to teach the A. B. C. of politics in any particular quarter. But it is very true that it is necessary for many so-called politicians to learn A. B. C. It will not be necessary any longer to kindle the flame of class conflict, it has already been kindled, and it is in this flame that the bonds of subjection will be consumed. Since power is concentrated in the hands of a class, in order to snatch away this power, the masses must resort to class conflict. Does not severing the bonds of subjection mean the assumption of power by the masses from the hands of the classes? If the *Atmasakti* does not understand this initial truth, is it not necessary for it to learn A. B. C.? If we have talked of political truths which we do not understand, why did not the *Atmasakti* explain them to us? The *Atmasakti* has not touched on any of the arguments we brought forward. We give below a sample of what the *Atmasakti* understands. Writes the *Atmasakti* :—There are countries on earth which have no zamindars and capitalists which are still subject, and the people thereof are forced to lead a 'meaner life



than that of Indians". So far we knew that men who bring forward such strange arguments were found only in opium smokers' dens. But we now find that they have got a centre in British Indian street as well. Will the *Atamasakti* kindly give us the name of the strange country without zamindars and capitalists which is still a subject country?

(Sd.) K. B. Roy.

5-11-29.

The *Ganavani* of the 27th Sept. 1928 writes :—

The Heralds of freedom by sudhir Raha.

In 1918, the country once showed signs of animation and some young men were primarily responsible therefor. They had neither large pecuniary resources nor countless members—they had only courage filling their breasts, renunciation, strength of mind and moral force. It was with these that they helped in stirring up the whole country. The question may now arise as to why the Revolution of 1918 proved a failure. To reply to this, it is necessary first to describe the aims of Indian revolutionaries i. e., to describe what their conception was as to how the India of the future was to be constituted. The radical principles were :—

- (1) India was to secure unimpaired freedom, i. e. no other nation on earth was to interfere at all in India's Congress.
- (2) Indians were themselves to decide what form of Government was beneficial and suitable to India.
- (3) Indians were to be free to decide how best Indian trade was to be conducted to the profit of India and of the world.

These in brief were the lofty hopes of the Revolutionaries of that age.

Underlying all the efforts of these Indian revolutionaries was a striving so to endow India with strength and capacity that she might be saved from the clutches of other nations.

With this ideal, the youths betook themselves to revolution.

Defects of the radical principles were (1) The work of these Indians revolutionaries was confined to a handful of students and youths only (2) Not only was there no heartfelt union between the revolutionaries and the public—rather the public feared them as *swadeshi* dacoits etc.

- (3) There was a dearth of farsighted thoughtful and intelligent men. There was no thoughtful or intelligent man like Lenin or Trotsky of Russia, Hegel

of Prince Bismarek of Germany at the head of the revolutionaries—hence the Indian revolutionaries could do nothing to speak of in the way of propaganda.

- (4) They could not hold up before the public anything in the way of novelty or hope.
- (5) Wants of books and leaflets full of scientific views. What of there was, was full of inciting and vengeful declamations and they could bring no new message to the public and the educated men.

This party stood aloof from the public. The reason was want of propaganda, and want of strength and capacity on their own part. For all these reasons this revolution was a failure,—besides the revolutionaries themselves had no conception of “freedom.”

Let us next take the Noncooperation movement of 1922. This agitation of '22 may be described in various ways (1) the non-co-operation movement started by Mahatma Gandhi (2) Supreme offering at the worship of an individual (3) A monster strike! It is necessary here to state the cardinal principle of the Mahatma or the aims of the agitation.

In the Mahatma's view, modern civilisation is accountable for men's miseries—especially modern industries and the evil deeds of men done therefore unknowingly,

In his view, the remedy for this lay in the destruction of modern civilisation and of machinery.

It is difficult to apply this idea in practice. Everywhere on earth politics is based on economics. In our country politics is based purely on sentiment. It is machinery which causes us so much suffering now, but we also admit how great are the advantages of machinery.

Then machinery instead of being destroyed will have to be used in a different way. In other words the money produced by machinery all goes to the chest of the proprietor of the machinery.—what the workers get is very little compared with their labour. Hence their sufferings do not abate. Henceforth the money produced will be shared either equally, or the workers are to get it at such a rate their sufferings and woes may end. The leaders of the non-co-operation movement made an outcry in the name of the masses of the country. Their sympathies were wholly with the capitalists and when they saw that with their help, revolution was raising its head among the workers and peasants of the country, that possibly in time, they might disown their leadership and adopting a revolutionary path, might smash

up to the existing state and society,—they became careful while there was yet time. The affair at Chowri Choura gave the Mahatma a serious fright and thenceforth he stopped all activities.

Next came the *Swaraj* party. They also made an out cry for a time, and indulged in tall talk and ultimately adopted a programme in which no special difference is noticeable from that of the Liberals. And their goal too, did not go beyond Dominion status.

Then, which way lies the country's salvation now? Is there no hope then now of India securing freedom? There is—and only the awakening of the masses is the field of that agitation and scattering the seeds of revolution in that field—from that will spring from the ground the proletariat workers—it is they who are the great instrument for India's emancipation.

This proletariat must be told of the history of their just dues, of how they have been cheated thereof and what their real demand are. They must be told! Ye workers, to you belong in the first instance all things, it is you who rip up the earth and bring forth crops, penetrating into unknown depths in the bowels of the earth, you bring out mines of gold and diamonds, with your own blood you build up those big houses and palaces, it is you who prepare guns and cannon and bombs and again it is you who are being destroyed by things made by yourselves.

It is you who suffered the consequences of the world wide war which lately took place, it is you who welcomed sorrow poverty, and unrest—again were you destroyed by things made by your own selves.

But the capitalist to-day finds himself in plenty, he has food and peace at home.

It is difference of wealth which is solely responsible for this degradation of the world. Marx says: Land and the appliances for the production of wealth are all controlled by capitalists, the majority of society consists of workers, so the wealth of society really belongs to the workers. Yet at present society has no control over the store of social wealth—hence workers are being deprived of their wealth.

Richmen pass their days in great luxury. Yet many people cannot even procure the bare meals necessary. All social laws, rules and prohibitions are controlled by a handful of rich men. Society is so weak to-day because of impossible exploitation by the rich.

In order to remove to-day this unjust inequality from the world, what is wanted is an awakening of labour.

And only Communism is the cure for their injustice' wrong and exploitation.

We must now therefore see what communism is.

In plain and simple language. "The wealth acquired by the energy of the community collectively (or wealth which is not produced by anybody, e. g. land) is the general property of the community. Each individual must labour according to his capacity to augment this store of wealth. The individual is to have no control even over wealth produced by his own labour. The community will distribute from the common store of wealth (from all according to their ability) to each according to his need. None will be permitted without labour to fill his coffers with money earned by the labour of others. "This is the ideal of communism.

Marx also says : it is because modern society does not adopt the communist ideal that it is in such a plight.

Another cardinal principle of communism is to save the things earned at present and utilise them for the common good, i. e. converting all means of production into common property, to utilise the surplus value which now goes to the pockets of the rich.

The above cardinal principles and communism are the best and only cure for all woes. The future age is the age of workers not of the idlers. This community will of itself work for the collective welfare. We have seen two movements in succession and also the reasons for their failure.

The first cause of failure was (1) The above mentioned agitations of the past stood aloof from the public.

(2) The leaders and workers of movement were mostly bourgeoisie. They did many things for self interest.

(3) The chief workers of these movements were school and college students.

I shall now explain these three chief causes. The first is, that it is peasants and workers, real cultivators and workers have mostly to do with increased production. They rip up the soil and produce crops or wealth is a direct way with their own hands, which others do not.

It is the son who has been from the start fed at the mother's breast who best understands her sorrows. So workers and peasants from birth might be said to have been fed on the milk of Mother earth. And we, the middle and well to do classes eat

food supplied by them. Hence we have no heartfelt attachment to the soil, as apart from money. Further, they who are always starving experience sorrow and suffering very much indeed. They alone know what it means to live in tumbled down cottages in the rains, or to have not enough for a bare meal twice a day or to be unable to clothe the nakedness of wife, mother or sister. Even it is they alone who know sorrow in its direct and naked guise, and it is they who will understand the ideals of communism.

The answer to the second question is, that most of the leaders were Zamindars or Mill-owners or small *pathidars*—hence when any question arose of the rights of tenants, swarajist capitalist leaders fully co-operated with Government. It is useless to adduce proofs of this.

The answer to the third question is, only students cannot make a success of a revolution ; they simply push it forward.

China is proof of this. It was the students who first started revolution in China, but they lack strength to carry it on patiently.

For in such cases, obstacles of various kinds occur. It is only the proletariat workers who, trampling down on these obstacles will march on to their goal. For the torment they suffer from, is not to be allayed.

Hence it is found that it is only workers who will be able to free the country for the snaky coil and that only after adopting the principles of communism.

(Sd.) K. B. Roy.

16-10-29.

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P. 566-T.

To

The Editor, "Forward".

Please oblige me by inserting the following item of news in your well-known papers.

Members of the young Comrade League are hereby informed that from Monday, the 18th February next, Babus Bankim Chandra .

Mukerji and Radha Ram Mitter will impart regular lessons in Hindi at the office at No. 78-1 Harrison Road above.

So it is notified that members who wish to learn Hindi should register their names before the 10th February.

(Sd.) K. B. Roy.

Secretary.

5-10-29.

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## P. 573-T.

To the Bengali issue of Ex. '234.

K. B. Roy.

6-11-29.

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## P. 576-T.

The Ganavani of 17th September 1926 writes:—

### THE BOLSHEVIK MENACE.

A dread of the Bolshevik has began to be felt all over the world, and it is perhaps worst felt in India. A newspaper named 'L' Ambrosiano is published from Italy. In July last this paper published a special report regarding the Bolshevik terror in India. A writer has published an article in the Calcutta "Forward" on this subject through the Orient Press Service. The substance of the quotation made from the Italian paper broadly is that the Governor of Bengal has expressed his views about the vigorous propaganda now carried on by Russian communists in India. The paper writes that a special conference will meet at the Indian Office in London under Lord Lytton to decide on measures in this connection. The purpose of this conference is to confer with the Foreign Office-Lord Birkenhead Winston Churchill other great men will also be present. Measures will be decided on not only for putting down the

Bolsheviks in India : but also for rescuing other parts of the British Empire from the mischievous activities of the Bolsheviks. Sir Chas. Tegart, the Commissioner of the Calcutta police has also gone to London and conferred with his Scotland Yard friends. Lord Lytton has stated to press representatives that all over India, the Russian Communists are carrying on a destructive propaganda. Their aim is to overthrow the established Government in India and instead to set up a Government like that of the Russian Soviet democracy.

The correspondent of the Orient Press service says in this connection:—

The bogey of Bolshevism has come to possess the British Empire. Big men in the colonies who live on the earnings of others have joined the remarks of these men who are possessed, in the order to stand up against the growing discontent of the masses. Though this discontent is very slowly assuming shape and being organised, still Britishers who live on the earnings of others know very well what the historic result will be if their moral enemies thus organise themselves.

The cardinal reasons for the prevailing discontent of the masses are the economic policy of British exploiters since the war and the progress of Indian Capitalism. The present discontent of the masses is the inevitable outcome of the massing of wealth by the capitalists of India in the past. The spirit of the masses in India has become still further aggravated now because during the close of the XIXth century and the XXth century, they have been incessantly exploited to keep British industries alive. Industrial progress is now rapidly proceeding in India: apart from Indian capital heavy investments of English and American capital are being made in this country. Indian workers generally are being ruthlessly exploited in order that the exploiters (foreign and Indian) might reap heavy profits.

The Russian Bolsheviks will not come to India but Indian Bolsheviks are being born in every factory, mine, dock and holding in India. Indian capitalism is digging its grave with its own hands and there the Indian Bolshevik is in evidence. Labour strikes and stray peasants' riots are occurring in different parts of the country.

All means are being resorted to, to put them down. They have been repeatedly tricked by indigenous leaders who live on the earnings of others. Now they are on the way to a new struggle which will be as well regulated, as it will be organised. They are organising themselves, men of the educated lower middle class are infusing into them the inspiration of a new social energy. The educated lower middle class have now realised the growing need of making the peasants and workers the basis of a revolutionary

national movement. The mingling of all these will create a progressive revolutionary movement and by its means, a revolutionary national struggle will be carried on. We communists know that a revolutionary national movement is bound to arise from the policy which is now applied in the colonies and oppressed countries. The present Chinese revolutionary national movement is exactly such a movement, but exploiters call this also a Bolshevik movement. Exactly a similar situation will arise in India also. But we communists know that these are not communist movements, they are revolutionary national movements. But the basis and real moving power of these movements depend on the peasants workers and educated proletariat class. British exploiters call this movement a Communist movement. This is done for two reasons. First these movements are injurious to British exploiters; secondly they want to frighten the lower middle educated class. They believe that if this is done, that class will cut off connection with them.

In effect, whatever is being done for these movements is called by them Bolshevik propaganda or conspiracy. Every party or association, or even individual who are organising these forces are Bolshivks or the Red menace in the eyes of the exploiters. So every workman in a textile factory, every Akali in the Punjab every Moplah in Malabar, every peasant in Bengal every Bengali or Punjabi Bal is a spy of the Moscow Bolsheviks, for this a conference is being held in the London India Office to decide on means to fight this menace. This conference is proof that the revolutionary movement is proceeding on the right lines. The strength and individuality of the revolutionary movement are determined by the measures adopted to check it.

Śd. K. B. Roy.

26-10-29.

The Ganavani of the 2nd June 1927 writes :—

*Review of books.*

P. Spratt, B. A. (member British Labour Party). (Specially written for the Ganavani).

“Hundred percent Indian” C. G. Saha, price 6 annas only, to be had of the book Company Ltd. 4/4 A College Square, Calcutta or of the author at Ranchhad Bhawan, Gurgaon, Bombay.

Mr. Saha has prepared an excellent book. All who have anything to do with present day India ought to read this booklet displays wholly a new line of thought on Indian subjects we believe that it is obligatory to accept and practically apply this new line of thought before adequate progress has been made in the sphere of work.



Unfortunately the language of the book is rather difficult. Though the method of expression is sound and in some places the writing, though short, has been very expressive, still in places the use of long sentences and difficult words has made the writing indistinct. Besides, the subject discussed in this book has been mainly discussed for the standpoint of theory. The discussion has but rarely touch practical politics. For these reasons, the book is perhaps not very attractive. But all the same, the book affords numerous glimpses of light.

This book has bitterly attacked Gandhi's philosophy explained in Indian Home Rule." Extensive quotations have been made from Gandhi's views regarding the use and method of modern machinery to show how reactionary is his external sight. Thus! "India has nothing at all to learn from anybody else. Our forefathers saw from before that happiness is largely nothing but a state of mind. Even now we are managing with the plough with which thousands of years ago, the soil was tilled." And Gandhi Raj will be an ideal Raj. Its five negations (no Railway, no Hospitals, no machinery, no army and no navy, will hold up before (us) a real picture (of it).

One can easily understand why the author has written: Gandhi-ism is a permanent obstacle to the struggle of the Indian masses for emancipation and to human society and culture advancing to higher stages.

We believe that the second argument, viz that Gandhi's influence is reactionary from the standpoint of human society and culture attaining higher stages, is indisputable. The author has shown that civilisation rests on a basis. This basis is the basis of production. Judging from the widest standpoint, it will appear that society progresses or degenerates only in the degree in which its means of production progress or degenerate. Gandhi wants to destroy the basis of actuality on which have cut ourselves off from barbarism. To destroy this basis means inevitably again to degrade us to that stage of barbarian. Of whose in the future we shall try to pass a more natural life than we do now. Possibly the majority of towns and cities will cease to exist, possibly men will live in the villages like their forefathers. But that can only be possible if there is a very great improvement effected in the machinery of our means of conveyance. The capitalist class in Europe at the present time are securing these means. At the present time, the cities are more progressive than the villages.

Gandhi's view have been thoroughly examined by the standard of very ordinary reasoning. Next the author has discussed the ordinary conceptions from the standpoint of the actual conceptions of history. In particular, he has reviewed Indian history by the standard of the equal conceptions of history. Though this

chapter of the book is short, it has to be admitted to be illuminating. No Marxian scholar ever before discussed this aspect. It is a very fit subject for study.

The book is by no means a piece of political writing. Possibly this is the writer's weakness. The arguments have been largely confined to a lofty philosophical plane. The writer has descended to practical politics only occasionally in making known the conclusions of his arguments. Still, however, relations with practical issues must be determined. Why is Gandhi reactionary regarding the struggle for emancipation by the Indian masses and their elevation to a higher status?

Gandhi believes that social perfection can never be attained by social efforts, until every individual member of society attains perfection. (This is the typical *petit bourgeois* conception.) Gandhi holds that man can attain perfection only then when he can use his natural powers for the highest opportunities. Machinery and improvement thereof generally circumscribe men's natural powers. Hence they are the root of all mischief.

Moreover, progress in machinery indicates social efficiency, rather than individual efficiency. The individual is lost in the community and becomes dependent thereon. For these reasons also Gandhi's attachment to the collective body is impaired.

Now we can easily understand the lines of Gandhi's personal political activities. At Bardoli he was faced with a situation which made it necessary for the masses to act collectively to secure social progress. For the good of the community, many would probably have had to sacrifice themselves, possibly unwillingly. That the individuals for whom Gandhi primarily felt might withdraw from his moral ways, might be forced to use unjust anger, hatred and force to secure social progress—Gandhi could not realise all this or appraise their real value. In these circumstances not only would Gandhi ordinarily lag behind, he would use his enormous influence to hinder that affair making progress that way. He cannot at all understand that social progress is achieved through such means.

Individual moral progress is a sort of indirect minor result of social progress. But the course of social progress is never along the usual fixed ways. Its course is sometimes slow or even retrograde, but at other times, it is so quick that it is called revolutionary. It does not behove us to abandon any of its paths, no matter how unpleasant it may go. But Gandhi does abandon them and that is why he is a permanent obstacle on the way. Men in the community who do not want to go any further forward make use of his weakness or of his irrelevant ideas. It will not be saying too much to state that when the masses attempt revolt against

the Indian bourgeoisie and their friends the British bourgeoisie the Indian bourgeoisie knowingly use Gandhi as an instrument to check progress. His individualist outlook is like their outlook his objections to violence subserve their purpose very well and his opposition to machinery is so ridiculous that they are not at all moved by it.

Gandhi is a reactionary, judged either from the broad philosophical or narrow political standpoint. Both these aspects, as usually happens, are intimately intermixed. We shall know them by their philosophical conceptions.

(Sd.) K. B. Roy.

26-10-29.

The *Ganavani* of the 26th August 1926 writes:—

*Gandhi and Lenin.*

( by S. A. Dange, a prisoner).

*Similarity of aims.*

In Gandhi's opinion, the cause of human woes and suffering.

In Lenin's opinion, the cause of human woes and suffering.

Present day civilition especially modren industries and the evil deeds of men born thereof.

The fact that all means of production and lands &c. are in the possession of capitalists, economic inequality and as a consequence thereof, poverty of the class deprived of wealth, produced by itself, which nevertheless constitutes the majority of mankind.

THE REMEDY.

Destroying the individuality on modren civilisation and all machinery.

Preserving the things now acquired use them for the good of the public i. e. make all means of production public property and utilise the surplus value now going into the pockets of the rich.

K. B. Roy.

25-10-29.

The *Ganvani* of the 14th April 1927 writes:—

### THE NEW PARTY BY MUZAFFAR AHMAD.

When an old party is guided according to the interests of a particular class in the country, it becomes essential to organise a new party to secure social, economic and political freedom. The Independents, Liberals and other parties in carrying on their work are keeping on friendly terms in all ways with British Imperialism. All these parties have been organised only to uphold the interests of the higher classes of society. The Indian National Congress under the leadership of the Gandhi once did indeed come into touch with the masses, but again under the same leadership it has gone far away from them.

Since the last war world conditions have considerably changed. Signs of a mass awakening are apparent all over the world, as a result of the Russian Revolution. British Imperialism no longer has the might it had before the war. British Imperialism will never be able further to exploit this country without entering into a conspiracy with Indian capitalists and merchants. Hence the cotton excise duty has been abolished, duties have been imposed on imported iron goods and many other changes have been made. As a result of this compromise by British Imperialism, there is no hope at all any more of securing any help from the indigenous capitalists and merchants in the struggle for national freedom. From the platform of the National Congress, a succession of Presidents have proclaimed that they are not at all prepared to cut off connexion with British Imperialism. They simply want further to increase their political rights. India cannot have equal rights with the colonies, because India is not certainly a colony of Great Britain—indeed is not the colony of any other European free state. Even by getting Dominion Status, India's condition cannot improve a bit. For even in that condition India will not be able to avoid being robbed. Australia is still being exploited by Imperialism. There can be no madness equal to admitting that a country has secured emancipation, even though Imperialism continues. The last stage of capitalism is Imperialism. Capitalists first begin exploiting the workers and producers of their own country. When thus their business expands considerably, and there is a dearth of raw produce in their own country, they have to start a search for new markets—their aim being to collect raw materials and sell manufactured goods. The exploitation by capitalists which thus ensues is called Imperialism. It is for this reason that Imperialists have brought country after country under absolute control, economically and politically.

India lies prone at the feet of British Imperialism, so to speak British Imperialism, having won over the indigenous capitalists and

merchants is ruthlessly exploiting the masses of the country. To avoid this exploitation, we shall first require complete National independence. But the Indian National Congress do not want that. Congress is by no means ready to sever connexion with Imperialism. The reason therefore is that most of those who are the head of Congress belong to the class with which British Imperialism has entered into a compromise. Those who know the proceeding of the last ganhati congress will certainly have realised that the present congress is not for the Indian Masses.

A proposal was made before the subjects Committee of congress that it was to side with peasants and workers when a conflict arose between them and Zamindars and capitalists. Pandit Moti Lal Nehru, the present head of Congress said in reply. thereto Congress is not the socialist or communist party. The object in making this statement is that congress is by no means ready to stand up for those who produce all things by their labour. All with eyes to see have all this time noticed that it is not ready. Nevertheless, Mr. J.M. Sen Gupta the leader of the Bengali S'warajists has said the same thing in clearer language. He has said that the party includes many zamindars and that without the help of zamindars, so many men of their party would certainly never be able to enter the councils. So they could not by any means help the peasants, going against these zamindars. A Bengali college Professor was also on this committee. He expressed his indignation, saying that in that case, congress would pass into the hands of a particular class, i.e. counting the peasants and workers together into the hands of 98 percent of the population. This he could never allow, In his opinion, congress was to be the organisation collectively of zamindars, capitalists, peasants workers and the lower middle class. But really can it be that? Not even a lunatic will ever believe that the interests of peasants and zamindars, of capitalists and workers are identical. The interests of peasants and workers mean causes of destruction for zamindars and capitalists. One belongs to the class of the exploited, the other to that of the exploiters. These two classes can never work together consciously. A conflict is inevitable between those who though they work and produce, cannot get food and those who, without working and producing, still have enough to eat and lay by. The big congress leaders have so far been saying that there is no such struggle in India, and that it is imported from Europe, and thereby managing things my means of bluff and make believe but how long can things go on thus? Hence, when in response to the call of the age, the demand was made that congress must stand for the masses, its leaders had perforce to admit that they were not of the party of the masses,—that they belonged to their own party—i.e. the party of capitalists, merchants and zamiadars.

So much for the Indian National Congress. Then again the condition of the All India Trade Union congress is yet more lamentable. The workmen's unions affiliated to it, instead of being run by workers are being run by middle class men. These men mostly have fastened themselves on the workmen like evil spirits, to subserve their own interests. Many of them like to mix more with the proprietors of factories than with the workmen. They like more to break a strike than to bring about one for the redress of the wants and grievances of the workers. When they mix with the workers they can never be one of them. They remember that they are superior, of an aristocratic class and merely seek to benefit the worker out of pity of the better men among these, some are philanthropists are believe in peace very few have any idea of revolution—possibly they have not even that.

In brief a real worker's movement has not so far begun in this country. Because there is no conception of a radical change, the present workers' movement is not doing the workers much good. Those who try to work for them cannot be one of themselves, and because they do not know much of present day revolutionary Trade Unions, they have not been able so far to build up labour-leaders from among the labourers. Until that is done our workers' movement will never assume shape so to speak.

Because they are the worst exploited, because they are resourceless, and most of all, because, thanks to the factory system, they can very easily organise, it is our workers who can take the lead in the struggle for our national freedom. If they who are to lead, lag behind, there is no doubt that our struggle for emancipation will prove useless trouble.

For these reasons it has become very necessary to form a new party. This party is the party of the masses. We have called it the Peasants' and Workers' party. It will include not merely the proletariat, who, thanks to exploitation, have lost all their property and have been forced to sell their labour to capitalists, but also peasants and the lower middle class. Those among this lower middle class who have joined the national movement are largely dissatisfied with the autocracy of the capitalists. But no political movement can be carried on merely with the lower middle class—hence many of them incline to a policy of revolutionary terrorism. But the least thoughtful among them have come to realise that this is not the path of true revolution—and many of them now are attracted towards the masses.

This new party of ours is composed of peasants, workers, and the lower middle class. The proletariat workers will take the lead in this national struggle of India and the peasants with their immense man power will join them. Because the peasants and

workers who constitute the sole and immense strength of our national struggle, are illiterate and ignorant, the lower middle class will impart education and knowledge to them.

(Sd): K. B. Roy.

4-11-29.

The *Ganavani* of the 28th April 1927 writes:—

“May day”.

P. Spratt B, A,

(For the *Ganavani*)

Everywhere in the workers' world, May Day has been specially accepted as the Workers' Day. The first of May has been declared a holiday for workers in all countries where organised workers movements are at work. On this day, all associations and parties of all classes and tendencies and along therewith women and children of associations and parties unformed and unorganised come together chiefly to show the unity of interest of national and international labour.

The old war-cry “Injury to one is injury to all”, still clearly expresses the real significance of this festival. The “International” with all its revolutionary zeal and exuberance & energy of universal fraternity is their song.

In spite of the pleasuring associations of May Day, the departure of the winter season, the advent of summer with its bright sun and budding flowers and the captivating beauty of leafy trees, May Day in the past was often the occasion for bitter quarrels and terrible scenes. In the infancy of the workers' movement in Europe, when first “May Day” was observed, small parties of men in the van, carrying flags and bunting used to march through the streets, even amidst the jeers of their compatriots and the curses of the higher classes. Imperialist administrations, which were jealous of the organisation of a workers' movement and were specially opposed to an International workers' union being formed, made use of their police and military strength, to put down and destroy the workers' processions and awakening. In those old times, often when workers' unions and the socialist party were engaged in a life and death struggle to preserve themselves, and were mere theoretical (?) opponents of imperialism and of what was implied by Imperialism at the time, even in those times, all kinds of murders and outrages were committed on this May Day.

But the more imperialism gained experience, the more it learned to tolerate the workers' movement and also how to correct

and pervert it. They put their paid men into it--indeed, they strengthened their position and authority there. Besides, slightly improving the wages and condition of the workers, they began to guide them along a wrong path. Imperialism was very strongly entrenched it seemed to many people to be ridiculous to think of getting rid of it. Nevertheless the labour movement came to be regarded with respect even by this malign influence. The workers were permitted by their Governments, to celebrate May Day under their corrupt leaders. The observance of this well known historic festivity came to be full of false trickery. Honest (?) proposals regarding a general strike when war would begin were put forward by hypocritical, dishonest speakers. But when war broke out in 1914, no arrangements were made for a strike. They forgot their resolutions then. The workers' regiments instead of fighting against it, were engaged in work for the war, almost without opposition.

During the war, for a few years, May Day was not observed. Under the stern rule of capitalistic military Governments, the workers were busily engaged in the military activities of their respective exploiting Governments, preparing appliances and munitions of war, throwing explosives (?) or gas, or hurling shots or hitting one other with bayonets etc. But feelings of the workers--the cardinal truths--did not remain long concealed. After the glorious Irish Revolution of 1916 and the Russian Revolution of 1917 the "International" began again to be heard on the streets of Paris. Strikes were the only incidents at the time in the factories, mines and engineering workshops of the countries engaged in war. Workers in all countries began once again to think of the fraternity, community of interest and internationalism--which are the cardinal truths underlying May Day. During the previous four years, under the influence of official repression and of dishonest leaders, they had forgotten all about these things.

Along with the disturbances, economic unrest, and rapid changes in the fixed standards of living of the years following the war, the workers' movement once again strongly asserted itself and was revived--such a situation never before had been noticed. May Day was celebrated in 1919, 1920, and 1921 in a spirit of universal revolution. The impact of universal oppressed and persecuted labour made capitalism shiver and quake. Ultimately among them was manifested a spirit of organising under the orders of the socialists.

The workers revolted against all the worthies of the small exploiting sets who used to rule the subject nations and communities from Germany to Australia and from India to the United States. The flames of the boycott, obstruction, strikes, revolution and Hartals burned fiercely everywhere. But this great and wonderful movement though full of zeal and life, was backward in the necessary



leadership and organisation. Hence there was no chance of its succeeding in the struggle against the powers of capitalism, military strength, corruption and stupidity. Besides, they could not free themselves from the conservatism which does not allow oneself to be emancipated for the bonds of a system, however old and disreputable.

Only in Russia were the conditions very favourable. The Russian leaders were equally reliable and skilful in the matter of triumphing in a revolution and restraining its consequences. There, year after year, propaganda had gone on slowly on appointed lines, and its lessons were free from the impure conventionalism of western Europe. Thus the strong, patient and naturally modest Bolsheviki fashioned the weapon necessary to guide a mass-revolution to victory and to save it.

Outside Russia, the capitalists succeeded with the help of their Governments in gradually controlling and putting down the disorganised and misguided populace.

For many years, an inky gloom and lassitude prevailed. A stern "White Anarchy" was inaugurated all over Europe, Asia, Africa and America and it is still being upheld. Any kind of obstacle whatever against the existing rule is ruthlessly repressed. In some countries where the spirit of bourgeois liberty is strong, very little freedom remains for the workers' leaders and propagandists. Even in Britain, who is the giver of emancipation, white anarchy and the rule of might of Fascist organisations have shown themselves.

But the tide has again turned. Though British labourers were worsted in the general strike and in the miners' strike, they are now moving on, carrying on a struggle wholly along the path of a mass movement. They will go forward to struggle against the Trade Union Act, Fascist high handedness and the official policy of repression and the mistaken policy of their leaders. Though repeatedly defeated, they will persist in moving forward, till they attain success.

The Chinese national movement under the leadership of the Chinese workers is fast progressing, against various stern obstacles-even the might of all the exploiters on earth combined cannot prevent and arrest this advance of theirs. They will continue advancing till they are victorious.

May Day in 1926 was dedicated to the support British miners and British workers. A powerful and most enthusiastic. May Day was celebrated in Britain such as never has been seen so far. It infused terror into the minds of the fickle leaders. Bowing to the wishes of the workers they were compelled to declare a general strike.

It is extremely necessary that May Day in 1927 should be dedicated to expressing sympathy for and to supporting the Chinese masses. The wonderful expedition of the Chinese against the combined strength of the exploiters has evoked enthusiasm and infused an inspiration in the hearts of all oppressed nations and classes on earth.

Let not Indian workers lag behind this time. May Day is International workers' Day: We ought on this auspicious occasion to attend very carefully to the experiences of our working brethren in other countries:

The workers in China have shown how to fight for national freedom. They have also shown us that upon factory and mill workers depend glorious efforts and activities meant to secure freedom from exploiters. May we prepare ourselves for this work of ours, taking an adequate lesson from the Chinese.

The labour problem is the same all the world over. May Indian workers, Russian workers, British workers all organise themselves this Day, with their courage, capacity, zeal and exuberance; We shall of course convey our heartfelt greetings and good wishes to our brethren of all countries, specially of China. For at this movement they are carrying on a fight for the exploited of all countries on earth.

May the workers in China attain success. May Indian workers soon advance along the path trod by them.

Sd/-K. B. Roy.

30/10/29.

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P. 577-(T).

Exhibited already as P. 619

Sd/-K. B. Roy.

6/11/29.

## P. 593-T.

The *Ganvani* of the 26th July 1928 writes:—

### IDEAL ABOUT UNIONS.

We have said that there should be a big union for every industry. If we do not have that, we shall never triumph in the struggle. But unfortunately the tendency is yet strong in our country for labour leaders to start small unions. This tendency is particularly in evidence regarding Jute Mill workers. There is the Head Office of the Bengal Jute Workers' Union at Bhatpara. Its aim is to assemble Jute Mill workers all over Bengal under a Common flag,—*i.e.* to build up a big union for them. In spite of the existence of this union separate unions have been formed at Bauria and Changail. Strangely enough, Babu Kishori Lal Ghosh, Secy. of the Bengal Trade Union Federation has been particularly active in forming these two unions. The Bengal Trade Union Federation is the provincial Committee of the All-India Trade Union Congress. So it behoves this Committee to carry out in practice as far as possible the resolutions of the Trade Union Congress. At the Delhi Session of this Congress a resolution was passed that new unions were not to be formed over the head of existing unions. It has been extremely wrong of Mr. Kishori Lal Ghosh as Secretary of the provincial Committee of this congress to organise small unions. The executive Committee of the Bengal Jute worker's Association have always been ready to make or accept any improvement. They have no objection to removing their head office from Bhatpara to Calcutta. The Bengal Jute Workers' Association is also always ready to reconstitute the executive Committee in order to take in new organisers. We cannot understand, why, in spite of all this, Mr. Ghosh organised separate unions and thereby acted against the Trade Union Congress Resolution. This conduct of his will seriously injure jute mill workers. It will be utterly impossible to bring about a change in the condition of Jute Mill Workers and save them from highhandedness unless workers of all mills are brought together.

K. B. ROY,

4-4-29,

The *Ganvani* of the 2nd August 1928 writes:—

### FULL INDEPENDENCE.

The aim of the workers' and Peasants' party is 'to secure full independence. But why? It is necessary to explain that like the Indian National Congress the workers' and peasants' party have not adopted this goal simply for the sake of sentiment. Congress has most carelessly adopted a Resolution about full independence without realising what its implication are. From the logical standpoint, it

was necessary that as a result of this resolution, the Congress creed should be changed and those who did not want to work for full independence excluded from congress, But that has not been done. But when the workers' and Peasants' party talk of working to secure full independence they want really to do that. This party wants fully to realise what intricacies this policy is involed in. The path of Congress is not the path of this party.

Many, specially since this Congress resolution was passed, argue that since Dominion Self Government which the Liberal party, the Swaraj party and other parties swear by connotes *inter alia* the right to secede, it is as good a thing as full independence. It is very doubtful if Dominion Self Government does or does not connote the right to secede, the statesman denies that it does. But any way it does not seem a very important point. The important point is that those who argue thus have either got a bit involed in their brains or they are deliberately securing people. They regard "Dominion Self Government," "Swaraj," as very closely approaching full independence. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* has stated in very clear language that there is no very great difference between Dominion Self Government etc. and full independence. So those who believe this can very easily work together. But as a matter of fact there cannot be a worse travesty of the truth, "Dominion Self Government" is the only goal which can be reached through organisation and by non-violent means. Even the swarajists favour a Round Table Conference or a compromise with Imperialism. They hold that it is by this means that Dominion Self Government will be established, (of course to it will have to be added some popular pressure, which should again reach dangerous lengths. Reference may be made to the Bardoli incident for illustration). Are we now really to imagine that British Imperialism will voluntarily sanction for India a status which is equal to, or only a step below independence? If that is done, will India be allowed to advance that step also. (A compansion may be made with Egypt. Anybody can understand by putting this one question how false this status is.

What then is Dominion Status? The words are now on every body's lips, Liberal, Swarajist, Home Rulers and Responsive cooperators all want this Dominion Self Government. Indeed many English Statesmen also support it. The British Labour party is in a manner pledged to it. So, sooner or later it is very likely that India will secure Dominion Self Government,

It will entail great labour to discuss the conditions in different British Colonies, and in our opinion it is not necessary. The language of British politicians and newspapers regarding India is quite clear. Though they have not all used the term Dominion Self Government practically all belonging the section of British Capitalism, with which rests the responsibility of rule, hold the same view regarding this question. British labour leaders officially

do not differ about this. They are all agreed that India must remain inside the British Empire.

This is a very important question. To remain under the British Empire means keeping India under exploitation by British Capitalists. Other matters are, relatively to this not deserving of mention. Many people talk of securing gradually responsible Government from the present humble beginnings. Some people talk of the gradual development of democracy. And many other such things are said. Even those who talk of Dominion Self Government do not want to grant it now. This in their opinion, is the final goal, which is to be attained gradually. This is the cardinal reason for the quarrel between British Statesmen and Labour leaders and the Swarajists and other Indians parties. Why do British leaders lay so much stress on "gradual" development? They hold that Indians still are minors politically that it is necessary for them yet to be trained in parliamentary methods and of course they must acquire a sense of responsibility and so on and so forth. Even though at first sight it seems to be political bluff, its real significance may be easily understood. All this talk means that the more the Indian bourgeoisie continue preserving the interests of British Capitalism the more will an increasing share of administration and legislation be made over to them. An advanced stage of entrusting authority to Indians by this process is Dominions Self Government. Under this system, under the protection of armed British soldiers, India will to a large extent be ruled by Indians for the benefit of British Capitalists.

It is not very necessary to discuss (the matter) here to make it clear that this has become the policy of British Imperialism since the war. Quickly factories have been started in the country British capital has been invested in them in very large quantities and for the first time Indian capitalists have been also admitted as junior parties. Already British and Indian interests have been indissolubly welded together. For example, reference may be made to the Tata's workshops the leading business in India. Here both British and Indian capital has been invested, and Government also are closely associated with this factory. There is an agreement with it to supply munitions during war-time. Indian capitalists and their followers are quickly being instructed in the matter of preserving the interests of British capitalists.

Indian capitalists will not be granted Dominion Self Government forth with. For the present it is nothing more than a bait which has been thrown out to attract them to a constructive path. The point to notice here specially is that all including even the swarajists, are being guided along that path, surely, if slowly. Some people are still extremely "forward" regarding the question of affording British capitalists an opportunity for fighting the Indian masses. Many of them support destructive work like the Bardoli

*Satyagraha.* They ought to learn better. Hence the talk of gradual stages and of securing responsible Government by gradual stages.

However India may be emancipated in imagination under Dominion Self Government, this emancipation can never be of a kind with which the Indian masses can have anything to do. We want salvation from exploitation by British capitalists. Neither Dominion Self Government nor any other form of Government inside the British Empire can give us that. Hence we can never continue inside the Empire. Secure full independence we must, which would mean emancipation from exploitation by British capitalists. This policy is a matter for deep reflection. It will easily be apparent that there can be no question at all of securing freedom peacefully or by arrangements with the British capitalists will never depart leaving crores of rupees behind without putting up an opposition. We need not refer here to other losses which also they will have to put up with. Every Indian might to know that British capitalists will fight firmly and sternly for their interest.

Does congress think of all this when it demands full independence? This question will elicit no reply. Of course inside congress there are many people who want to secure freedom beyond all doubt, and they are ready to face every thing for the sake of this demand. It is this class of men who in most cases have compelled the congress leaders to vote for independence against their will. But it is necessary to ask how long this fraud, this make-believe will continue. Can there be any union between those who really want independence and are prepared to fight therefor and those who really are out for a compromise, but who to frighten Government or to avoid the displeasure of their devoted followers, vote for the independence Resolution?

Such a union can never be possible. Full independence implies revolution, while Dominion Self-Government means nothing else than peaceful evolution. Independence means severance with British capitalists, while Dominion Self Government means self-surrender to their authority. Independence means securing *Swaraj* for 98 per cent of the population, while Dominion Self Government means gaining *Swaraj* (?) for 2 per cent. There can be no union between such opposing policies and interests. So for the existing utterly useless union very soon there will come a split.

The Congress has travelled to a half way house, on the one hand, it is voting for full Independence while on the other, it cannot cut itself from those who are against independence hence it is only inviting ridicule.

The real point is now coming clear. The programme for independence is a matter for deep reflection. To work for independence does not imply merely speechifying or holding out threats. To work for independence means a firm, stern, incessant,

revolutionary struggle on the part of the masses of the whole country. This struggle must be carried on till independence is secured. On this path of profit, we shall have to face many storms and blasts—it will not do merely to make an attempt at peaceful reconstruction.—Even through danger and trouble, secure independence we must. It is not proper to sacrifice even a single life to secure Dominion Self Government or some such thing or to enter in to a compromise with capitalists. Who can say that independence and Dominion Self Government are identical ?

And who can have any doubts as to what we shall have to struggle for ?

Sd/ K. B. Roy.

5. 11. 29.

The *Ganavani* of the 2nd August 1928 writes:—

#### APPEAL FOR AID.

The *Ganavani* has always been published with monetary help rendered by men who have faith in and sympathy with the views and programme of the Workers' and Peasants' Party. This time also, we take up the republication of the paper in expectation of their aid. Not only can no hope be entertained of making a profit by publishing a paper of this kind,—rather in most cases, it becomes impossible by any means to realise the actual expenses. Hence the paper has to be run at a loss. Nevertheless, keep the paper alive we must. On behalf of the masses it is we alone who have adopted a scientific, revolutionary and effective programme. The *Ganavani* hold up this programme before every boy's eyes and show how we can attain success. In these circumstances, upon the existence of the *Ganavani* depends to a large extent the mass movement in our country. We now ask for help only from those who believe that it is only by an uprising of the masses that we shall secure emancipation. We also badly want the help of every worker, peasant and Youth Associations in the land. All can help in these ways. (1) with money. (2) by securing subscribers and by ready sales, and (3) by securing advertisements.

Let each help us in the manner practical for him.

Executive Committee

Bengal Peasants' and Workers' Party.

Sd/- K. B. Roy

5/11/29.

The *Ganavani* of the 21st June 1928 has the following:—

A leader of the masses.

(A. V. Lunachaski)

(Translated by Abdul Kadir.)

The tenth anniversary of the greatest revolution on earth is approaching. This festival is indissolubly and intimately associated with the name of Vladimir Lenin. No other revolution on earth could throw up such a universal leader of marked individuality. Cromwell was a great man, but he was merely the brave self-reliant leader of the petty avaricious bourgeoisie of a particular country. Washington was a high-souled individual, he introduced a new line of freedom in his age. His peculiarity lay in carrying on a stern struggle to secure international freedom from the clutches of the English. In spite of a new world-wide terrible agitation for freedom, the French Revolution ended in the defeat of all the best principles for which it stood, those principles have merely left glorious traditions of the past, they did not succeed in achieving their aims. The able and wise leaders of that revolution shone like bright stars on the firmament of the history of that age, but they were only the leaders of the unfortunate bourgeoisie without any future, the lofty thoughts of that class ended in mere dreams.

Lenin was able to become the leader of all progressive humanity because he was guided by a community endowed with real victory. Had Lenin been born at an age when all things conduced to the success of communism, he would have moved along easier paths, but he could never have won the bright halo which is now associated with his name. Lenin became the leader of the proletariat at an age which witnessed the beginning of a living and triumphant revolution—especially when countless were the enemies and obstacles and various problems first confronted men for solution.

Lenin guided the proletariat along the true path, he indicated to them the supreme programme.

He could march in step in advance of his vast community. Before his death, he could place before the proletariat a map of that historic country with their eyes on which they were rapidly marching on towards the comfort and happiness suitable to men.

A leader's sight ought to be clear. He has no right to keep in the dark the section of men he is leading. It will not do merely for him to see the path clearly, he must illumine the path.

A leader like Lenin is really worthy to be a teacher. He educated the masses on universal lines. He was our best teacher also. There is no communist, great or small, whom he was not



proud to claim as his pupil. Besides communists, thousands of men claimed kinship with him. His aim was to impart education on the most pervasive lines, Real work followed for his instruction.

Every department of our education is merely part of Lenin's work-Lenin's policy had to be infused into every care of it. It had no efficacy as apart therefrom. Its efficacy lies only in so far as it leads to efficiency in all forms in the sphere of revolution and no more. He was our first and foremost organiser and economist. He regarded the uplift of the masses towards culture as necessary. Hence we educated men regard him as our supporter and say that he is the first and greatest of the founders of communism.

We know that individuality is the product of history. We know that Lenin had no thought of anything else except the proletariat and its development. But the fact that the proletariat chose him as their leader in an unceasing struggle,.....this historic personage is the outcome and manifestation thereof. We revere Lenin, for we share his glory. We regard him as the incarnation of our Revolution.

On this 10th. of October When the tenth anniversary of that great revolution will be celebrated, we shall all assemble under the banner of that Lenin-ism. And entering its Courtyard, so to speak, with one and the same aim, thousands like friends and colleagues shall reverently utter the name of our great leader.

Sd. K.B. Roy.

26-10-29

The *Ganvani* of the 6th September 1928 writes:—

**The Independence League.**

Through the efforts of Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, an Independence for India League has been started inside Congress. From the very name, it appears that the aim of this League is to secure full independence for India. So far we have no difference of opinion with the League. But we wish to ask whom is this freedom which is to be secured from alien exploiting rule, for—will it be for India's middle classes or for the Indian masses. If it be Mr. Jawahar Lal's aim to secure freedom for the Indian masses we are unable to understand how that freedom is to be secured from within Congress? Of course if Mr. Jawahar Lal wants to secure the will or the wish known as freedom for the middle classes let him strive for it like the middle classes in Bengal—we have not much to say thereto. Ever so many people are wasting their time on vain efforts whom are we to stop? But Mr. Jawahar Lal has proclaimed many messages in the name of the masses. Only the other day, he declared that he wanted to build up society on a socialistic basis.

If this really be his opinion, there would be no meaning at all in organising the Indian Independence League inside Congress. The congress is a class institution. By ever so many of its activities it has seen proved that it can support no other interests than those of capitalists, zamindars and middle class men. It has no touch with the country, and cannot have it either—if no body else realises it, at last Mr. Jawahar Lal Nehru with his faith in socialism ought to realise that there cannot be any kind of unity between the exploiters and the exploited. We ought not also to forget how the Chinese Bourgeois nationalists have tricked the Chinese masses. In spite of all the prancings indulged in by our middle classes brethren, they cannot by any means get rid of their sense of class interests. The truth of this statement of ours will be proved by the conduct of the Congress members in the Bengal Legislative Council over the Tenancy Bill—No middle class man with his middle class mentality will be able to join the struggle for freedom which will be conducted with the demands of the masses before it. Rather, they will oppose this struggle for freedom.

Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose even after supporting the report of the Nehru Committee has again joined the newly constituted Indian Independence League. After taking steps for the undoing of tenants in the Bengal Legislative Council for the sake of the zamindars, he has gone to Lucknow and shed crocodile tears for the woes of Bengal peasants. In the City College incident, it was noticed that he had much of the communal mentality in him. Then he has proclaimed a regular *Jehad* against class conflict. Yet in the present age, a struggle for freedom can be nothing else than class conflict. We are prepared to argue this matter out with any sane minded person. We shall not be able to secure freedom by any means other than a revolutionary struggle of the masses. If a party has to be constituted for that purpose, it has to be organised outside Congress. It is for this reason that the Workers' and Peasants' Party has been organised independently. This party would never have been separately organised if there was the slightest chance of Congress coming to be a party of these. If Mr. Jawahar Lal Nehru really believe in mass-movement and in socialism, he will soon realise his mistake.

Sd. K. B. Roy

25-11-29.

The Ganavani of the 19th July 1928 writes:—

“The Russian Revolution” by Abdul Halim.

Ten years have passed by. A new sun has arisen on the horizon of Russia's fortunes. The structure created after throwing away into the measureless depths of oblivion the worn and the

effective has/ come after 10 years today to assume a handsome appearance in the eyes of the whole world. On the occasion of the last 10th. annual celebration, the Russian soviet Govt. invited intelligent men of subject countries in the world to this festival in order to show what they had done in 10 years. Unhappily subject India was excluded from this. On the 7th November 1917, after the revolution, soviet Government was established in Russia. After long continued warfare destinction, vioting, strike, revolution counter-revolution etc., democracy was established in Russia. Hence the eyes of the whole world are now fixed on Russia. Different writers have de cribed in different ways the democratic history of Russia after the November revolution. The time has come to review clearly the full history thereof. Underlying the fact that now after 10 years, Russia has been able to make so much progress were the Russian worker and peasant class and the lifelong and heartfelt efforts of persecuted, harassed oppressed sons of mother Russia like the intelligent Lenin, Trotsky, Zinovieff, Stalin, Kalinin, Rijkoff, Bukharin etc. Overcoming obstacles and hindrances on the difficult path, like life-long imprisonment, operation and persecution by the rich Cazarist autocracy etc. they succeeded in infusing into the Russian masses communist pinciples and a fighting mantality and can organising capacity and thereby strengthened them and that is why the foundations of Czarist autocracy collapsed. This picture of the Russian revolution is atonce amazing and fearful. At the touch of renunciation every thing sham, everything fraudulent, and everything immersed in darkness have disappeared in the depths of time. To describe the history of the Russian revolution, the hair stands on end. under the stern repression 'of Clarism' and its cruel treatment at the foot of the frost laden pine trees in Siberia, the graves of many young patriotic revolutionary heroes has been dug. How many young men have embraced death in mercury mines. How many brave men have won cental rest in death inside forest-laden forest who keeps count thereof. Hundreds of heroic worshippers of revolution, intelligent men, ascetic, workers have smilingly welcomed death under starvation amidst acute misfortune. How many women with the red flag of revolution in their hand have proudly made offerings to the worship of young worshippers of revolution & standing beside them, have smilingly suffered all oppression. But the course of revolution was not stemmed as the result of any oppression whatever. Those who were friends today turned out to be enemies tomorrow. Many associates in revolution were guilty of treachery. Even the great Lenin was given the title of being a German spy-but the course of the revolution of the masses proceeded unhindered. Obstacle after obstacle, hindrances on the way reaction in the extreme. The heroes who after persecution in Siberia had resolved to sacrifice themselves for the good of country many of them during the November revolution went against the

mass revolution but still the revolution was effected. How many brave men sacrificed their lives to Czarism, - the touch of their death made the gallows quiver.

Heartrending agony rent their hearts. The oppression of the 'cruel and sinful police' of the Czars had to be borne. How many sleepless nights had to be passed on the river banks and in the forests of remote Siberia. Their limbs were loosened, contracted and became inert under stress of starvation and chilling winter blasts month after month, day after day, but nothing arrested the course of the revolution. The untiring worker and rare man, Lenin, and his associates who fought till the last moment for revolution were the men ultimately responsible for the change in Russia's destinies. The life history of these brave men is amazing. Each of them, risking his own life fought against the unjust autocracy of Czarism the oppression of the social Democratic party and the despicable and mean barbarity of the British Imperialist Government. Even now British exploiters spare no pains to carry on propaganda against the Soviet Government. From Zinovieff's letter to the search at the soviet consulate at Peking the search at Arcos House in England annulment of the trade agreement - these examples are glaring proofs thereof. Besides, from the secret preparations for war being made against the soviet Government by the British Imperialist Government, it naturally seems that another great world war will break out in the future. The final decision of the battlefield has yet to be known. But it is now clearly realised that a war is inevitable. Some say that the drum of war will sound on the countries on the shore of the Pacific Ocean, while others hold that the spark of the fire of this revolution will break out on the frontiers of Afghanistan. But the point to attend to is, how this war will be conducted. The fate of the subject countries and of China will be decided by this war. We should also reflect what the fate of subject India will be

The Russian revolution was not effected in a day. After the failure of a succession of efforts at revolution, the revolution of 1917 succeeded. The revolution of 1905 was confined only to the educated revolutionaries. The leaders of the social revolutionary party acted as its guide. After the revolution of 1905, Lenin and his associates renouncing the previously mentioned paths, formed a body of real revolutionaries and effectively organised workers in towns and peasants in the villages. It was with their help that the revolution was crowned with success. The revolution in March 1917 led to the Russian Government passing into the hands of the social Democratic party. Kerensky was the leader of this party. Later on, i. e. in November 1917, the November revolution was completed through the untiring efforts of workers all over Russia and sailors. Bolsheviks and Minshheviks were the most noteworthy

among the parties which arose over differences of opinion in Eastern Russia. The revolution was guided by the Bolsheviks as the majority. The Minsheviks were the minority. They did not wholly support the Bolshevik party's work and in many cases have opposed them. The quarrel between Trotsky and Stalin was largely based on Bolshevik and Minshevik views respectively. Besides there was the social revolutionary party. They had two branches—Extremists and Moderates—the former later on became the socialists revolutionary party. They were the real revolutionary party and they consequently joined the Bolsheviks and sacrificed themselves in the revolution. It is the members of this party who came to be known as Bolsheviks.

As a result of this Russian revolution the surface of the earth has been wetted with the blood of hundreds of thousands of men, rivers of blood have flowed. Those who have read the history of the 1917 revolution, of course know what happened at Moscow and Petrograd (now Leningrad). John Reed in his work "Ten days that shook the world," has given a burning account of it. Films of this book are being exhibited in Europe. William Ryss in his "Through the Russian revolution" has also referred to real hair-raising incidents in this connection. One other book on the subject also deserves special mention. It is Philip Price's "My minicence of the Russian revolution." Every one of them was in Russia during the 1917 revolution. They have correctly described what they saw themselves. Every one of them saw with their own eyes how during the revolution Russia was decimated by famine plague, counter-revolutions, internal revolt, the despicable conduct of British Imperialists and they themselves suffered many hardships. To know the history of Russia every body ought to read these three books. But to acquire information about the principle being preached by Russia before the world—since the revolution, Russian Government has been established on a democratic basis—it is essential for us to read the works of great men like Karl Marx Engels, Lenin, Trotsky, Bukharin Stalin etc. Heaps of things are now being written about Russia. Russian literature is fast progressing. Apart from theory, there are now 13 valuable books by the Vanguard Publication regarding the different organizations of democracy in connection with Soviet Government. In these 13 books Russian democratic rule has been clearly explained from different standpoints, Religion, social rules economics, history, philosophy, marriage, church, sex relations, communism; workers, Soviet policy, capitalism and other things have been clearly explained. The whole world stands amazed at the new structure created on the ruins and cremation-ground of Russia. That which was unimaginable many centuries ago today stands clearly revealed. The impossible has become possible. The new creed, the new message, the new initiation and instruction which Russia has today brought to the world has produced a revolution in

the world of thought. Young hearts have been agitated. Great commotion has been created in the world of thought. Sleeping China has followed that path. Abandoning the sleep of inertia. She has frantically thrown himself into the battle for emancipation. There is a knocking now at the gates of East. Hence signs of new consciousness are apparent in Egypt, Turkey, the Rif, Syria, Japan, Afghanistan and Java. India too will not lag behind. India's ideal of emancipation will be the way in which the Russian masses have secured emancipation. At the present time workers' unrest and the uprise of the masses in all directions are preparing the field for this Indian emancipation.

What was possible under the autocratic Czarist regime—the Czar when throne was upset by a mass revolution—that will certainly be possible in India also in order to root out capitalism—At present exploiting Governments are exploiting the inhabitants of all subject countries on earth—with the development of machinery, their policy of exploitation in developing and changing. The masses must raise their heads to bring about the end of this exploiting administration—be it to day or be it tomorrow.

Sd/- K. B. Roy

26/10/29.

The *Ganavani* of the 23rd August 1928 has the following:—

#### FORM OF SWARAJ

The form which our Swaraj is to take has been made public in the Report of the All-parties' Conference. A Committee was constituted under the presidency of Pandit Moti Lal Nehru, with Sir T. B. Saprú, Sir A. Imam, Mr. Pradban, Mr. Schwaib Koreishi, Mr. S. C. Bose, Mr. Aney Mr. Jayakar, Mr. N. M. Joshi and Sardar Mangal Singh. This Committee has prepared a draft of Swaraj and published it. It is signed by all except Mr. N. M. Joshi. For some days past, our bourgeois press have been singing loudly of the success of this draft. In the opinion of these papers, Pandit Moti Lal and his colleagues has shown the highest competence in preparing the draft & simultaneously have administered a smart rebuff to the secy. of state. For the latter some time ago remarked that Indians had not been able to prepare a scheme. The people of England will now see what a fine scheme Indians can prepare.

It is necessary now to see what kind of draft has been prepared after the Resolution of full independence was passed at Madras and at a time when the Simon Commission is being boycotted and what is its goal. Those who have prepared the draft of Swaraj could demand nothing more than securing Dominion Self Government inside the British Empire. In other words, they want to remain

inside the British Empire and to strengthen their friendship with British Imperialism or exploitation. This is the radical aim of securing Dominion Self-- Government. After this draft no value attaches to the resolution of full independence adopted at Madras. Truth to tell the resolution of full independence ceased to have any value immediately after the All-parties Conference at Delhi. The fact is bourgeois nationalists, never supported the Resolution of full independence from any standpoint. To get this Resolution passed and to follow it up by strong speeches was a mere move on their part. Really, they had two aims in enacting this force at Madras. First to frighten the Simon Commission and secondly to delude their discontented followers by soothing words. If the bourgeoisie of the Indian National Congress at all aimed at securing full Independence, they would never by any chance have summoned the All-parties Conference. People with conflicting interests can never continue to act together. Those who imagine that all parties in India desire full Independence badly want to have their brain examined. The present age is an age of bourgeois rule. The masses of the country in this age are being ruled and exploited by the bourgeoisie. So in the present age for a country to secure freedom means snatching away power from the hands of the bourgeoisie. India further being exploited and ruled by a foreign bourgeoisie. The interests of the indigenous bourgeoisie are very quickly coming to mingle with those of these foreign bourgeoisie. In brief, the bonds of our subjection are not merely external—we are sorely pressed down by bonds both external and internal. For us to secure freedom means securing emancipation from both these kinds of bonds. To set up in the present age any ideal of full freedom other than this is utterly impossible from the standpoint of justice reason and historic progress.

If the congress leaders could really heartily believe in the resolution about securing full freedom, they had no need at all of summoning the All-parties' Conference. The association of the masses in setting up the power of the masses of the country would have been enough for them. It is wrong to say that it was enough. It is only by an uprising of the masses that the power of the masses can be established. It is also true that in the work of establishing this, conflicts will be provoked both internally and externally.

In short, when their hearts' desire was to secure Dominion Self Government, the bourgeois Congress leaders got the resolution of full independence passed simply in the interests of their own policy. So in summoning the All-parties' Conference they sought the association only of men who will really gain by Dominion Self-Government. Of course they summoned the workers and Peasants' party and the Communist party etc., also to this conference. But they did so, knowing full well that the bourgeoisie predominated.

Can dominion Self-Government described as emancipation? Those who have prepared the Swaraj scheme have admitted that securing Dominion Self Government will be accounted as salvation for us. They have even admitted that there is no real difference between Dominion Self Government and full independence. But in that really so? We have said above that in the present age, for any country to be said to have secured National freedom means that the complete authority of the masses of that country, i.e. the peasants workers' and lower middle classes has been established. We have also explained above why it cannot be any thing else. The securing of Dominion Self Government cannot possibly establish the authority of the masses in the country. For under it, British Imperialism or exploitation will remain unimpaired. The drafters of the scheme on P. 11 of the draft have admitted that it will remain unimpaired. Foreign and indigenous capitalists will combine and in the same measure carry on a struggle with the labourers. In their opinion no country has escaped such a struggle. (It is well to point out one thing here. We are quoting merely the substance of a part of the Report. Let nobody mistake it for a translation). From one single observation, the mentality of the Congress and other bourgeoisie becomes clear.

They have further said "The real problem to our mind consists in the transference of political power and responsibility from the people of England to the people of India. "But this is wholly false. Dominion Self Government has not succeeded in establishing the power of the masses in any country and it will not do it here. Then again, is it true that India is ruled by the masses in England? Indian and British labourer are both equally exploited by British capitalists. It is the British capitalists who rule India to exploit her. The British masses have no share at all in ruling India. So to talk of transferring power from the British people to the hands of the Indian people is unique bluff. The anguish of the fetters of British Imperialism in which we have been caught, is our worst anguish. The acquisition of Dominion self-Government will not at all bring that anguish of ours to an end. It will bring profit and power to the higher classes of our society, i.e. the capitalists and the Zamindars. The draft Swaraj scheme reassures British capitalists. Indirectly they have been told that their exploitation will not at all be hindered. Only we too shall have the right of exploiting equally with you. There is nothing in this for you to be nervous about.

There are indeed some things in the scheme which are apparently attractive. But there is not much of value in that. We shall discuss about it later.

The workers' and Peasants' party favour full independence.



No Indian problems can be solved without the securing of this full independence. All ought to ponder on these things deeply, instead of regarding them only superficially.

(Sd). K.B. Roy.

25-10-29.

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P. 595-(T).

Already exhibited as P. 324.

Sd. K. B. Roy.

6-11-29.

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P. 600 [T].

Calcutta 16th February 1929.

To

The Editor,

"Dainik Basumati".

Please oblige me by inserting the following item of news in your well known paper :—

Obediently,

Nalindra Mohan Sen,

Secretary.

Members of the Young Comrade League are hereby informed that at the office at 78/1 Harrison Road above, from Monday the 18th February, Comrade Bankim Mukerji and Comrade Radha Raman Mitter will regularly impart lessons in Hindi.

So members are informed that those who wish to learn

Hindi should have their names registered before the 10th February.

Nalindra Mohen Sen,

Secretary.

Sd. K. B. Roy,

4-11-29.

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P 607-(T),

Is the same as Ex. P. 52.

Sd. K. B. Roy.

4-11-29.

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

**ENGLISH - - -**  
**- TRANSLATIONS**  
**OF**  
**BENGALI EXHIBITS**

Please print the notice about the Conference in the  
JAGARAN.

Yours,  
Muzaffar Ahmed.

K. B. Roy

4-11-29

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P. 268-T.

January, 5, 1929.

Dear Sir,

I have got your post card. There was no trouble at all at the meeting of the N. E. C. I could not attend it personally. Dharani attended. Resolutions were passed on the basis of the President's letter. You may have read a report in the papers.

It is necessary now to begin work seriously. The annual meeting will also soon have to be summoned. Many things will have to be arranged before that. It is of organisation that I speak. I do not know how much you will be able to accomplish. Some amount of work you must show. Otherwise my position would become distinctly small. When are you coming to Calcutta?

I am feeling very bad physically. I must take rest for a time. Before that it behoves all to take up the burden of my work,

Yours

Muzaffar Ahmad.

P. S.

What is the significance of printing Gandhi's Photo in the  
JAGARAN ?

K. B. Roy

4-10-29

P. 269-T

20th November 1928.

Dear Sir,

Since you left here, you have not written any letter. The time for the Conference has approached, and yet things are still left undone. It may be said that the realisation of money has not been very successfully accomplished here so far. It is necessary to know what you have done. Please remit whatever sum has been collected. Now is the time when money is most wanted. Mr. Satyananda Bose is pressing for the hire-money for the Hall. If the whole money is not paid in now, he will not be able to keep the Hall engaged. Money is also immediately wanted for propaganda. What was your last understanding with Samonta? A Bengali manifesto has been despatched. Send it, immediately on receipt of the letter. If you like, you may get it printed in the "Jagaran". Delay in printing the manifesto will lead to harm.

I have not had any other letter from Mymansingh. But whether or not we get any letter, we ought to go. Please reply, immediately on receipt of this letter. Will you be able to attend the meeting of the 22nd?

Yours'

Muzaffar Ahmad.

K. B. Roy

4-11-69.

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P. 270-T.

2/1 European Asylum

Lane,

Calcutta, 3rd Oct. 1928

Dear Sir,

I have got your letter. I have written a letter to you. I do not know why you have not got it. I have sent the invitation by the Reception Committee. You must make a point of coming on