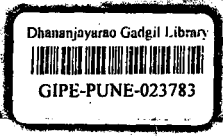


23783



The Opening Address in the Magistrate's  
Court of Mr. Langford James, the Public  
Prosecutor.

**Meerut Conspiracy Case.**  
**1929 — 32.**

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MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HONOUR,

The accused in this case stand charged with a conspiracy to deprive His Majesty of the sovereignty of India, and the case for the prosecution is that they have sought to do that by means of a revolution. Now the slogan, which most satisfactorily, to my mind, sums up their intentions, is "Long Live Revolution." A revolution is ordinarily an incident in time it happens. It is done away with, and it gives place to that brighter and better state of things which, any way in the minds of its authors, it is destined to usher in. But the revolution which these accused have conspired for, and which they have visualised, is indeed a revolution that lives long. It goes on. It is a continuing and almost perpetual revolution. Now that is a point which I shall have to deal with much later on. At the moment I should like to remove one possible misunderstanding. This revolution that these accused have visualised is not a national revolution. It is an anti-national revolution. They appear to me to entertain feelings of hatred towards a very large number of people, but it is reserved for those gentlemen, who are usually accredited with working for the attainment of Swaraj in India, it is reserved for these gentlemen to excite the particular odium of these accused. The Indian National Congress is stigmatised as a misguided bourgeois body, which has, to be captured and converted to the peculiar views of these accused, or else destroyed. Pandit Motilal Nehru is regarded by them as a dangerous patriot. His son, Jawaharlal Nehru, is dubbed a tepid reformist. Mr. Subash Chunder Bose is a bourgeois and a somewhat ludicrous careerist. Gandhi they regard and dislike as a grotesque reactionary. In his lifetime Lala Lajpat Rai was stigmatised as being personally a scoundrel and politically dangerous, while the late C. R. Das is written down as a poltroon. Now the quarrel which these accused have with all these gentlemen, who are generally looked upon as the Leaders of Nationalist thought in India, the quarrel they have with them—and I am here using a word dear to the heart of the Bolsheviks is that their ideology is all wrong. They are striving, or at present are accredited with striving, for independence in India. That is a hopelessly wrong ideology, according to the views of these accused. Mr. Gandhi's crime is enhanced by two other considerations. He has the bad taste to have religious scruples, and there is no God at all in the Mecca to which these gentlemen look. Then secondly he had the bad taste, after having, according to them, fomented revolution to a point at which it was possible, to have turned back in the day of victory, because of the horrors at Chauri Chaura.

Now I have stressed this point somewhat, because it seemed to me on reading the newspapers that there was some tendency to dub these accused persons as national patriots. They may be innocent or they may be guilty, but I think that they will agree with me entirely that there is

no question of their being nationalist, and I feel that it must be particularly galling to them that this idea should have got abroad.

Now the object in fact which these accused had is, I repeat, anti-nationalist. They would, I think, say it was international, but the two words are really the same. Their object was, shortly put, to replace the Government of His Majesty, King George, in India, and in its place to put the Government of the Third Communist International. It might also fairly be stated that that was in effect to substitute for the Government of His Majesty the Government of Mr. Stalin as he is now called. In fact it is the case for the prosecution that these accused are Bolsheviks, that is to say that they aim at the Bolshevik ideal, and that they have designed and worked to instal in India the same rule as exists in Russia.

Now, giving the matter as much attention as I have been able to do, it appears to me that to be a Bolshevik of unimpeachable character you require certain definite qualifications to which the ordinary man does not aspire. You do not love your country, you are anti-country, you are anti-God, and you are anti-family. In fact I think it fair to say that a Bolshevik of impeachable character is anti-everything which the normal man considers decent. You have ruthlessly to hate those who differ from your views, and when the proper time arrives you have as ruthlessly to kill them. And last, but by no means least, I think it is quite essential that you should have no sense of humour.

Now I have indicated, and I shall have to indicate more later on this anti-country or anti-national motive. With regard to the point of being anti-God I was much struck by a letter published in the "Pioneer" from seven of these accused persons. The reason for the letter is of little importance, but to make them intelligible, let me tell you in a word what happened. Motilal Nehru wrote a letter to the Pioneer in which he stated certain things against the accused, or appeared to do so. He subsequently made it clear that he did that by inadvertence. I particularly allude to the matter in that way, because I do not wish to enter into the subject of dispute between them and Pandit Nehru. In answer to Mr. Nehru's letter they wished to make the point that the Red letters which, as I read in the papers, are flying round India (I have not been honoured with one myself) that the Red letters did not emanate from any Bolshevik conspiracy, and the argument—and an excellent argument it is, which they used is this. The phrase "God and the Soviet" which occurs in one of them should be enough to make it clear that whatever their origin it is not communist. I entirely agree there can be no God according to the Soviet creed, and a large part of their propaganda is directed to destroying belief in God, whether he be the God of the Christian, the Jew, the Muhammadan or the Buddhist. The belief in Him is to be destroyed, and if and when the time comes that this reign of destruction comes to India, I am sure belief in the God of Hinduism will also have to be destroyed. All the religions of the world have to be destroyed, according to these gentlemen, and they have gone the length not only of murdering priests and desecrating churches, but of setting up classes for the young men and young children to preach to them the gospel of anti-God. Now obviously any man with such a mental outfit as I have indicated is not a pleasant fellow citizen,

but I agree that nobody could be indicted for a crime for holding these views. Any man is entitled to hold whatever views he likes, however unpleasant they may be, but Bolshevism is not merely an abstract philosophy. It is a rule of life. At any rate its disciples have gathered from it a working rule of life, incidentally one much to be reckoned with by those on whom it operates. There is a definite objective, and there are definite methods by which that objective is to be gained. Now in as much as we who appear for the prosecution propose to argue that the agreement, the mere agreement to put in practice the creed of the Communist International and to carry out its programme, *ipso facto* constitutes an offence under section 121A, whether, as we shall prove in this case, the programme has actually been carried out or not, in as much I say as we shall argue that the mere agreement to do these things is an offence.....

**Counsel for One of the Accused:—**

Before letting my learned friend proceed, I would like to point out that he is giving his opinion in his address which must be confined to the statement of his case. He has in his own address a few minutes back stated that it is no offence to be against God, or to show any irreligious tendency. Has this question then any bearing upon the case? I submit that Your Honour will not allow my learned friend to make use of his own opinion in his address for the purpose of propaganda against the accused. I submit that Your Honour will stop my learned friend when he goes into such irrelevancy.

**Mr. Langford James —**

I think it would be asking as much of Counsel for the Defence as it is of asking a policeman to recognise a barrister to know what the case was about on the first day of the hearing and before it has been opened by the prosecution. But I must beg that I am not interrupted in the course of this address I have considered most carefully what it is necessary for us to prove in this case, and I do not propose to introduce any irrelevant matter. If the statement of the case is propaganda against the accused, I am sorry, but I am afraid that the statement of this case is propaganda against the accused but that cannot be helped. If the accused have broken the law of the land and have broken it in a manner which the public may think is a grotesque manner, it is not my fault.

Now your Honour, a large number of people, when you mention Russia connect it with bloodshed and a ruthless reign of terror and with the Cheka, (now, I understand, known as the OGPU). That is a diagnosis of the situation, which although it is somewhat superficial, at any rate contains the germs of truth. I hope to satisfy you that according to the programme of this body in Moscow, violence, bloodshed and civil war is inevitable, and I should say that a reign of terror is unavoidable. But as I said before, it will be necessary for us to go a little more deeply into the matter and I propose to discuss as shortly as possible the

origin, the objective, the organisation, and the methods and tactics of this Third International.

The origin need not detain us very long. Your Honour will remember, as a matter of history, that in the early part of the year 1917, a revolution took place in Russia. At that time the Bolshevik Party which means the Party of the Majority— it sounds a ridiculous misnomer, because, as I shall show, they are a tiny minority, but the name comes from a certain conference held in London, at which— what is might call the Left Wing of this Party was in favour of a larger programme than the other Wing who were called the Mensheviks (Minority Party). Now coming back to Russia in the early part of 1917, in fact in February, a revolution was accomplished. At that time the Bolsheviks attempted to overthrow the Government of the Czar and seize the State, and they issued a very interesting manifesto, but in fact the revolution was accomplished by people whom they now call the Social Democrats, and who are associated in the minds of most people with Karensky and the Government of Russia came into the hands of the Karensky group. The Czar was deposed. Later in the year, in fact in October, according to one calendar, and in November, according to another, the Bolsheviks organised and carried through a revolution against the Karensky Government and they overthrew the Karensky Government and seized the power themselves. In passing, it may be noted that this Bolshevik body, which later came to be known as the Communist Party in Russia, claims to have had in its ranks at the time of this successful revolution rather less than 24,000 men. I have spoken of the Communist International. It is not the same thing as the Government of Russia ostensibly and outwardly. In effect it has exactly the same objective and exactly the same plan of action, and it is dominated by exactly the same people. Now it came into existence in this way. In the year 1864 there was established in London a First International, that is to say an International of Labour. This International died. In 1889 there was established a Second International at Paris. This Second International was in existence at the beginning of the Great War, and it still exists. It has continued to exist and it is of some little importance in this case because it is known as the Yellow or Amsterdam International and from it has been coined the phrase to be Amsterdamed. To be Amsterdamed means that you hold rational feelings with regard to the labour question, and rationalization is one of the hated things in the Communist International. I want to put it as fairly as possible, I suppose it may be said that this Amsterdam International aims at the establishment of Socialism according to its views by peaceful and constitutional methods, whereas the Third International holds most strongly that no such method is a possibility. In any case I will ask Your Honour to note that there is war to the knife between this International in Moscow, the Red International, and the other International in Amsterdam, the Yellow International, and to be a Yellow man is a dreadful crime in Moscow.

Now I have said that this International existed at the beginning of the war. It was also in existence at the end of the war.

*(Continued by B)*



E. COHEN

12. 6. 29.

**Mr. Langford James** (*continued*):

But by that time the Bolsheviks had captured the power in Russia and their views, as I have attempted to point out, did not coincide at all with the views of Amsterdam with whom at that time and later the name of our present Prime Minister was constantly coupled in Bolshevik literature. Therefore an attempt was made to found another International in Russia and naturally and as a matter of course the persons who attempted to found it and did in fact found it were this Communist party in Russia which had by that time increased to a larger figure than it had been before but was still a very tiny minority. I think it is important to bear in mind the fact that this Communist International was founded by the Russian Bolshevik or Communist party which ruled Russia at that time and that this Communist International embraced all the tenets of Bolshevism and the views expressed by this Communist International are identically the same as the views expressed by the Communist Party of Russia. When I come to deal with the organisation of the International, you will see, Sir, that in fact the Communist Party of Russia is a section of the International and the Communist Parties of all other countries are also sections of the International. In theory, the International can meet any where in Europe. In practice it always meets in Russia; and it must follow as a matter of common sense that Russian influence is therefore the predominant factor in this International and when we come to deal with this organisation you will find that not only is it the predominant influence but it is practically the regulating and controlling influence.

Now, so much for, very briefly, the story as to the origin of this body. I will now deal as shortly with the creed and objective. Now, it may be said, I think with some truth, that the creed of Bolshevism has an old testament and a new testament. The old testament is the gospel according to Karl Marx and is exemplified, I suppose, best in the well-known Communist Manifesto issued by Karl Marx and Engels. The new testament may be said to be the gospel according to Ulianovf or Lenin which, I suppose, is typified, if you can find any one book better than another- I notice Mr. Spratt selected it for the education of the youth in "State and Revolution". Now, I do not propose to discuss at all the materialistic philosophy of Marx and his theory of accumulation of surplus values. I do not know whether anybody entertains any feelings of love for this somewhat antiquated philosophy but it is unnecessary to go into it because Marx exists for the Bolshevik not on account of his philosophy of accumulation of surplus values but because of his theory or rather his theories as to (1) the class war, (2) the state,

in practice, however much you may have it in theory, and it is equally clear, I think, that a dictatorship primarily means government by one man and in any sense must mean government by a small compact little body of men, a bureau if you like. And therefore the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat meant that some one person or some small body of people on behalf of the proletariat should seize the government. Much stress is laid by Lenin later on the point that the proletariat had not got to capture the existing state and use it but had got to smash the existing organ into pieces and erect or set up an entirely new state of their own. Well, now, the theory goes on and it may sound a little fantastic, at least it did to me the first time I read it, and in fact it has proved to be quite impossible in practice, but the theory goes on in this way. Having smashed the capitalist state into pieces, having set up the new rule of the dictatorship of the proletariat, you have then got to a transitional stage. This dictatorship of the proletariat is merely transitional. It is in fact, of course, the substitution of the autocratic rule of one lot of people, or what the Bolshevik consider the autocratic rule of one lot of people, by the autocratic rule of another lot of people. It is only transitional and the millenium is to be reached when there is no longer any class in the state at all. We are all exactly the same. We are all to become workers on the Bench. I am afraid that would not include your Honour, at least not in their sense. I mean we all to become actual workers in a factory or actual workers in the field. Then we have got to the millenium of the classless community. And then what happens is this that the state "withers away." It withers away. And I suppose you have no state in the millenium and everybody owns everything or nobody owns anything, I am not quite sure which. Now, that is the gospel according to Marx, put as fairly as I can put it, and the important point of it, I think, is this, class struggle and the fact that this dictatorship of the proletariat is only transitional. The gospel according to Lenin was concerned principally with the capturing of power by the communist party, that is to say the setting up of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and with this question as to the transitional stage. Lenin was a considerable authority upon both these points naturally. It was he who led this Red Revolution in Russia and it was he who directed the course of the Government after the revolution was effected. To Lenin the substitution of the proletarian state for the existing state is absolutely impossible without a violent bloody revolution. He emphasised that point in that admirable book that I told you was prescribed by Mr. Spratt for the very young, "The State and Revolution" He emphasised that point that you cannot capture power and set up the dictatorship of the proletariat without a bloody revolution. He says that it is the duty of Communists in all countries to work steadily to bring about an armed uprising of the proletariat to overthrow the existing system of Government and seize the state. Lenin preached this gospel both before and after the armed revolution in Russia and this is the doctrine which is commemorated and glorified on Lenin Day which is the 21st of January in each year and on

the anniversary of the October Revolution in each year, I say that is the doctrine which is commemorated and glorified on those occasions and these are some of the demonstrations which the accused boast they have introduced into India. Now, I suppose that most people are acquainted to some extent with what in fact happened in Russia. These, to me, fantastic theories of Marx were pushed to their logical conclusions with a ruthless brutality which must make everybody in the world shudder. I have found in fact with the accused a book which in its proper place I will deal with, called "Bolshevism, the Dream and the Fact," And it is interesting to note that they must have known what effect it had upon Russia, and there is no reason to suppose that they did not. But this book gives a very lurid account of the Red Terror. I will read you only two or three passages from it. (reads)

Mr. D. P. Singh: what is the date and author of the book ?

Mr. Langford James: The author of the book is Edmund Candler, and the date of publication is 1920. The passage occurs on page 37.

Mr. D.P. Singh: Is that going as an exhibit in the case?

Mr. Langford James: That is entirely for me to decide.

Mr. Chagla: Certainly not, Sir. It is not for my learned friend to decide if he is going to put that as an exhibit.

Mr. Langford James: I will put this book as an exhibit.

Mr. Chagla: I have got a right to object.

Mr. Langford James: Now, Mr. Chagla, what are you objecting to ?

Mr. Chagla: I do strongly object to the tone of my learned friend.

The Judge: It is a matter more for me than for the Counsel to object to a particular tone, You can draw my attention to the tone.

Mr. D. P. Singh : I do say with great respect, I would draw your Honour's attention to the tone used by my learned friend. when we object to a book which is being read by the learned Counsel for the prosecution, the Counsel Prosecution says it is entirely his business. Surely that is not the way to treat this court ? My learned friend might say how it is relevant, how it is admissible. I do not see how he can refer to a book which he is not going to put as an exhibit.

The Judge: But he has already said that he proposes to put it in. He cannot say to the Counsel what he is going to produce or what he is not going to produce at this stage. I do not think it is any use going into details like that. I must trust the counsel to avoid introducing irrelevant matter.

Mr. D.P. Singh: with great respect I would submit to your Honour that my learned friend in his opening address can only refer to a book of law or to a book which he proposes to file

as an exhibit in the case. And if he refers to any book which does not fit into either of these two categories then I submit we have every right to draw your Honour's attention to this.

The Judge: You can draw my attention to it. But I must ask you not to interrupt more than necessary because we can never get on at this rate.

(Continued by C)

Mr. Langford James :—

We are all sensitive this morning.

“What one cannot imagine, the physical and mental torture that followed, the cold-blooded murder not only of the aristocrats and the class that used to be called the respectable bourgeois, but peasants, working men, priests, old men.....”

This chapter gives a gruelling account of the horrible terror which followed and which is defended by Trotsky in his Defence of Terrorism as being a necessity and at times a necessary part of the programme of this International. For us in this court however I think the more important point is that this Russian revolution was a revolution which had as its object the smashing to pieces of the existing state of Government; and indeed did in fact smash it to pieces. If the example of Russia is to be followed in India it is essential that, as an integral part of the process, the Government of His Majesty as by law established should be smashed in pieces. Bolshevism may be, as I believe it to be, a festering sore on the face of Europe, a cruel and tyrannous autocracy masquerading under the mask of popular Government, or it may be a paradise on earth. The hard fact still remains that if Bolshevism and that system is to be introduced into India the Government of His Majesty must as a preliminary be smashed in pieces. There is no room for both of them. Now, this Russian revolution, as I have already indicated was carried through by a small and resolute body of men. It is not so generally understood that the present Government of Russia is carried on by a small and resolute body of men who, on their own figures, claim to be only about one and a quarter million out of a total population of something like 180 millions. In the rural Soviets, both village soviets and district soviets, the peasants have a very large footing; in fact they have a majority. But gradually the proportion of communists increases the higher soviet organs, in action and they are in absolute control of all positions of power. The all-Russian Soviet is entirely dominated by the Russian communist Party. It is not a fact that Russia is a happy land peopled by Communists. It is a fact that it is ruled by Communists with the help of the OGPU and the Red Army. The OGPU, which used to be called the CHEKA, is the police force of Russia and it is entirely of course under the control of this Communist Party, and by means of it and the Red Army the people of the country are terrorised into submission to the rule which is imposed upon them. This purposeful minority which I have indicated governs Russia has its counterparts in other countries, and they, as I think I have already pointed out, together make up the Comintern.

Now I have digressed somewhat perhaps because I remember I said that the gospel according to Lenin was concerned with two things, the capturing of the power and the transitional stage. I had dealt with the capturing of power but I left the question of the transitional stage in abeyance. Before I deal with this question of the transitional stage according to Lenin's ideas, I want to say a word about another matter which is of extreme importance in any consideration of Bolshevism, and that is the peasant question. Now this doctrine of Karl Marx and Engels was essentially applicable and intended to be applied to industrial countries, such as England and Germany. I think you can search the writings of Marx through and find practically no—if any very little—reference to the peasants. The theory does not lend itself to dealing with peasants. The irony of the thing is that this experiment should have been tried in a country like Russia which is essentially a peasant country. I suppose that if you searched the world over for countries which were essentially agricultural or peasant countries, the two that would head the list would be Russia and India. Lenin was consequently at an early stage confronted with the difficulty of this peasant question. Now the peasant is usually a man who is of a very conservative frame of mind. He loves his home, he loves his country and he loves his God. In fact he is prone to possess all those fallacious ideas which the Bolshevik desires to root out. But not only that, the peasant usually has or attempts to have a little bit of land of his own. And as a matter of fact in 1905 in Russia the reforms of Stolypin had largely increased the possibility for the peasant to have this little plot of land of his own. Now Lenin divides the peasants into five classes. The first is the agricultural proletariat. This group must be organized in independent organizations separated from the other groups of the rural population. Then he gets to the semi proletariat or poor peasants. This group may be converted to the law of the proletariat if the work is properly conducted by the Communist Party. You have got the very lowest stratum which you ought to be able to get hold of, and then you get the stratum which you might with proper attention get hold of. Then comes the small peasantry these are small land owners, owning or renting small plots of land which satisfy the requirements of their families and they do not therefore employ wage labour. In the transitional period of the dictatorship of the proletariat this group may waver in its policy. However, if the proletarian policy is firmly conducted, if the victorious proletariat deals sufficiently thoroughly with the large land owners and wealthy peasants, this group in spite of its wavering will on the whole be on the side of the proletarian revolution. Then you get to the middle peasantry. In the economic sense these are small peasants owning or renting small plots of land which under capitalism as a general rule provide them not only with a modest income but even with the possibility of obtaining a certain superfluity, at least in good years, which they can convert into capital and large farms, frequently rising to the employment of wage labour. The wavering of this group during the period of revolution will be greater than that of the previously mentioned group. Therefore, at least in the immediate future and in the beginning of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the aim must be not so much to win this group over as to



this capitalist system of leaving the Kulak in the country and the small capitalist in the town was sanctioned in the name of the new economic policy. And as apparently the Bolshevik always gives everything a nick name or calls it by initials, this policy was solemnly called NEP. The best brains of the Moscow clique were commandeered to justify Nep. In the very nature of things of course it was impossible to tell the truth about it, but torrents of verbiage were poured out in explanation of this new creation. For real successful obscurantism on this subject I think the palm ought to be awarded to Comrade Bukharin. His report to the International on Nep in 1924 is a masterpiece of pseudo-logical balderdash. But I am not so much concerned with the nonsense which has been written about Nep as with the inner and true meaning of this thing. The introduction of Nep and the protection of the Kulak made it absolutely certain that this transitional stage was to continue for ever. They are never going to reach the millenium, at least not in our life time. Comrade Zinoviectt in Russia's Path To Communism find some solace in the fact that side by side with the Kulak the Government is organizing the horseless peasant and the batrak and as I understand him; at any time the Moscow clique can stage a perfectly satisfactory massacre of Kulaks by the horseless peasants. But that is small satisfaction to the true Marxian. I fancy everybody in the inner ring now realises that this transitional Government is a permanency for the simple reason that the Communist State has proved to be a practical impossibility. It cannot ever wither away because it is not feasible that it should ever exist. Now of course one cannot come to that conclusion without thinking that this is the chimera for which some two and a half millions of men, women and children have been butchered by the OGPU at this dictation of these doctrinaire desperadoes. But it seems to me that the matter is of even more importance from another point of view. In spite of the fact that everybody now knows that the millenium can never be reached in practice and in fact, we have this monotonous bleating going on from Moscow in favour of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the betterment of the peasant, the the betterment of the worker and so on. And you will find that you get it re-echoed from these accused who must have known just as well as everybody else, or better because they had the whole literature, that the whole thing is a practical impossibility, and when we deal with the case I shall ask you to hold that all these slogans which they have sprinkled about so freely are not used to benefit the worker or the peasant but are used to push forward and foster this revolution upon which they have made up their minds. It is not perhaps very material to his case but as far as I can see this question of Nep has been the point upon which there has been a good deal of quarreling in the Bolshevik camp. I suppose it is a matter of common knowledge that Trotsky, Zinoviaff, Kamenar, Radek, ....., Bukharin and Tomsky have all been banished from Russia by Mr. Stalin, and it seems to me to be likely at any rate that it is upon this question of Nep that the real trouble has taken place.

Now I have finished with the question of Lenin's views as to this transitional period.

(Continued by D.)



SAVEDRA

12--6--29.

Interesting as they are, I would ask you not to let them remove from your mind the other point in which Lenin so strongly follows Karl Marx, namely that the capitalist state must be smashed, not only in Russia but all over the world. I will also ask you to remember the point that I made that whether it be a fact, for I believe it is, that the people who dominate the Government of Russia dominate also the Comintern, I say whether that be a fact or not, it is a fact that the views and objects of the Government of Russia are identically the same as the views and objects of the Communist International. By their creed, by their convictions, by their constitution itself, they are inexorably bound to work intensively and unceasingly for the overthrow of the British Monarchy in England, in India and in the Dominions. Every Member of the Communist Party is definitely pledged to the task. Their outpost in the enemies country is the Communist Party in Great Britain, and they have worked to plant another outpost here in India. These people are the implacable enemies of the sovereignty of His Majesty the King Emperor. With them there is no question of live and let live. They are quite prepared to live, but the decree of the Comintern, which binds the Communist Party of Russia as a section of the Comintern, forbids them to let live. Every member of the Government of Russia is a member of the Communist Party of Russia, and is therefore a member of the Comintern and bound by its decrees. It is pledged to work for the overthrow of His Majesty's Government by any means in its power, and let nobody have any illusions on this point. Not only is it pledged to work for the overthrow of His Majesty's Government, that is quite a necessary preliminary, but it is also pledged to work for the overthrow of what it is pleased to call the bourgeois in every country including India, and though they may for the moment use the national bourgeoisie for their own purposes, when they have done with it it is ruthlessly shown up, and it will of course go into the jimbo with all of us, anybody who is not of the party. I don't want your Honour to take my word only, my *ipse dixit*, that this Government of Russia is pledged to overthrow the Government of His Majesty and regards that Government as its natural enemy. I propose to read to you a few passages from a paper which is one of the publications of this body and which with its flair for nicknames and short names he calls the "Imprecorr". That means the international Press Correspondence. I propose to read to you a few passages taken at random from that paper. Anybody who reads it will realise that it literally reeks with anti-British propaganda, but I will only pick a few of them. I should like to explain before I read them a point which I did make earlier in my address, and it is this. The Government of Great Britain, if it is in the hands of the Conservatives, for instance, is regarded-Mr. Baldwin or Mr. Churchill are

regarded as being hopeless reactionaries. It is no good wasting breath over them. Naturally you would overthrow them. But with the Government of the Labour Party and the Prime Minister, Mr. MacDonald, and his Associates Thomas Clynes, Henderson, etc., the matter stands upon a different footing. These gentlemen are regarded as traitors to the cause. The Bolsheviks believe quite rightly, as I suppose and hope, that none of these gentlemen, whether in opposition or as the accredited Ministry, would plot and plan to overthrow His Majesty's rule. Yet that is what, according to the Moscow people, they ought to be doing. They are called traitors for not so doing, and they are daubed with the yellow brush of Amsterdam. If you will bear that in mind I will just give you a few extracts from 1924-25-26-27-28, over a series of years. It cannot be said that this is only a temporary or local madness. This is taken from Volume 4 No. 41, dated 16th July, 1924, page 409.

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*Extract from Inprecorr, Vol 4, No. 41, dated 16th July 1924,  
Page 409.*

The situation, therefore, is not so simple. The MacDonald Government is still on a rising wave of popularity. But if we wait passively until the tide turns, then we shall have no need of a Communist Party. The Social Democracy will go bankrupt any how. We are there to hasten the process: That is the reason why our Party in England must already resolutely fight MacDonald now in order that the masses when they at length realise MacDonald's true character they will know that we, the communists, told them the truth long ago.

In the year 1921 Lenin fought against Wynkoop and other "lefts" of that time, over the question of communists joining the Labour Party. But in the year 1924 we are face to face with a new situation. A "Labour" Government exists, and MacDonald is in power. Therefore our little group of communists must follow its historic path. They must first become a mass party; and secondly begin to recruit workers into the party and found a daily paper. When one talks to the English comrades about this they say that is asking them to wear a hat that is far too big for their heads, and they worry about how this hat will fit them. Thirdly, we must more thoroughly permeate the rank and file of the trade-unions in order to form a left-wing movement there. Fourthly, more attention must be paid to the youth. Until quite recently there was no Young Communist movement at all in England, and it is even now only at its very beginning. Fifth, the colonial question must be attacked with audacity, such as befits Bolsheviks. Sixth, digressions to the right must be combatted wherever they are met with; election campaigns must be conducted differently, the lines proposed by Rosmer must not be followed; in their propaganda they must be prepared even for a break. That is the most important problem for the English Party. These are the theories and resolutions adopted by the Fifth Congress, and I am reading from a copy of the 29th August, 1924, page 653.

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*Extract from Inprecorr Vol 4, No. 62, dated 29th August 1924,  
Page 653.*

XV. THE CONCRETE TASKS OF THE IMPORTANT  
SECTIONS OF THE COMINTERN.

*The tasks of these sections are as follows:—*

GREAT BRITAIN :

In view of the present world situation, Great Britain and its possessions play the principle role, generally speaking, in all international questions; hence the communist Party of Great Britain gains tremendously in importance. To train the Communist Party of Great Britain to fulfil its duties, is one of the most important tasks of the Communist International. In its attitude toward the Labour Government, the Communist Party of Great Britain has displayed certain ideological and tactical deviations. In the immediate future, the Communist Party of Great Britain must concentrate its strength on the following tasks:

(a) To support and encourage the left wing of the Labour Party to such an extent that it will develop into a real revolutionary wing within the Labour Party; to carry on intensive work within the minority movements of the trade unions.

(b) To oppose clearly and unambiguously the so-called "Labour Government" of MacDonald amongst the masses, by exposing its bourgeois-anti-labour character.

(c) To lead the economic struggles in such a way, that the main strength is concentrated on the creation of organs of the united front from below (strike committees, factory councils) and to point out to the working masses the political significance of these economic struggles.

(d) To carry out an active campaign for the creation of committees of Action in the factories and trade unions, in order to exercise pressure on the so-called "Labour Government", to compel them to carry out that part of the programme of the so-called "Labour Government", which the latter has ignored, namely, the nationalization of the railways and mines, increase in the unemployment benefits, construction of workers, houses, etc. Only if the Communist Party of Great Britain, on the basis of daily needs of the working class, exposes the treachery of the Labour Government, and if it tries to lead the broad working masses into the fight on behalf of these aims, can it destroy the illusions of the working masses about the so-called Labour Government.

(e) To lay special emphasis on the relations with the colonies, on the support of the national revolutionary movement of the colonial countries, on the relations of Great Britain to Soviet Russia and to imperialist France, and on the Experts' Report.

(f) To begin a particularly careful campaign for influencing the unemployed.

(g) To direct its special attention to the Internal development of the Party, to gaining new members from among the ranks of the workers, to the formation of factory nuclei, and further the Communist Party of Great Britain should devote its attention to the communist education of the members, to spread knowledge of the international labour movement.

Then there is an extract from the I. P. C., No. 8, dated 22nd January, 1926, page 113.

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*Extract from the I. P. C. No. 8*

*Dated 22-1-26.*

The movements now taking place at the very heart of the masses of the British proletariat, the increase of left wing moods, which have found expression in the formation of an Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Bloc, the formation of a left wing in the Labour Party and the sharpening of the struggle in the trade unions and in the Labour Party against the opportunist policy of the MacDonalds, Thomases and Clynes—all these factors bear witness to the fact that neither the bourgeoisie nor the reformists will be able to strangle the growing Communist movement.

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It is essential in order to facilitate their inevitable practical bankruptcy, which enlightens the masses precisely after our ideas, precisely in the direction of Communism. One must precipitate the inevitable quarrel and conflicts between the Hendersons, Lloyd Georges and Churchills, and choose correctly the moment of the maximum disintegration between all these buttresses of sacred private property' in order to defeat them all in one decisive offensive of proletariat, and conquer political power".

Then Mr. Stalin on the 1st July, 1926, page 817 says :

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*Extract from the I. P. C. No. 50.*

*Dated 1-7-26.*

Finally, the working class of England, in order to be able to fulfil these urgent tasks, must be freed from their present leaders. It is impossible to enter into a war against the capitalists when one has such leaders as THOMAS and MacDonald. It is impossible to hope for victory when there are such traitors in the rear as Henderson and Clynes. The working class of England must clear out such leaders or they will never be victorious.

Then on the 5th January 1927, Comrade Stalin gave vent to this expression of opinion.

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*Extract from International Press Correspondence Volume 7, No. 1.*

*Dated 5th January 1927.*

Our workers, cannot, for example understand why it has never entered the heads of the British workers uptill now to take such traitors like Thomas and throw them down into a well and drown them (laughter). Everyone who understands our workers would realise that the lives of opportunists like Thomas, but even re-elect them to the General Council and not only simple re-elect, but elect them demonstratively. Clearly, such workers do not require to have opposition camouflaged in the form of revolution, they do not object to taking it ungilded. How is this to be explained? By the absence of the revolutionary traditions among the British workers. These revolutionary traditions are only just beginning to arise and develop, and there is not the slightest doubt that the British workers will become hardened in the revolutionary struggle. But until that hardening has taken place, the difference between the British workers and the Soviet workers will remain. This explains why it is a risky thing for the opportunists in our Party to come before the workers of the U. S. S. R. unless they are camouflaged as revolutionaries. Herein, lies the cause of the "revolutionary" camouflage of the opposition bloc.

Then there is a resolution on the situation in great Britain on the 3rd February, 1927. It says:

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*Extract from I. P. C. dated 3. 2027.*

The mining struggle has been no less potent than the General strike in advancing the working class of Great Britain towards the realisation of its historic destiny, namely, the overthrow of the capitalist class and the establishment of a workers' dictatorship as the essential preliminary for building Socialism.

These are the responsible statements of this body with regard to Great Britain and its Government. On the 1st March 1928 the following appears in the International Press Correspondence, Volume 8, No. 12, dated 1st March, 1928:

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*Extract from International Press Correspondence Vol. 8. No. 12.*

*Dated 1st March. 1928.*

The Resolution on the British Question unanimously adopted by the Plenum of the Comintern on February 18th, will find its place among the most important documents of the Communist International. That Resolution contains a brief but concise resume of the main changes which have occurred in the correlation of class forces and parties in post war Britain, changes which have become particularly crystallised during the fourteen months which separate us from the moment of the cessation of the heroic miners' struggle. On the basis of these changes, the

Resolution points out "new tactical task of the British Party in the struggle not only against the Baldwin Government but also against its lackeys as represented by the reformist Labour Party and Trade Union leaders.

In the same year, 25th July, 1928, page 706, Comrade Bucherin said:

*Extract from International Press Correspondence Vol. 8 No. 39,  
25th July, 1928.*

For the first time has there tiny Communist Party of Japan, which is now beginning to become a militant unit, entered the historical arena. We are now on the eve of a growing Communist movement in India, the chief stronghold of imperialism—the Empire of the British king.

On the 5th April, 1929, after saying that the soil of India is rising in flames under the feet of British Imperialism, it goes on to say :

*Extract from the International / Vol. No. 17 / Press / 5th April 1929  
Correspondence.*

The soil of India is rising in flames under the feet of British Imperialism. The flow of the strike wave surpasses the highest tide of the labour movement in the earliest phase of the revolution 1921. The rapidly growing Left Wing Unions enjoy the fighting support of broad masses. Thousands of workers in BOMBAY and CALCUTTA are marching and demonstrating under the banner of struggle for the Soviets.

*Extract from the International Vol. 9. No. 17 Press 5th April 1929.*

*Correspondence.*

Down with British Imperialism, the plunderer and hangman of India.

Down with the Swarajists and other bourgeois parties traitors to the Indian national revolution.

Down with the British and Indian reformist flunkeys, the agents of imperialism.

**LONG LIVE THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE OF THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS OF INDIA.**

**LONG LIVE INDEPENDENT AND LIBERATED INDIA.**

**LONG LIVE THE INDIAN SOVIET REPUBLIC.**

D-7

The point that I make is this. Nobody can have the slightest doubt as far as I can see that these people in Moscow, whether the Government of Russia or the Comintern have deliberately plotted and planned to overthrow British Imperialism, that is to say, to overthrow the sovereignty of His Majesty. They may be right or they may be wrong, but that is the fact and if you find a body of people in India who say that they want to follow the Moscow road, that they wish to bring into India the same rule as exists in Russia, that they want to introduce the Soviet system into India, I say if you find those people saying that and if you find them working to do that, indeed then it is not possible in the nature of things that they should be doing anything else than plotting and planning and conspiring to smash His Majesty's Government to pieces. That is the whole object of the Bolshevik and so intense is his feelings that he regards it in the nature of a religious obligation that this should be done.

*(At this stage the Court adjourned till Thursday, 13th June, 1929.)*

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E. COHEN

13-6-29.

**Mr. Langford James** (*Continued*)

May it please your Honour, I was accused of putting my own interpretation upon certain matters, and I therefore propose to-day to read to you certain passages from books which are the accredited books of this Third International in support of the statements that I made yesterday, or at any rate some of them. Now, first of all, with reference to the objective of this International. I propose first of all to read from the Thesis and Statutes of the Third Communist International adopted by the Second Congress in July-August 1920. On page 4 of that book, I find this:

“The Communist International makes it its aim to put up an armed struggle for the overthrow of the International bourgeoisie and the creation of an International Soviet Republic as a transitional stage to the complete abolition of State. The Communist International considers the dictatorship of the proletariat as the only means for the liberation of humanity from the horrors of capitalism. The Communist International considers the Soviet form of government as the historically evolved form of this dictatorship of the proletariat.”

And on page 5,—

“The new international association of workers is established for the purpose of organising the common activity of the workers of various countries who are striving towards a single aim, the overthrow of capitalism, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the international republic, the complete abolition of classes and the realisation of socialism. This is the first step to communist society.”

And passing on to page 34,—

“The period of open struggle for the dictatorship of the workers has created a new proletarian party, the Communist Party. The Communist International emphatically rejects the opinion that the workers could carry out a revolution without having an independent political party of their own. Every class struggle is a political struggle. The object of this struggle, which inevitably turns into a civil war, is the obtaining of political power. However, this power cannot be acquired organised and directed otherwise than by means of a political party. This class struggle likewise demands that the general guidance of the various forms of the proletarian movement, labour unions, co-operative associations, cultural education work, elections etc. be united in one central organisation. Only a political party can be such a unifying and guiding centre.”



"For the overthrow of foreign capitalism which is the first step towards revolution in the colonies, the co-operation of the bourgeois nationalist revolutionary elements is useful. But the foremost and necessary task is the formation of Communist parties which will organise the peasants and workers and lead them to the revolution and to the establishment of Soviet Republics."

Then, to establish the continuity of the thing to some extent, I take now the official book with regard to the decisions of the Third Congress of this Communist International. And on the opening page which is in fact page 2, I find this:—

"The New International Labour Organisation is established for the purpose of organising united action of the world proletariat aspiring towards the same goal, the overthrow of capitalism, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the International Soviet Republic for the complete elimination of classes and the realisation of socialism as the first step towards the communist commonwealth."

Then on page 56, the question is gone into as to whether you can carry on this work legally or illegally, because it is quite well recognised that in some countries any such work as this is illegal, and I shall quote in my favour the opinion of Mr. Clemens Dutt, a well-known Communist and member of the Comintern, that in India it is illegal.

Mr. D.P. Sinha: Is it Clemens Dutt's view on law that you are relying on?

Mr. Langford James: I am.

Mr. Nariman: Will you accept all his views on the subject?

Mr. Langford James: On the subject of Bolshevism I accept him as a well recognised authority.

"The party must be so organised that it shall always be in a position to adapt itself quickly to all the changes that may occur in the conditions of the struggle. The Communist Party must develop into a militant organisation capable of avoiding a fight in the open against overwhelming forces of the enemy, concentrated upon a given point; but on the other hand, the very concentration of the enemy must be so utilised as to attack him in a spot where he least suspects it. It would be the greatest mistake for the Party organisation to stake everything upon a rebellion and street fighting, or only upon condition of severe oppression. Communists must perfect their preliminary revolutionary work in every situation on a basis of preparedness, for it is frequently next to impossible to foresee the changeable wave of stormy and calm periods; and even in cases where it might be possible, this foresight cannot, in many cases, be made use of for reorganisation, because the change as a rule comes quickly, and frequently quite suddenly."

The legal Communist Parties of the capitalist countries usually fail to grasp all the importance of the task before the Party to be properly prepared for the armed struggle, or for the illegal fight in general. Communist organisations often commit the error of depending on a permanent legal basis for their existence, and of conducting their work according to the needs of the legal tasks.

On the other hand, illegal parties often fail to make use of all the possibilities of legal activity towards the building up of a party organisation which would have constant intercourse with the revolutionary masses. Underground organisations which ignore these vital truths run the risk of becoming merely groups of conspirators, wasting their labours in futile tasks.

Both these tendencies are erroneous. Every legal Communist organisation must know how to insure for itself complete preparedness for an underground existence, and above all for revolutionary outbreaks. Every illegal Communist organisation must, on the other hand, make the fullest use of the possibilities offered by the legal labour movement, in order to become, by means of intensive party activity, the organiser and real leader of the great revolutionary masses."

And on page 96:

"Whatever the turns in the course of the struggle, the Communist Party always strives to fortify the contested positions, to get the masses used to active manoeuvring, to equip them with new methods calculated to lead to an open conflict with the enemy forces. Taking advantage of every breathing space offered in order to appreciate the experience of the preceding phase of the struggle, the Communist party strives to deepen and widen the class conflicts, to combine them nationally and internationally by unity of goal, and of practical activity, in such a way as to remove the hindrances in the way of the proletariat and lead it on to the socialist revolution."

Then in the Fifth Congress a similar official account occurs :

Mr. Chagla: What has happened to the Fourth Congress ?

Mr. Langford James: Well, you can have it if you want.

On page 22, we find:

"An unavoidable premise for the transition from capitalism to Communism- the starting point without which the further evolution of mankind is entirely impossible, is thus the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeois State, and the seizure of power by the working class, which has to set itself the first and most important task of suppressing the enemy and firmly establishing the new regime. The dictatorship of the proletariat—that is the most elementary pre-requisite for social evolution."

And on page 26:—

“At the close of the open civil war, that is, after the installation of the political rule of the working class, the interests and necessities of the rational economic policy will be determined, and the methods of war Communism are pushed aside and finally absolutely discontinued.”

That is, you must have your armed revolution first and then later on you hope for the millenium when war Communism may be pushed aside.

Then on page 36, there is an important passage:—

“Given a direct revolutionary situation, when the ruling classes are more or less disorganised, when the masses are in a state of revolutionary excitement, when the intermediate strata are inclined to go over to the side of the proletariat—the party of the proletariat is confronted with the task of leading the masses to the direct attack on the bourgeois state. This is achieved by the advancement of more marked slogans and the increasing intensity of mass movements, to which must be subordinated all branches of party agitation and propaganda, including parliamentary activities. These comprise strikes, combinations of strikes and demonstrations, combination of armed demonstrations and strikes, and finally, the general strike in conjunction with the highest form of the direct military fight against the State-power of the bourgeoisie. This fight is subject to military rules; it presupposes a military plan (the fixing of time and place, etc.), aggressive operations, and undivided loyalty and heroism on the part of the proletariat. Such actions presuppose the organisation of the broad masses into militant bodies, which by their very form should attract and set into motion the largest number of toilers (councils of workers and peasant deputies, soldiers’ councils, etc.). A pre-requisite for victorious tactics is propagandist work in the army and navy.”

That is repeated almost verbatim I think in the programme for — Page 1929, on page 62.

I should think that from the official statements of this body there can be little doubt left in the mind of anybody that their objective is by means of progressive mass demonstrations, strikes making everybody disgruntled and using in certain countries the nationalist movements for the moment in evidence to stir up a state of revolutionary ferment which will be favourable to direct action and then to bring about a general strike as a prelude to mass armed action. Now, in this connection I should like to quote from a well-known book “The state and Revolution” by V. I. Ulianov, otherwise N. Lenin. This, I may remind you, is a book which is recommended by Mr. Spratt for the study circles for the young. Now, in this book you will find that Lenin deals with this point that I was making yesterday of the state withering away. He also deals with the question of how this power is to be captured. On page 10 he says:

"According to Marx, the State is the organ of class domination, the organ of oppression of one class by another. Its aim is the creation of order which legalises and perpetuates this oppression by moderating the collisions between the classes."

And later on page 11,

"That the State is the organ of domination of a definite class which cannot be reconciled to its social antipodes- this the lower middle class democracy is never able to understand. Their attitude towards the State is one of the most telling proofs that our Socialist— Revolutionaries and Mensheviks are not Socialists at all (which we, Bolsheviks, have always maintained, but only lower middle class democrats with a phraseology very nearly Socialist."

Then on page 12:

"But if the State is the product of the irreconcilable character of class antagonisms, if it is a force standing above society and "separating itself gradually from it," then it is clear that the liberation of the oppressed class is impossible without a violent revolution, and without the destruction of the machinery of State power, which has been created by the governing class and in which this "separation" is embodied."

From page 21 onwards he begins to discuss the theory of Engels with regard to the withering away of the State and he is combating the views of another gentleman that that withering away means the withering away of the existing state. Certain Socialists had interpreted Marx and Engels as meaning that the existing state, for instance, as in India, might wither away. Lenin is concerned to show that that is not the state that has got to wither away. The existing state has got to be smashed in pieces and it is the new proletarian state that is going to wither away. On page 23 he says:—

"The current popular conception, if one may say so, of the "withering away" of the State undoubtedly means a quenching, if not negation, of revolution."- because if you are assured of the existing state withering away why should you go and destroy it?

Later on, he says at page 24.-

"In reality, Engels speaks here of the destruction of the capitalist State by the proletarian revolution, while the words about its withering away refer to the remains of a proletarian State after the Socialist revolution. The capitalist State does not wither away, according to Engels, but is destroyed by the proletariat in the course of the revolution. Only the proletarian State or semi-State withers away after the revolution."

*(Continued by B)*

## MARSHALL.

It comes back to the same point on page 28:—

“Only a revolution can destroy the capitalist State.” At the bottom of page 28 and on page 29 he says:—

“We have already said above and shall show more fully at a later stage that the teaching of Marx and Engels regarding the inevitability of a violent revolution refers to the capitalist State. It cannot be replaced by the Proletarian State, the dictatorship of the proletariat, through mere withering away, but in accordance with the general rule can only be brought about by a violent revolution.”

And then a bit later:—

“The necessity of systematically fostering among the masses this and only this point of view about violent revolution lies at the root of the whole of Marx and Engels’ teaching, and it is just the neglect of such propaganda and agitation etc.”

Kautsky was the man who edited the last volume of Marx’ Das Capital, but according to Lenin and his school he had passed over to the despicable Yellow side. He again represents on page 29:—

“The substitution of the Proletarian for a capitalist State is impossible without a violent revolution, while the abolition of the Proletarian State (that is, of all States) is only possible through withering away.”

He is combating much the same argument again when on page 49 he says:—

“What Marx says is that the working class must break up and shatter the available ready machinery of the State and not confine itself merely to the taking possession of it.”

On page 81 he says that revolution is undoubtedly the most authoritative thing possible, and he defines what his idea of revolution is:—

Revolution is an act in which part of the population forces its will on the other part by means of rifles, bayonets, cannon, that is, by most authoritative means, and the conquering party is inevitably forced to maintain its supremacy by means of that fear which its arms inspire in the reactionaries. ”

On page 148 he goes back to his old theme I am afraid I find him a little tautological at times:—

"Marx has recognized that when once the proletariat has won political power, it must utterly break up the old machinery of the State and substitute for it the new machinery and organise armed workers of the type of the Commune. Anarchists on the other hand while advocating the destruction of the state have no clear idea as to what the proletariat will put in its place and how it will use its revolutionary power and they, even deny that the revolutionary proletariat has any necessity to make use of the State and to establish its revolutionary dictatorship. Marx insisted upon making use of the modern State as a means of preparing the workers for revolution. Anarchists reject all this."

Well, I think at the end of the study circle that the youth must have had an extremely orthodox view of what revolution was and what the aims of Bolshevism are. I have a number of passages here but I think I will not trouble Your Honour with many more on this point.

There is an excellent book by the accused Dange in which he shows a brilliant appreciation of the views of Bolshevism and the objects of Bolshevism, and in which he compares the objects of Gandhi with the objects of Lenin. But I think it scarcely worth while to trouble you with that at this stage. I mention it because I am going to use it later on. There is a passage in the A, B, C of Communism, I think at page 80. In that there is a simile which points out that wolves cannot possibly lie down with the sheep and that you cannot possibly expect to attain to the dictatorship of the proletariat without a stern armed struggle with your antagonist. As I have said there are a large number of other passages which at the proper time I shall read to you, but for the purpose of indicating what the case is I do not think it is necessary to trouble you with any thing further at present.

It is only a rough of what I have found at passage from page 80 of the A, B, C, of Communism.

"The dictatorship of the Proletariat. For the realisation of the communist system the proletariat must have all authority and all power in its hands. The proletariat cannot overthrow the old world unless it has power in its hands, unless for a time it becomes the ruling class. Manifestly the bourgeoisie will not abandon its position without a fight. For the bourgeoisie, communism signifies the loss of its former power, the loss of its "freedom" to extort blood and sweat from workers; the loss of its right to rent interest, and profit. Consequently the communist revolution of the proletariat, the communist transformation of society, is fiercely resisted by the "exploiters". It follows that the principal task of the workers government is to crush this opposition ruthlessly. Precisely because the opposition will inevitably be so embittered, it is necessary that the workers' authority the proletarian rule, shall take the form of a dictatorship. Now "dictatorship" signifies very strict methods of government and a resolute crushing of enemies. It is obvious that in

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such a state of affairs there can be no talk of "freedom" for every one. The dictatorship of the proletariat is incompatible with freedom for the bourgeoisie. This is the very reason why the dictatorship of the proletariat is needed; to deprive the bourgeoisie of freedom; to bind it hand and foot; to make it impossible for it to carry on a struggle against the revolutionary proletariat. The more vigorous the resistance of the bourgeoisie the more desperate mobilisation of its forces, the more threatening its attitude, the sterner and harsher must be the proletarian dictatorship. In extreme cases the workers government must not hesitate to use the method of the terror. Only when the suppression of the exploiters is complete, when they have ceased to resist, when it is no longer in their power to injure the working class, will the proletarian dictatorship grow progressively milder."

( Thank Heaven for that ! )

"Meanwhile the bourgeoisie little by little, will fuse with the proletariat; the workers state will gradually die out; society as a whole will be transformed into a communist society in which there will be no classes."

But all the people who have any property or stake in the country they have all got to be either killed or ruthlessly ground down and brought into submission, as a pre-requisite.

Now I come to the question of the organisation of this body. I have here prepared a graph and I will explain to the gentlemen representing the accused what it is. I have put on one side a circle which is intended to represent the Communist International or Comintern, and I have divided it roughly into sections like the slices of an orange. In those sections are the C.P.S.U, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the C.P.G.B., which is the English Communist Party, the W.C.P., the American Communist Party, the C.P.F., the French Communist Party. Of course it is not to be supposed that these are at all exhaustive. There are a large number of other Communist Parties, all forming this body, which therefore is an amalgum of the Communist Parties of the World, all of which hold the views which I have just been reading out. Now underneath this body I have put in a small lozenge-shaped thing, the ECCL, which is the Executive Committee of the Communist International. It on occasions expands itself into the Plenum, which is the enlarged committee. On occasions it contracts into the Prassidium, which is the smaller body. I believe and I shall ask you to hold, Sir, that we have the honour of having in our midst a member of this Praesidium. Now let me give you a hint of what I believe to be the real truth about the whole of this matter. I am sure that everybody has been accustomed, certainly in this country, to large Committees which are generally called "Shop Window Committees", on which you get all the big names. Then you have a sub-Committee which is assumed to be doing the work.



But then you have either one or two permanent Secretaries, who really do the work. Now I think you will find that that is the key to this Communist International. Underneath the ECCI I have put down the Secretariat. This is a permanent Secretariat and the head of it is Mr. Stalin. And that is why Mr. Stalin is virtually the Dictator of the whole concern. He remains as the head of the Secretariat and from that excellent position he has been able to banish from Russia anybody who disagrees with him. I gave the names I think yesterday—Trotsky, Zinovieff, Radek, Kamenar, Thomsy and Bukharin. They have all gone because they disagreed with Mr. Stalin. However that may be, here is this Secretariat and branching out from this Secretariat, I have put down one or two other sub-Committees. They are really supposed to be sub-Committees of the ECCI. For instance, there is the Org. Bureau, which means Organization Bureau. We shall find it re-echoed by some of the accused in this case. "We have no Org. here." Or, "The Org. is extraordinarily bad." Well, this is the Org. Bureau. Then you find the Ogpu, the Police, which is very important. Then the Agit. Prop.; that means the Committee which exists for the purpose of fostering and stirring up "agitation" and "propaganda" in favour of the revolution. Then there is the Editorial Staff. That is an important little body because it sees to it that nothing except Bolshevik propaganda is published in Russia; only their side of the case is to be stated. An excellent rule of life if you want to rule! Then the next one we have is the Oriental Committee, and as a special section of that there is a Colonial Commission which looks after our interests over here. There are several other Sub-Committees, but I will not trouble Your Honour with them as they do not really arise much in connection with this case. Then you will notice that I have taken in a line away from the Secretariat, because they are all under it, and put down on the right hand side of the paper a large number, though not anything like all of them, of Internationals. I have called them Affiliated Internationals but I should like to explain what they are. Now, the first one is the International for the Revolutionary Youth of the World. It is called the young Communists International, the Y. C. I. It has another interest for us because the man who was first in charge of it was Comrade Willi Munsenberg. Then there is the Women's International. Then there is the Trades Unions International - a very important one originally called the Profintern but now called the RILU. Then there is the Peasants' International, which was called the Kreslintern so long as it existed. I believe it has since practically ceased to exist. Then there are other Internationals, such as the International of the Intellectuals, the Teachers' International, the Sports International, known as the Sportintern; so that when you play football, for instance, you may be able to go on working out the Revolution to come. Then there is another one called the War Resisters International, because, although you may not know it, we are the White Terror. That is not used in any Nordic sense. Everybody who opposes these people are the White Terror. My learned friends

there, and all of us, are making war upon this peaceful body in Moscow, and so it is necessary to have a War Resisters International. Now these Internationals play quite a part in the propaganda which comes from Moscow. Let us take a case. Suppose you have a strike of Textile workers in Bombay. Instantly from Moscow the International of Textile workers of the world sends greetings and money. And I am certain that if you had a strike of the Hereditary Painters of Spots on white Horses, then the International of Hereditary Painters of Spots on white Horses would send greetings from Moscow and money in support of the strike. These Internationals I think exist largely on paper, and they exist largely for this propaganda purposes. They are under the Secretariat, and I imagine they wander from one room to another or possibly stay in one room; they have a Board Meeting of the Peasants and then a Board Meeting of the Sportingtern, and then another one of the war Resisters, and so on. Now part of the difficulties in the way of anybody who tries to track the Bolshevik to his ultimate lair lies in the fact that they are constantly multiplying these bodies. You will find upon my graph there, for instance, that against the RILU I have put two bodies, which means that those two bodies have been brought into existence and are farthered so to speak by this Rilu. The two bodies are the National Minority Movement in England and a thing called the P. P. T. U. S., which is the Pan Pacific Trade Union Secretariat. Now the National Minority Movement in England is in fact that part of the English Trades Unions which are an integral part of the RILU. You can compare the RILU to the Comintern in this way. Whereas the Comintern is an amalgam of the Communist Parties of the world, the RILU is an amalgam of the Red or Communist Trades Unions of the world. It is difficult to put this National Minority Movement into a graph, especially for an amateur like me. But this National Minority Movement is not so much a child of the RILU as an integral part of the RILU. Now the P. P. T. U. S. is not an integral part of the RILU but it is affiliated to the RILU, and I will show you very shortly that it is a definite Communistic body acting under this RILU. Now I have got here, the Report of the Fourth Congress of the R. I. L. U. The date is July 1928. On page 22, under the heading, "The United Front of the workers of the East and West," we find this:—

"In this connection the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat set up in the middle of 1927 which unites the workers of the most important Pacific countries acquires particular importance. The said Secretariat to which are affiliated the trade unions of China, Korea, Indonesia, the Philippines, Australia, the U.S.S.R., the left trade unions of Japan, the revolutionary minorities of Britain and the U. S. A., etc. is deserving of all support, seeing that it has placed the question of lining up the workers of the East with those of the West on a practical foundation. In particular, extensive help must be given to the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat by the workers of those countries (Britain, France, Japan, U.S.A.), whose bourgeoisie have possessions in

## SAVEDRA

13-6-26.

I thought it had that badge. I noticed that some of the accused here have on that badge, the badge of the Russian Revolution, the Hammer and Sickle. Apparently not.

With regard to the National Minority Movement, although I have to prove these statements, I do not think they would be seriously contested, the National Minority Movement is a portion of the RILU. This is a Report of the Fifth Annual Conference 1928, published by the National Minority Movement.

On page 7 we have this :

“The National Minority Movement and the Rilu. It is fitting that attention should be directed to the absolute urgency of international organisations. Efforts similar to those of the National Minority Movement to-day have been made before, but with this difference. The efforts had never been on a national scale. ....This can only be possible with an international organisation, therefore we are part of the Red International of Labour Union. The headquarters of the Rilu are in Moscow. We are part of the great world-wide International with Trade Unionists in 40 countries, totalling 13 millions of organised workers, all aiming at the overthrow of capitalism and the establishing of a Workers State,”

And in the same book at page 25 it says :

The National Minority Movement. This is a resolution on the Colonial question. “The National Minority Movement, therefore, is faced with the task of building up an alliance of British and Colonial workers based on their common struggle against capitalist exploitation. This Conference therefore pledges the National Minority Movement to render the utmost assistance to the Trade Union movements in the colonies, maintaining the closest contact with them, and assisting them to organise their forces. In particular it pledges itself actively to support such bodies as the Pan-Pacific Secretariat, formed to unite the suppressed peoples of the Pacific, the Indian Workers' Welfare League, The League against Imperialism, etc. On its part it will do its utmost by means of the press to stimulate the interest of British workers in the necessity of forming an alliance with the colonial people.”

So that from this statement, which is a statement of the Rilu, everybody is asked to support the Pan-Pacific Secretariat, the Indian Workers Welfare League, and the League against Imperialism.

I won't take up Your Honour's time longer, but I would like to satisfy you with regard to the Rilu. Before I give you the actual authorities, I will state what the position was.

The Rilu came into existence in 1921. It was at the instance of the Comintern in 1920 or 1921 that this Red Revolutionary body, which is a revolutionary Union, was formed in Moscow. And the man put in charge of it as Secretary, was Lozovsky. He has not yet been banished. The evidence in regard to that is first of all the Communist International, which is a pamphlet containing the conditions prescribed by the Second Congress of the Communist International for the admission of parties to the Third International, and the text of the Red Trade Union International. On page 9 we find :

"Zinoviev, President of the Executive Committee of the Communist International has addressed the following circular to the trade unions with a view to the formation of a Red Trade Union International."

And on page 14, in the letter from Zinoviev, writing as President of the Executive Committee of the Communist International he says:

"We must set up in opposition to the Yellow Trade Union International, which the agents of the bourgeoisie are endeavouring to re-establish at Amsterdam, Washington and Paris, the Red, really proletarian, Trade Union International, which will work in agreement with the Third Communist International."

On page 15 he says:

"The Red Trade Unions should unite Internationally and become an integral part of the Communist International."

This Rilu was started by the Communist International with the intention of making it an integral part of the same.

Zinoviev's Report of the Executive Committee of the Communist International for 1920-21 is the next document. On page 59 we have the following:

"The Red Trade Union International. On the initiative of our Executive Committee the Second Congress founded the Red Trade Union International. That was something entirely new at the time; we have now proceeded quite a long way on that path. Comrade Losovsky has collected the data showing that more than 15,000,000 organised workers already belong to our Trade Union International."

Very nice, very proper! More than 15 million Trade Unions belong to it, according to this. All the Trade Unions of Russia were rushed into it, whether communist or not, their Leaders being Communists and their Leaders appearing at meetings of the Rilu. When you come to other countries which are not communist themselves you will find minority movements are small movements in the Trade Union

movements of those countries. For instance, the minority movement in England. Nobody belongs to the Minority Movement in England unless he is a Communist. The result therefore is that the Rilu consists of all the Trade Unions of Russia, and the Communists in the other Trades Unions of the world.

I have got here under the heading of "The 'Reds' in Congress," the first meeting of this body, which passed certain resolutions. On pages 18 and 19 of this book you find them passing these resolutions. The usual "Whereas" precedes the resolutions.

"Therefore this Congress resolves--

(1) To take all the necessary steps for bringing together in the most energetic manner all the Trade Unions into one united fighting organisation with one international centre: the Red Trade Union International.

(2) To establish the closest possible contact with the Third (Communist) International, as the vanguard of the Revolutionary Labour Movement in all parts of the world, on the basis of joint representation at both executive committees, joint conferences, etc.

(3) That the above connection should have an organic and business character, and be expressed in the joint preparation of revolutionary actions and in the concerted manner of their realisation both on a national and international scale."

If anybody after this says that the Rilu is not the same as the Comintern he will be speaking accurate verbal truth, because the Comintern is one body and the Rilu is another, but in mind and in objective they are identically the same, and they are really run by the same people.

There are other references to the Third Congress. But I will not trouble you more. There is excellent work by the late lamented Tomsky. He has written a little brochure on the subject which makes it perfectly clear that the Rilu was one in soul and spirit with the Comintern.

You will find upon that graph some other names. These bodies are analogous to the International Communist parties. There are also bodies like the P.P.T.U.S. which branch off from one or other of these Internationals. Then there are other bodies which it is slightly difficult to place. I mention three of those down below in the graph. Two of them are the Workers Welfare League and the Labour Research Department. The third is the League against Imperialism. The League against Imperialism from its name flies its flag in the open, but the Workers League is a delightful body. It had to explain at one time that it was in no way connected with a religious body, but existed for the welfare of the workers. But the Workers Welfare League and the Labour Research Department have a special interest for us,

because it was through these two bodies that the salary of Spratt and Bradely were paid. The salary of Spratt was paid through the Labour Research Department, while the salary of Bradley was paid through the Workers Welfare League. There was a terrible to-do at one time in regard to Bradley's salary. He was writing and telegraphing home about the delay. They had not got the funds, and they had to wire off to Moscow about it with the result that the salary came along in due course. When we go into that matter you will find that Bradley writes or telegraphs to his brother and then we find a prominent member of the English communist party taking up matter and writing to another prominent member of the communist party in Moscow saying that this fellow is wiring for his salary, Then we find another man ultimately sending the salary along. That will all be cleared up in time, but it is interesting. These two bodies do interest us from this point of view that the salary which the prosecution say Spratt and Bradley were paid (though not always regularly) month by month, for doing this communist work of the revolution of India, was paid through these two bodies with these humble-sounding names. I am not going to spend much time on proving now that these bodies are definitely branches and under the thumb of the communist party in Great Britain. I hope to do so perfectly conclusively before this trial ends, but I would like to point out one or two things which give an ordinarily intelligent man food for thought. I shall have to introduce you, as we go along, to a large number of gentlemen, not inside this country, who have forwarded this conspiracy, but for the present it will be better to name them as they crop up. Amongst them is one Mr. Clemens Dutt, and the other Mr. Saklatvala, until lately a Member of Parliament. He crashed in the last election along with other distinguished candidates.

Both Saklatvala and Dutt are members of the Communist Party in Great Britain, and there is no question, I don't suppose it can be seriously suggested that these two people are not red-hot communists. Sakatvala is the Secretary, I think of the Workers Welfare League. I don't know what Dutt's connection is with the Workers Welfare League, but let me read you a couple of letters written by Dutt to two of the accused. The first is:—

Mr. D. P. Sinha :—Before my learned friend refers to any further letters, I desire to state for Your Honour's information, that it may not be taken that we have no objection to the admission of these letters. He is referring to certain documents, and Your Honour will have to decide at a later stage how many of these documents are admissible in evidence.

*Mr. Langford James :*

That is perfectly fair.

On the 29th November, 1928, this well-known Communist C. P. Dutt writes to S. V. Ghate and says :

"This is just a tiny note to say how glad I have been to receive your letters and notes on the mill strike and other information. It has been of the greatest use to all of us over here and not least the Workers Welfare League, and I hope you will continue to keep us in touch with what is going on. I have been away for some time and hence my silence, as far as writing letters goes, but I hope from now on to be writing to you regularly and will try to be of assistance to you as regards books, and so on.

Can you please see that more than a single copy of the *Kranti* is sent to us—"

The *Kranti* is a publication by the Workers Party in pursuance of their Conspiracy.

"As it is important for study and information on the movement as well as for propoganda among Indians here. Further, we do not seem to have received any copies of the *Young Comrade*, and there must be other literature also which you might be able to send."

There is not very great deal in the letter, except to show that Dutt was keeping notes of mill strikes and he was so pleased to get them. Dutt writes from the address of the Worker Welfare League of India, and on the Workers Welfare League paper. What is C. P. Dutt, Communist, writing from the Workers Welfare League for? The matter does not end there. I may mention that not only does he write on the Workers Welfare League paper, but he writes from the same address as the Labour Research Department, and the Labour Research Department and the Workers Welfare League were both on the same premises at that time.

On the 10th January 1929 Mr. C. P. Dutt writes to Bradley also from the Workers Welfare League of India and he says:

"Your reports and accounts of the mill strike sent to us (*I suppose the Workers Welfare League*) and to the *Sunday Worker* have been of great assistance to people over here in getting a proper appreciation of the situation. At least to some extent they have been used in the press and some reward is obviously due to you for this."

Then he goes on to say this:

"The League (*that is the Workers Welfare League*) is busy keeping up its propoganda work. The old premises of the L. R. D. have had to be given up as the League expired and for the time being we are situated in a little office at the above address. (*The address is 22. Great Wind Mill Street, London, W. I.*) So far we have had no news of what took place at the T.U. C. at Jharia. We do not even know what decision was taken with regard to the League. I hope that the reactionary decision to cancel the agency of the workers Welfare League was rescinded, but I am very much afraid that the Joshi influence has been very strong."

C—6

We shall come back to that in time again, but Joshi was looked upon as being one of the Yellow lot who were retarding the revolution rather than helping it on.

There is a considerable amount of evidence in regard to this League, but I do not think it will require a lot of evidence to convince anybody that both these bodies were working together in the same cause and under the aegis of very well known communists. These were the two bodies that paid the salaries of these two men.

Now I come to the League against Imperialiam. I should not venture to give my own opinion on the League, if it were not thoroughly reinforced by the opinion of people who know far better than I do. It is not the case for the prosecution that it is a body which contains none other than Communists. It is the case for the prosecution that it is a body which is definitely communist and is doing the work of the Third International under the camouflage of being a wider body.

Now this excellent body was founded in 1927 and the Communist party of Great Britain took part in the founding of it. And indeed it was one of the last acts of the late lamented Comrade McManus of international fame to help to found this body. This book is "the Communist International between the Fifth and Sixth World Congresses," that is to say between 1924 and 1928, a Report on the position of all section of the World Communist Party. Under the heading of Great Britain on page 123 I find this:

*(Continued by D)*



E. COHEN

13/6/29.

Mr. Langford James (*Continued*).

"The party and the Comintern suffered a sad loss by the death of Comrade Arther MacManus in March, 1927. Comrade MacManus was one of the founders of the party, its first chairman, and also a member of the E. C. C. I. During his comparatively short life he played an active and leading part in the revolutionary Labour movement. From the time when, in 1916, he was deported as a leader of the shop stewards' movement, up to his imprisonment in 1925-26 by the British Government as one of the twelve Communist leaders, he was in the forefront of party activities. Almost his last activity was to participate, on behalf of the party, in the foundation of the League Against Imperialism at the Brussels Conference in February."

Now, as I think I have tried to stress with regard to this International, it is likely that you will find the real power in the hands of the Secretariat. Now, I venture to say that that was so specially with a body where people come from all ends of the earth, as is the case in the Comintern. The League against Imperialism is practically on the same footing. It has members from India on it. It has members from the united States and from all over the world. Consequently, I should have thought that it must follow that the policy of this League would be very largely directed by its Secretaries. Now, who are its Secretaries? First and foremost we come to Mr. Willi Munzenberg. Now Mr. Willi Munzenberg, as his name denotes, comes from Germany and is a prominent member of the German Communist Party, the Communist Party of Germany. As I have already told you, it was to Comrade Willi Munzenberg that the youth International, the Young Communist International was entrusted from its birth, and I think we can say that Willi Munzenberg is a true Red Bolshevnik. I do not think anybody is going to deny that. He is one Secretary. The next Secretary, whose name I should pronounce Chattopadhyaya, is also, I hope to prove to you in time but not so easily as in the case of Willi Munzenberg, I hope to prove to you that his heart is also entirely in the right spot. Now, if you find this body with two Secretaries both of whom look upon Moscow as their spiritual home and if you have had it admitted as I believe it to have been by a member of the Executive Committee of this body that there are of course Communists on it, well then, it is obviously a body which will welcome Communists to belong to it, and if you ask it to do so, it will do the work of Moscow for you. I may tell you, that the All-India Trades Union Congress is affiliated to this body and it was the work, I think, of

the accused- I think they must be given credit for it- it was the work of the accused that brought that about I shall show you in time a letter from Mr. Chattopadyaya which says well, in the circumstances, you know, ( I am not giving you his exact words) in the circumstances placed as you are, it is difficult for you to affiliate with the R. I. L. U. Everybody knows what it is. why not come along to the next best thing—the League against Imperialism. You will get just the same results”.

Well, these are the two Secretaries and that is the origin of this body. But, now, let me call in aid Comrade Bukharin because I am sure he knows much more about it. I am reading from *Imprecator*, the 30th July 1928, page 737.

“I think we are not giving enough support to the Anti-Imperialist League. Some Comrades think that in general this League is not worth maintaining. In reality experience has shown something quite different. Experience has shown that this organisation has great potential powers and chances of development and we that we are doing very little to help to release these potential forces.”

Now his point was that you are not doing half enough for this excellent body and Comrade Willi Munzenberg was of course there. On page 752 he says this: “Comrade Bukharin is mistaken when he under-estimates the activity of the Anti-Imperialist League.” Naturally he was very proud of his own child. “Not only was the Brussels demonstration one of the most powerful and grandest demonstrations against Imperialism in recent years, but the League can also register to day some excellent organisational achievements.”

On page 857 in the debate that followed Comrade Katayama, who functions very actively on the P.T.U.S., said:

“Finally, I want to say a few words about the League against Imperialism. As Comrade Bukharin has emphasised in his reports, it is an urgent necessity to strengthen this organisation, in order to prepare the fight against war and to defend the Soviet union. The League against Imperialism has infinite possibilities before it, if proper attention is paid to every section of the Comintern. The British, American and German parties have done something in this respect, but this is not enough. More attention must be paid to this part of the work against Imperialism, specially with regard to the war danger. Experience has shown that the League against Imperialism is able to mobilise masses for the Anti-war movement.”

Now, it has been quite useful my experience has shown it has been quite useful for communist purposes. Well then comes the reply of Comrade Bukharin on page 870 Comrade Willi Munzenberg quite correctly said that we must devote serious attention to the mass organisations. The forms of these organisations are multifarious but nevertheless we must take our positions in them. By the way, Comrade Munzenberg unjustly rebuked me for under-estimating the signifi-

cance of the Anti-Imperialist League. In my report I argued precisely against the liquidatory tendencies of some comrades in relations to that League. Attempts are being made to give a theoretical basis to these liquidatory tendencies."

Then he says:

"The opponents of participation in these organisations fear that the amorphous non-communist organisations will displace the communist parties. These organisations include the Anti-Imperialist League, the Unity Groups, the Labour and other delegations to the U. S. S. R., with and without participation of intellectuals etc. Some Comrades are afraid that the communist party will be crowded out by these organisations. Of course, to assign to these organisations a role by which they would displace the communist party would be a betrayal of communism. This is a self-evident fact. But who assigns to them such a role? We do not regard these organisations as substitutes for the communist party but as a means for spreading our influence among the broad masses. Comrade Munzenberg said that Comrade Bukharin because he is insufficiently informed has failed to note the great actions of the League in Mexico."

Well, I do not know what they are alluding to but I fancy that the unfortunate Secretary of the League had to go off to Moscow to explain what he had done with the cash. Why he had to go to Moscow to explain what he had done with the cash I do not understand if this is merely an amorphous body. "For instance, I do not think the League has done sufficient positive work in connection with the Chinese question. In this connection it has done very little. Comrade Munzenberg knows better than anyone else the organisational weakness of the League. I mention the shortcomings of the League not because I propose to deprive it of our support but because I want it to be supported. Willi Munzenberg alone is not to be blamed for this. We are all to blame. We gave very little assistance to the League. We did not supply the League with adequate forces."

So that Comrade Bukharin takes the view that this is one of those mass movements or amorphous bodies which are so useful to the good cause, if properly used. And after that, is anybody going to believe that if people want Communist propaganda done through this League or Communist help through this League, that they cannot get it? It is plain that they can.

Now, that is all, your Honour, that I have to say for the moment upon the organisation of this body, and I am sorry if I have been tiresome upon it but it is a little difficult to get hold of it at first blush.

I now come to the next point and the last with regard to this Communist International and that is its tactics. I have said enough I think to show that the best atmosphere in which this objective can be obtained is a revolutionary ferment and I think it would be fair to

say that, as far as tactics are concerned, the main object of this party is to produce this revolutionary ferment. Now, you cannot do that all at once. By luck you might be able to. But generally speaking, you cannot bank on doing it at once. Also, as you may see naively stated in one of these books, you cannot go and preach Communist doctrine to people straight away. They won't stomach it. They would get sick. So what you have to do is to win people's confidence by various devices, worm yourself into various positions. Now, what you need, of course, for that purpose is a resolute little Party. If you can have a legal Communist Party in the open, it is quite desirable to have it. But it may be thoroughly undesirable that there should be any such party and in fact impossible. In which case this resolute little body has got to live underground. It has got to live an illegal existence. Now it in one way or another is going to leaven the whole hump and the words that we shall find most usually used from that point of view are "fractions" and "nuclei". You have to get a fraction or a nucleus of the virus, the poison, inside a particular body and let it go on fermenting. Now you must, for instance, put a nucleus into any legal body such as the All-India Trades Union Conference. Get your fraction in there and let them go on agitating, wire-pulling, trying to get everybody to their point of view. You have got to do the same thing with the Congress Party. If you do not capture them you have got to kill them later on. And you may have to do it with Parliament sometimes in countries in very special circumstances. Well, then, you introduce your fractions into trades unions and factory committees and you set up these trades unions you set up these factory committees and increase and multiply them putting in little fractions here & there to leaven the whole body. Everywhere the fraction has got to appear as the busy-bodies. They have got to be very much in evidence, taking the lead and making everybody believe that they are the best people, through whom you can really get something done. And so in the very early stages you have got to have partial demands, your demands on behalf of the workmen—perfectly reasonable sort of things. A little more pay, a little less work, a little more beer. And you agitate for these things and gradually they say: Awfully good fellow this.

You are to lead them on the right lines. In fact, you capture their affections first. Well then, along side of all that, you have got to have your regular propaganda going on in newspapers and pamphlets, speeches, demonstrations, such as Lenin Day, demonstrations in favour of Lenin, of the Russian Revolution, and of those two Communist heroes—Sacco and Vanzetti. Many men have been put to death justly or unjustly in this world and I will assume for the purposes of argument that the putting to death of Sacco and Vanzetti was wrong. But they are glorified because they are heroes for the creed. Just as Lenin is glorified because he led the great revolution and just as October day is glorified because it was a bloody bath of the bourgeoisie.

Then you have to pay special attention to educating people privately. Study circles have to be set up for the willing learner. Youth Leagues are most important. I gather that women are also important after all Mr. Spratt has done wonders since he has been in India according to the prosecution case. He cannot do everything at once. If he turned his attention to the youth before attending to the women he probably knew his own business best. Well, now, that is the general scheme of tactics. But when you come to the colonies, you have over and above that a special line to consider. You are likely to find in a country like India (which is grouped under the heading of colonies) you may find a source of discontent and trouble and possible revolution in for instance a nationalist party with aspirations which have nothing whatever to do with the aspirations of these Communists but still all tending to be "agin the Government" and giving an opportunity of creating trouble. Well, now, what you have to do in these circumstances is laid down very carefully. You make friends of these people outwardly you make use of them to go on fermenting your revolution. You go on abusing them behind their backs all the time to the workers explaining that they are no use and when the time comes you ruthlessly show them up. As an instance of that—I shall have to go into the whole matter of these tactics rather more in detail later—as an instance of that, may I read to you just two passages from "The Revolutionary Movement in the Colonies" 1929 which says this:-

41 Compro

Page 32

"The correct tactics in the struggle against such parties as the Swarajists and Wafdists during this stage consist in the successful exposure of their real national reformist character." They have now got to the last stage when you are going to show these people up for what they are worth after patting them on the back.

"These parties have already more than once betrayed the national-emancipatory struggle, but they have not yet finally passed over to the counter-revolutionary camp in the manner of Kuomintang"- that is the Chinese, of course.

"There is no doubt that they will do this later on, but at the present time they are so particularly dangerous precisely because their real physiognomy has not yet been exposed in the eyes of the wide masses of toilers. For this exposure there is still needed a very large amount of Communist educational work and a very great deal of new political experience on the part of the masses themselves. If the Communists do not already succeed in this stage in shaking the faith of the toiling masses in the bourgeois national-reformist leadership of the national movement, then this leadership in the coming upward growth of the revolutionary wave will represent an enormous danger for the revolution."

One big para about "Peking" is omitted here. - 41 Compro

And it goes on to say how you must use these people, go on using them up to a point but at the same time it says:

"It is no less important mercilessly to expose before the toiling masses the national—reformist character of the Swarajist, Wafdist and

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other nationalist parties and in particular of their leaders. It is necessary to expose their half-heartedness and vacillation in the national struggle, their bargainings and attempts to reach a compromise with British imperialism and so forth."

I shall have to go into this perhaps in a little detail some other time and I hope to show that the latest instructions direct from Moscow found with these gentlemen emphasise the same point. The time has come to show up these nationalist reformists. They have got to be mercilessly shown up before the world for what they are.

I must apologise, Your Honour, for not being able to finish but it has not been altogether my fault today.

(ENDS)

*The Court then rose for the day.*

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24th June 1929.

**Mr Longford James:**

When I broke off on the last occasion, your Honour, I had attempted to sketch the origin, the objective and the organisation, of this Third International and I had to some extent indicated the tactics which are advocated by it. I had read from books in support of my diagnosis on the first three points, and I note that one of my learned friends says that it is a fanciful point of view. It is unfortunately the point of view of this Third International.

Now this morning for a short time I must weary you I am afraid with their own statements with regard to the tactics which have got to be pursued, and when you come to see the tactics used by these accused you will find that they carried out very faithfully the advice contained in the official books of the International. I am reading now from the "Thesis and Statutes of the Third Communist International adopted by the Second Congress", which claim I believe to have been framed by Lenin.

On page 16 of that book they say:—

"In every organisation, union, association, beginning with the proletarian ones at first and afterwards in all those of the non-proletarian workers and exploited masses, (political, professional, military, cooperative, educational, sporting, etc.) must be formed groups or nuclei of communists, mostly open ones, but also secret ones, which become necessary in each case when the arrest or exile of their members or the dispersal of the organisation is threatened; and these nuclei, in close contact with one another and with the central party. Exchanging experiences carrying on the work of propaganda, campaign, organisation—adapting themselves to all the branches of social life, to all the various forms and subdivisions of the working masses must systematically train themselves, the party, the class, and the masses by such multiform work."

And on page 18:—

"In particular it is necessary for the Communist Party and the whole advanced proletariat to give the most absolute and self-denying support to all the masses for a larger general strike movement, which is alone able under the yoke of capitalism to awake, properly arouse, enlighten and organise the masses and develop in them a full confidence in the leading role of the revolutionary proletariat."

Again on page 20, after having pointed out the menace of capitalism and its use of newspapers, it says:—

"For the struggle against this state of things the Communist Party must create a new type of periodical press for extensive circulation among the workmen:

(1) Lawful publications in which the Communists without calling themselves such and without mentioning their connection which the party would learn to utilise the slightest possibility allowed by the laws. (2) Illegal sheets, although of the smallest dimensions and irregularly published but reproduced in most of the printing offices by the workmen in secret, or, if the movement has grown stronger, by means of revolutionary seizure of the printing offices, and giving the proletariat undiluted revolutionary information and the revolutionary mottoes."

Then on page 26 they emphasise the necessity of attacking the bourgeoisie:—

"Wherever the followers of the Third International have access, and whatever means of propaganda are at their disposal, whether the columns of newspapers, public meetings, labour unions, or cooperatives, it is indispensable for them not only to denounce the bourgeoisie but also its assistants and agents, reformists of every shade and colour. Then on page 27. The class struggle in almost every country of Europe and America is entering the phase of civil war. Under such conditions the Communists can have no confidence in bourgeois laws. They should create everywhere a parallel illegal apparatus which at the decisive moment should do its duty by the party and in every possible way assist the revolution in every country. Where in consequence of martial law or other exceptional laws the Communists are unable to carry on their work lawfully a combination of lawful and illegal work is absolutely necessary."

Then on page 45 we get this:—

"The elementary means of struggle of the proletariat against the rule of the bourgeoisie is first of all the method of mass demonstrations. Such mass demonstrations are prepared and carried out by the organised masses of the proletariat under the direction of a united, disciplined Communist Party. Civil war is war. In this war the proletariat must have its efficient political officers, its good political general staff, to conduct operations during all the stages of that fight. The mass struggle means a whole system of developing demonstrations growing ever more acute in form and logically leading to an uprising against the capitalist order of government. In this warfare of the masses developed into a civil war the guiding party of the proletariat must as a general rule secure control over all lawful positions, making them its auxiliaries in the revolutionary work and subordinating such positions to the plans of the general campaign, that of the mass struggle."

And on page 50 they say:—

"In the event of labour demonstrations in the streets or other revolutionary movements the communist members must occupy the most conspicuous place at "the head of the proletarian masses".



Then in the Official Account of the Thesis of the Fourth Congress they have developed that which you will find is more highly developed hereafter, the question of these tactics in the Colonies. Now what I have read largely applies to European countries, but it is realized that when you get to a country like India you will expect to find an additional factor, that is, you will find certain people amongst the population who are dissatisfied, who want independence or who want in some way or another to better themselves politically. Now these are referred to in these Theses as the nationalist bodies. They are anathema to the Third International, for obvious reasons. The nationalist body that you find in country like Egypt or India is likely to be—and experience shows, generally is composed of just those elements which the Third International desires to fight, namely, the bourgeois elements. The nationalist body in such countries is not likely to be the class-conscious body which the Third International desires to see top dog. Therefore a new problem arises and as these nationalist forces are likely to be useful for the end in view you utilise them at the start explaining all the while quietly that their ideology is wrong; and then when you have used them as far as you need, it is perfectly simple to throw them overboard in that great day when the proletariat will vanquish and will overthrow the bourgeoisie of this country, just as it has overthrown or planned to overthrow the bourgeoisie of any western country. But in these Theses you will find they emphasise the importance of *using* these national forces in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. There the task of the Communist International is two-fold: firstly, to establish and consolidate nuclei of the communist party which will work on its own lines for the furtherance of their main objective, and secondly, to give the utmost support to the national revolutionary movement directed against Imperialism and to become the vanguard of that movement they hope to develop the social movement within the national movement. In other words you put yourself at the head of the national movement saying that you want to see India governed by Indians, and all the time you mean nothing of the sort, you want the dictatorship of the proletariat all over the world and the transitional stage of government under Stalin at Moscow.

I now quote from the Theses is of the 4th Congress. Page 57.

“While the Bourgeois nationalists regard the labour movement merely from the point of view of its importance as a means for securing victory for themselves, the International proletariat regards the young labour movement of the East from the point of view of its revolutionary future.”

This points out somewhat cynically that the bourgeois nationalist rejoices to see labour commotions going on thinking that they will aid his needs, whereas of course it is he who is really being exploited by the other people. Then on page 58, it is emphasised again:—

“The communist and working class parties in the colonies and semi-colonial countries are confronted by a two-fold task: on the one hand to fight for the most radical solutions of the problems of bourgeois democratic revolution, directed to the conquest of political independence and, on the other, to organise the workers and peasants to fight for their special class interest, during which they must take advantage of the antagonism existing in the nationalist bourgeois “democratic camp.”

It is in fact the proletariat who are going to use the nationalist bourgeois—not the other way about. Then on page 59:—

“While in the West amidst the conditions of the transition period, which is a period of organised accumulation of strength, the watchword of the United Labour Front was put forward, in the colonial East it is at present necessary to put forward the watchword of a United Anti-Imperialist Front.”

And it was precisely for this reason that the League against Imperialism was started as a camouflage body to do this work. Then on page 88, going back to the tasks of agitation, they say:—

“Every member of the Communist International must consider himself an agitator among the masses. This can always take place wherever and whenever workers usually gather, in the workshops, in the trade unions, at mass meetings in workers’ clubs, in sport clubs, musical societies, tenants’ and consumers’ organisations, in peoples’ houses, in workers’ restaurants, in the trains, in the villages etc., and even in the homes of the workers (house to house agitation). The agitation shall always take as its starting point the concrete conditions and needs of the workers in order to lead them on the path of organised, revolutionary class war. One should not expound Communist Doctrines which would not be understood by the audience; one should always urge them to rise and fight for the immediate demands of the proletariat against capitalist and bourgeois class rule wherever it appears.”

Do not tell them the whole truth, because it will make them sick. That is what it comes to.

Then in the Fifth Congress—I will not trouble to read them to your Honour, but I will give you the reference, pages 29 to 33, where you have the whole things ummed up in little paragraphs in which they deal with all these various problems.

Mr. D. P. Sinha: I am sorry to interrupt, but in order that we may be in a position to judge the value of these things better may I know if these are the official reports of the Communist Congresses from which my learned friend is reading, or are then extracts from books taken from the possession of the accused?

Mr. Langford James: What I am reading from at present is the official account of these Congresses published by the Communist

International, but I am proposing to read—and I will tell you when I do—from books taken from the accused as well.

Mr. D. P. Sinha: That is subject to our objection.

Mr. Langford James: Oh, undoubtedly. I quite realise that. Well I won't read this now except to say that in a short way they summarise the various activities and problems, including this question of the bourgeoisie, the organisation of the peasantry, the fight against religion and this question of the colonies. In 1928 there was a very important pronouncement made with regard to tactics generally and the tactics in the colonies generally and the tactics in India in particular. Now this has been found with the accused, not only in the form of Imprecorr, the newspaper to which I have referred you, but also special typed copies have been sent out and they have been found with several of the accused. I should like to read you that passage—it is not very long—which deals particularly with India. I have already read to you two passages in which they discuss the proper way to fight the Swarajists and say that it is important “mercilessly to expose before the toiling masses the national reformist character of the Swarajist, Wafdist and other nationalist parties.” They lay very great stress upon that as a general tactic. I am sorry to use the singular, but it is more or less confined to the Bolshevik. He never uses the plural but always ‘tactic’ in the singular. And the general tactic with regard to all the East is that you should attempt to use the nationalist bodies and then mercilessly to expose them when the time comes apparently in the opinion of the Third International, as I will have to tell you later, the time has arrived, but when they come to India proper what they say is this:—

“The basic tasks of the Indian Communists consist in struggle against British imperialism for the emancipation of the country, for destruction of all relics of feudalism, for the agrarian revolution and for establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry in the form of a soviet republic. These tasks can be successfully carried out only when there will be created a powerful Communist Party which will be able to place itself at the head of the wide masses of the working class, peasantry and all the toilers, and to lead them in the struggle against the feudal-imperialist bloc.”

“The strike movement of the Indian proletariat now taking place, its independence from bourgeois nationalism the all-Indian character of this movement, its distribution over almost all branches of industry, the frequent and protracted strikes, the stubbornness and great resoluteness with which the workers have carried them on, the coming forward of leaders of the strikes from the midst of the workers themselves—all these things denote a turning point in the history of the struggle of the Indian proletariat, and prove that in India the pre-conditions have matured which are essential for the creation of a mass Communist Party. The union of all Communist groups and individual Communist scattered throughout the country into a single independent and centralised Party represents the first task

of Indian Communists. While rejecting the principle of the building of the Party on a two-class basis, the Communists must utilise the connections of the existing workers' and peasants' parties with the toiling masses for strengthening their own party, bearing in mind that the hegemony of the proletariat cannot be realised without the existence of a consolidated, steadfast Communist party armed with the theory of Marxism. The agitational work of the Communist Party must be bound up with the struggle for the immediate demands of the workers, at the same time explaining to them to the general aims which the Communist Party sets out to achieve and the methods which it applies for their realisation. It is essential to establish nuclei in the various industrial and other enterprises, and these must take an active part in the Labour movement, in the organisation and conduct of strikes and political demonstrations. The Communist organisations must from the very beginning devote special attention to the training of leading Party cadres from the ranks of the workers.

"In the trade unions, the Indian Communist must mercilessly expose the national-reformist leaders and carry on a decisive struggle for the conversion of the trade unions into genuine class organisation of the proletariat and for the replacement of the present "reformist leadership by consistent revolutionary representatives from the mass of the workers. It is especially necessary to expose the method so much favoured by Indian reformists of deciding conflicts by means of petition to the representatives of British imperialism, as well as to "impartial" courts for adjudication between workers and employers. In this struggle, it is necessary to push forward the demands for trade union democracy, for putting the trade union apparatus into the hands of the workers etc. The levers for Party work in the trade unions must be the Communists fractions as well as groups founded by the Communists and sympathising with them. It is necessary to utilise the present strike wave in order to organise the unorganised workers. The miners and engineering workers, the coolies working on the plantations and agricultural labourers in general, represent the least organised sections of the Indian proletariat and the Communists need to devote the necessary attention to them.

"The Communists must unmask the national reformism of the Indian National Congress and oppose all the phrases of the Swarajists, Gandhists etc., about passive resistance, with the irreconcilable slogan of struggle for the emancipation of the country and the expulsion of the imperialists."

Having used what they call the bourgeois national reformist parties, the time has now come to abuse them and show them up mercilessly.

"In relation to the peasantry and peasant organisations the Indian Communists are faced above all with the task of acquainting the widest strata of the peasantry with the general demands of the

Party in the agrarian question, for which purpose the Party must work out an agrarian programme of action. Through workers connected with the village, as well as directly, the Communists must stimulate the struggle of the peasantry for partial demands, and in the process of struggle organise peasant unions. It is essential to pay particular attention to make sure that the newly created peasant organisations do not fall under the influence of exploiting strata in the village.

( That means don't allow the present organisation to get into the hands of the Swaraj Reformists ). "It is necessary to give to the existing peasant organisations a concise programme of concrete demands, and to support the activities of the peasants through demonstrations of workers in the towns. It must be remembered that under no circumstances can the communists relinquish their right to open criticism of the opportunists and reformist tactics of the leadership of those mass organisations for which they work."

I lay some stress upon that, because when I come to deal with the activities of these accused, you will find that they have worked on exactly these lines. They have introduced their nuclei nearly everywhere, and they have done their best, I must say, mercilessly to expose to some people at any rate their worst enemy, the reformist leader.

Now, I have said all that I intend to at this stage with regard to the Third International or Comintern, but I should like to say this. It is not necessary, in order to constitute an offence under section 121A nor is it necessary to convict these accused of such offence, to prove that they belong to this Third International. If I show that they were carrying out the work on these lines, and at the behest of this Third International, that is quite sufficient. It is quite unnecessary to show that they were in fact members of a communist party definitely formed and affiliated to the Third International. I think that you will come to the conclusion that they were such a party, and if not actually affiliated, they were about to affiliate to the Third International. But I repeat that that is quite an unnecessary part of the indictment. If I show that they were following—to use the words of Mr. Spratt—the “Moscow road” and that for Moscow reasons, and that they were employing Moscow method with Moscow money, I think that that will be quite sufficient for any court. As to that I hope to satisfy you that there is simply overwhelming evidence, I do not want to be understood to say that I cannot link up these people with the Third International. I think, and in fact I am quite sure that I can, but the point is that it is not really necessary, strictly necessary, to do so.

Now, this conspiracy in India is not, by any means, confined to India. It has been fomented, directed and financed from outside India. And a part has been taken in it by a very large number of persons outside India. I propose to give you, a list of the people, the known people, who have joined in this conspiracy from outside India. But generally you may say that the Comintern, by its appropriate body, whether it be the Ecce or the Praesidium, or the

Colonial Department, has been an active member of this conspiracy. The communist party of Great Britain and various persons in particular belonging to that party have taken an exceptionally active part. Then there are on the Continent of Europe various other people. There are the Secretaries of the League against Imperialism, whom I mentioned the other day, one of whom, Munzen berg is a well-known member of the Comintern, and there is Comrade Chattapadya. Then when you go to Hamburg you find a gentleman of the name of Carl whose other name is Inliere Lesse. There is a Julius and a Walter over there, and there are other people also living in France and on the Continent. I promise that I will give you, as far as I can, an exhaustive list of their names, at any rate before I finish this address.

One of the more important of these gentlemen whose name I have not yet mentioned is Mr. Manabendra Nath Roy, whose real name, I believe, is Bhattecharya. Now, Mr. M. N. Roy is a very well-known communist. The Communist International has taken a fatherly interest in India since the year 1922, or perhaps a little earlier, and the gentleman who was especially selected in those earlier days to look after the welfare of this land from the communist point of view was Mr. M. N. Roy. Opinions may differ as to whether he did his best or whether he did not. Perhaps some of the money stuck *en route*, anyhow there was in the year 1924 trial. I say nothing whatever about it, because it has nothing to do with this case, but there was a trial in Cawnpore of certain person. It is to the period after that trial that I am proposing to direct your attention. I shall call it the Cawnpore case, merely as a landmark. After this Cawnpore case it appears that the Third International for doubtless their own good reasons instructed the communist party of Great Britain to take a hand in this game, and it is from that time that you find the communist party of Great Britain interesting itself in the future education of India in communism and the future communist revolution which they wished to bring out.

Now the first gentleman that they sent out to this country, because they have sent out a certain number, the first gentleman they sent out was a Mr. Glading. He came out here and, following the then custom, he called himself Cochrane. No communist comes out here exactly in a free or aboveboard manner. They either change their names or they at any rate throw some doubt upon their occupations. Now Glading came out and returned home and reported that things were in a very bad way indeed in India from their point of view.

Mr. Sinha:—Which year was that ?

Mr. Langford James:—1925.

He made a report at a Conference held at Amsterdam on the 11th and 12th July, 1925. I am reading from that report to see what he had to say. The writer, Mr. Robson, a member of the Communist party of Great Britain, says :

"I arrived in Amsterdam Friday evening and immediately went to the address at which I was instructed to make enquiries, but was unable to get any reply.

On Saturday morning I met two trains arriving from Flushing, expecting to intercept Glading and others who were to be present at the Conference, but as they did not arrive I again visited the contact address and discovered that Glading, Dutt and Upadhyaya (*three members of the communist party of Great Britain*) were already there, having arrived by an early train and gone to the meeting place immediately.

Later Roy arrived (*that is M. N. Roy*) and informed us that a meeting would take place at 4-30 p.m. A French representative was expected but nothing was certain."

They had their first meeting at 4-30 p.m. on Saturday, July 11th "Comrade Sneevliet of the Dutch party presided and it was agreed that we should first hear Glading's Report".

Then there is a list of those present.

"Comrade Glading stated that he had not expected to be called upon to give a full report of his visit to India, and then gave the names of places which he had visited and people whom he had met. (*It would be interesting to see those names. I have seen some.*) He had not met any Communists and had finally decided that those with whom he had come in contact were useless so far as our Party work is concerned. He said that Calcutta, which he visited last as the best place. (*I agree with him.*)"

Questions were then asked as follows:

"Roy: What opinion had the Calcutta trade unionists and nationalists of the big leaders? Glading stated that he had not ascertained this.

Sneevliet: Was Glading aware of any relations existing between the Indian leaders and Amsterdam? Glading stated that he was not aware of this." (*Of course Amsterdam is that horrible other International Congress which these accused have been so anxious to keep clear of.*)

"Sneevliet asked Glading why he made his investigations in Calcutta on a Communist basis. Glading replied that he did not do so. Roy then said to Glading: 'Is it true that Bell had said that the International Programme for work in India is 'all nonsense' and not justified by your report?' I then explained that a sub-committee of four, consisting of Dutt, Bell, Glading and myself had been set up to consider the International Programme in the light of Glading's report and that no such thing has been said by Bell, but that our attitude was that in the light of Glading's report, which stated that no Indian Communist groups existed at all, it was necessary to revise the suggested programme. Roy then stated that he had

documentary evidence that Indian groups existed but that these had been unable to make up their minds to see Glading before he left India for England."

Now it is quite clear therefore that Roy had been entrusted with the work of developing India on communist lines, and that he was somewhat hipped by Glading's report. But they on their side intended to do their best to put their house in order.

About this time this communist party of great Britain was turning its attention to corrupting the minds of the youth that Oxford, and what they were proposing to do was to have fractions or nuclei at the universities to teach communistic doctrines against the time that they came out to India. When we come to deal with Spratt you will see that I have very good reasons for supposing that he was a nucleus at the sister university.

Now I am reading to you passages from a report made by Comrade Ivan Thomas then at Merton College, Oxford, dated June 2nd, 1925 :—

" Dear Comrade,

Comrade P. R. Stephenson and myself have been working regularly within the society of Indian students here—the Majlis. We have put forward the Communist viewpoint at debates and in private conversation with individual Indians! The result of our activity so far amounts to this: the Indians have been confronted with the existence of M. N. Roy's group and its definite programme of political and economic demands; they have had to recognise that the Indian people have interests that conflict with the interests of the Indian bourgeois and zemindar classes; and that Indian freedom can have another meaning than the opening of all I.C.S. positions to aspiring bureaucrats from the petty bourgeois intelligentsia."

Then he goes on to point out that—

" In these circumstances we think it is doubtful that we will be able to organise an extreme—Nationalist bloc with a programme of genuine anti-Imperialism and national-liberation.

We do think, however, that we can get together a small and *secret* group of Revolutionary nationalists, who will meet privately with us to discuss the political situation and problem of the struggle for liberation. It may be best to make it a group of Asiatic Revolutionaries and so broaden the basis of our discussions. I am in touch with a Chinese revolutionary here, Ming Chak Lee, who would be prepared to join the Communist Party. The rest of the Chinese community here is hopelessly loyalist and pro-Imperialist.....More than anything we need *information* on the most recent development of Asiatic politics. Our work amongst the Eastern people cannot but be only moderately effective as we are not acquainted with the internal situation in India and China. Can Centre supply us *regularly* with *up-to-date* informa-



tion of this sort? "*Centre of course, is Moscow.*" We could make it the subject of resolutions and motions in the Majlis, and of our study and discussion in the Asiatic-Revolutionary group. Imprecor keeps me in touch with events: but Centre could help very much more if we were supplied with statistics and other data on the internal position of the British colonies and the political and economic relations of colonies and metropolis.

I have just received a booklet of M. N. Roy's from Comrade Pollard.....is it now possible to receive the Vanguard publications regularly?

The measures that are necessary to ensure the secrecy of our work are these:

(1) Indian members of the party will be known on the Party books under *English names* John X., Smith, etc. The bearers of the pseudonyms will be known under their real names only to those members of the Oxford local who are directly concerned with work amongst the Asiatics.

(2) The Indians will not be connected with the work of the Party in the town; they must be organised entirely apart from the local group and have no connection with it except that one or two of us will be members of both the town and the Indian group.

(3) Reports and communications from Oxford which mention work amongst the Indians will be sent to a non-Party personal friend of mine in London and will be delivered by hand at King Street.

(4) Instructions and communications from King Street, mentioning this part of our work, should be addressed to me and enclosed in an envelope sent to (*an address is given in Oxford, but which Comrade Pollard thought was of no use, because there is a note in his handwriting which says:—*

"This is no use. Comrade Thomas must make other arrangements. He will be in London on June 4th. )

This is the report of Comrade Thomas, and there is another one from Comrade Stephenson, which I don't think I need trouble you with exactly at this moment.

(Here followed a discussion on a protest raised by Mr. Sinha in regard to the relevancy of the letters read by Mr. Langford James).

This letter is a letter written by Graham Pollard to Dear Comrade, and it says is "As asked by Comrade Arnott. I visited Oxford during Whitsun week and got into touch with the two comrades who had been carrying on propaganda amongst the Indians there. These are Comrade Stephenson who was on the Executive Committee of the Queensland, Australia, Communist Party and Comrade Thomas. Both seem quite reliable. To Thomas belongs the

credit of having initiated and carried on the work alone to start with, but Stephenson has a better grasp of the party position and more capabilities in putting it forward. On the whole I think that as both comrades have rather different contacts it would be best if the work were entrusted to them jointly. I obtained the written reports of their work among the Indians from both the comrades and they are enclosed. The question of secrecy of the work and the necessity of keeping it separate from other party activities was fully realised. The actual position among the Indians appears to be as follows." There are 3 who will actually join the Communist Party (*and their names are given*). He goes on to say:—

"Their are various points which arise from the position at present. Are the Indians who are ready to join the English Party to be allowed to do so or are they to be kept an entirely secret group connected only with Centre" (*that is to say, connected only with Moscow*)

Mr. D. P. Sinha: Does that refer to Indians in England or Indians in India.

Mr. Langford James: You hear what Comrade Graham Pollard wrote: "Are the Indians who are ready to join the English Party to be allowed to do so or are they to be kept an entirely secret group connected only with the Centre"? That is what Comrade Graham Pollard says.

Mr. D. P. Sinha: That does not affect Indians in India.

Mr. Langford James: It was suggested that these students who had been selected by Comrades Thomas and Stephenson-should have an interview with Comrade Sakalatvala also of the English Communist Party, and on the 23rd June, there is a letter from Comrade Bell of the Colonial Department of the English Communist Party to Comrade Sakalatvala. It runs:—

"With further reference to our letter of a few days ago concerning Indian students at Oxford, and the desirability of your arranging an appointment with certain of these will be returning to India in the course of a few weeks.

We have received a memo, dealing with the political composition of the Majlis, and we enclose herewith a copy of same for your information and desire to draw your attention particularly to the request on page 2, of the memo, that you should meet a number of these Indians during the course of the next few weeks".

That memo. was enclosed with that letter and it runs as follows:-

"The following are the dates when the Indians concerned will be in London and prepared to see Com. Sakalatvala." (And the dates are given). Above that you find:—

"It is important that Com. Sakalatvala should interview these

men before they depart. Naturally they would not come all together to interview him, and a tete-a-tete conversation would produce best results. We append our opinion of each of these men etc."

Diwan Chaman Lal: May we have the names read out if you have any objection to our having a look at the documents ?

Mr. Langford James: You can see the documents. I will give to you now.

Mr. D. P. Sinha: We are entitled to see as soon as it comes into evidence.

Mr. Langford James: You are quite right. You need have no grievance. There are three documents here. (shows them). Just about that same date, there is another document which is found in the possession of the communist Party of Great Britain and which purports to be a brief survey of the progress recently made with regard to the Colonial work in India, Egypt, Palestine, Canada and among African, Negro and Chinese students and members of the Kuomintang in the East End of London. This shows the activities of these people at this particular time and it reads as follows:—

"The following is a brief survey of the progress we have made recently in connection with the Colonial work. As you know, there are present in London the following Indians: Charmon Lal - past Secretary of the Trades Union Congress, Member of the Legislative Assembly and member of the parliamentary Socialist Society ....."

I think this must be the gentleman whose name occurs over and over again in this case and who seems to have taken quite a prominent part in some of the activities in this case, as far as I can gather, his comrades do not seem to think that he is very much of a fellow. One man calls him vasillating Chaman, and another one is hard hearted enough to call him "the champion acrobat." The name is spelt differently here.

Diwan Chaman Lal: Are you tendering evidence to that effect too ?

Mr. Langford James: Oh yes, that will all come in the evidence. He is spelt as Charmon Lal here in this letter but the acrobat is spelt Chaman Lal. Then they have got G. Goswami - but I think they must mean T. Goswami - "treasurer of the Swaraj party and close intimate friend of the late C. R. Das: also member of the Legislative Assembly and member of the Parliamentary Socialist Society - J. Joshi - secretary ( I believe of the Jute workers' Union ) and Government nominee to the recent Geneva Labour Convention from India".

You will see that they were rather setting their caps at these three excellent gentlemen but with the possible exception of Chaman Lal, they seem to have struck rather a bad patch, because this Mr. Joshi mentioned here is the man who is the bugbear of the present accused.

Communist Party of Great Britain." This shows the arrangement, how the communist propaganda was to be done in India and how that was to be divided between these various bodies.

Then there is a letter from Roy to Dutt at the same time It said:

Enclosed herewith is the answer to the communication dated the 6th of July. Please make the comrades concerned acquainted with it. A copy is sent to the Communist Party of Great Britain for information. In order to decide, amongst other questions, that of co-operation between the Colonial Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain and the Indian Communist group of Great Britain, Comrade Macmanus and yourself were sent for to come here (that is, Moscow). The party writes in reply that until the Labour Conference, it will not be possible for Comrade M. ... to leave Britain and that steps taken in relation to your trip demands your presence in England."

Well, I think there is not much more in that letter which is of importance. That simply shows how this propaganda was divided up or arranged between these various centres, Moscow, the rest of the continent of Europe, and Great Britain.

Now, the next emissary from the Communist Party of Great Britain to arrive in India was a man named George Allison. He had the bad taste to arrive under a false passport which described him as Donald Campbell. He must have had sound reasons for concealing his identity when he came to India, and I am sure they were extremely good reasons. He is a prominent member of the Communist Party of Great Britain and had been to Moscow and taken part in the discussions of the Comintern at Moscow. He arrived by the S. S. Razmak on the 30th of April, 1926. He got into touch with a large number of these present accused, but he was arrested on a charge of travelling under a false passport. I believe he was arrested in Calcutta and afterwards sent on to Bombay. He was arrested before he had time to do very much. He helped to organise to some extent the body in Bombay which was then doing communist work under the name of the Labour Swarajist Party. I will not trouble you further with Mr. Allison although I shall have to prove more than that about him. It comes to this, for the purposes of my case, that I shall satisfy you that Mr. Allison was sent out to India by the Communist Party of Great Britain for the deliberate purpose of fomenting and stirring up this proletarian revolution which by this time I am sure you will recognise is the main objective of the Communist Party wherever you find them.

On the 31st December 1926 arrived the third emissary sent out from Europe in the shape of Mr. Spratt.

Mr. D. P. Sinha :—Spratt is No. 4.

Mr. Langford James :—Do you make it so? I said third and I think my arithmetic is right. Mr. Spratt arrived as a humble

bookseller. I think that every one knows the forms which one has to fill in at Bombay before clearing one's luggage. On that Mr. Spratt described himself as a bookseller and he came here under the guise of a bookseller. I do not think he has sold a book since he has been here, but that was the ostensible reason for arriving in India.

Diwan Chaman Lal:—What was his profession in England ?

Mr. Langford James:—His profession in England was communism. He was at the Downing College, Cambridge, and while there, he was a member of the National Minority Movement, which I will remind you, is a branch of the RILU as to which I need not repeat my previous remarks. In 1925, there was a search of the premises 16, King's Street, which was the location of the Communists Party of Great Britain and some people came to see what was happening and took interest in it, and amongst them was comrade Phillip Spratt. I do not suppose for a moment that Mr. Spratt in this court or any other is going to say that he was not a communist and that he is not a communist. He has once said so. He wrote to the Times of India to explain that he was not a communist because he did not belong to a communist party. But I do not suppose that in this court he is going to deny that he is and has always been a communist. But I must prove it, and I am proposing to prove it. On his way from Paris, so I gather from Mr. Spratt's note book, he had a meeting with Mr. C. P. Dutt (who had the bad taste to keep him waiting for four hours at a particular hotel) and I think that it is perfectly clear that Mr. Spratt came out to India for exactly the same purpose as Mr. Glading and Mr. Allison came out. He came out to carry on the work of fomenting a revolution here in India. He was arrested in September, 1927, and he was charged under 124 A and was acquitted. But when he was arrested, certain documents were recovered from his possession. Among the letters recovered from his possession was a letter from Messrs. Birrel and Garnett, Foreign Booksellers. You will be surprised to hear that Birrel and Garnett is only another name for Graham Pollard. It says:—

“As Mr. Phillip Spratt is proceeding to India, we agree to engage him as our Agent and to pay him a commission of 5 per cent. on the gross value of all secondhand books, English or foreign, sold through his agency. Further more, we agree to pay him a certain proportion on new English books sold through him subject to the conditions of the net book agreement.”

It sounds very nice. It did not seem to come true somehow. In addition to that, we have another letter from Graham Pollard. May I remind you that Graham Pollard was the man who was taking in 1925 such an interest in the revolutionary movement at Oxford? He writes a letter to Dear Phillip.

“Thanks for your activities on my behalf. But I am afraid they have not yielded very much so far. I have sent back that book on Indian art as it seems to me too expensive and also some what difficult to sell, from its subject.”

This is simply to continue the camouflage of Mr. Spratt having arrived here as a bookseller. This is the last we hear of his activities in selling books. Then there is a letter from that other gentleman whom you will remember Mr. Page Arnott, who was also interested in the youth at Oxford. This letter says:—

“My dear Chaman Lal, I want to introduce to you Mr. Phillip Spratt, whom I have known very well ever since I made his acquaintance at Cambridge in 1921. He is in India on business, but he told me before he went that he would be very glad to do whatever work he can do for the Labour research department. For the last few years, both when he was at and when he came down from Cambridge, he had done a great deal of voluntary work for us and he is fully conversant with all methods of research. I have asked him to get into touch with as many Unions as he could find time to act as our representative in securing the affiliation of those Unions. He will be able to explain the Utility of affiliation both from the point of view of Union and also from our point of view, which is primarily not the small affiliation fee.....”.

There is nothing very much more, except that he notes further on:—

“I am writing to you because I am sure I can rely on you to give him every facility for meeting the various trade unionists. His time is limited of course and this will make it more difficult. But he will want lists of unions and personal introduction to Secretaries and Presidents, and if you can spare him the time to give him a talk about Indian Trades Unions, it would save him a good deal of weary journeying and investigation.

Yours fraternally,

R. PAGE ARNOT.

There were other letters found with him at the time of his arrest, among those letters of introduction from Comrade Saklatwala. Therefore Mr. Spratt, this humble bookseller, is sponsored into India by Comrades Saklatwala, Page Arnot and Graham Pollard. The position which Mr. Spratt found when he got to India with regard to Communist activity was, as far as I can make out, this. In Bombay there was a group known as the Labour Swaraj group that had existed for some little time and had been organised on orthodox lines—I suppose by Comrade Alison. In Calcutta there was another similar group but under the name of the Peasants and Workers Party. Now, if you are a Bolshevik you will know what a horrible misnomer that is. That shows completely wrong ideology. You should never call the thing the Peasants and Workers' Party, because the proletariat are the leaders of the revolution and the peasants are merely their allies. If you want really to get a headache upon this subject I would ask your Honour to read “Leninism” by Stalin. You would find it excellently set out there. But this is the point. Whatever you are going to do with the peasants—

whether you propose to murder them *en bloc* or to neutralise them or to make allies of them—they are certainly number two. The proletariat is first. Therefore to call yourselves the Peasants and Workers is wholly wrong—bad form. What Mr. Spratt did was to form a Workers and Peasants' Party in Bombay, I should tell you another thing about this Peasants and Workers' Party of Calcutta. It had a declaration of its objects and reasons. That read, "The object of the Party is the attainment of Swaraj in the sense of complete independence of India based on economic and social emancipation and political freedom of men and women." And the means whereby this was to be attained was as follows:—

"Non-violent mass action will be the principal means for the attainment and realization of the above object and demand." Non-violent mass action. You will find that later when the Peasants and Workers, Party of Calcutta has been changed into the Workers and Peasants' Party there is no mention of non-violent mass action. Non-violence drops out. This particular document which I have in my hand is the copy which went to the Punjab, and there also there was formed a Workers and Peasants' Party, and I find that this document is altered in this way. The means are set out thus," "The attainment and realization of the above object and demands will be by illegitimate means". I entirely agree. I will tell you how I think it has happened. This document I believe to be in the handwriting of honest Josh. It was perfectly clear that the objects of this Party were to be attained and realized by illegitimate means as he has so put it down here. Honest fellow!

That is my view of it. The constitution of 1928 of the Workers and Peasants' Party of Bengal, instead of saying that non-violent mass action will be the principal means for the attainment and realization of the object, says that the "Rallying of the people to mass action will be the principal means for the attainment and realization of the above objects". I do not think the omission of the word "non-violent" could have been accidental—not certainly in view of the speeches and writings and actions of these accused.

To go back to Mr. Spratt. His first activity was the founding, on the basis of the Labour Swaraj Party, of the Workers and Peasants Party in Bombay. I may tell you that Counsel's opinion was taken upon the question as to whether the programme of this Workers and Peasants' Party was a legal one. I think there was a Mr Patel whose view was taken and his reply appears to have been that he could not say. It was either legal or illegal according to the whim of the Government. Now that was admirable. I venture to think it was an extremely good opinion. The programme and a statement of what the Workers and Peasants' Party stands (drafted by Mr Spratt.) with rather non-committal. One can however see quite well I think what the Workers and Peasants' Party stands for. You can read between the lines and see what it really contemplated. But on the

whole they were comparatively non-committal. But at the same time Mr. Spratt also appears to have put down on paper a suggested syllabus for this Party, and I should like to read you some of that:—

“Politics—classes—national groups—state “Other party and class instruments—Why join the party to co-operate in the pursuit of certain ends.

What ends?—The interests of certain sections of society. What sections?—Nations or classes. What is a class?—A set of persons having approximately similar economic interests. What is a nation?”

And so on:—

“What is politics? - The struggle of classes or national groups. What do they struggle for?—Economic interests and sometimes as a means for the furtherance of economic interest for political power (power defined roughly). It will be for an individual to concern himself primarily with the affairs of his class, since in that modern world the immense majority of individuals cannot get away from their class limitation—they rise or fall with their fellows. But further, we have reason to think that the play of class forces and their development have enormously important influences on human culture and life generally.”

Then further on:—

“Politics is the struggle of classes or national groups. What then is political power? It consists in general of the most class-conscious (note—class-conscious), active, intelligent members of a class who take it upon themselves to do the class-thinking and to energize the rest of the class when necessary.”

This is the syllabus for the workers and Peasants Party, to show that they are a class-conscious party who are going to lead the rest of their class.

“The function of the Party is leadership, Parties may “represent more than one class, coalesced or federated together for some more or less limited end, *e. g.* the national struggle. But the fundamental thing is the class-party.

“What are the parties in Indian politics? The non-Congress Parties. These are parties of that section of the bourgeois which has been won over by imperialism to side with it.”

That is the horrible loyalist. Then comes the next most poisonous.

“The National Congress Party. These are also mainly bourgeois parties who a few years ago were anti-imperialist, but owing to political lag still pretend to be. The Swaraj Party contains most of the representatives of the petty bourgeoisie, shopkeepers, minor bureaucrats unemployed university men whose education is bourgeois, but whose interests are not. The leadership of the Swaraj Party is bourgeois however.



And so they are No. 2 on the list. Then No. 3 is:—

“The Workers and Peasants Party, which represents the interests of these sections. It realizes that the industrial workers are the backbone of the movement and it must lead. But the interests of the peasantry are fundamentally similar and it is essential to get peasant support. It must oppose strongly the formation of a separate peasants’ party, since experience shows that these parties almost always fall under landlord leadership against the towns-bourgeois and proletariat, thus creating a thoroughly unhealthy and absurd social division.

“The National Congress forms a sort of federated Nationalist Party.

As the workers and Peasants Party must support the national struggle, it must be a congress party, but will fight in the congress for its point of view.”

Then he has got a short summary of it:—

Suggested Syllabus.

“(1) Politics, classes- national groups—parties and so on.”

No. (6) in the syllabus is “The party”

“Role of the Party—a working class organ ordinarily—in the national struggle and the class struggle. Organization of the Party. Contrast with the second International practice. Relative to the peasantry and the petty bourgeois—tactics etc.”

“(7). The revolutionary crisis. War—general strike—armed uprising—seizure of power—attitude to the state (destruction of the state machine and erection of a new one). Beginning of socialist reconstruction.”

You remember my reading that from the papers of the communist International—it will smash the existing state to pieces and erect a new one—the “beginning of socialist reconstruction.”

This is Mr. Spratt’s idea of the Workers and Peasants’ Party, and if he will allow me to say so, a thoroughly honest one. Then he has a general bibliography:—

Every member of the class must have read and if possible should read again during the course: Marx and Engels—“Communist Manifesto.”

- Lenin*—“State and Revolution”
- “Left Wing Communism”
- “The Proletarian Revolution”
- “Imperialism”.
- Stalin*—“Leninism”.
- R. Dutt*—“Communism”
- “Modern India”.

*Kadek's*—"Nicolai Lenin" also contains a good summary of Lenin's contributions to the subject."

This is Mr. Spratt's real idea of what this Party ought to be and in fact what it was.

Now I propose to show you, Sir, some of the, to me at any rate, surprising correspondence which passed between Mr. Spratt, bookseller, on his arrival or shortly after his arrival in India, and his friends in Europe. Now this is a letter dated the 21st January 1927 to Mr. Spratt and written by "Douglas". I have my views as to whom "Douglas" is, but it does seem to me to matter very much. The letter runs:—

"Dear Phillip,

"I was so sorry to hear that you have had trouble with your health. I hope that you are now acclimatised and are in good form. The best thing, I believe, is to make sure that you take some exercise every day, at least some walking if not physical jerks. Only you should beware of getting into a perspiration, especially about the waist, and then cooling off. It is good to keep a towel handy for such emergencies.

"The business of a bookseller must be a rather wearing and difficult occupation under new conditions, but I hope that you are making good according to your expectation. What ever you do, don't be overcome by the natural tendency to inertia in such a climate. I was in Brighton a few days ago and old Walter was eagerly asking how you were getting on. Unfortunately I had no news and only got your letter when I returned.

"I am glad to hear that you are at the Y. M. C. A. and I hope that you are making many good friends. Religion is a great standby, but keep away from dogmatism. There can be good even in Methodism.

Will you please note that. That is the first remark in the main body of this letter which is instructive.

".....There can be good even in Methodism. Unfortunately many are inclined to be uncharitable, and you should not necessarily accept the statements of others at face value.

"It is a great pity that David is not in good health.

"It is a very depressing thing to be ill in a strange country. Perhaps Baker can do something for him. I believe Ewan is still in Dundee.

"The weather here has been wretched and everybody has been down with flu. Still we hope to have a few bright days now, even if it remains cold.

"Remember that every one is anxious to hear from you". May I just explain one or two things about this letter. "There can be good

even in Methodism." According to these people who use this sort of jesting religious language to express their views, the Methodist Church is what I may call a large camouflage body, as opposed to the Y. M. C. A., which is the real Communist party. I mention this here but in dealing with other letters you will see it much more clearly. Then "David is not in good health" refers to our old friend Donald Campbell. "Perhaps Baker can do something for him". "Baker" is our old friend Comrade Saklatwala. And therefore that passage means that Donald Campbell has been arrested on a charge and Saklatwala is to do something for him. Then "I believe Ewan is still in Dundee". I do not know who Ewan is but I do know that "Dundee" means Madras. I think it is a great injustice to Calcutta that it should be so. And Glasgow you will be surprised to hear means Bombay. And Manchester means Moscow which is sometimes also New York.

But the main interest about this letter is not so much what is said in the body of it as the invisible ink which appeared between the lines and which read as follows:— I think it begins about the place where he is warned to wear a bit of flannel next his skin or something like that. It reads as follows:—

"Letter perfectly good. Obtain no Herald for couple of months. Carry on. Dont prevent Y. M. C. A. Conference but secure the amalgamation..

May pan-Pacific lab; Conf. in Canton. Good India delegation essential.

Thengdi should go.

Tell Rhug to send few more copies of pamphlet.

When you become used to these somewhat simple transposition you know that "Rhug" means Shah.

"Get in touch with Ewan as best you can - e.g. by advert.

Do get me address for bibles. We have heard nothing of Victor.

I may tell you that Victor's other name is "Tab" and his real name is Fazl Ilahi and he is now doing time in the North Western Frontier Province under section 121—A.

"We have heard nothing of Victor. Look for letters at Cooks. I am putting Mss on both forms you signed. (I think you will agree with me that probably "Mss" refers to money.) Only just heard about Donald—doing what we can. Re Canton Conference David's job but perhaps you can help. Passage of delegation both ways will be paid. Get T.U.C. sanction but organise through our friends."

Now the next letter is a letter from Mr. Spratt! It is addressed to Harry Howell, 37-Lithos Road, Hampstead, London, England. It

contains also another letter, which I will quote. Meantime may I just ask you to see it. This is the letter:

"Dear brother in God,

I am some what disturbed on account of the absence of news from you. I trust that you are still enjoying your usual health and vigour.

I have seen Teb (*that is Victor, alias Fazal Ilahi*) who wishes me to send the enclosed. We had some considerable disagreement with him on the Church doctrines in which he was I suppose right in a theoretical sense. He wanted a Methodist Church similar in plan to that advocated by your brother to be set up at once, with the faithful scattered abroad and unknown within it. We differed and wanted the Church to hold its skirts rather higher, and to form itself on a narrower basis, in fact more or less to take the place of the old Y.M. In the end he agreed. He differed also on the attitude to the Church in the villages, but as the question is not of immediate practical importance, we agreed to let it lie for the time."

I pause for a moment to explain what this means. He wanted a Methodist Church similar in plan to that advocated by his brother. He wanted a largish party, the faithful scattered abroad and unknown within it. But we wanted a most select body practically a genuine communist party. One man said "Let us have a large body and nuclei. No-body knows who we are." The other man said, "No, let us keep the party practically all communists, to take the place of the old Y.M. The Y.M. or Y.M.C.A. you will find in these cryptic writings refers to the communist party. The letter proceeds:—

"The Universities Convocation is to be held next week. J. worked a dirty trick on us by suddenly deciding this. Our preparations had been made to some extent and we hope for the best.

The foundation stone of the future Church is laid here, and we are getting ahead with the work. Our University men are active to a gratifying extent, and show promise. They are mainly literary in their interests, but we have one or two Law men and Commerce students. Science men and Philosophers whom we badly need are difficult to get hold of. (*I think he is talking of the Workers and Peasants.*) We have started training, but unfortunately shall have to stop for a few weeks owing to the departure of Father Ambrose for the North (*and you will be surprised to hear that the Reverend gentleman is now in the dock. "Father Ambrose" is Mr. Spratt*) and the indisposition of David. (*Poor David, who is now under trial for travelling with a false passport.*) You might by the way let us have a miscellaneous collection of the more recent works of piety and devotion. They would be of great interest to some of our tyros." (*I can see the Reverend Father handing them out!* It is signed by "Des" "Teb" or "Vic" had asked him to enclose a letter. This reads as follows:—

"30/22 29/2 37/13 35/4" and so on. There are lines and lines of it. Decoded it means this:—

The top part reads "Code is "Il Penseroso." That you read from after Bhentain. The first figure indicates the line the second figure indicates the letter in that line." You then turn to "Il Penseroso" for the reading of the remainder of the message. It reads as follows:

"Campbell was sent to Bombay but he could not execute the work properly. Program is confused, org- Functions unclear to the people here BWP congress had to take place on nineteenth. I ran away. No informations as yet. Leaving. Spratt will send letters. Shamsuddin is spy Qaum is to be watched. Victor." Qaum is the brother of Mozuffer Ahmad. So that is the interesting row of figures inside this letter to his dear brother in God Harry Howell, which turns out to be information about Campbell and other information with regard to communist activities over here.

(The Court here rose for lunch at 10 minutes past 1 and met again at 2-15 p. m.)

The next is a letter dated 9th June, which runs as follows:

"Dear Appa,

How are you getting on ? It is quite some time since I heard anything from you. You would like to be paying a visit to England in our present weather, though perhaps you would not think it hot enough. Anyway Whitsun has been fine on the whole and I for one had a very pleasant walk on the Sussex Downs. Are still in touch with the Methodist Times ? It is worth examining for news of old friends. I understand that you did not receive any mss. (*Note the mss, which means money.*) from them. If I were you I should give them a reminder about it. It is good to get any useful greetings and messages. I believe your old friend Fh. knows someone in Colombo who would write something. It would be worth while arranging to get a short mss. from him. How do your arrangements stand about getting news like this in general ?

Whenever I get the opportunity I study the press for what is happening in India and everything seems to come from Bombay. It must be the real capital of the country. I like to read the names of distinguished people who take part in public functions there.

Well, best of greetings and all that.

Let me hear from you,

Yours  
(Squiggle)

which you will become well acquainted with in this case.

That is the letter itself and commenting on it I suggest, as you will see a little later, that "Mss" means money and "Fh." obviously by

this transposition code means "Gh." which stands for Ghate, and the suggestion is that money could be got in the meantime from somebody in Colombo.

The main interest in the letter is other than that, because in invisible ink, between the lines you will find the following message.

"Why did you not meet Ismail on the "Navasa". Send information about Bombay Seamen's Union. How are mss. arrangements. Nelson failed to go. Waiting for Hamid."

Hamid is in the dock at the present moment under the name of Ajodhya Prasad. I cannot tell you definitely at the moment who Nelson is, but I have my views upon the subject. But the interesting part about this letter is that it shows as indeed do other letters, and I am only giving you a small sample of it in this opening, that these conspirators have a regular system of communicating by means of lascars or persons who travel as lascars on board ships. you will note in this letter that the addressee is asked, "Why did you not meet Ismail on the Nevasa", and he said that Nelson failed to go, so he was waiting for Hamid to go, in order to send his communication or money.

The next letter is signed by "J" and it is written on the 25th July. It is written on a small bit of note paper and runs as follows:

*"Dear Desmond, (that, I may tell you is Spratt's name, whether because of his likeness to that famous animal Dismal Desmond I don't know, but he is called "Des" or Desmond by the elect.)*

I have not had any news from you for more than a month. I hope you will let me know how things are going with you. What is the position with regard to mss. I hear of complaint that the Y. M. C. A. send no mss to you. (*The Y. M. C. A., as I have told you, stands for the communist party, and I have no doubt that in this letter it means the communist party in Moscow.*) That is in general correct, and the general decisions still stand, but you must use your discretion.

There should have been a conference to decide on all points, but it has not taken place yet. What about the all-India Methodist organ in English. That should be one of the next things. Of course it should really be preceded by an all-India conference.

I have sent letters to the only address you gave. In last I mentioned that your last letter was illegible just where most important. Can you try again? (*It was illegible you see because there was something in invisible ink written on it, which had faded. That is my comment.*)

The Bombay Methodist paper seems to be very good from opinions received. I saw recently an article of yours in I. N. H. (*that is the Indian National Herald.*) Which struck me as very good. I have given it to the Circular you use.

It is very unfortunate that Nelson is in no condition to travel. On the other hand there is an engineer who will be going to Glasgow soon, who should help the university there, as you will be glad to learn. *In these humble terms is announced the arrival of Bradley. The engineer is going to the university, that is the Trade Unions, in Glasgow, that is Bombay.*

Try sending a letter to me C/O H.W. Gardner, 88 Hatfield Road, St. Albans, with enclosure "for your college pal" on it.

The Methodists and Y. M. C. A. are becoming too much, two names for the same thing.

I have seen some interesting friends over here, and there should be a full dress discussion on the future very soon.

Have a talk with Musa."

And the letter is signed "Yours J."

You will note that the Methodist and the Y. M. C. A. are becoming too much, two names for the same thing. That means that the Workers and Peasants Party, are becoming exactly the same thing as the communist party. That is the point that is made in the letter and Desmond is asked to discuss the matter with Musa, who I think you will find is Muzuffer Ahmed. It is an interesting letter and it gives one food for thought as to why there should be a full dress discussion in England or Moscow, or wherever it is to take place, upon the whole of the future. It is interesting to learn that it was so unfortunate that Nelson was in no condition to travel, and equally interesting to know that an engineer is coming to the university at Glasgow.

The next letter is a letter from this man, whoever he is, who signs himself with that squiggle, and it is dated the 9th August, 1927 and it runs as follows:—

"Dear Des, I have received your letter dated the 14th of June not two weeks ago....."

I pause there to tell you that the letter is dated the 9th of August, but apparently, the letter dated the 14th of June did not reach the gentleman who signs himself with this squiggle until towards the end of July, and it is obvious therefore that it was sent by a messenger, one of the lascars plying to his side of the water. "Since then, I have not heard from you. I hope very much that it will be possible to re-establish communications on a better basis....." That is his instruction. The post office is useless. You must have your own method of communications between this bookseller and his friends in England.

"I hope you will have received the addresses of various friends with whom you ought to be in touch. Recently also, you may have received a note from me through M. M. with whom I hope you are acquainted. You inform me that Baker has been....."

I may remind you that Baker is Sakalatvala— ".....has been inclined to criticise the Methodist policy as adopted by the Church session at Bombay. I can assure you that he stands alone in this respect. He attempted to raise something of the sort but was decisively routed and it was agreed that he was not to make any attacks on the Methodists. So he had no business to go around criticising. I should like to hear more details of what he has done as he can do harm if we are not careful,

"I was sorry to hear that Hig. has been acting so badly, though you do not specify his crimes exactly."

Now, if you apply the code to Hig, he is the accused Iolekar.

"We must get sufficient number of people so that single individuals are not so important. This applies especially to the Methodists. There are all sorts of little groups more or less with us who ought to be linked up through the Methodists, but as far as one can judge no attempt is being made. Take, for instance, Rumbu: or even Zhuroegu. They ought to be brought in...." Well, now, Rhumbu, according to the code, is Mr. Sambamurti and Zhuroegu, according to the code, is Barucha.

"....Have you any news about Don ?"

That is poor old David who is at this time in prison.

"....Nobody here seems to have heard anything of him or how to get in touch with him. Things are still very dull here. There will be a talk soon and then there should be a lot to write to you about. There might also be some suggestions about Ambrose...." (I think that must be the Rev. Father Ambrose.) "....I am inclined to think that he will be asked to say in his parish. I have heard there is a university fellow going out before long...." (referring obviously to Mr. Bradley.) "I hope that M.M. will be able to get what we want. If you could use your influence in this it would be very good. He should try to follow the example of his friend who preceded him. That is the latest advice we have for him and I hope that you will be able to convey it. With regard to the Y.M.C.A., the situation is as you say, but it is not possible to do anything about it at present. Is there such a thing as a complete file of the College bulletin obtainable? If so, please try and send it. Also, could you send direct the published list of the colleges and their addresses- if possible noting any changes of importance."

With regard to Rev. Father Ambrose remaining in his parish, I think it must mean that this stalwart of the church is to remain in India. It is possible that it was thought that he might be well



employed in China but he is to be kept in India. However, he has remained.

If you bear in mind the note marked "J", the little one on note paper, and this last letter, you will remember that the note marked "J" mentioned the fact that the Y. M. C. A. and the Methodist church were getting too much alike and suggested that Spratt should have a talk with Musa and the last letter suggested that Rhumbu and Zhurocgu should be roped in. Bearing that in mind, this next letter will have some interest. When I give you a copy of it, you will appreciate that it is somewhat difficult to read. It is the draft of a letter from Mr. Spratt to "Dear Brother." Before I begin to read it, I would draw your attention to certain things written between the lines at the top which were obviously intended to be put in the fair copy in invisible ink and doubtless were. You will also find that this letter is an answer both to the letter signed by "J" and also to the last letter which I have read. You will further find that it is much concerned with the question of finance and on any sensible reading of the letter, it shows in my opinion, quite clearly, as I hope to be able to satisfy you is the fact, that the finances for this movement had been coming over the Northern Frontier of India. This is how the letter runs : I shall omit the portion between the lines for the moment.

"Dear Brother, I have had a chat with Musa. His chief point which you also put in your letter was that the methodists were becoming too like the Y. M. and in fact were largely the same thing. This is so in Bombay. 4 or 5 people run the whole show in congress, and although the Bombay methodists have now 20 members on paper, only some few do anything whatever. The others do not even pay subs. The idea of membership of a church organisation is yet absolutely not understood. Leq & Co. (which according to the code means Miraj ka) agree completely with this, but have been too occupied recently to take any steps to improve it. Your suggestion in 9-8-27 re. Rhumbu etc. is of course sound and at the last A. I. C. C. we had a sort of agreement with him. Such people cannot be organised in opposition however until the leading people in the Church go over more definitely. The next Church congress will probably be the time. (The Church Congress is the meeting of the A. I. C. C.) Now, then, about MSS (which I suggest is money) "Phusa spoke to me on the subject. I think his will be a good scheme. But finance at the moment..... (It does not seem to read). "Generally, things are bad. You spoke in a letter dated the end of May that I should send about 200..... (and then there is a word I cannot read) ....., " to Baker. (I think it must mean that I should write to Saklatvala--about 200 pounds) "I have not done so yet. But in a month from now we shall be forced to or .....(or go (fut, I suppose). Absolutely necessary should by Musa. The general arrangements are not satisfactory yet. Actual sending is extremely difficult and each time some one has had to travel from Lahore (Lahore is cut out and kug is put above it) to Calcutta (above which is Bul) is better. Distribution is carried out according to the plan we sent. But there are always miscellaneous additions for travelling, etc.

Victors (i. e., Fazul Ilahie) has taken a good deal though of course Bhun was free. (Bhun, I am sorry to say, is my friend Chaman Lal.)

Diwan Chaman Lal: That is, he did the case free.

Langford James. yes.

"Re. All India English Journal, we have had an informal general conference. (Then there are code names for people—Ludjuch (i. e., Majid) and the other is Muzaffar Ahmed in Bombay. Have agreed to start as soon as arrangements can be made. It will not be official. In present circumstances it can be done by reducing the present Bombay organ to smaller size and devoting it mainly to univs. (You will remember that Universities are unions). That should be avoided if possible, and if it is avoided, more material would be required. We have therefore drawn up a possibly rather ambitious scheme for the whole country, which would resolve itself into a total, of nearly 200 a month. (£200 a month; you may omit this cypher sign here) i. e., an increase of 33½ for the Y. M. Lahore and Calcutta. alone. This is essential. The paper absorbs all that is at present allowed. (300 or it may be 800 a month). The rest is required for fares, etc. For a British weekly from Bombay, 500 a month; for Bombay paper 300. And all-India propaganda, a new and excellent suggestion. The released men especially should be enabled to tour the country and agitate, and one man should do so continually. We estimate 500 as ample for this. With 300 miscellaneous this comes to 2,400 a month. What do you think? Re. Colombo, at present it is not possible. Re Nuddx (\*Paddy you have got his real name Upadya written then and scratched at we should like him to come, of course, but he is bound to go to jail. At least that is the view here. (I agree with it.) Probably not for more than 3 months, though. So again, what do you think? 50 for Y.M.C.A. 's office is ample."

I will now read to you the invisible ink. But pausing for one moment, with whom is Mr. Spratt discussing finances for this movement in India? who is going to supply the 2,400 rupees a month necessary for an All—India Methodist organ? The Bomboy paper, the various released men and others touring the country for propaganda. who is producing this money? Is it not palpable that the communist Party, either in Russia or England or wherever it can, is going to finance and has been asked to finance and has agreed to finance this movement? Now, is it not palpable also from this letter that communications are passing to and fro by lascars and by secret means? Coming to another point, assuming as I shall ask you to assume that MSS means money, why is it that some one has got to travel *from Lahore* to get this money? If the money is coming in through Calcutta, Bombay or Madras, there is always the means of sending it by post. Why has some one got to go from Lahore to get it? Because, as I hope to satisfy you, people did go from Lahore and made trips to the Northern Frontier for this purpose. The writing between the lines runs as follows :—

"I am sorry I could make little out of the photograph you sent, with tinc. (tincture of iodine). I think the chemical must have been

almost completely oxidised. It took nearly two months to get here (by the secret route, I suppose) and no intensification attempted was of any use. (I think that must mean as it says that the letter had invisible ink on it but it had faded Mr. Spratt he could not find out exactly what the writer meant.) I am not going at this stage to trouble you with this code.

I have taken those few letters because it seems to me that they throw an extraordinarily lurid light upon the activities of Mr. Spratt from the very commencement here in India. Meanwhile, Just before this last letter was written, "God's messenger" had arrived. (God's messenger is in the dock in the shape of Mr. Ajodya Prasad, alias Hamid) He was so announced by Muraikar writing to Mr. Spratt, I think, on the 21st of August, 1927. He said :—

"Last mail, I got some books from English friend and also two articles for kranti (that is one of their newspapers). The books are all important ones and will be of immense use. The articles I am putting in the paper. God's messenger has come from brother and wants to meet you here. He will go first week of the next month (5/9/27). Please come and meet him."

By almost the same mail, there was a letter from Mr. Shate to Mr. Spratt from Bombay. Mr. Spratt, if I am right, was in Lahore or thereabouts :—

"I am sending some copies of the "Masses" (that is, The Masses of India, which is a prescribed newspaper) that were sent to us through the boy who returned yesterday. I am sending a letter that he brought with him." So that, "God's Messenger" is one of those (I will prove this) who travel, in the guise of lascars between here and the comrades on the other side of the water.

The next arrival, as foretold in these letters to Mr. Spratt, was the Engineer Mr. Broadley. He arrived by the S. S. Rampura on the 23rd September, 1927. He posed as a gentleman who was travelling for selling patent underground drain tiles. I do not know whether he has sold any, or tried to sell any. He arrived on the 23rd September, and on the 29th of September, 6 days after his arrival, he wrote a letter to a friend. He wrote :—

(Dear Mac, I expect you are wondering when I am going to write you again. However, here it is."

I should like to say that Mr. Bradley writes excellent an excellent hand but he found necessary to print this letter. I shall quite satisfactorily prove that he posted it. "However, here it is. I am keeping well and have been very busy indeed. The banks have been busy in this proposition, I shall have to wait my chance to buy. I have been in touch with F. H. so that is alright. Well, I hope things are going well with you and that you are still keeping well. When you wrote me last, you asked if I had solved that puzzle. This my attempt.

Let me know what you think of it and don't laugh at the attempt is 6/1, 11/24, 18/1, 1/4, 5/8, 4/6 etc. The weather we are having is not so bad. A fair amount of rain to keep things cool. I will write you again soon. But I want to hear from you to know how things are going with you. Best wishes to you and all.

Yours  
Leonard

P. S. Solve this :

8/7 8/1 4/3 2/5 12/6 1/10 etc."

Let us see whether we can solve it, and whether we can give any marks to Mr. Bradley for trying to solve that puzzle. The solution of the puzzle runs as follows:—

"R. K. Karanth - Gladhurst - Santa Cruz".

This is solved by applying your mind to another form in palgrave's Golden Treasury namely.

The solution of the P.S. is also to be found from Gray's Elegy, and it only means "Report follows". I have no doubt in time Mr. Bradley may explain who Mac is, why he should be given a secret cover addressed in Bombay and why report should follow. I do not think it could have been a report upon the underground tile market. I may mention that "I have been in touch with F.H." refers to Shate which agrees with the facts. Mr. Bradley immediately got into touch with Shate and the other communists. I have no doubt at all that R. K. Karanth must have received a great deal of interesting correspondence, but of course it was unknown to the police in those days. They are not infallible and so he received those he did. But on the 2nd February 1929, a lascar of the name of Abid Ali was searched in circumstances as to which I will give evidence on the S.S. Minora and on him was discovered a letter addressed to R.K. Karanth, "Gladhurst" Santa Cruz, Bombay. Inside the first cover was an envelope addressed to "Ghate", and inside that again was another envelope addressed to "Jack". One letter in three covers. This is what was in the letter:—

"Dear Friend,

We were very pleased to hear from you and to know that you had met our brothers. We regret that Arthur's spirits prevent him enjoying himself and we expect him back soon which is a pity as we thought there might be an opening for him. I hope he gave some attention to the work of the Salvation Army and the Theosophical Society.

The Bolshevic, as I explained to you, is of course out to destroy every religion in the world, perhaps that is why he mockingly uses these religious phrases when he wants to be cryptic.

"....George had two friends visiting the latter and they may have conveyed quite a wrong impression and so have been a bad influence. If you find time to read the papers you will have noticed a lot of discussion on a Commission to examine Mr. Roberts in which the gentleman who gave you introductions took a leading part. Perhaps you would notice report of a meeting at Brussels in which I believe Mr. Saunders played a leading role on behalf of European Societies whose idea is convening of a Constituent Assembly to act on behalf of Mr. Roberts. You may remember the pleasant people of Ireland operated such a plan after the war. Please remember the advice of your Chief that what happened in Manchester leadership will probably happen at an earlier stage with Mr. Roberts. Therefore it will be necessary from the beginning to make a direct appeal to the Brahmins at large to select their own priests. This movement will help us here in the present struggle against the opponents of Mrs Beasant.....,

Similarly this reference is cryptic. It really has nothing to do with that dear old Lady.

"....The papers will tell you how we are directing most sharply our exposure of false friends like Mr. B. at present on a visit to Mr. Roberts, who we hope will thoroughly understand his despicable purpose. We have spoken with a friend of Mr. Roberts whose name I think is Nehru who certainly is not a well-wisher at all but is angry with Mr. B. and all his associates and will be ready to come out openly against them on behalf of Mr. Roberts. He is much like Ganhdi so far as the nature of Mr. Roberts' Temple is concerned. He thinks it must be different from "that of my publishers. So you will see that he and his friends cannot be relied upon exclusively as they are very much afraid of any really strong action by the Artists".

I suggest that these accused in the dock are the "Artists".

"Never the less an attempt should be made to get a public statement from him on his attitude. We will try to send through press further details of the line taken by Mr. Saunders and the European Societies for your guidance.

"We have read the declaration of the Brahmins of Bombay. It is very good and work along such lines should be followed up. We have not your present address but will send this by registered post and hope it will find you at the old place. We propose to send copy of your book to American Express Co. Bombay. Will you please write again soon, especially with regard to the two religious bodies which the brethren here are interested in "Salutations,

"Besants."

Well, it is not necessary at this stage to trouble you with all the meaning of this cryptic letter. But you can interpret "Mr.

Roberts" to mean India and you know "Manchester" means Moscow, and I think you know also that there was a meeting of League Against Imperialism at Brussels, and even without knowing who Mr B and Mr Saunders are you will get further light upon what the letter means. For instance, "George had two friends visiting the latter", the letter being the Theosophical Society-in 1927 there arrived at the all-India Trades Union Conference Mr. Purcell and Mr. Halsworth. George is of course our good King George, who had two friends, Purcell and Halsworth, visiting the Theosophical Society which means the All India Trade Union Congress.

Dewan Chaman Lal: What is the date?

Mr. Langford James: I cannot give it. The date is not here. And the letter says they may have conveyed quite a wrong 'impression' and so have been a bad influence. Then it goes on to talk of the Statutory Commission when it says- "If you find time to read the papers you will have noticed a lot of discussion on Commission to examine Mr. Roberts." Then it goes on to refer to the meeting at Brussels of the League Against Imperialism where the suggestion was put forward of the Constituent Assembly. He refers to the fact that that was found a good manoeuvre in Ireland. Then he goes on to say most significantly, "Please remember the advice of your Chief that what happened in Manchester (i. e. Moscow leadership will probably happen at an earlier stage with Mr. Roberts," that is, India. Therefore it will be necessary to make a direct appeal to the Brahmins at large," which means of course the workers and peasants, "to select their own priests", which means that they should be induced to get their own leaders. "This movement will help us here in the present struggle against the opponents of Mrs. Besant." You remember that the Theosophical Society is used for the Trade Unions Congress up above, and "the opponents of Mrs. Besant" are the Yellow Labour people in England as opposed to the Minority or Red movement. Then when you get to the remarks upon "Nehru", you note that he is much like Gandhi so far as the nature of Mr. Roberts' Temple is concerned. That is to say it is recognised that Mr. Nehru—who I suppose is Mr. Motilal Nehru—is not at all on the lines of the writer of this letter. "He thinks it must be different from that of my publishers"; that is to say that Mr. Nehru's conception of the future of India is quite different to the conception of the writer of this letter, and the conception, as I suggest, of the whole of the accused in this case. He goes on, "So you will see that he and his friends cannot be relied upon exclusively as they are very much afraid of any really strong action by the Artists." I suggest that means that they are extremely afraid—as anybody would be—of anything in the nature of mass revolution. Then he goes on to say "We have read the declaration of the Brahmins of Bombay." It is clear the "Brahmins" mean the workers and peasants party.

Well, I have told you how that letter came into our possession, but there is yet another letter. This is a letter which I shall satisfy

you entirely was in the possession of Mr. Bradley, and curiously enough you will note that it is signed "J". It runs as follows:—

"Dear Fred,

I have received letters from you—dated 24 and 31 of March and 7 and 21 of April. That is all except for a report on the cotton market of 12 May. Can you let us know if any letters are missing. ....

The report on the cotton market is the report on the strikes in the cotton mills in Bombay.

"...I have at last been able to see Jack and I have had a long talk with him and others. You will be very glad to learn that at last it will be possible to go ahead and get something done. It is not possible to write you details of the discussions and proposals now but I hope that before long you will see some friend who will tell you everything. You will have received urgent messages about the New York meeting. ....

Now in this letter "New York" means Moscow.

"...You may also have met a young friend with a message on the same subject. I hope that something will have been done on this before you receive this, as the thing is of vital importance to us. If no one else is available I will have to use this young fellow Jhurdekuq....

His real name is Kardikar and I will tell you something about him in time.

"...But in that case it will be essential that the Social Service League give their consent. Possibly I will have wired you on this before you receive this. If this letter is in time and you agree that he can represent the League please wire at once to me that 'power granted'. Naturally it would be much preferable to have a real representative, especially as Jhu. does not really know anything about the League, have never been a member and is also not a worker. He is anxious to stay in New York.

He is in fact in New York, i. e. Moscow, now.

"...But the above disadvantages will tell greatly against him and I do not know what will be decided. I am wondering whether there was any special reason why no efforts were made to get him to join the S. S. League in your region. It will not be possible to get much going before the New York meeting is over, but if as I hope some friends come over shortly they will be able to give all details and help to get things started. Definite arrangements have been made for the supply of carbons, but just at the moment we are faced with difficulties re. despatch.

You remember what MSS meant. I suggest "carbons" mean the same.

"....It would be good to get some idea how you use them also. Have you any news of Alec? I hope that you will be able to see him. I do not know whether you have yet come across Nelson. I hope you will. On the whole the news of events in your region has been received with great satisfaction over here. I hope next mail to send you a long letter on this subject. The great thing is to get some real rank and file organisation out of it. With regard to the cotton shipments, I do not understand how this came to get into the hands of Joss and I am taking it up with the senders. I have wired for them to wire instructions to you about it. ....

I must stop to explain the terrible disaster about Joss and the cotton shipments. What happened was this. The International of Textile Workers of the World sent over 20,000 roubles, I think it was, to the textile workers of Bombay with cordial greetings, and it should have gone into the hands of Jhabvala—as another sum did. But most unfortunately Mr. Jhabvala instead of being the Secretary had been replaced by Mr. Joshi, and into the hands of Mr. Joshi—that terrible Yellow man—came this 20,000 roubles, meant of course for the betterment and amelioration of the textile workers in Bombay from their comrades and brothers in Moscow. And the writer is saying, "I do not know how it came into the hands of Joss and I am taking it up with the senders".

It got to the Yellow man instead of the Red and was used for a totally different purpose from that for which it was intended.

"....It is a pity that it has not yet been found possible to restart the paper. I had hoped that something of what Des has got might be available for this purpose. ....

"Des" of course is Father Ambrose alias Mr. Spratt.

Any way I hope you will keep preparations in mind so that the ground is prepared. By the way, whatever is possible for the New York July meeting, there must be no failure to have some one for the young fellows in August.

That is the Young Communists International at Moscow  
".....The difficulty is that it should be some one close to us and yet if possible not one of the babus, but one who has been on the job. Also he must have definite authority from our fellows. Please do your best to get the likely material turned over and the best route looked into. The thing is of course very urgent for he should go very shortly after you get this."

"I am making arrangements for adequate supply of boost. By the by, it has been decided to discontinue the mail. That will have to be made up for by getting ahead with production inside and increased sending of raw materials from over here. This is another thing now in hand. I have not seen Patrick yet but I understand.....



"Patrick" is one of the Lascars I think or may be Paddy  
".....but I understand there was an unfortunate contretemps over your  
way a little while ago when creditors descended on a concert performer  
and skinned him of things intended for you.....

Do you know I really believe that "the concert performer" was  
Abed Ali, who was descended upon by the police and that letter intend-  
ed for "Karanth" was taken away from him, and I am strengthened  
in that belief by the next sentence.

".....I am afraid that it means also that 8/13 7/2 5/5 5/1 2/1 1/2  
is no longer good.

When you decode that by Gray's Elegy it works out as "Karanth  
is no good". After Abed Ali had been searched and the things meant  
for Fred had been taken away from him of course "Karanth" was no  
longer any good. It was no use sending to Karanth as a cover address  
any longer. Well, I have no doubt again Mr. Bradley will be able  
to throw considerable light upon this letter.

Now I am not quite certain as to when the accused who is now  
absconding, Amir Haidar, came into this country.

Mr. D. P. Sinha:—I do not quite follow. May I know how  
many have been added?

M. Langford James:—Amir Haidar Khan—he has two names—  
was added as an accused at the same time as Mr. Hutejinson. With  
Amir Haidar has been found a letter of a similar nature. This letter is  
dated the 18th December, 1928, Hamburg.

"Dear Comrade,

"This is to notify you that I have received your mail and  
forwarded the same at once to the persons to whom addressed. I was  
glad to hear some good news from you and also your friend from the  
ship was very interesting. He seems to be a very able man to carry  
on our work. If you could get about 2 or 3 good men more for our  
communication work, so that we have 3 or 4 men on the run between  
Bombay and Hamburg, would be quite sufficient for the time being.  
This would give us about one ship every month. You always must  
take good care, that your men get and remember their right number  
when they are taking up connexions with us. *Then on this depends  
the safety of our work. Therefore let the number be M-27 for your men  
from the ship, and for our men here in Hamburg M-71.* You can  
instruct your men that when they call at the International Seamens  
Club, to ask for Carl or Walter or Jullus. Any of those comrades  
introduced to your men would know the number M-71 and ask the men  
of the ship for their number (M 27) are our comrades, to whom they  
can deliver the mail, etc. and speak too freely. Further more it might  
arise a situation that our International Club and Communist Party  
become illegal institutions, being closed through police activities, so

that your men will find nobody there. Under these circumstances you will have to send your men to a private address, where they will meet some of us. For the time being I will give you Julius' address for this purpose, so whenever the situation should become acute, that there will be no stoppage in our work of communication work.....

Then he gives Julius' address.

"Also send me a good address from Bombay (*What does he mean by a "good address"?*) which I can use sometimes for direct mails to you. This is necessary, there might things happen which needs our attention and knowing about it immediately. As a Hamburg address for direct mail, you can use the old one where you lived, this one is very safe. With the next mail let me know your opinion on this matter or send me definite instructions."

There is a great deal more which I need not read now. I will go on to the end of the letter.

"Now, comrade, it is *Carl* who is writing this letter to you and I will sign all correspondence under the name of Robert Smith. In the matter of sending men to school to Moscow, I cannot do anything. You must write all your needs and wants straight to the EKKI. They are the people to decide on this matter."

The unfortunate thing is that we have not got the next page. We have only got these two torn pages, but I think it is perfectly clear that Ameer Haidar Khan had been in Hamburg and is definitely in touch with Carl, and that Carl has suggested that it will be much better to have three or four men on the Bombay-Hamburg run so that secret communications can go as regularly as if they were going by post.

As to where Carl lives or where the Seamen's Club is, appears from a map found at No. 2 European Asylum Lane. There is an admirable map of Hamburg with the International Seamen's Club in five languages on the top and an arrow which shows you how you get there.

Then I think in September of last year Hutchinson arrived and I shall hope to show you from his activities since he arrived that he has taken up this Communist work in good earnest. Even later than this Adhikari arrived. When he was arrested there was found this letter on him:

"Dear Friend,

Yours of Feby. 20th Received the following things from you (1) Anti-Kuusinen thesis, (2) art. about National Congress (3) about w. p. p., (4) German reconstruction, (5) Proletariat in national revolution. I am at present hard pressed for time and it is difficult also to get an opportunity to send anything safely. All things you sent, except (5) have been looked through by the police. .... I will try to send

the data you want. The New Era is published in Madras, Egmore, Post Box 752. Your warning is unfounded. He and another man from over there alone understand the necessity of having a disciplined and strong party. The Bombay group has achieved the following result. They have been successful in forming one of the biggest unions in the country. The men have tremendous enthusiasm. They are eager to learn and to act. But there is a lot of feudal reaction among them which has not been sufficiently strongly combated by our comrades. Conditions in the group itself are anarchic. It is at present nothing more than left-wing Trade Unionism. The "Times" and "Englishman" report are exaggerated. Yes, the objective situation is rapidly developing. But the vanguard is a rear-guard. Party-discipline !-? But where is the party ? "Individuals like feudal chieftains from the basis of leadership here" says my friend against whom you warn. He asked me to tell you that "your men" attacked him over there without reason.—But the C. I. has cut his feet as well as yours. He has nothing against you. No body here is making any propaganda against you. In fact the question never arises. The party is a political nonentity at present. Want of propaganda among the petit-bourgeois intellectuals. Political and party education to the workers. Urdu paper is being edited by my friend. I write in the Mahratti organ."

Then he goes on to say about hunger in p. b. (i. e. polit. bureau) circle.

"We must work hard and quick - the crisis is ripening. Strong org. is needed if are to lead. The small man should immediately come if he is serious about work. Invaluable here. No job here - no time also for a job. Must live anyhow. So let him come to work and hunger."

Obviously this letter wants a little explanation. Before I try to explain it, would you look at the back of the letter. You will find that significant name "Robert" on the back of it. Now let me try and explain it. What happened was that Usmani with three others had gone to Moscow, and my case is, and I think you will accept it, that he was elected to the Praesidium as Sikander. Mr.M.N.Roy—incidentally I think we shall be able to show that Mozuffer Ahmed was jealous of him and was not on good terms with him. M. N. Roy was also of the opinion that Usmani was working against him (Roy) Adhikari who was the latest to arrive was like all new arrivals apt to be little critical of the organisation. "Oh" he says, everything is hopeless. There is no proper org. and so on. But Adhikari is writing back to Roy to assure him that he need not harbour any suspicions about Usmani, that he is not against Roy and he has not worked against Roy, and Adhikari goes further and says. "He and another man from over there alone understand the necessity of having a disciplined and strong party." I don't want in the least bit to enter into these dissensions amongst these people or to decide whether Roy is right or Usmani. That is what the writer of this letter is trying to

explain. There is another thing which wants some explanation. That is the reference to "the small man." The reference there is to Nambiar who it is suggested should come out and who must come out because the crisis is ripening. I may say that Mrs. Nambiar had arrived previously together with Hutchinson, and I think that from one point of view you might look upon the Adhikari—Nambiar Hutchinson group as more or less a little group of their own. They certainly seemed to criticise the others when they arrived, but it is only fair to say that they backed up their criticisms with real hard work. As a matter of fact Adhikari brought with him a letter of introduction to Miss M. Chattopadhyaya who is the sister of Chatto.

"My Dear Ganu.

Just a line to introduce my very dear friend Adhikari. I should feel greatly obliged if you would befriend him and help him in all ways you can. He is a valuable worker.

Yours Nam.

So that in the opinion of Nambiar, whose heart is certainly in the right spot with regard to Bolshevism, Adhikari is a really good worker.

Now, Sir, I won't trouble you long with the evidence by which I hope to satisfy you that Usmani visited Moscow: though it is rather instructive in its way. On the 5th August 1928 Spratt received a telegram from "John" which ran as follows:

"Send urgently, preferably wire information, confidence placed Orm Mussel two others in Manchester", to which Spratt replied on the 10th "Telegram unintelligible, no confidence, suggest wire Bombay." Now I suggest in fact I will show that Orm=usm, and usm is Usmani and mussel is Nassim, but who the other two are is not apparent, until you get to another letter.

On the 2nd of August J, which I suppose is the same as John, writes to Spratt as follows:

"Dear Phillip,

I should be very glad to receive news from you.....Have you any knowledge about a couple of fellows in Manchester, Rhuden and Uke-Rhug. There are also two more whom you are likely to know. I ran across them the other day, and I would very much like to know if they have any authority and whether you would place any confidence in them.

If you decode Rhuden and Uke-Rhug you come to Shafiq and Ali Shah, so that the people who were, according to J in Manchester i. e. Moscow at that time were Orm who I suggest is Usmani, Mussel who I suggest is Nassim Rhuden who I suggest is Shafiq and Uke-Rhug who I suggest is Ali Shah. I think it is perfectly clear that those were

the four persons in Moscow at that time. There is another reference to this. Having received this telegram, Spratt in a letter which I need not trouble you with just now refers to it. It is rather instructive to note when you go into it that John telegraphed to Spratt about Orm, but Spratt in writing refers to him as Joe he says "Joe by the way wired to me some time ago asking about some people he had met. I replied in a rather noncommittal manner that I did not know much of them." So that John and Joe, according to Spratt are the same people.

Then there is another letter which throws some light on the subject. This is a letter written by Alf in London to J (who I am creditably informed is C. P. Dutt) in Moscow.

"Since I had your note I sent the wire away to Des. but had a reply saying that the thing was unintelligible, and upon further advice I sent it over to Fred. Up to the present I have had no reply." I don't know what Fred said in reply, and whether he said that he had any confidence in Orm, and the others or not but I don't think it will be seriously disputed that Usmani did go over to Moscow and was a member of the Praesidium.

I have spent some time in showing you that many of these accused are connected with Europe and that the conspiracy was to bring actively prosecution over them. I have also tried to show you that there have been regular communications by secret methods between here and Europe. I hope I have not left you with the impression that the letters I have referred to are all the evidence on this point because they are only a small portion of it, or that it will be considered that I in any way underestimate the activities which all the accused were carrying on here in India. That is a matter on which I shall have to address you tomorrow. (The Court then adjourned till tomorrow, 25th June, at 10 a. m.)

*Tuesday, the 25th. June 1929.*

**Mr Langford James.**

I remember that I said yesterday that at one time Mr. Usmani was somewhat an object of jealousy to Mr. Muzafar Ahmad and it would seem to be unfair to say so without indicating my reasons for saying so. I have here a letter dated the 8th September, 1928, from Mr. Muzaffar Ahmed to Mr. Soumandra Nath Tagore sent through Miss Agnes Smedley where he says this:—

“I have heard that some 3 or 4 persons had gone to Europe from India. If they try to join any labour organisation on behalf of our party, you should protest strongly against it. We do not wish that this sort of men should go to Europe as our representatives. There is lot of work in India. There is no need to go abroad. They did not do any work here. I am always talking about these labour organisations. But of the four persons “(he had previously said 3 or 4)” one is a suspicious character, but the labour organisations in Europe know him thoroughly well.

That was one indication. This was at the time when Mr. Usmani and these other gentlemen whose names I have spelt out of the code to Mr. Shafiq Ali Shah, and Nassim, were in Moscow. I have got here a long letter from Mr. Spratt writing to Mr. R. Page Arnot on the 22nd October, at which time Mr. Spratt was living in Calcutta on good terms with Muzafar Ahmad and he says this:

“Joe by the way wired to me some time ago asking so far as I can make out about some people he had met. I replied once in a rather non-committal manner as I do not know much of them. I have enquired since, however, and concluded that they are probably all rogues though one or two might merely be fools. You might tell him if you can.”

These are my reasons for stating that possibly this eminent member of the Praesidium was at that time not very popular in his own party.

I have sketched very very shortly some of the reasons which go to show that this conspiracy was being carried on not only here but also in Europe, in Moscow, England and elsewhere. In deference to my Learned Friend's suggestions I propose only to give you a very very brief outline of the activities of these persons over here in India, and when all the evidence is before you, Sir, and when you have had an opportunity of reading it, I shall ask you to hold that the activities over here in India faithfully proceed on the lines outlined both in the books of the International and also in the instructions which from time to time that body or some of its minions conveyed to the accused

in this country. I have told you that Mr. Spratt assisted at any rate in the formation of the Workers and Peasants Party in Bombay, and from the letters which I read out. I think that it is clear that both the members of that party in Bombay and those who were interested in these matters in Europe were much concerned as to whether the party should be in effect a communist party or whether it should be a wider body having within it a certain number of communists, not necessarily known as such to the others but of course known as such to themselves. This was picturesquely put in the language of Mr. Spratt whether the Church should hold its skirts a little higher. It was decided that the Church should hold its skirts a little higher, and in effect, the Bombay body at any rate appears to have been a purely communist organisation. In Calcutta, that unfortunate nomenclature had been attached to the body, Peasants and Workers. That was put right. But I am not quite sure whether the Calcutta body was so purely communistic as the Bombay body. But with regard to the Punjab, I think I am right in saying that in April, 1928, there was a Workers and Peasants Party started, and I think its ideology was perfectly good. Three members of it are here in the dock, Mr. Sohan Singh Joshi, Mr. Sehgal, and Mr. Majid, and I am sure - at least I shall ask you to hold - that their ideology is perfect. The Workers and Peasants Party movement was extended to these provinces the United Provinces in the year 1928, and on the 15th of October, 1928, the Workers and Peasants Party for the United Provinces and Delhi was founded at Meerut. That body was organised on precisely the same lines as the Calcutta body, which by that time had the valuable assistance of "Father Ambrose" and which had put forth a manifesto under the caption of "A Call to Action" which is extremely eloquent of its intentions. The programme of the Calcutta body was accepted in toto by the United Provinces body, and so was the "Call to Action." At the Conference which was held here in Meerut, the appropriate resolutions were passed with the appropriate revolutionary slogans and the appropriate revolutionary phrases. I shall not trouble you with that, Sir, in this opening, or indeed possibly with any of the speeches which have been made by the accused persons. Several hundreds, or portions of them, will, I am afraid, have to be proved during the course of this case. Now, to push on only with the history for the moment. It had been the wish of the pioneers of this movement not to confine it to any particular province but that an All-India body should be formed, and in December, 1928, there was summoned at Calcutta the first conference of the All-India Workers and Peasants Party. In that conference, Mr. Sohan Singh Joshi was given the post of honour. He presided and I shall make an exception in his case and later on read to you such portions of his speech as appear to me to be peculiarly relevant. It is the fact, therefore, that ever since 1927, we find these two bodies carrying on their activities in the Bombay Presidency, and in the Calcutta Presidency and ever since early in 1928, they have been joined by another body in the Punjab, and since the latter part of 1928, they have been joined by another body in the

United Provinces. It will be necessary of course for the prosecution to prove the complicity not merely of all the bodies, but of each member of the accused with this conspiracy. As to that, I may say at once that the evidence, generally speaking, is overwhelming. Each individual accused's case will have to be carefully decided on its merits. With regard to all the accused, there is evidence of their meeting together, of their writing to each other, and of their jointly attending the activities of the conspiracy, and I hope to satisfy you that while there is a mass of evidence against some, there is good and sufficient evidence against all of them. Now, during this period of roughly speaking 2 years and a bit—1927, 1928 and the beginning of 1929 till they were arrested—they were carrying on openly their activities. I think that incomparably the most important of their activities that which was taking the most of their time and attention, and probably attracted most public notice—were the strikes which raged in Calcutta and in Bombay. There is no necessity for me to prove that these strikes were instigated and carried on and prolonged by these accused, because it is their proud boast that such was the case. I will deal with that matter of strikes a little bit later. Along-side with strikes of course there were from time to time demonstrations. There were many demonstrations during the strikes. I am not alluding to those. There were demonstrations, some definite and some with not very definite purpose, but I propose to ask your attention very shortly only to those demonstrations which on the very face of them must be for a communist purpose and a communist purpose only. When I come to deal with them, I think you will see what I mean. Another activity is their attempts to capture that distressingly Bourgeois body, the All-India Trade Union Congress. The attempt was made in 1927, and it was renewed in 1928, and I am sure it would have been pushed forward actively in 1929 had time allowed. I shall trouble you very shortly with that activity. Coming along-side of that, there has been a persistent adherence to the Moscow creed upon which I laid some little emphasis when reading their documents, namely, that you should use the Bourgeois nationalists as long as they are any good to you and then as I understand throw them down the well. On that point I shall not trouble you by quoting any passages in my opening speech. You will see this point cropping up from time to time in various documents which I shall possibly have to allude on other points. I merely indicate it at this stage. You will see from a study of all the documents whether my contentions upon that fact are right or not. Then there is another matter with which I shall not trouble you in detail here, but which of course I think is of the very greatest importance. These gentlemen had all over the country in their various branches newspapers which were insidiously or otherwise everlastingly preaching the gospel of communism. That again is a matter which I cannot go into in length at this stage. If I were to take up half a dozen passages from, say the Krantikary, one of their newspapers I do not know if it would not be said that it is not fair to take a few passages from papers, and possibly I might be met with provincial jealousy and told that I had read none from the Gunavani,



But be that as it may, I am afraid I must warn you that I shall have to prove a large number of these newspapers and comment upon them as being part of the organisation and doing the propaganda part very strongly insisted upon by the authorities in Moscow. There is still another branch of activities which I shall allude to namely the efforts of these accused to poison the minds—I put it that way; they I suppose would say to instruct the minds—of the youth. That is a point which Moscow insisted upon very strongly. You should get the child from its cradle and teach it class war. It is most important to get at the youth. When I come to deal with that, I think you will see that these accused, rather busy as they have been on strikes, yet found time to apply their minds to this subject. Well, now, after I have finished with these activities, I shall have something to say upon another subject with which I won't trouble you now.

I will first deal with these demonstrations which I have said are definitely communist in their objective. Take for instance a demonstration on Lenin Day—which is designed to glorify the name and memory of Lenin. Lenin stands before the whole world as the exponent of this creed of class war and the dictatorship of the the proletariat. He does not stand for anything else. It is a desecration of his memory to suggest that he can stand for anything else. He would not wish to, and if you find persons definitely glorifying the memory of Lenin, whether they make speeches or not, they can have only one object in their minds. They can only have the object of asking the people to do as Lenin did and to follow in his footsteps, and that is precisely what they have done.

Mr. Chaman Lal: To honour the memory of Mohammad is to be a Mohammad, I suppose.

Mr. Langford James: Not always. Another of these demonstrations which to my mind can only be put down as a communist demonstration is the demonstration to celebrate the anniversary of the Russian Revolution. The Russian Revolution may be the finest thing that ever happened, and people are entitled to their opinions on that subject. But if you celebrate definitely the anniversary of the Russian Revolution, you must not be surprised if any sane man says that you are in favour of the Russian Revolution, and want to see the Russian Revolution repeated. That you would gather from the very fact that they had an anniversary. But if you get their speeches which definitely say that this is what they want, that they want the revolution to come here into India, well, the matter is set at rest. There is another one. There were two unfortunate people, Sacco and Peri Vansetti, who were executed in America. They may have been rightly executed or they may have been wrongly executed. I express no opinion upon it.

Mr. Chaman Lal: They were wrongly executed.

Mr. Langford James: I hear my Learned friend say. "They were wrongly executed". For the purposes of the argument I accept

it. Other people have been wrongly executed. But the reasons for celebrating the anniversary of the execution of Sacco and Vansethi is to laud them as martyrs to the cause of Marxism and Leninism. I can prove that this was so from the pamphlet which was discovered with these gentlemen, and it is obvious that it must be so from the speeches made. Finally, there is another demonstration which is not so definitely communistic by any means, and that is May Day. My Learned friend may chip in and say.....

Mr. Chaman Lal: I was thinking of an occasion when I attended a May Day celebration with Mr. Ramsay Macdonald.

Mr. Langford James: He has chipped in and said that he attended a May Day with a very well-known statesman of moderate views. That is precisely the point I was going to make. May Day, in my younger days, was a day of rejoicing at the May Pole. But in these go-ahead days, May Day is looked upon as a labour day, the awakening of labour. Whether you are red or whether you are yellow, you can celebrate May Day. But these gentlemen have celebrated May Day.

Mr. Chaman Lal: And therefore they are communists ?

Mr. Langford James: It is not a fact that therefore they are communists at all. But you have got to consider why they celebrated May Day and what they put forward in their speeches. I shall suggest to you upon the evidence that they have celebrated May Day for the purpose of pushing forward their communist propaganda. The first time Lenin Day was celebrated in Bombay Mr. Jhabwalla took the chair, and in the course of an eloquent and impressive speech he told the audience—I do not know if I am quoting you the exact words, but this is the sense—that where as Gandhi remains an idealist, Lenin went a step forward and put his things into practice and he urged upon his hearers to adopt Leninism and organise a thorough mass revolution against all tyranny whether it was capitalist tyranny or Imperialist tyranny and he was followed by the accused Joglekar who lauded Lenin and Lenin's views upon mass action, and finally, a resolution was passed. There was a letter written to the conveners of the meeting by a gentleman named K. F. Nariman who calls himself B. A., L. L. B., M. L. C., and he very much regretted his inability to attend the meeting. He said he was in full sympathy with the movement but he said he was suffering from a sore throat and had practically lost his voice. I am not concerned with this Mr. Nariman, whoever he may be but the letter was enclosed in an envelope. We have got the envelope here and on the envelope is written—I do not quite know for the moment whose handwriting it is—the resolution passed.

This is the resolution:—

“This meeting of the citizens of Bombay held under the auspices of the Labour Party of the Indian National Congress to celebrate the anniversary of Lenin, the great leader of mass movement in Russia,

places on record the citizens of Bombay hearty prayer for the peace of the soul of the great martyr who during his life-time successfully carried out the Russian revolution to the great relief of the masses of that land."

Well now I feel really that that is rather hitting the great martyr below the belt. That prayers for his soul were most necessary, I entirely agree. But that he would have appreciated them I do not think is likely or at any rate he would not have appreciated them on this earth. But the point of course of this is, that however grotesque it may be to pray for the soul of Lenin the great martyr, this is intended to glorify Lenin as being the great leader of mass movement in Russia and as having successfully carried out the Russian revolution, and I shall be interested to know how these accused can explain the sentiments which were put forward in this resolution.

I have mentioned May Day as being a demonstration but that it does not mean that a man joining in it is necessarily a Communist. May Day was celebrated at Bombay on the proper date, the 1st May 1927, and a leaflet was broadcasted which I won't trouble you with now. It was broadcasted all over the place headed with the words "Workmen take a vow to fight". It was distributed broadcast by Mr. Spratt, by Thengdi, Mirjakar, Ghate and Nimkar. A procession was formed with red flags and with a caption "Workers of the world Unite."

Now in connection with that a document has been found written by Mr. Spratt upon the meaning of May Day, and it was intended I understand for this very meeting, because it began :—

"This year Bombay Labour for the first time in its history will celebrate May Day. Celebrations have been held in previous years in Lahore, but this will be the first time that important industrial centres, Bombay and we hear Madras, will witness them. It is desirable therefore to know something of the origin, history and meaning of the festival."

Well, there is a most learned disquisition upon the origin of this festival of May Day. Then it says :—

"In the years before the war when labour became a political factor of the first magnitude this internationalism was in theory well to the fore. May Day a preeminently the expression of class solidarity, bore a more and more marked international and anti-militarist character. The hollow and superficial nature of those sentiments was revealed when the war, long prophesied and feared, actually came. It is significant that during the war May Day was neglected, except for some feeble attempts in the few centres of class consciousness such as the Clyde. But with the growth of a healthier Labour movement after the war, May Day regained all its old importance and more. In the U. S. S. R. May Day ranks with November 7th—(That is the date of of the Russian revolution) the anniversary of the seizure of power by the Petrograd Soviet, as the important festival of the year."

Then a little later:—

“The attention of the workers this year is directed mainly to China. For since the war especially the old slogan “Workers of the World United” has been amplified to “Workers and oppressed peoples of the world, unite”. It has been recognized that the struggle of the oppressed nations and of the oppressed classes is the same struggle waged against the same opponent, Imperialism, for the same object, freedom from exploitation.”

Well, that is very interesting when you think of the Theses which say although you have the “United Labour Front” in Europe, in the East and places like India that selection has got to be changed to the “United Anti-Imperialist Front”, and that is what is being said by Mr. Spratt here, but I will finish what he says. In the last paragraph he says:—

“The fact that the Indian workers are celebrating May Day this year is a most welcome sign that they are acquiring the strength and solidarity and class consciousness which are essential before they can achieve the tasks which confront them.”

It is perfectly clear is it not that Mr. Spratt is putting forward May Day as being a festival which is almost comparable with the anniversary of the Russian revolution and is pointing to China, which at that time was in a state of revolutionary ferment, with the intention that India should go and do likewise.

Then there was the Sacco and Vansetti demonstration there in the same year and I suggest with the same object. We there again have got the manuscript—I do not know the hand-writing-of the resolution that was passed lauding Sacco and Vansetti:—

“This meeting condemns the action of American Imperialism ✓ in sending to death two innocent labourers, Sacco and Vansetti, in spite of the protests of the world proletariat, but again thanks American Imperialism for exposing the barbarism and ruthlessness of capitalism and thereby giving more impulse to the oppressed proletariat of the world to unite against Imperialism in every country.”

Well I think that bears out what I said with regard to the objects for lauding the memory of Sacco and Vansetti. It is not as two innocent men who were done to death wrongfully, but it is as two martyrs to this particular cause.

In the Secretary's report of the Bombay Party for 1923 it is recorded with much gusto that under the propoganda section that is, the Agit Prop.—“meetings, lectures, anniversaries, celebrations, publication were undertaken, apart from the sectional mass organization, by each section for its own particular work on hand.” Then it says, “meetings, Lenin Day, welcome to Saklatwala, May Day celebration, anniversary of the Russian revolution and the Sacco—Vansetti murder

condemnation". These gentlemen also joined in demonstrations against the Simon Committee. I lay no stress on that. Anybody is entitled to think what they like about the Simon Committee. But they took the opportunity of going out these anti-Simon Committee demonstrations with placards "Workers of the world unite." And they took the opportunity of burning an effigy of Mr. Baldwin, Mr. Macdonald and various other persons. All that may be reprehensible or not, but the point that interests me is this. They considered amongst themselves in their own committee as to whether they should have any demonstration against the Simon Commission or not. You see the Simon Commission, as far as I can make out, does not lend itself very much as a subject for preaching class consciousness, the class war and the dictatorship of the proletariat, but I am a novice in these matters and I prefer to take the views of Mr. Dange, who has been at it longer than I have. What I am reading from now is the Minute Book of the Workers and peasants' party, Bombay, of the 29th August 1928, and what it says is this:—

"Dange raised the question of hartal on the landing of the Simon Commission on the 17th October. He thought that the conditions for a hartal were non-existent as the Simon Commission had no more importance in view of the attitude of the other parties. The question was whether we should bring out the workers on a non-revolutionary political issue."

I quite see Mr. Dange's point. The revolution of the proletariat is his objective and he says, "do not let us bring out the workers on a point like this which is ideologically unsound". That was his point. Mr. Joglekar on the other hand scented a chance for making a little capital out of it. He said "he wanted to take advantage of the occasion for declaring a general strike on the railways." Well, there again I see his point. His point is that every time you have a strike of sufficient importance you are educating the proletariat for the great day. I see the point of both these gentlemen. In the end they could not resist having a demonstration and they had it. But I think the most interesting part about it is this discussion between these two Marxists as to the "tactic" to be pursued.

Then they held a Lenin Day demonstration in Bombay in 1929 and that is duly recorded in the Minute Book. They had very little time to get it going but they did their best. And on that occasion they had a leaflet which I think came from Calcutta which also found its way into the possession of Mr. Joshi in the U. P., with a photograph of Lenin—I do not know whether it is like him. This leaflet of course is lauding Lenin. It starts with the words "Workers of the world and he oppressed brothers, unite."

"Lenin's 5th Death anniversary celebration.

Brother Workers, do not forget this date.

NIKOLAI LENIN.

Lenin was the chief leader of the Russian Bolshevik revolution of 1917, and the Russian Bolshevik Party. Of the men whose thought and efforts were responsible for the overthrow of the tyranny of the Tsar and the abolition of the control of the wealthy and the zemindars, and where the

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right to rule has been established, he was the leader amongst them all. He arranged to unite the workers and the peasants of the world by forming the international organisation known as the communist Intenational. He was imprisoned while trying to establish the right of the workers and peasants. Suffered the pangs of an exile, and was even shot at the hands of the white guards who were against him".

And they are asked to laud his memory.

Dewan Chaman Lal: May I suggest that these details be left out, only a reference being made to them.

Mr. D. P. Sinha: Who is the author of the leaflet ?

Mr. Langford James: I believe it to be Muzaffar Ahmed, but it has been found with very many of the accused. It appears to have originated in Calcutta. I find here a letter dated the 14th January from Muzaffar Ahmed giving instructions to Bombay as to the important points to emphasise. It says:—

Monday, 21st January is the 5th anniversary of the death of Lenin and should be observed by the Party, in conjunction with the communist Party, in a suitable manner. It is suggested that on that day (or if more convenient, on the day before) as many meetings as possible should be held, especially among industrial workers. It is desirable that these should be advertised previously by handbills, which should give the most essential points of Lenin's teaching and life.

The most important questions which should be stressed in speeches on Lenin Day are:—

- (1) his analysis of the nature of opportunism and reforms in the Labour Movement, and its role as the last line of defence of capitalism.
- (2) his teaching on the colonial question: the tactics and ultimately *the leading role of the working class in the colonial revolution.*
- (3) The significance of the Russian Revolution, as the first breach in the structure of Imperialism, and the U. S. S. R. as the "Father land" of the "Working Class," hence the necessity of the defence of U. S. S. R. against the war danger.

Well now Mr. Usmani on that occasion apparently took the Chair at the meeting in Bombay and he graphically described the

grief of the people in Russia at the death of Lenin, because, he said, he was there and witnessed it. And that called forth from Muzaffar Ahmad a letter to Ghate dated 11th February 1929, in which he says:—

“The following is the quotation from “Spark” :—“Shaukat Usmani, the president, graphically described the scenes of frenzied grief of the Russian people at news of Lenin’s death, to which he was an eye-witness.”

“Please ask Usmani to contradict it without fail and immediately. Lenin died on the 21st January 1924 on which date Usmani was a prisoner in Peshawar District Jail. I do not know through whose mistake such a report has appeared in the Spark. In any case Usmani must clear his position.”

Well, I hope it is now quite clear. But the rest of the speech was lauding the great leader of this Russian revolution. As my learned friend only wants me not to refer to the details, I might say that similar demonstrations were held in Calcutta and there they carried signboards with “Long Live Soviet Republic” on them and of course red flags. There were two large meetings on Lenin Day in 1929, the details of which I shall give in due course, but they generally follow the same line. The Punjab was by no means backward. There May Day was celebrated with Mr. Majid in the Chair, and Sohan Singh Joshi attended, and they made speeches in which they lauded the Government of Russia, and Mr. Majid said that he wanted to establish in India a Government of Workers and Peasants like the one which had been established in Russia and to separate religion from politics as had been done in that country. And both of them lauded the efforts of that body known as the Nau Jawan Bharat Sabha, which they said was taking a prominent part in pressing forward this revolution.

Now that Sir, will give some idea of the general lines upon which that point which I consider to be a very unequivocal point in this case will be proved.

Now I propose to give you, but once more very briefly, the sort of evidence which will be called upon the question of the activities of these gentlemen with regard to strikes. But when I come to ask you to appraise that evidence it will not be upon the number of strikes necessarily that I shall dwell but upon the object of them. To the Bolshevik there are two fundamental purposes in a strike or in strikes. One is to educate the masses to mass action and to provide, so to speak, a rehearsal for the general strike and the mass revolution. That is the first objective. The other objective is to glorify the members of the communist party and make them appear as the recognized leaders of the proletariat—the sort of man who gets things done for you. Well now it is extremely difficult and requires a good deal of tact if you have entangled yourself in a strike to get out of it with any sort of honour to yourself, and

that is a point which requires a good deal of attention. But the main objective of course is the education of the workers, and it is that point of view which ultimately I shall have to stress.

Now here I have a document written I believe by Mr. Spratt, and it is headed:—

“Lesson 6. Trade Union Work”.

“The functioning of the trade unions in the class struggle generally and in the national struggle in particular.

“The trade unions are the chief mass organisations of the working class. They teach the worker class interest, class discipline and introduce them to politics. They are schools of communism. How far can they take an active role ?

“General Strike-Councils of action. They form the organisational basis of the Dictatorship of the proletariat in the national revolution. The working class must now take a leading part by party activity in the nationalist movement to trade union action. Hence trade unions are enormously important. They are active instruments of all struggle which we must direct and they are field for propaganda.

“Here we have to deal with a movement not nearly fully developed. A good deal of the actual work of organisation falls upon us. This is both good and bad for us. For our practical work we require a programme on which to base our action in regard to “the trade union congress.....”.

That is the movement as a whole. So that Mr. Spratt has recognized that object really of forming these unions and teaching them to strike is for the purpose of educating them. Now what happened in Bombay first of all was this. The object of these conspirators was to get hold in Bombay of all the important, what I will call strategic, points. They wanted to collar the Railways, the dockyards, tramways, and that which is also the life-blood of Bombay commerce—the textile industry, and so on. And they succeeded very largely in doing so. They proceeded upon exactly the same lines in Calcutta and they added to these what I may call public utility and transport companies, two other rather significant spots.

They captured the employees of the Ichapore Munitions Factory, and they captured the employees of the other arsenal at Kirkee. I do not think they had completed their work. They were anxious to do so I have no doubt and they made efforts to do so. They obtained a dominating influence on the Trades Unions concerned with those bodies and companies. That is what I mean by capturing, so that the workmen in those Trade Unions would act at the dictation of these accused.



I will show you from their own records that they boasted to have control absolutely or partially over a great many of these companies. Their intention was, I have no doubt, to get a strangle hold upon all means of communication throughout the country, and they attempted to do so at any rate up here in the north. It was only because Mr. Usmani either bungled his job or was unfortunate, that they did not manage also to capture the North western Railway, but they entirely dominated the E. I. R., the G. I. P., the B. B. & C. I., and the B.N.W. Railway (here in this province at Gorakhpore). They had also captured as I pointed out—I will give you the names in a minute—the dockyards in Calcutta and Bombay, and the Tramway Companies in both those places, and I shall ask you to hold upon a mass of evidence pointing in that direction that the intention of these accused persons was to bring about a general strike on an intensive scale on the 1st May. That was their immediate objective, that was the point which they had mainly in mind at the time when they were arrested.

From the Secretary's report of the Bombay Branch, from which I have already read—the report of 1927—he says this with regard to the Trade Unions:

“At present the party members are more or less connected with the Girni Kamgar Union (*now known as the Red Flag Union*), the G. I. P. General Employees Union, and directly are responsible for the Municipal Workmen's Union, the Dockworkers Union, the Pressworkers Union.”

That is all that he claims, but later on the list was considerably added to and there were brought in the B.B. & C.I employees, the B.I.S. N. Co's staff, the Tramway men's Union, the Bombay Oil Company employees, and as I said the Arsenal Labourers Union at Kirkee.

Now, in pursuance of a perfectly definite plan in Bombay, you may say that from April 1928 till October 1928 there was practically a continuous strike and a continuous general strike of the cotton mills. I believe I am right in saying that 82 out of 84 cotton mills went on strike. The other two are not really to be counted as within Bombay. During that time no less than 170 meetings were addressed by these Bombay accused, and you will have evidence as to the language which they used when addressing those meetings.

I have here a letter written by Mr. Potter Wilson, the Secretary of the Workers Welfare League of India to Bradley, dated 31st January, 1929, which summarises the position I think rather well.

“The decision of the A. I. T. U. C. to call upon the whole movement to prepare for a general strike in opposition to the reactionary trades disputes Bill is perhaps the most important decision taken by the Congress. If this is to be more than a vague threat it will require the most energetic measures to be taken in the preparation. At the

same time with the development of the situation unquestionably pointing to the rise of further big struggles, it appears that the T. U. C. is undoubtedly pursuing the correct policy in issuing the call for a general strike. Under this slogan the whole of the trade union work in the country will have to be orientated, if a successful stand is to be made. The utmost publicity will be required for the decisions and every section of the movement drawn into the preparations. I note that the proposal for a general strike also came before the A. I. R. F. and was only defeated by a small majority. It is inevitable that the matter will have to come up again as the policy of wait and see, reveals its importance. Last year saw many strikes deprived of the success otherwise possible owing to the lack of co-ordinated policy. If in the coming year it is possible to organise united action among different sections of workers a great step forward will have been made in developing class consciousness and gaining the aims of the Indian working class. You have a very difficult and responsible part, faced as you are with the implacable hostility of British Imperialism as well as the opposition of the reformists in the Indian trade union leadership, and I should like to congratulate you on the pains taking and excellent work which you have carried out."

The point of view of Potter Wilson is the point of view of the tactical advantages of these strikes to the cause of the party, their value to the movement.

In Bengal these gentlemen dominated and captured, if I may put it in similar fashion the following imposing list of Unions:—

- The Bengal Jute Workers Association, with branches at Bhatpara, Tittagar, Metiabruz, Budge Budge, Alambazar.
- The Bengal Paper Mills Workers Union.
- The Ichapur Ordnance Workers Union.
- The Textile Workers Union.
- The 24-Parganas Postal Staff Union.
- The Labourers & Cultivators Association.
- The Scavengers Union in Dacca.
- The Dhakeswari Cotton Mill Workers Union.
- The Workers and Peasants Party.
- The Angus Engineering Workers Union.
- The Lillooah Labour Union.
- The Bauria Jute Workers Union.
- The Howrah Scavengers Union.
- The Factory Workers Union.
- The E. I. Ry. Labour Association at Asansol and other places.
- The Indian Seamen's Union.
- The Scavengers Union of Bengal.

The Transport Workers Union (Kidderporé Docks)  
The Calcutta Tramway Workers Union.

They had a series of strikes, one of which was started by other persons but continued and carried on by them. There was the Lillooah strike on the E. I. Railway which started in fact in December 1927 but which was actively carried on by the accused in Calcutta from 5th April 1928 till 9th July, 1928. There were two strikes of the Calcutta Scavengers. There were two strikes in two jute mills at Chengail and at Baurea, or rather there were strikes at Chengail and one at Baurea. The one at Baurea, lasted from July 1928 to January 1929. There was a strike at the Dhakeswari Cotton Mills, another at Asansol, Ondal and Burdwan on the E. I. R.

There is a long letter from Spratt to Page Arnott which I won't trouble you with now appraising the work done by the party with regard to these strikes and showing, as I shall submit, that all the strikes were merely meant to educate the workmen towards mass movement.

Now that is all I wish to say about this, I have treated it, in deference to my learned friend, very shortly. For that reason I do not wish your Honour to understand that it is not an extremely important point in this case, because I think it is one of the most important.

Another of the activities of these gentlemen was to attempt to capture the Trades union Congress. As I told you on the first day, I think there are two Internationals of Labour, one is the RILU in Moscow and the other is the IFTU at Amsterdam. Now the object of these accused was to make rather the Trades Union Congress affiliate to the RILU, and certainly to prevent them from affiliating to the IFTU. The next best thing to affiliating to the RILU, what has in effect I should think with the same result is to affiliate to the League against Imperialism. Now at the meeting at Cawnpore in 1927 an attempt was made either to affiliate to the League against Imperialism or to pass a resolution lauding the objects of the League against Imperialism. I am not quite clear which, but in any case whatever effort was made appears to have been defeated, according to these accused and those who think with them, by a Mr. Purcell, and Mr. Halsworth, who were out from England and Diwan Chaman Lall, and there are letters which I should like to refer to quite shortly which show that point.

Now this is a letter from Mr. Chattopadhaya, Secretary to the League against Imperialism, written to Mr. Dange. It says:

"We received some time ago an invitation from the General Secretary of the Trades Union Congress to send a fraternal delegate to the next Congress in Jherria. We are doing our very best to find a suitable Trade Unionist who can represent the League point of view before the Congress and at the same time save himself from deportation

until the new law which is likely to come into force before the end of November. (*It was a difficult task indeed to send anyone who could really represent the League point and escape deportation*). We are now depending upon you and other comrades to make sure this time of the affiliation of the Trades Union Congress to the League against Imperialism. Last year it seems to have been due chiefly to Purcell, Halsworth and to Chaman Lall's vacillation that the question of affiliation was put off. I have now spoken with Chaman Lall and obtained his promise (which I hope he will keep) to support the affiliation. We recognise the difficulties at home, but if you wish to prevent the Amsterdam people from obtaining control of our labour, it seems to us absolutely necessary that the Trades Union Congress should become an affiliated member of the League, since in the present phase of the movement, and under the difficulties created by the Government, it is not easy for the trades Union Congress to affiliate to the RILU."

So that you see Mr. Chattopadhaya, Secretary of the League against Imperialism, in effect says that of course the best thing to do would be to affiliate to the RILU, that is the Moscow body, but if you cannot do that, affiliate to the League against Imperialism. And he attributes the disaster of the previous year to the three gentlemen whom he names.

Now I have got a letter written by Dange to Mozuffar Ahmed enclosing a report of what happened at the Conference. I see under "Resolutions" in that report a resolution expressing sympathy with the aims and objects of the League against Imperialism and Colonial oppression was suggested, but was not allowed. The official party supported by Purcell opposed it on the alleged ground that the League was an offshoot of the Third International.

Then there is another letter written by C. P. Dutt to Dange, dated sometime, I think, in April, 1928, in which he says this:—

"Dear Comrade,

Many thanks for your letter of February 29th, regarding the Executive Council Meeting. I have arranged for a copy to be sent to the Rilu Congress, as I think it is very important and that they should know what took place." Then he goes on to say:—

The whole business, both as regards affiliation to Amsterdam and the cutting off the workers, Welfare League, savours very unpleasantly of intrigue since they are both subjects which should only properly be decided on by the full Congress and they were not raised in November at Cawnpore which was the proper opportunity to do so. You will have received copies of a letter from Comrade Saklatwalla on this subject.

These documents, I think, prove first of all that there was this attempt definitely made by these accused to get the congress affiliated to the League against Imperialism which was defeated, and secondly that they were sending minutes of meetings and resolutions and so forth to communists in Europe, which were being forwarded to the RILU in Moscow for their information. Now that was the position as regards the 1927 meeting.

We then come to the 1928 meeting, but that will take me perhaps a little longer, so I don't know whether Your Honour would like to rise.

*(The Court here rose for Lunch)*

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*The Court re-assembled after Lunch at 2 p. M.*

*Mr. Langford James* :—I told you that there were attempts to capture these trade unions in 1927, and to have them affiliated to the League against Imperialism. In 1928, the attempt was repeated and you will have proved before you a document which is a manifesto from the Workers' and Peasants' Party, Bombay, to the Trade Unions and their executive committees. The draft has been discovered and apparently it is a composition of Mirajkar, Spratt and Bradley. I will say no more about it at this stage than that it argues against the Trade Union Council having anything to do with Amsterdam and strongly advocates that there should be affiliation with the Rilu. In this connection, I shall show that a small committee had been formed by the Congress with Mr. Spratt as convenor to consider a labour constitution for India, and I think also to consider what is known as the Nehru report. Mr. Spratt sent round a circular to the various members of that committee enclosing a scheme which he put forward. I will not trouble you with it at length at the moment. These words occur in it: "It is to be taken as granted that the ultimate object of the labour movement here as elsewhere must be the establishment of an independent democratic socialist republic and the only kind of constitution it can agree to is that of such a state." It goes on to advocate various things and I notice that under political demands, it advocates abolition of all feudal institutions, landlordism and the Native States, and the granting of the right of universal adult suffrage, freedom of assembly, freedom of press and speech, the right to organise and strike and the right to carry arms. The whole tone of this document goes to show that it is put forward in order to advocate the Russian method. The criticism on the Nehru report which I will not trouble you with at this stage is a wholesale condemnation of that Report on the ground that it is bourgeois and entirely reactionary. At that meeting of the Trades Union Conference there appeared two persons who were sent, as I shall submit, by the Communist International, with a definite purpose (1) Mr. J. Johnston, who represented the League against Imperialism and who had been in

Moscow just before, and the other was Ryan, sent by the P. P. T. U. S. and also member of the Labour Research Department of Australia, which seems to work on similar lines to the Labour Research Department in England. Both of these men delivered speeches which I shall ask you to say were distinctly communistic and in favour of the Russian system. The P. P. T. U. S. was then located at Canton. It has subsequently found refuge in its spiritual home at Vladivostok. That, very shortly put, is the case which will be developed in greater detail as to capturing this All-India Trade Union body.

I want to say just a few words upon the activities of these accused with regard to the youth movement. The youth movement I think, undoubtedly had its origin in Moscow and the importance of training the youth and the very young in the tenets of Moscow was early recognised. But I do not suggest for one moment that because people interest themselves in a youth movement, that that is ground for saying that they are carrying on Bolshevik agitation. It is the internal evidence as to the nature of the movement which they have carried on amongst the youth to which I wish to direct your attention. Two matters have to be kept distinct in this affair. The first is an attempt to capture all the known existing youth organisations and the second is the formation or training of what I will call a really Bolshevik youth movement. As an instance of the former, i.e., capturing an existing organisation, one may point to the Nau Jawan Bharat Sabha in Lahore, which whatever its origin may have been is now, as I hope to satisfy you, on the admission of these accused, entirely communistic in its outlook, although possibly, its ideology may at times be warped in favour of sporadic terrorism. But be that as it may, I think it is fair to say that these accused have captured entirely that youth institution. As further instances of attempts to capture the existing institutions, I wish to give you evidence of speeches made in Bombay and manifestoes put forward to the existing youth movements. On the latter point that is to say, the formation of a really Bolshevik youth movement to train the youth in Bolshevik methods and objects, there is also considerable evidence. Now, the position appears to be from that point of view as follows. On the 18th of March, 1928, in Bombay, there was passed a resolution that a Fifth Group should be added to the party organisation namely, a youth Group, and the Group leader selected for this purpose was Mr. Spratt. Mr. Spratt was absent from Bombay at the time, and he did not go back as far as I know until the next September, and then only for a short time. That resolution was apparently adopted also in Calcutta, but the accused's hands were so full with strikes and one thing and another that they were not able to give, as far as I can make out, sufficient attention to this youth movement in either place. In Calcutta they were more awake and there they succeeded in forming the Young Comrades League which undoubtedly was formed by this body, as to which I have got the admission of Mr. Spratt in his own handwriting, if indeed that was needed. The objects of the Young Comrades League are stated to be—"to organise a radical and militant movement of the exploited and oppressed young men and

women for (a) the redress of their immediate grievances, (b) the establishment of the Independent Republic of India on the basis of the social and economic emancipation of the masses." You will also find that study circles were started under the superintendence of Mr. Spratt for the purpose of teaching the youth what they should know. The most important part about it is the books which they had to read and the lectures which were delivered. Here is one instance. Comrade Hazra reads an article on Imperialism in which he dwelt on the different means of Imperialism, by different schools of thought. He also showed the history and development of Imperialism and so forth. Comrade Spratt spoke something about Imperialism and tried to enunciate the view of Lenin about Imperialism, and if I know anything about Comrade Spratt, I think it must have been very instructive. That is only one instance, but there is a good deal of material to show exactly what these youths were being taught, and the books which they had to read. There can be no doubt in anybody's mind that intensive training was going on in order to teach quite young fellows in Calcutta the tenets and objects of Bolshevism. In Bombay, as I say, they had their hands fairly full. But I have here a document headed 'Youth' showing that the fundamental task of the Workers' and Peasants' Party is to bring about an organised mass movement of the workers and peasants for the attainment of freedom from Imperialism, democracy and the emancipation of the toiling masses from poverty, ignorance and oppression, and it dwells upon the importance of the youth in this movement and says that the most vital section which can do this is the youth who are free from obsolete ideas and modes of thought, and have the idealism and energy necessary to conduct a persistent campaign of agitation, education and an organisation among the working masses. This is found with the Bombay Party, and on the top in Mr. Spratt's handwriting, I find the following:—"Bhatt, State and Revolution. Adikhari Imperialism." Obviously, I think that this must have been written at the time of the meeting of all the branches in Calcutta in December, and then it was arranged as to who should carry on the work. If Mr. Bhatt is to lecture to the youth on State and Revolution—we know fairly well on what lines they were being educated, and when the case is developed against Mr. Adikhari who was to lecture on Imperialism, I think you should have some idea as to what views they were going to get from him. In the meantime, a Study Circle was started in the Khar Youth League under the accused Hutchinson and we found with him certain interesting books with regard to his study circle. The members of this study circle call themselves by quaint names. They were called Solidarity, Tenacity, Liberty, Fraternity and so on. Occasionally Tenacity was in the Chair, and occasionally Liberty was in the Chair. But as far as I can make out, whoever was or was not there, the training seems to have been very thorough and the book which they were concentrating upon at one time was that admirable book by Mr. Stalin on Leninism, and anybody who has read Stalin's Leninism will know exactly what news Tenacity, Sagacity, Equality and so on were imbibing. Mr. Hutchinson also has functioned among the youth

in Bombay when he addressed the Matunga Youth League on one occasion. Now, passing on to the U. P. the Youth organisation there seems to have been in the capable hands of Mr. Joshi and the objects for forming the Youth League were certainly wide enough. The object was "to prepare ourselves for creating a newer, better, and more youthful order of society". It sounds very charming, but when you come to his list of books which the youth have got to study, you will find once more that he selects largely from Bolshevik literature and you find amongst them the Communist Manifesto by Marx, the A. B. C. of Communism by BUKHARIN and Ten Days that shook the World by Reed, which is a book which purports to be a vivid description of the Russian Revolution but written of course from the Bolshevik point of view in order to fire the imagination of anybody who reads it. There is other Bolshevik literature also. That is sufficient, I think, to give you an idea of the evidence which will be led in order to show that these accused were paying attention to that branch of the propaganda laid down by the International.

Now, in December, 1928, there took place in Calcutta a general meeting of the All-India Peasants' and Workers' Party, and I think all the various provincial branches were represented there. At that meeting, or to that meeting, there was submitted a Thesis. There was also submitted a political resolution and a thesis on the Trade Union movement, and Mr. Sohan Singh Josh made the Presidential address. I see that my Learned Junior is anxious that I should show you this which was discovered with the Youth League in Calcutta. (Shows a big board with the words "Long Live the Soviet India"). As I was telling you, at this meeting in Calcutta, various theses and resolutions were put before the meeting and I will trouble Your Honour with just a few points upon them. This is the first thesis to which I should like to refer. (Hands a copy to the Court). It starts by saying that :—

"The Workers' and Peasants' Party, with the mass movement of which it is the most conscious section, arises from the condition of exploitation and political subjection in which the great majority of the population finds itself. Its function, in the most general term, is to achieve at least the essential preliminary step, *i. e.*, the attainment of political independence, for the abolition of exploitation and political oppression."

Lower down, it says :—

"The policy of the Party is thus based on a materialist analysis of society, and the fact of class struggle between different economic classes." If you turn to page 4, you will find :—

"In its different conditions, it is inevitable that the Indian bourgeoisie should be far less revolutionary than the Chinese. That this is so in fact is shown by the history of the Non-Co-operation



Movement, which was betrayed by its bourgeois leaders because of the danger of its developing into a mass revolutionary upheaval. ”

Lower down :—

“The bourgeoisie must therefore be looked upon as definitely counter-revolutionary, and incapable of taking any part in a genuine movement for independence.”

On page 5:

It should be emphasised that the Workers' and Peasants' Party does not deny the existence of considerable differences between the Indian and the British bourgeoisie, nor does it seek to minimise their political importance. But it maintains that these differences notwithstanding, the Indian bourgeoisie will never take part, but on the contrary will vehemently oppose, any revolutionary movement against imperialism, without which neither the independence of the country nor the welfare of the masses can be secured.” It contemplates that the bourgeoisie will never join in this class war and mass movement.

On page 6:-

“On political and economic grounds also it is evident that participation of the masses in the Government while the British bourgeoisie remain in the country is impossible. The masses must therefore strive for independence from British rule.”

And lower down:—

“The struggle against imperialism for the complete independence of the country is thus the central item for the immediate future in the programme of the masses and of the Workers' and Peasants' Party. The struggle, having as it does the object of destroying the imperialist control of India, must be a revolutionary one. Scepticism is very prevalent as to the possibility of revolution in India. The supremacy of a very efficient and autocratic Government renders the task of revolutionary organisation extremely difficult.”

And then the writer comments on that and says that difficult it may be, but it is not impossible. And then he goes at the bottom of page 7 to say :—

“The illiteracy and general backwardness of the masses again are held by upper class prejudice to constitute an insuperable obstacle to revolutionary action on their part. But the masses of China and Russia, equal to those of India in illiteracy, ignorance and corruption, have organised on an enormous scale, and carried through almost equally difficult revolutionary tasks, and have further shown remarkable constructive ability in the post revolutionary period. It is a quite erroneous and defeatist idea to suppose that it is necessary to wait for improvements in the education or social or economic position of the masses before any serious mass movement can arise. Improvement in these directions comes only through the mass movement.”

On page 8 it says with some significance :—

“The Workers' and Peasants' Party does not deny the general utility in Indian conditions of non-violence as a tactic, but maintains that it will not be necessary for the Indian movement to use this tactic at all times and in all conditions. And it is strongly opposed to raising non-violence to the level of a principle. It was on this pretext that the Non-Cooperation Movement was betrayed.”

On page 9, you will find an interesting paraphrase of the “horseless” peasant in these words :—

“The peasant cultivators and landless field labourers demand reduction of the tribute which they pay to the landlords.”

Then, on page 10, when discussing the petty bourgeoisie, it says:—

“In order that this class can take any part in the mass movement it must be freed from the political also from the ideological leadership of the bourgeoisie, and must learn the real identity of interest, both economic and political, between itself and the masses.”

At the bottom of page 10 you will find:—

“The line of action of the Party is to develop to the fullest extent the organisation and consciousness of the masses in a revolutionary direction. With the workers this is to be carried out by increasing by all means the strength and solidarity of the Trade Union movement on the basis of forward economic and political demands and a policy of direct action. The policy of reformism and the dominance of the reactionary Trade Union leaders are constantly to be attacked, and replaced by a militant policy and leadership. All occasions are to be seized to draw the workers into political action, by demonstrations, meetings, strikes etc.” On page 12, talking about how they should get their demands :—

“To enforce these demands, a mass movement, using the weapons of demonstration etc., and direct action, must be organised, leading up to a general strike of workers and a mass campaign of non-payment of rent and taxes by peasants.”

Nobody can read this without having ringing in his ears the Bolshevik literature with which I troubled Your Honour at an earlier stage. Then I do not think I will trouble you with this thesis on Trade Unions beyond saying a few words about it.

On page 1 is discussed the value of trade unions from the point of view of political action and revolutionary aims. You will find that later on it is suggested that it is to induce the mass struggle for independence under the aegis of the Workers' and Peasants' Party, and on the last page you will find the international motif introduced with of course a recommendation that all the trade unions should affiliate with the RILU and the P. P. T. U. S. The political Resolution is equally significant.

Then I must now direct your attention to some portions of Mr. Josh's speech on this occasion. Heaven forbid that I should read it all. But I will try and boil it down as much as I can. Pages 2 to 4 of this speech are occupied generally speaking, with an attack on the Congress and Mr. Gandhi is attacked, Mr. Das is attacked and Pandit Moti Lal Nehru—and very naturally so from the point of view of these gentlemen. Then he deals with the Simon Commission and he deals with the Nehru Report. I will just read a few words about the letter from page 5:—

“We had been hearing the word “Swaraj” from the lips of the congress leaders but we never understood its significance. This word has been so vaguely applied that one can make it mean anything one likes. To some it means Complete Independence, to others Dominion Status. None had defined it so far, so nobody was certain what our Congress friends meant by it. Sometimes reactionaries manage, by jugglery of words, to pass as extremists. But time comes when they are revealed in their true colour. Many leaders had been posing as extremists under the cover of undefined Swaraj. But now that the Nehru Report has defined it, they are shown to be reactionaries. Not only do they wish to remain chained to chariot wheels of the Empire, but they wish also to leave armed forces and “Foreign Affairs in the British hands.”

He goes on like this for some considerable time and on page 7 he is lashed to indignation by the fact that the King, the Governor General and the Governors should remain in the Nehru scheme. Then on page 8 he gets on to another question, and that is the Independent League of India which I understand from the Comintern was started by Mr. Jawahirlal Nehru, and he is very upset about that. You will find at the bottom of page 8 that he says:—

“On the other side our party is carrying on an uncompromising campaign for Complete Independence, our Workers and Peasants' Party is an Independent party and our slogan is Complete Independence. Then what was the need of this new party? All people who believe in revolution and class struggle should join our party and placing before the workers and peasants a revolutionary programme should organise them to win freedom.”

His point is, “We are the real revolutionary mass party here in India. What is then Mr. Jawahirlal Nehru doing starting with another party”. Then he deals with the trade union point, and you notice that on page 11 he says:—

“But we must have an official agent in Great Britain who may give to the British workers true information about the Indian Trade Union movement. In my opinion we should select the Workers Welfare League of India, London, for this purpose, for it has proved by its activities its complete sympathy with the Indian workers cause and its readiness to help them in their struggle.”

Yes, it had paid Mr. Bradley £ 40 a month and also succeeded in giving useful information and advice. But I have missed something on page 10 in regard to the question of affiliation. He said :—

“I have been greatly pleased to see that the League against Imperialism is trying to organise the revolutionary workers and the national movements of the colonial countries on international basis, and the importance of its propaganda work can be judged from the fact that the literature produced by it has been proscribed under the Sea Customs Act by the Government of India. Because the League is out to abolish Imperialism from the face of the earth and we too have the same objects, we should therefore have no objection to have connections with it. Personally I wish, that if practicable, we should secure affiliation with the International of Moscow or with the Peasants International Kristentern, because these Internationals are the real supporters of the political, economic and social emancipation of the proletariat and have shown by their attitude that they have been unceasingly fighting against capitalism and Imperialism.”

Then on page 14 he passes on to deal with the question of the peasants, and he deals with the Bardoli question. Then on page 17 he comes to that slogan so dear to the heart of the Bolshevik, “The Coming War.” They wish you to believe that the capitalist states are arming against them for war, the “white terror” is arriving. And towards the middle of that page he says :—

“Russia and Great Britain are the representatives of these war preparations. Russia stands for liberty, equality and fraternity and Britain for Capitalism and Imperialism. Which means exploitation. A great rivalry exists between them. Russia does not want war in reality, nor can she gain by a war. But her existence means a massage of revolution to the poor workers and peasants all over the world. As long as the Russian Bolshevik Government exists it will be beacon light for the revolutionaries the world over. The people will imbibe revolutionary and communist ideas and will try by every possible means, to overthrow the existing order of things. But the Imperialist Government wish to crush the Soviet rule and replace it by one of their own kind and thus give a set back to the Socialist movement all over the world. For this reason it is that the Imperialist countries, especially Great Britain, are trying to destroy Russia.”

On page 18 there is an interesting passage under the heading, “Our Enemies”.

“Our enemies have begun to discredit us in many ways and alienate public sympathy from us by their malicious propaganda in the Press and on the platform, so that they may easily arrest and confine us. They dub us as Bolsheviks and Communists and the like, but we must not lose heart. Is it not a matter of pride to be called a Bolshevik? Because Bolshevik is one who replaces the present rotten order of things by a new and just system in which the wealth is distributed

justly where there are no poor and no rich classes, where there is no unemployment in which there is an end of the ruler and the ruled, oppressor and the oppressed, employer and the employee, landlord and peasant, where every one is prosperous and gets all he needs, where all live a happy and prosperous life. To speak my mind freely I am working to bring about such an order of things and because the Bolshevics of Russia have shown us the way in this respect, we are thankful to them. If our enemies call us Bolshevics, we accept the epithet, because we know that Bolshevism stands for liberty, equality and fraternity."

And there honest Mr. Josh speaks from his heart and I am quite sure he is honest about it and I am certain that he did want to bring this Bolshevick revolution into India. That is my case. He may have believed it to be a blessing in disguise but there cannot be any question as to the intentions of these gentlemen after passages such as these. Then he sums up his programme on page 19, and you notice what he wants shortly is:—

"First, that our programme should be based on class struggle. We should work for 100 per cent. organisation, we must see that all our members become class-conscious and know their goal and how to reach it."

Then the second point is that they want complete independence.

His third point is the abolition of landlordism and the Indian States.

The fourth is that we "should look sharp to secure international affiliations with all those parties who are bent upon destroying imperialism."

Fifth, "We should try our best to disseminate our ideas among the young men, because they are ever ready to give up old rotten ideas and imbibe the fresh and healthy ones. Besides young men are full of energy and enthusiasm and these are the qualities that will stand us in good stead."

He had a considerable number of young men in his audience because the "Young Comrades League" had been directed to send, as I find from the papers, a deputation of 50 delegates to this particular conference.

Then in conclusion he says:—

"I have taken a good deal of your precious time, a few words more and I have done. The age through which we are passing is the age of democracy, I do not want to be a prophet, but I say that the present century "will see Socialism and Communism governing the world. Kingship will wholly vanish from the surface of the earth.

Mussolinis that are now oppressing the poor and helpless humanity will be wiped off the world. Empires and imperialism will cease and the present rotten and unjust system will give way to a new and just systems."

Then he gets so worked up that he recites waving I understand a red flag the Internationale, and ends up with the slogans "Long live the Proletarian Revolution. Long live the Soviet Rule. Long live Marxism and Leninism. Long live the solidarity of the exploited people of the earth. Long live the workers and peasants party of India." And the room crashed with cheers, because Mr. Josh had exactly voiced the feelings of everybody in the room and certainly of all of the accused who were there. He had indeed nobly voiced their sentiments, albeit a little ingenuously.

That will give you some insight into the working of this All-India Workers and Peasants Party Conference and to show you what exactly it meant.

Now I come to another branch of this subject. As I have already said, I think the question as to whether these accused or any of them were in fact banded together into a regular Communist Party is not one which it is at all necessary for me to prove in this case. This court is not going to appraise the guilt or innocence of the accused in this case according to the extent to which they had graduated in Leninism or in the tactics of the Third International. The question in this case will not be whether any or all of the accused were orthodox members of an orthodox Moscow Communist Party. The test question really is whether the accused or any of them have conspired to deprive the King Emperor of his sovereignty and have conspired to do that by a class war and a mass revolution. It is not the orthodoxy of the ideology of any accused as a Bolshevik, that matters, but whether he has imbibed the Bolshevik objective and conspired to put the Bolshevik plan into action. That is the crucial point. As evidence of that his actions, such as those which I have just referred to, are extremely important. But in fact at the end, in fact just about the time when Comrade Josh was so eloquently voicing the opinions of all that assembly, just about that time, several of them were forming themselves into a definite Communist Party which was to be affiliated to the Third International. Now you will forgive me if I go back a little and tell you something about the previous history of this matter. You have noticed no doubt in Mr. Spratt's letters, or one of them, a reference to the old Y. M., when the question arose between him and somebody, I think Mr. Fazl Ilahi, as to whether the Church in Bombay should be founded upon the Methodist plan or whether it should as he put it hold its skirts a little higher and be in fact like the old Y. M. Well now the facts in so far as it is at all necessary to know them in this trial about the old Y. M. are these. In 1924, apparently there appears to have been a body which called itself the Communist Party of India. Dissensions arose in its midst and it is not for me to adjudicate upon them. Somebody bolted with the funds and other people captured the

institution. For the purpose of this trial I think it is sufficient to say that there was apparently an attempt to resuscitate this body in 1926, made I believe by Mr. Muzaffar Ahmad. But it was an entirely moribund condition. It apparently came to life for one brief moment in 1927 about May, when it issued a somewhat bombastic report. With the exception of issuing that report I cannot find that it ever functioned at all during the period which your Honour will have in review in this case. But it is well to bear in mind that there was such a body. Now early in 1928 Mr. M. N. Roy, who has continued to play a very large part in this conspiracy, sent a letter to Mr. Muzaffar Ahmad. It never reached Mr. Muzaffar Ahmad because it was intercepted in route. When I say that Mr. M. N. Roy sent a letter I should be rather more precise in saying that a letter signed "J" which I shall convince you was written by Mr. C. P. Dutt, was sent to Mr. Muzaffar Ahmad, and attached to it was a report unsigned reviewing the whole situation in India at that time. That report appears to have emanated from Mr. M. N. Roy. Now one interesting part about this document is that it was referred to in the Legislative Assembly. Promptly the workers and peasants party in Bombay took action upon it and they had a meeting to consider what was the best line to adopt with regard to this letter. Now they had never seen the letter. They knew nothing whatever about it, but of course knew all about Mr. M. N. Roy and C. P. Dutt. They decided instantly upon the line which they should take, namely that they should say and publish in the newspaper that this letter was a fabrication. And they did so. It must seem strange to any one that a letter which is addressed to Muzaffar Ahmad in Calcutta should be stigmatised as a fabrication by the Workers and Peasants' party in Bombay through Mr. Ghate, but such is the case. Now this letter I am afraid I must trouble you with in extenso, because it seems to me to be of extreme importance.

Mr. D. P. Sinha: Since this is a letter of very exceptional character, may I know in what way he proposes to make it admissible in evidence.

Mr. Langford James: This is a letter arriving in India from Mr. C. P. Dutt who is one of the conspirators outside this realm who cannot be put before this court, at any rate is not before this court; and it encloses a document which is either written by Mr. Dutt or by Mr. Roy and therefore under section 10 of the Evidence Act it is perfectly good evidence against the other conspirators here in the dock. That is the way it is made evidence. As for the proof of the letter you may take it from me that it will be proved how it arrived in India and how it was seized and so forth....

Dewan Chaman Lal: Mr. Dutt is not a conspirator.

Mr. Langford James: I have just said that Mr. Dutt is a conspirator and that is a fact to be borne in mind for the appreciation of section 10.

Dewan Chaman Lal: So far as this case is concerned, he is not a conspirator.

The Court: The petition of complaint is that the accused conspired with persons known and unknown. That gives a very wide latitude. At any rate they did conspire with other persons than themselves, and if Mr. Dutt and Mr. Roy are two of the known persons I suppose they are part of the conspiracy according to the prosecution case. I do not say anything about the admissibility of the letter now. That is a question to go into when the document is produced as evidence.

(Mr. D. K. Sinha objected further.)

I may state shortly the position. It is this. Roy is taking up the same matter which has been discussed between Spratt and Fazl-Ilahi and the communists in Europe, namely the composition of this Workers and Peasants Party, and the point, as I understand it, is that you must have for practical hard work a communist party. You cannot have in India a *legal* communist party. It must be illegal and therefore the best thing to do is to have a secret communist party, and he argues that a communist party can exist legally in India only if it abstains from the preparation to wage war against the King, on the other hand he is horrified at the idea that a communist party could possibly abstain from preparation to wage war against the King, and in effect he says that legality can only be had at the expense of the very *raison d'être* of the communist party. The *raison d'être* of the communist party is to destroy the rule of His Majesty, to deprive him of his sovereignty, and, therefore, if you have a *legal* communist party it is no use at all, it cannot function. That is primarily his point.

I have no doubt, following upon that, that these gentlemen when they were in Calcutta very carefully considered the question as to what was to be done for the future, and they came to the conclusion, as far as I can make out from the papers, that the Church must hold its skirts even higher, to adopt Father Ambrose's metaphor; if one may say so, that it should go into short skirts, and they actually did form their communist party. They were intended to receive at that time a document from the Executive Committee of the Third International. They were intended to receive this document at their Conference. I do not know when they actually received it but it is found with many of them. There were apparently several copies. This is an instructive document. It is dated 2nd December, 1928 and runs as follows:—

“To the All-Indian Conference of Workers' and Peasants' Parties.

The Communist International supporting every-where the revolutionary movement of the toilers and the oppressed, through your organisation, albeit not part of our international body, send its greetings to the workers and peasants of India now waging a heroic struggle against imperialist oppression and feudal reaction upon one of the most



important sections of the world front. The victorious progress of this struggle demands in our opinion, above all, the creation of an independent class party of the proletariat, the uniting and raising of the isolated actions of the peasants to the highest political level, and the formation of a real revolutionary bloc of workers and peasants, under the leadership of the proletariat not in the form of a united workers and peasants' party, but on the basis of cooperation in deeds between the mass organisations of the proletariat on the one hand, and peasant leagues and committees on the other, for the overthrow of the imperialists and the destruction of the political and economic basis of colonial exploitation and slavery. The growing influence of the workers and peasants' parties and particularly the attendance of thousands of peasants at your provincial conferences, proves that the understanding of the necessity for this militant bloc is penetrating among ever larger masses of toilers,

Your Conference is taking place at a moment which may become the turning point in the history of the national revolution. The furious preparations of the British bourgeoisie for a new imperialistic slaughter, and the intensification of all forms of colonial plunder and terror, place the peoples of India in a position from which there is no other way out, but open and determined fight for the overthrow of the alien yoke. The revolutionary crisis in the country is maturing. In the strike movements various detachment of the working class (particularly the Textile Workers of Bombay) begin to come out as an independent force, conscious of the irreconcilability of its interests with imperialism and the chaffering bourgeoisie, and of its historic role as the champion of the national revolution. More painfully, and slowly but with equal certainty, the oppressed ruined and disunited peasantry is entering the path of organised struggle. Growing unemployment, ruin and hopelessness stir also the town petty bourgeoisie to revolutionary activity. The pent-up discontent of the masses, the despair and the sublime hatred for the oppressors, is already breaking forth to transform these isolated and defensive actions into an aggressive fight against British imperialism and its native allies, that is the fundamental task before your Conference.

The main obstacle to the victorious organised struggle against British imperialism and its feudal allies—in the period of increasing terrorism and bloody repression—is the influence of opportunist bourgeois nationalism. Each day brings and will bring fresh proof of the treachery of the bourgeoisie, of its bringing before imperialism, of its intention to bargain and to come to terms with the latter behind the backs of the toilers of India and at their expense. Lately this treachery has assumed the character of the most cynical toying with the slogan of "independence" which the Swarajists now throw out to deceive the masses, now tucked away in their pocket (the Moti La Nehru Report), in order to penetrate into the Simon Commission through the back stairs, and now raise again in a distorted shape simultaneously with the "dominion status" slogan. However crude

downright dishonesty this game may be, the penal regime and bloody repression of any exposing criticism, particularly Communist criticism, create a state of things under which the fraud of bourgeois nationalism still keeps its hold on a considerable section of the toilers. The struggle against this fraud compels you not only to determined and relentless exposure of the bourgeois treachery, but also through systematic everyday activity to bring home this exposure, to the masses of the workers and peasants. The experience of the last movement in Bardoli showed how great the danger is still that not only the bourgeoisie, but even the usurers, who buy out the peasants' lands find themselves able to subordinate the movement of the peasants and to utilise it for their own ends. No declarations of readiness to combat opportunism have any revolutionary worth if there is no practical and actual proof of the waging of this struggle among the masses, and of the overcoming of the bourgeois influence is persistent every day work.

The greatest danger to the organisation of the masses, to the creation of a revolutionary bloc of the proletariat leadership in this bloc, consists not only in bourgeois nationalism as such, but comes from the organisations and groups of "prominent" petty-bourgeois intellectuals actually influenced by the former the "Independence League." The wavering and oscillating petty-bourgeois intellectuals of India are either tied up with the system of landlordism and usury and preach a return to obsolete forms of precapitalist exploitation idealised by them, or they reflect the interests of capitalist exploitation being the agents of the bourgeoisie within the national movement. In either case they deny the importance of the class struggle, and whilst claiming to be "at the head" of workers' and peasants' movement, they are fit in reality only to behead it. The better element alone of the petty-bourgeois intellectuals with a revolutionary frame of mind may rise to the proletarian class viewpoint, and become a positive factor in the national-revolutionary struggle.

The "Independence League" at least in its present shape in fact assists official Swarajism in its nefarious play with the slogans of "independence" and "dominion status". Duly appreciating the very fact of the organisation of this League as proof that at the present time one cannot approach the masses without demanding independence and the overthrow of imperialism, your Conference at the same time cannot fail to disassociate itself from the confusion and twaddle which characterises the advertised League platform with its lavish promises.

The masses must realise that all the talk of the organisers of the League in their platform about "nationalisation" and socialisation is an empty sound if in the same breath they recommend FOR THE PRESENT "impartial board for arbitration with a view to making strikes and lockouts unnecessary" (platform of the Bengal Independence League).

There cannot be a shadow of confidence in the verbal promises of the League generally, when in reality some of its leaders (the

chairman of the Bengal branch of the League, S. C. Bose) continue to play the part of black leg organisers (betrayal of the last strike in Jamshedpur). The masses want from the political leaders of the petty-bourgeoisie hot words but revolutionary deeds. The more determined and outspoken your criticism, the sooner the League will either expose itself as the Left-wing of bourgeois nationalism, or having shaken off the politicians at the head, will join, for a certain period and within certain limits, the national-revolutionary camp (retaining, however, even in this case their incorrigible half-heartedness, chronic wavering, and inevitable confusion in the whole of their politics and tactics).

The experience of all revolutions shows that the peasantry is inevitably deceived and defeated if it acts without the alliance and the leadership of the proletariat. In explaining to the peasantry the need for the workers and peasants bloc it is not difficult at the same time to explain to them, upon the grounds of the severe experience of the Indian revolution, the need for the leadership of the proletariat in this bloc. The Indian proletariat has demonstrated to all the toilers that it represents the most revolutionary force in the country; it has shown that it will stop at nothing in this struggle neither in the town nor in the village, that it marches and will march, in the front rank of the fight against British imperialism, feudalism, and the reformist bourgeoisie. The proletariat is helping and will help the peasantry which has been thrust by imperialism into a singular condition of humiliation, disunion and barbaric exploitation, shrouded in the falsehoods of religion, caste and nationalism, to organise its force and to break the shackles of slavery, bondage, land hunger, and imperialist and feudal oppression. The leadership of the proletariat, as the more concentrated, united, enlightened and hardened section of the toilers in this struggle, will secure the victory to the workers' and peasants' bloc. It is extremely important to demonstrate to the peasants in deeds and practice the significance of fighting alliance with the proletariat in their everyday struggle, already now.

The organisation of the workers' and peasants' bloc is based upon the common interest of the workers, peasants, and the town poor, in the fight against imperialism and feudal reaction. Nevertheless, it does not eliminate the class differences, and therefore, it does not imply by any means the fusion of the workers and peasants into one PARTY. In the Great October Revolution the proletariat gained the following of the peasantry of all the nations which inhabited the former tsarist Russia just because it was organised into the independent Bolshevik Party, into a Party armed with the Marxian-Leninist theory, irreconcilable to petty-bourgeois waverings, disciplined, self-sacrificing, capable of screening itself underground from the belows of the tsarist terror, at the same time never ceasing to take advantage of all the legal possibilities. The Indian proletariat, we feel sure, will follow this path.

The Indian proletariat will be the champion of the national revolutionary fight and lead with to victory the peasantry, the town poor, and all the toilers, if it organises and consolidate sits vanguard—the Communist Party, which will educate the working masses in the spirit of a clear and unmistakable class policy, in the realisation of the need for tremendous sacrifices in order to overthrow imperialism and bourgeoisie. The existing (only on paper) Communist Party of India, since it does not show any signs of revolutionary life, has no grounds to consider and even to call itself Communist, although there are individual Communists among its members. Under the conditions of imperialist terror, by the feeble organisation of the Indian workers and the bullying of the reformist trade union bureaucrats, the task of building a genuine Communist Party will be considerable facilitated if at the same time broad revolutionary organisations of the workers are formed with the active participation of Communists, or a broad Left wing created in the trade union movement upon the platform of consistent class struggle.

We expect that your Conference will raise the question of participating in the building of such broad revolutionary mass organisation of the workers. These can be built only in the irreconcilable everyday struggle against imperialism and the bourgeoisie, as well as against reformism and the petty-bourgeois groups under the cloak of Socialism. The heroic stead-fastness of the Indian proletariat in the strikes, the rapidity with which it gathers its forces although as yet only locally, the persistent endeavours to promote strike leaders from its own ranks, - leaves no room to doubt that the elements for revolutionary mass organisations of the workers have matured.

We are convinced that your Conference will discuss, and severely condemn the grave opportunistic blunders committed by the representative of the workers' and peasants' parties in the leadership of the strike movement, particularly in connection with the heroic struggle of the textile workers of Bombay. The source of these mistakes is the insufficiently clear stand against the reformist black-legs (Joshi) the relentless exposure of whom is an indispensable condition for every victorious strike (and for strengthening the organisation of the proletariat in the course of its development.) Having yielded to the demand of the trade union bureaucrats at the commencement of the strike to refrain from exposing to the working masses the reformist treachery, the members of the workers' and peasants' parties had thus disarmed themselves also for the further struggle. Surrender to the reformists led inevitably to surrender to the employers, to the signing of the demands which were dictated by the chairman of the Arbitration Commission, the flunky of the Anglo-Indian bourgeoisie, a surrender all the more inadmissible since, as partial strikes which subsequently broke out proved the workers refused to give up the fight in spite of all their hardships. Only by learning from the severe lessons of the past struggle the working class will promote from its midst a consistent class leadership for the

imminent, even more decisive strikes of the textile workers, railwaymen, miners, and metal workers. With the growing intensity of, the revolutionary activity of the proletariat on one hand, and the bloody onslaught of imperialism against the workers' organisation on the other (the Trades Disputes Bill) the preparation and organisation of the general strike becomes the most urgent task of the current struggle. The Indian workers who performed wonders of endurance during the defensive fights in the fights of 1928 will show similar wonders of valour in the forthcoming aggressive fights. .

In the work among the peasants the task is to pass from general slogans and to draw in the peasants to the real revolutionary struggle in the defence of the everyday interests of the masses. Your organisations cannot afford to wave aside even seemingly backward manifestations of the anger of the peasantry. You must endeavour in every manifestation of this kind to discover its revolutionary substance and to transfer it to a higher level of class consciousness. In view of the tremendous variety of forms of land tenure in India, and the multitude of forms pre-capitalist and semi-feudal bondage, the best way to embrace the peasant-movement in the various districts and localities is to organise from below peasant leagues led wherever possible by agricultural labourers and poor peasantry proved in the fight. It is necessary not only in words, but in deeds, to endeavour to raise the isolated actions of the peasants to the level of an agrarian revolution. Under the slogans of abolition of every form and vestige of feudalism and semi-feudalism, of confiscation of the land of Zemidars, usurers, priests and its transfer to the use of the toiling peasantry while securing in the first place the interest of the poor peasants, the agrarian revolution has been and remains the pivot of the national-revolutionary struggle in India.

In purging the leading bodies of your organisations from suspicious and unreliable elements, you, will, of course, above all, be guided by the criterion of loyalty and devotion to the cause of the workers and peasants, remembering that the petty-bourgeoisie, not to speak of the bourgeois intellectuals, are closely tied up with the system of big landownership so that they must by all means combat the developing agrarian revolution.

Concerning organisational forms, your Conference will have to discuss the question of separating the workers' organisations from the peasants' organisation, so that the former be ensured a clear cut and consistent class development, and the latter the full embracing of the struggling peasantry. Provincial workers' and peasants' parties, after an appropriate distribution of their branches and members upon this class basis, are bound to develop in the future in revolutionary mass organisations of the workers on the one hand, into peasant leagues, and committees on the other, which in turn will strive to gain the leadership inside existing peasant bodies or will build new peasant organisations. The periodical conferences and meetings of these mass organisations, called from time to time should constitute one of the

forms expressing the militant bloc of the worker and peasant masses. If your Conference accepts this point of view, it will put before itself the question of forming a Committee for the coordination of the activities of the local workers' and peasants' organisations, having in mind chiefly their independent revolutionary development upon the class basis.

The Indian toilers, in their hard struggle, are nearing the fulfilment of their great historic task. The proletariat now organising its forces can rely on the support of the peasantry, of the poor of the towns and of all the oppressed and exploited of India for whom there is no salvation except as the result of the triumphant revolution. It can rely upon the support of the proletarians of all lands and of the oppressed peoples throughout all the world. We appeal to your Conference to wage a determined fight against waverings and backslidings to criticise grave opportunistic blunders, to work out the revolutionary tactics for the forthcoming fights, to pass to such forms of organisation which, as international revolutionary experience has proved, open the possibility for winning the masses to the cause of the revolution.

Down with British imperialism.

Long live the revolutionary fight of the workers and peasants of India.

Long live the revolutionary rising of the colonies!

Long live emancipated Soviet India!

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST  
INTERNATIONAL.

I don't know how this got into the hands of the accused. I have a feeling that possibly Usmani, who was travelling from Russia about that time, may have brought it with him. It does not seem to have come by post. Now whether they got it before they took this step or not, they did on the 27th, 28th, 29th December in Calcutta hold meetings and definitely enter into the task of establishing or re-organising a communist party in India. They elected members to it and formed an ECCI (and so forth) in it, and they subsequently in Bombay had meetings of that party on the very day before they were arrested on the 19th March. The manuscript records of their meetings are here, and we have also found amongst their papers the constitution of this party this 1929 communist party of India. It starts off with "the name of the Party shall be the Communist Party of India" and in brackets (Section of the Communist International).

That would seem to preclude, as far as I can see, anybody who entered into that party from saying that he was not pledged definitely to the creed and objectives of the Third International. At the same time as I said before it is not in the least bit necessary to prove that

any one of the accused was a member of such a party. I have already intimated to Your Honour the test which I suggest should be applied, and which I propose to ask you to apply in this case, and speaking for myself, if anybody amongst the accused did not hold these Bolshevik views and did not desire to push forward this class war and Bolshevik revolution, I for one should be extremely sorry if I were the cause of his being convicted in this case, and so I am convinced would be the Government which instructs me.

and (3) "the dictatorship of the proletariat. Now, first of all, as to his theory of the class war Marx divided the world into two classes which he named the proletariat class and the capitalist or bourgeois class. Now, it would seem that you ought to be able to get from this Communist manifesto a fairly clear definition of those two terms, seeing how important they are, but I regret to say that it is not so possible as one would have expected. The capitalists are described as the class of modern capitalist owners of the means of social production and employers of wage labour. That is fairly satisfactory. The proletariat is referred to in three places. First of all, may I say that the word comes from the Latin word "proletarii" as far as I know which may be loosely translated as wasters, and referred to the people who came in from the country districts, flocked into Rome and had practically no occupation and no property. I am not throwing any stones at the proletariat at all as defined by Marx but that is the origin of the word. Now, to come back to Marx. He first of all says that the proletariat are the class of modern wage labourers who, having no means of production of their own, are reduced to selling their labour power in order to live. Well, of course, incidentally that covers me and anybody else who merely makes a living, shall we say, by his wits. But a little later we get this further definition. "Without property, his relations to his wife and his family have no longer anything in common with the bourgeois family relations; low morality and religion are to him so many bourgeois prejudices. And later again, the proletariat is described as "the lowest stratum of society." Now, it probably would be a rough and ready description to say that the proletariat are the have-nots of this world and the other party are those who have got something. I do not pretend that this is at all a scientific description but that is what in fact it practically comes to. The theory of Marx was that there was a bitter struggle between the proletariat and the capitalist or the bourgeoisie and certainly the Bolshevik claims that Marx said that it could not be ended except by bloody revolution. Well, now, to come his theory of the state. I suppose any ordinary person who thinks about the State regards it as an institution which for better or for worse, well or less well, is there to guard the liberties and rights of all the citizens in the state and see to the best of its ability that they all get fair play and equal treatment. I say that this is the sort of idea that the ordinary man would entertain with regard to the state. Now, that was not at all the theory of Marx. Marx said that the state was the organ of the ruling class and in as much as the bourgeoisie or capitalists or haves or whatever you like to call them were the ruling class, and the proletariat or have-nots never had been in power, it followed that the state was the organ of the bourgeoisie or the capitalists. Now, the duty according to him of the proletariat, in this class struggle which was going on perpetually and which would ultimately come to a head, the duty of the proletariat was to smash in pieces this state, this organ of the capitalist class. It had to be smashed in pieces. And the persons who were to take power were the proletariat. And their assumption of power was called by him the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is clear, it must be clear, to anybody that you cannot have a dictatorship of a mass



And a little later on:

“The working class cannot achieve the victory over the bourgeoisie by means of the general strike alone and by the policy of folded arms. The proletariat must resort to an armed uprising. Having understood this, one realises that an organised political party is absolutely essential, and that shapeless labour organisations will not suffice.”

Then from page 64 onwards, there are some remarks upon the colonial question,—that is in countries which are either colonies of another country or under the dominion of another country.

Page 65 says:

“It follows from the fundamental principles laid down that the policy of the Communist International on the National and Colonial questions must be chiefly to bring about a union of the proletarian and working masses of all nations and countries for a joint revolutionary struggle leading to the overthrow of capitalism, without which national<sup>ities</sup>/equality and oppression cannot be abolished.”

And if I may interject a statement of my own we shall find when we go into matters of tactics, we shall find that the tactics with regard to these countries is very carefully laid down. You must use the national movements which are in the countries, make them revolutionary throughout, get the atmosphere, then abandon your allies unless they come into line with you.

On page 71, it is thus phrased:

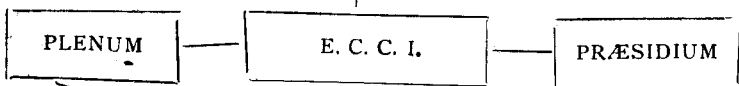
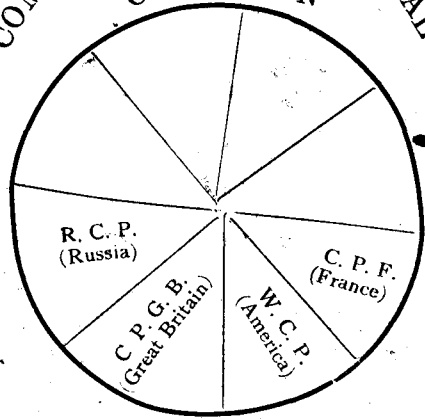
“The breaking up of the colonial empire together with the proletarian revolution in the home country, will overthrow the capitalist system in Europe. Consequently, the Communist International must widen the sphere of its activities. It must establish relations with those revolutionary forces that are working for the overthrow of imperialism in the countries subjected politically and economically. These two forces must be co-ordinated if the final success of the world revolution is to be guaranteed.

And on page 74, it says:

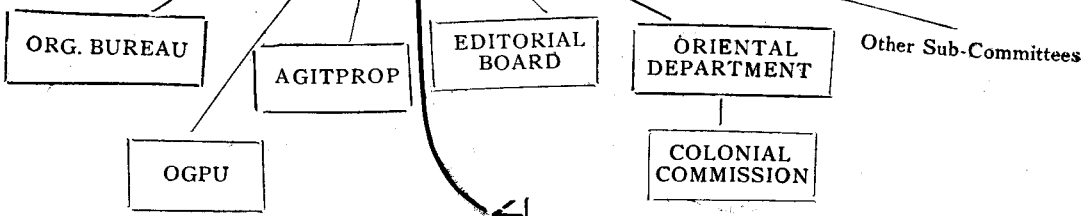
“There are to be found in the dependent countries two distinct movements which every day grow farther apart from each other. One is the bourgeois democratic nationalist movement, with a programme of political independence under the bourgeois order, and the other is the mass action of the poor and ignorant peasants and workers for their liberation from all sorts of exploitation.”

The first, therefore, is a bourgeois nationalist movement with the object of setting up, shall we say home rule under the national party and the other is something quite different, the mass action of the poor and ignorant peasants and workers seeking to set up an international rule of the proletariat as against the bourgeoisie. And later on, page 72, this occurs:—

COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL  
OR  
COMINTERN



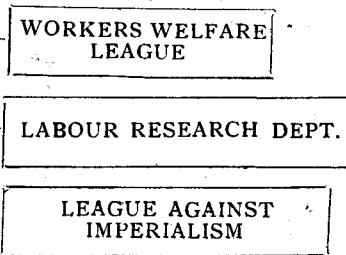
SECRETARIAT



OGPU

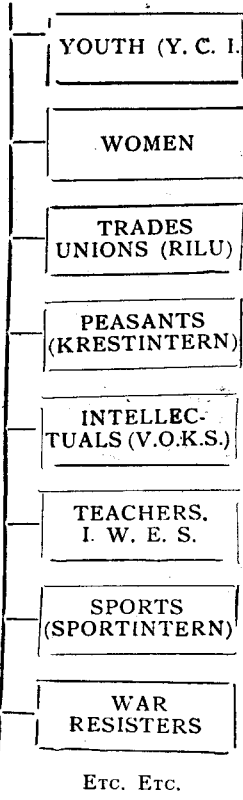
COLONIAL COMMISSION

Other bodies regulated or controlled by E. C. C. I. or local C. Ps.

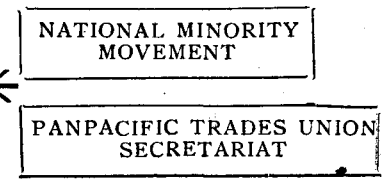


Etc. Etc.

AFFILIATED INTERNATIONALS.



E. G. AFFILIATED TO THESE BODIES, ARE OTHER BODIES



the Pacific and hold in slavery hundreds of millions of the toilers in those colonial and semi-colonial countries.”

Then I find under the caption “Indonesia” on page 37, this passage on page 38:—

“The tasks confronting the trade union movement in Indonesia, are essentially as follows:—

And No. (5) is—“To establish closer connections “with the Pan-Pacific and world revolutionary trade union movement as represented by the P. P. T. U. S. and the R. I. L. U.”

On page 48, the theme is this:—

“In contradistinction to the Amsterdam International, the R. I. L. U. has attached from the very outset the utmost importance to the labour movement in the colonies, extending every material and moral support to the latter.

“The R. I. L. U. adherents in the imperialist countries—to begin with, the National Minority Movement of Great Britain etc., must render their utmost assistance to the trade union movement in the colonies maintaining with it the closest contact, etc.”

That is the message which has been given, and it goes on:—

“In this connection the defence of the Chinese revolution and the utmost support to the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat become of particular importance.”

There is more in regard to this P. P. T. U. S., for instance, the newspaper which it publishes starts with the well-known slogan “Workers of the world Unite” on the top of it.

*(Continued by C.)*

"I arrived in Amsterdam Friday evening and immediately went to the address at which I was instructed to make enquiries, but was unable to get any reply.

On Saturday morning I met two trains arriving from Flushing, expecting to intercept Glading and others who were to be present at the Conference, but as they did not arrive I again visited the contact address and discovered that Glading, Dutt and Upadhyaya (*three members of the communist party of Great Britain*) were already there, having arrived by an early train and gone to the meeting place immediately.

Later Roy arrived (*that is M. N. Roy*) and informed us that a meeting would take place at 4-30 p. m. A French representative was expected but nothing was certain."

They had their first meeting at 4-30 p.m. on Saturday, July 11th "Comrade Sneevliet of the Dutch party presided and it was agreed that we should first hear Glading's Report".

Then there is a list of those present.

"Comrade Glading stated that he had not expected to be called upon to give a full report of his visit to India, and then gave the names of places which he had visited and people whom he had met. (*It would be interesting to see those names. I have seen some.*) He had not met any Communists and had finally decided that those with whom he had come in contact were useless so far as our Party work is concerned. He said that Calcutta, which he visited last is the best place. (*I agree with him.*)"

Questions were then asked as follows:

"Roy: What opinion had the Calcutta trade unionists and nationalists of the big leaders?" Glading stated that he had not ascertained this.

Sneevliet: Was Glading aware of any relations existing between the Indian leaders and Amsterdam? Glading stated that he was not aware of this." (*Of course Amsterdam is that horrible other International Congress which these accused have been so anxious to keep clear of.*)

"Sneevliet asked Glading why he made his investigations in Calcutta on a Communist basis. Glading replied that he did not do so. Roy then said to Glading: 'Is it true that Bell had said that the International Programme for work in India is 'all nonsense' and not justified by your report?' I then explained that a sub-committee of four, consisting of Dutt, Bell, Glading and myself had been set up to consider the International Programme in the light of Glading's report and that no such thing has been said by Bell, but that our attitude was that in the light of Glading's report, which stated that no Indian Communist groups existed at all, it was necessary to revise the suggested programme. Roy then stated that he had

He is the Amsterdam man. Mr. Goswami is just an ordinary swarajist, I believe and Mr. Chaman Lal is the champion acrobat.

"We have had several conferences between them and members of our Colonial Department, and the following is an outline of the points we have covered.

(a) Oriental Congress. We have got them all to agree to attend this Congress of the East and West Circle in September. ....

Diwan Chaman Lal:—Who has written this ?

Mr. Langford James:—I cannot say. It is unsigned. It is found with the Communist Party of Great Britain: .....

(b) We have got from them a list of some 25 fairly representative Indians who might be invited to attend the Conference.

(c) Today these three, together with Horniman, Saklatvala and myself are drawing up the letter of invitation to be sent to these various Indians. Horniman has agreed to preside at the Congress and the letters of invitation will go out under the signature of Horniman, Saklatvala and Arthur Field." I do not think I need trouble you with much more on this point. I am only reading this as an instance of the activities of the communist Party in London just about this time and it is quite clear that they were trying to get round Indian students at Oxford to join this movement and to do propaganda for them in India when they got back. They were also trying to trap these three excellent gentlemen, Mr. Chaman Lal, Joshi and Goswami into joining with them. Just about this time also, this question as to what was to be the position of the Indians in England fell to be decided at Moscow. The idea was apparently that there should be an Indian group in England, but Moscow decided that every Indian who was actually living in England would have to join the English Communist Party although they might act as a group, and there is a letter dated Moscow the 15th of September, 1925, from M. N. Roy to C. P. Dutt, which says:—

"Dear Comrade, the communication dated the 6th July signed by yourself together with 8 other comrades has received the due consideration of our party. We are delighted to welcome you as members of our party. I hope you will excuse this unavoidable delay in reply. The programme outlined in the communication is generally acceptable. According to the Statutes of the Communist International, all the Indian communists resident in Britain should have their party membership transferred to the Communist Party of Great Britain during their sojourn in Britain. This rule applies to all the communists living outside their native country. The Indian Communist Group in Britain will therefore carry on the programme outlined in your communication in conjunction with the colonial commission of the Communist Party of Great Britain. It will be politically guided by the European Bureau of the Communist Party of India as well as the colonial commission of the