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GIPE-PUNE-024107

Kranti 14th May 1927.

A warning to the Congress

To-morrow's Session of the All India Congress (Committee) is important from several points of view. The important question is to be decided at this meeting whether the ebb in the Congress politics due to the fiasco of the non-cooperation movement is to get reversed and Congress politics to become spirited once more. Similarly the important question how the hatred visible today among the Hindu and Muslim leaders will end ~~it~~, is also to come before the Congress. Not that other questions also shall not come before (it), but these two only are important ones and real discussion will centre only about them. Even as regards these it will be seen after some deep thought that the second question is dependent on the first. This means that the only important question is, how to solve the first question.

The reason why the Congress is thus on the decline is that it has got itself divorced from the daily affairs of the general masses. The glory and the strength of the Congress depend only on the sympathy and support of the people but if there be no provision in the Congress programme regarding the interests of the people, how can people feel enthusiastic about that programme and about that work? Through it is said that the Congress is an institution of the people, but in actual practise consideration is rarely given as to what are the difficulties of the people and how they are to be removed. And the Congress movement is of no help whatsoever in actual daily affairs. So people also pay no heed to the Congress. Much prattling goes on in the Congress regarding the words, Swadeshi boycott, Swarajya etc. But as the general masses see no actual gain whatsoever from all these ~~ambiguous~~ <sup>vague</sup> things, all must have realised that the enthusiasm of the people does not grow on the show of such hollow words. The daily (household) affairs of the people have become of such a strenuous and troublesome nature that they have no time at all to look at such idle affairs.



People get thoroughly exhausted (lit. scraped) in labouring and toiling from morning to evening in order to obtain (a bare and scanty) subsistence for the day, by somehow getting a few pice by doing the day's work. And even after such toil the anxiety about getting sufficient food does not disappear. It is in such difficulty that the masses find themselves. They do not think of anything else than of how this difficulty will be removed. (They) have no time to entertain any thought except that of getting out of this daily difficulty. Therefore all ideas about swadeshi, boycott, swarajya etc. prove fruitless and have not the least effect on the people.

There was an occasion when the people seemed to have become enthusiastic by the proclamation of swadeshi, boycott, non-cooperation etc. But after a bit minute observation it will be seen that the reason why people were drawn towards non-cooperation, swadeshi etc. was the impression created among them that these (movements) would give help in actual daily affairs. When in the time of harassment due to post-war high prices, non-cooperation came to birth, and the idea (lit. thing) of nonpayment of taxes came prominently to the forefront, great hope was immediately visible in the masses toiling in a half-starved condition and in the peasant class. The masses had absolutely no realization about such things as obstruction to Govt. emptiness of the treasury and economic helplessness. Only the bourgeoisie (lit. white dressed) had that realization. They had an eye to the Govt's treasury. They had eyes to the management of that treasury. Before the British power was established here the management of this treasury was in the hands of this bourgeois (lit. white-dressed) class. It is they that had control (lit. leadership) over social affairs, and it was this class that manipulated all affairs according to its convenience and was making all the community toil. As this authority went into the hands of a foreign power, this their hereditary privilege was interrupted and this class is solely anxious about how to regain it.

If the character of all the resolutions and demands (of the congress) up till today is seen, it will be easily realized that this very anxiety is at the bottom of all the congress movement. Give us civil rights, give us covenanted services, give us economic independence, give us the right of protective duties, give us commissions in the army, give the Forest Dept. in our charge. The aim of all these resolutions is - all this movement is conducted with the policy of getting back this traditional right of social leadership that (they have) lost. And when the making of the demand etc. was over and they became hopeless of getting back the traditional hereditary privilege, and got exasperated, non-cooperation came to birth with the idea of retaliation, of stopping the hereditary privilege of the other, if one oneself could not enjoy it, (saying) "we shall empty your treasury by non-cooperation, we shall stop the flow of all that money on the strength of which all your affairs are conducted and your dominance is maintained, which will ruin you and you will accept our demands and give us, at least a part, if not the whole, of the hereditary privilege." It was in that sense that the bourgeois (lit. white-dressed) class took lead in the movement and the whole bourgeois (lit. white-dressed) class joined it with the enthusiasm of the happy dream that by inciting the people they <sup>would</sup> bring the Govt to its senses by wearying <sup>it</sup> out and that they <sup>would</sup> then get back their former days of social leadership. And in order to cut off the flow of life of the Govt, it was announced that people should not pay assessment to this Satanic Govt. This announcement was like nectar to the people getting scalded in the (fiery) ditch of post-war economic difficulty and of high prices. The things like 'turning <sup>thing</sup> out Govt,' were confined to the houses of the leaders. What the people understood was only this much that as they had no longer to pay assessment, the wealth and grain created by them by toiling from morning to evening, would remain with themselves. And then there would be provision for the rice-gruel and bread for their children and their (continuous) anxiety would disappear.

People became encouraged with such pleasant thoughts and non-cooperation and all its accompaniments got the support of the active sympathy of the people. The strength of non cooperation began to increase like the swelling flood of the river in the rainy season and occasion arose for a really big revolution arose. But along with this increasing strength, conflict arose between the policy of the leaders as regards the movement, and the policy of the people <sup>and</sup> a curious situation arose. Though assessment was not to be paid to the Govt, assessment must be paid to the zamindar. It was not the object of the bourgeois (lit. white-dressed) class to touch this hereditary privilege. But it happened as (in the adage) that the wet (gets burnt) along with the dry and the zamindars were placed in a helpless condition and these mirasdars (hereditarily privileged class) ran immediately to Mr. Gandhi and Gandhi also thought that the dem<sup>o</sup> raised by him had gone beyond his control and he got frightened and he immediately put a spoke into the vehicle of the movement, when the whole vehicle came down tottering. The only aim of the movement was to bring the power of social leadership into the hands of the bourgeois (lit. white-dressed) class alone. It was not at all the policy at bottom of carrying through the great <sup>to</sup> task of some social revolution. Owing to this, a conflict arose in the end between the leaders and the people. And getting terrified at the prospect of the perpetual destruction of the hereditary privilege of the bourgeois (lit. white-dressed) class, he (Mr. Gandhi) turned back at Bardoli. The leaders of the people began to fall back, but how can the peoples' enthusiasm get suddenly cooled? An active and useful revolution ought to have been brought about on this tremendous strength, but owing to the defection of the leaders, the masses drifted hither and thither like a rudderless ship and their acts got distorted into incendiarism and found vent in such forms as Chauri Chauri the Assam Strike, the incendiarism at Ahmedabad, the malegaon riots, the Kopliah rebellion etc. This popular power, that had got scattered through lack of leaders and had become like a

rabble, was thrashed by the Govt with its organized strength and the happy hopes of the people were reduced to dust, the hope that had become apparent of the removal of the difficulties of the daily household life disappeared and the people got estranged from the movement, getting distracted through disappointment. Such is the reason for the ebb of the congress. In these circumstances if the congress is to be ~~and~~ again powerful, it must seek out such a remedy as will have connect<sup>low</sup> with the daily household affairs of the masses. How can the masses be blamed if they lose all interest and turn away from the congress, when all the concern in which the congress has been got engrossed, is about the hereditary privilege of a minority, whether (they) should go into the councils or not, whether (they) should accept ministership or should merely offer wordy opposition, whether the kulin bourgeoisie should have separate hereditary privileges or all the bourgeoisie should share them together?

The reason why confusion reigns<sup>in</sup> the congress today by the rise of parties within parties, is this narrow policy, the policy of the minority bourgeoisie which the congress had adopted. When it was definite that this hereditary privilege of the minority was the only goal, the question came forward who was to take what part of this hereditary privilege and owing to the cleverness of the leaders regarding their own interests, rivalry based on pride arose and a number of such selfish ghosts, as Hindu-Kulaman, responsive cooperation, swarajists, moderates, Govt. parties, non-Brahmins etc., arose. When considering today how the congress will again become spirited, the only thing considered is how to provide for all this series of ghosts, as if once they are provided for, the congress will suddenly become strong. The same seems to be the impression of all calling themselves wise, but we clearly say that this is a delusion. This series of ghosts ~~think~~ does not consider the question of the bread of the people. That is not its policy. It has no ideal excepting that of looking after the hereditary privilege of the bourgeoisie (i.e. white-dressed) class, in accordance with

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the established tradition of the congress. Therefore it is useless (to expect) that these persons who ran away from the policy of non cooperation of the masses, will again turn towards the policy of the masses, and as these persons will not turn to the daily household life of the people with the intention of helping them, the masses will not at all be drawn till then to their movement and the congress has no strength if the masses are not (at its back). Therefore if the congress is to be really made strong it must not get engrossed with such insignificant questions as councils or seats for Hindus and Muslims, question regarding the provision (of benefits) for the handful of bourgeoisie and must turn to remedies for the creation of conditions of ease in the household life of the people. Therefore we draw the attention of the congress and other well intentioned readers towards the programme of the Workers and Peasants Party printed elsewhere today. Workers and Peasants are the masses and it is really the work of the congress, which is considered (an institution) of the people, to take care of their household life.

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Aranti 14th May 1927.

Nachel Sasseon mill stopped.

Last Wednesday thousand weavers in the Nachel Sasseon mill, went on strike. This strike took place because the owners had brought into effect the new scale of lower wages. The workers do not accept these lower wages and the (mill) officials have stopped the mill as soon as the prospect appeared of other men also joining the weavers.

Mill workers, be on your guard

Owing to this strike and, above (it), the outcry raised by the owners owing to depreciation of the Japanese Yen, fear is felt that the mill-workers may again be attacked. The workers ought to beware in time and with a view to remaining prepared to face any occasion of an increase in wages, ought to join their union and ought to make their unity strong.

Obviously  
mistake in  
finding.  
the word kat  
and appears  
to have been  
intended instead  
of /vadh (increase).

True Translation:

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Arathi 31st May 1937.

Exhaustive review of the 'Arathi' issue

How trends in literature are indicative of mental cultures

By Aashw Milkant Joglekar.

Literature is the life of any society. But especially for a society caught in the whirlpool of decline, literature is the only ship on which it can rely. The stronger, and the better balanced this ship, the more hope of its getting safely out of the storm. Therefore a society that has found itself in a declining condition must continuously and watchfully take care of its literary treasure. Care must be taken that this treasure house always remains pure, that it is being continuously replenished with bright, shining, and living jewels in the form of thoughts, and that some coloured glass bead does not get entrance, escaping through the sieve by the artificial pores of flashy glitter. Literature possesses the real power to enliven the thoughts of society and to wake it efficient for action. Therefore a weak society that has declined must always continue to get the nourishment of a spirited and vigorous literature. Then alone will its weak mind, distracted though confusion caused by difficulties, take at least some courage and will see the direction in which to search for the way of its uplift. As literature and the affairs of society

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are so vitally connected, the literature of society is gauged in considering the condition of any society and in discussing its progress or decline. It is with that point of view that we must look with extreme attention at the literature being daily produced in our society. And especially drama, being visible scenes, take a very high rank from the point of view of this utility and so all new dramatic productions must be looked to with somewhat sharper and more inquisitive gaze in order to see how successful that set of utility has become.

well-known dramatic.

On 22.4.26, there appeared on the Marathi stage, the

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genka of Madhavrao (master-dramatist) Madhakar and on  
11.2.27 year Madhavo (Joshi) the well-known Marathi leader, made  
the Marathi stage record with his Madhavo Madhavo these  
two reputable individuals have introduced their productions into  
the store of Marathi literature, roughly, in the time of one  
year. Madhavo Madhakar Madhakar is not an insignificant  
individual. He has a first class status in Madhavo Maharashtra  
ya society as a Madhavo writer in the Madhavo of the Tilak era,  
a disciple in close touch with the Madhavo Madhavo and  
one knowing what was in his Madhavo heart, an enter-  
prising journalist who showed that a Marathi daily could be  
successful and a prominent Maharashtra advocate of Mahatma  
Gandhi. Similarly Mr. Madhavo Joshi also is reputed as a  
famous dramatist, a spirited orator, the staunch editor of the  
Madhavo and as a Marathi champion of the Gandhi-  
cult. His opinions. When such two respected individuals adver-  
tised that they were going to add to Marathi literature by  
their dramatic productions, naturally the eyes of the people  
turned with great eagerness to find out when these productions  
would come out. In the end, Mr. Madhakar's genka appeared  
in April 1933 and today Mr. Madhavo has sounded his Madhavo  
Madhavo. But it has to be said with great regret that both these  
productions admitted as the consumption of strenuous efforts  
for several days have become the cause of the people's great  
embarrassment in the end turned into disappointment.

#### Lethargy of Marathi literature.

It is not that the amount of literature produced in  
Marathi now-a-days is small. An exhibition as it were of  
several shelves with columns after columns full, of weeklies  
and monthlies, of several series (or books) having a (big)  
burden of pages, and of wretched booklets of stories can be  
seen arranged at every corner. But in all these heaps of rags,  
there cannot be got even the least trace (let, small) of a ma-  
jor thought. Everything is unimagination and stereotyped like  
the turning through the practised rut of the ox yoked Madhavo  
to the oil-press. In such a completely disappointing



there was no restraint upon him here so none can be blamed for expecting that this his drama would be bright and spirited, and (would constitute) a brilliant guide to society, in consonance with his spirited character. Kananraoji is included among the satellites actually close to Mahatma Gandhi who is today well reputed all over the world and whose importance has in the opinion of some grown so much as to secure for him the title of world-preceptor. Moreover, he has expounded his Mr. Gandhi's brilliant principles in a well-reasoned manner through his Uttarantra Hindustan. Similarly in his famous (drama), Uttarantra Hindustan his skill had been indicated. From the point of view of its being a drama of about the year 1914 that is (produced) among poorer conditions, the way in which he has constructed the drama in Marathi, and the characters of surprising interest, of Devangana, Arinaili, Vikrant and Adalass, drama in it are such as to easily become that time. Well, to such all-sided experience of old, there was much room to feel hope about this new drama of Kananraoji. But the Kananraoji of 1914 seems today in 1927 to have in a way got bewildered, and estranged and unused to present circumstances, though the circumstances are equipped with favourable means for allowing the imagination to go about freely in an unrestrained atmosphere.

Uplaval Uprant about by time.

During this short period, 1914 to 1927, a great upheaval has taken place in the thoughts and acts of men. An extraordinary change has come about in the former affairs and systems. Several things that were considered impossible before 1914, have become possible today. Things then considered wise have today been proved to be foolish. The Manchester-Bahis who had for several years vehemently worked for the non-removal of the excise duty on Indian mills are today consenting to the repeal of that duty by their agents. Leaders of English Society who used to say that to demand Swarajya was to be so silly, as to wander after the moon, have today begun to seeing the tune of giving the leading administration. Not only that, but this business of partnership has already begun under the name of the Montague reforms.

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committees that at one time glared in the pomp of the royal circle, who laboured in order to please that circle, sacrificed themselves for its pleasure and took pride in that sacrifice have today crushed, swallowed and digested those kings and those thrones and are trying to substitute for them today a new social order of equality. When time was bringing about such a strange upheaval, we did not expect that today in the hands of the *Samrajy* will come forward with the interests and outer interests of 1914. To expect that would have amounted to considering arrogantly that a person like *Samrajy* who takes part in the affairs of the world and who is devoted to study, industry and intellect, but there is none who will not feel sad that he has placed before the people a drama about which not even the *doubt* will occur ~~now~~ (*lit-touch*) to any one that it is a drama of *Samrajy*. The thoughts placed forward in this drama are almost backward than the nineteenth century, let alone the twentieth. We had not thought that *Samrajy* would be so antiquated while living in the present days of rapid progress. Even if the point is left aside that the ideas in the drama are shallow, still even from the point of view of dramatic art this work is extremely clumsy, dis-connected and full of inconsistency.

The plot of the drama.

The plot of this drama is as follows. There is a country by name 'Madab', which has a king by name 'Kander a'. Similarly there is a country by name 'Katang', the ruler of which had at one time become a feudatory of Madab, owing to the valour of the father of *Kandarpa*. As *Kandarpa* is a voluptuous and an easy-going person King Katang is creating defection in the Madab border. Courtiers like the *Wantri* and *Pradab*, and also a woman by name *Soudasini* who had become the friend of *Kandarpa* in his luxury, are all in league with Katang. *Soudasini* who ~~was~~ betrothed to *Kandarpa*, alone cares really for the good of Madab. After the party of Madab had been rendered weak by defection Katang suddenly invades Madab. The *Wantri* etc of *Kandarpa* advise him to submit to Katang, to make peace and to maintain his place as a feudatory.

Tejaswini disappears of this and advises the king to give a fight. In the end, as the voluptuous, feeble king behaves as directed by the ministers, Tejaswini quarrels with him, breaks off her engagement, and defying the king, raises a rebellion against the king and against Atanaka. In this rebellion she is arrested. She is then goes into the hands of Atanaka. Atanaka is friendly with Yuvaraj and desires to marry him or to <sup>be</sup> the queen of Madura. By gaining control over Atanaka, she makes the way free into the Atanaka for Atanaka. But Atanaka she suspect that Yuvaraj, as soon as his aim is achieved, begins to keep aloof from her, so she incites Atanaka and tries to checkmate him Atanaka. The incited Atanaka goes on the side beyond her control and according to the cunning plot of Yuvaraj a chaos occurs at the time of giving back the Atanaka and the Atanaka get an opportunity to confiscate the Atanaka. In order to give an appearance of honesty to this act of confiscating the Atanaka, the Yuvaraj get the court of justice to enact a force of an inquiry regarding Tejaswini, but in the end the judges who had been reprimanded, declare Tejaswini innocent and release her. Atanaka also on his side, runs away from the jail and people raise a rebellion giving the leadership to Tejaswini. In that rebellion Tejaswini again comes into the hands of the Yuvaraj, but the released Atanaka gives help to the rebels with the help of the Atanaka and in the end kills the Yuvaraj unawares in the battle field. But while this is happening, the Yuvaraj also attacks him so that he gets wounded in the moment of triumph and dies. In that condition the released Tejaswini garlands him. Such is this drama giving an account of happenings in the life of a king.

#### Politics behind the drama.

When this spiritless plot (lit. thread of story) is seen, the bankruptcy of Atanaka's power of imagination, can be easily realised. Atanaka is a political man, he is a mad man inspired with the idea of establishing Atanaka

swarajya. Therefore, it can be easily imagined that the object of the original drama written by him after a considerable strain on his imagination, must be in accordance with, and likely to promote the movement for establishing swarajya, and no doubt such was the intention of Mahatmaji. It must naturally be the desire of Mahatmaji that he should produce a work that will become an ideal to our community, that has found itself in difficulty, at the time of its struggle during these days of trouble. And that is, as it should be, because any production of man always bears the stamp of the surrounding natural circumstances. Similarly there is no surprise if Mahatmaji's drama bears the impress of his political attitude and the impress is there but the only question is how far this object of his pointing out the way has become successful. A plain answer to that question is that this dramatic production has become as unsuccessful as has become the work of Mahatmaji in the political movement.

Owing to their indifference to the natural tendencies of man which are limited by time and circumstances, the politics of Mahatmaji and of his party have proved useless and worthless in the practical world and in accordance with nature's rule have receded into the background and are faced with practical disappearance. No trace of non-cooperation remains today except in words. And the reason is that it has no connection with the happenings in the daily affairs of the present society. Owing to the arrival of the foreigners and the power lit. sharpness of their scientific equipment and ways of business, the control of the affairs of the Indian community passed out of the hands of the traditional bourgeois lit. white-dressed class and the luxury and splendour even the livelihood of this class, which was carried on because of this social leadership, has stopped. People have up till now been generally believing that, as the dominance over the whole community went to foreigners, the whole country and community got enslaved and a great calamity befell it. But really speaking, if the community



in the whole country because enslaved it does not mean that there has been any extraordinary upheaval in what their condition was under the dominion of their own bourgeoisie, or that some new, big calamity has befallen them. The bourgeoisie generally refers to this condition by saying that the country has become dependent, that the country is enslaved. The really opening the community in the country was never independent. Before the arrival of the bourgeoisie, the bourgeoisie class had for centuries followed the practice, through the plan of a social structure of the four varnas, of making in the community, toll under its feet, the only difference is that the right to this practice has been usurped by the foreign outside in Indian country, in place of the bourgeoisie class. So that, the real meaning of saying that the country has become dependent, is only this, that the bourgeoisie class has lost its profession of livelihood and independence and a strong mark of this is the history of our political events, from the beginning up till today.

The Indian Power of the Community.

All the affairs and efforts of man in this world are carried on with the sole object of conducting the affairs of the household life with happiness. Now, the conduct of these affairs is in no way interfered with, man rarely pays attention to any thing except the routine movements, but when he begins to feel difficulty in this daily programme, his eyes turn to its removal and the re-establishment of his former ease. It is this natural tendency that has been the cause of the progress of the world to the present stage. Man lived in a colony under man in a naked condition in some corner of the north pole was, with the above mentioned tendency and the pressure of the inevitable caused by increasing population, spread out and filled the whole world with man and as the necessities of mankind are not met even by filling up the whole world, he has begun to replace old, antiquated methods of production by new methods of physical force. Such is the course of man's struggle for his usual-

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hold life and it was in accordance with it that our bourgeois community as soon as it lost (its) profession and glory, began to think how to remove this difficulty in the way of its livelihood. Immediately it saw in a rough way that since its profession was lost and it had to suffer only because this control over social affairs had gone into the hands of some persons from a foreign community. When this was certain, there naturally arose the movement of the congress, the movement making a political demand according to the policy of rights to professions, with a view of restoring to their hands that is, to the hands of the bourgeois class of the Indian community, control of this lost dominance, that is, control over the political power. If the resolutions of the congress up till today are minutely seen, their aim clearly appears to be only to reestablish this lost profession of the bourgeois class. Give so many high places in the forest dept. to the Indians, create such and such services for the Indians in civil, revenue and military, give 100% fiscal autonomy, maintain the hereditary position of the zamindars by permanent settlement, levy protective duties, so that indigenous industry should prosper and the bourgeois merchants/benefits, foster Indian marine, so that the industry should become vigorous, reserve the monopoly of the hereditary privilege of the coastal trade for Indian merchants, make arrangements by means of Govt. scholarships to provide students of the bourgeois class education necessary for the conveyance services and industrial education, that will be of use also to foster industry, and such other demands.

by the attraction for the system of four lakhs

From all this policy the truth of the above statement can be easily realised. But this roughly settled direction and this policy that had been laid down could not keep on with the method of popular affairs that is rapidly changing before the power of modern science, due to the pressure of the increasing number of Mahatmas in the world. This was not noticed by these persons bent on their own interests (interests of

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of their own class\*. Therefore, all their efforts are always devoted to the re-establishment of their dominance in the social affairs. According to the <sup>6</sup> system of four varnas, <sup>As</sup> this class was very prosperous in the old system, the memory of those prosperous days naturally attracts them and all their acts and thoughts become full of that idea and owing to the strength of the natural sentiment regarding one's own interest, they form the idea, based on a delusion, that the interest of their own class <sup>is</sup> the interest of the whole community and they begin to pass themselves off in the name of the whole community. And such is the secret of their political movement. Their movement derives its inspiration itself from the re-establishment of the dominance of the bourgeois class, its aim and policy are only such that the whole glory of this class should be restored. Naturally their thoughts are inspired with the only inspiration to repair and make whole the broken and fallen walls of the social system, characterized by four varnas, which is extremely helpful to it (the glory of the bourgeois class). This means that their act, sentiment, ideas are all naturally and instinctively directed towards restoring social affairs to their previous form. The best example of this is that in place of the sentiment of the unity of the universe, based on cooperation and created by the mutual dependence of mankind which is characterized by these physical resources, the narrow-mindedness like the frog in the well attempt is made of exclusive self-dependence by ~~means~~ of the spinning wheel. Getting deluded through the intoxication of the <sup>stronger sentiment of</sup> ~~of the/natural alliance~~ to one's own interest or bandu, instead of giving ideas about the practical realization of the unity of the universe, is, as a social sign of the early establishment of the fourvarnas, passionately propagating the thoughtless idea of individual personal self-dependence. The people were misled for a time by this (intense) passion. The people began to give a trial to what he said, under the delusion that this passion - intense

meaning 'obstacle',  
word /su-janya/  
in the original  
is apparently  
made for  
[?].

person for the natural idea of class interest was a passion  
 for the idea of popular interest. But in a few days seeing its  
 inconsistency with actual circumstances, people became con-  
 vinced about its ~~hollowness~~ and turned away from it. Gandhi  
 has no hesitation in doing many things harmful to the communal  
 interest of the people, things which are naturally straight  
 forward but which on the outside appear strange owing to the  
 natural conflict between the communal interest of the people  
 and Gandhi's interest of his own class. The only thing is that  
 as the people have become lifeless owing to the disease of  
 respect for religion, which originates in ignorance, they  
 do not get incensed at these harmful acts of Mr. Gandhi, but  
 in actual practice the people do not value in the least the  
 idea of Gandhi and therefore Gandhi's philosophy has been  
 ruined, as can be easily seen by anybody. As is the case with  
 the guru, <sup>so</sup> is it with the <sup>d</sup>disciple. Just as this is so in actual  
 politics, similarly the drama showing an imaginary picture  
 establishing a social order imagined through the urge of the  
 interest of this bourgeois class, has proved entirely unable  
 to show the community the real way of uplift. How can a good  
 way be found where the intellect itself has gone the wrong  
 way? As will plants of <sup>I</sup>kanvadal planted by being tempted  
 by the good appearance of kanvadal bear nectar-like fruits,  
 like Alfonso Maguon? Let that be. ~~xxxxxxxx~~

It is beautiful  
 appearance  
 bitter in  
 taste.  
 a collection  
 seven notes  
 music.

The third <sup>II</sup> aspect of nationalism

Mahatmaji's very idea at the root, is that of the dominance  
 of the bourgeois class, therefore it is natural that he has  
 erected the tottering edifice of communal good or otherwise  
 on the shoulders of an individual called the king. We have  
 only to say that this might perhaps be all right from the  
 point of view of the interests of the bourgeois class. But  
 today's circumstances are altogether different from the times  
 of the social system characterized by <sup>e</sup>the four Varnas. For  
 this in that time it will not do for a very small (lit.  
 painful) part of the community like the bourgeois class to  
 parade its high ideas about superiority before the whole

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community. There is no room at all now for this condition of superiority. This new age is that of equality. Such nonsense will not be tolerated now that this being a king (should be considered) superior, this being his concubine should be allowed to put on airs, this being his flatterer should be allowed to put on airs. The present condition is that even the king is only a man like (other) men with hands and feet, nose and eyes. There is no superiority or inferiority in that, but lacking this brilliant insight Wamanrao's imagination, which had got rotten though the worm of the interest of one's own class, remained hovering about the rotting <sup>of</sup> kinship of the voluptuous king and the whole drama has been spoiled (thereby). And besides this, (as he) got tempted by the apparent attractiveness of the Karvadal, the natural qualities and emotions of the human mind have got murdered with the cruelty of a butcher, in the passion for the vigorous galloping of such unintelligent, shapeless, vague, mystic and indefinite, prattling as 'independence' 'one's own country' etc. Therefore, there is no room at all in the drama for such qualities as the development of character etc. Similarly, there is not also the least scope for such pure emotions as love, affection, grief (or) joy. Everything goes on in the tenor seventh note of the saptama of mysterious patriotism. It is (considered) absurd that it should have connection with the daily ordinary household affairs! Owing to the barrenness (lit. want of tenderness) created by the extraordinary intensity of patriotism, the garden of the drama has become altogether barren and has got scorched. And even a small plant of the natural household affairs of man cannot at all (lit. on oath) be found there.

Wamanrao's rotten culture.

Now even according to the conception of Wamanrao, that is, according to the medieval practice, the drama is altogether disjointed and clumsy. And he has been saved from shame merely because of the empty firing of the blank cartridges of patriotism. Excepting the Yuvaraja, and next to it Rajaswami, not a single character is well drawn (lit. sound). There is not

the least trace about the social status of Sandamini, whose <sup>u</sup> ~~she~~ was, how she came (to be there). At one time she appears as the concubine of Kandarpa and at another, she becomes the queen. And at another moment, she establishes connection (lit. thread) with the Yuvaraj, like a fickle-market-woman. Even Rejaswini is so devoid of sentiment that the king throws his arm round the neck of Sandamini and makes gestures of love, in her presence still she (Rejaswini) loves him and parades his love-ring. Similarly Sandamini also easily puts up with the love affair between Rejaswini and the king. Here no room appears to have been left at all by Samanraoji for such emotions of woman's nature as jealousy etc. This must be said to be a new kind of love created. The king is so silly, weak, fickle-minded and un-intelligent, that one questions whether he is a human-being or some extraordinary animal. While he is dazzled by (lit. before) the spirit of Rejaswini, he gets engrossed in the amorous blandishments of Sandamini and joyfully and enthusiastically puts the shackles of slavery on his legs, but again, he repents because Rejaswini was leaving the palace and begins to swear by the heroism of (his) ancestors. But he again accepts defeat before the hypocrisy of Sandamini, begins to take delight in slavery and allows himself to be dishonoured by Rejaswini in the presence of his enemy himself. Finally, once more on the occasion of giving (back) the Raj, he is suddenly affected by the <sup>u</sup> ~~files~~ files of self-respect and he leaves the royal court very spiritedly and, even though arrested, runs away from jail, and raising a rebellion with great valour, comes (back) to regain the Raj that had been lost! Instead of bringing about so much incongruity, ~~hey~~ wantonness, the drama would have considerably gained in spirit and impression, if instead of pursuing the scheme of making the king hero, the prominence given to Dheersinha at the end of the Hind Act had been maintained and if the subsequent part of the story about the war of independence had been brought about at his hands than at the hands of the king. But how can it occur to Samanraoji, who has got himself buried in the traditional idea of a society

locking towards the king, that such a big deed can be done at the hands of an ordinary man, instead of at the hands of the king? How can Wamanraoji even glance at an ordinary man like Dheersinha, because, owing to the absence of the idea itself that the origin of valour depends upon the personal good or bad qualities of the individual, there is naturally the attraction of tradition that valorous and great acts must be got done only at the hands of persons born from kings, of however bad character they may be! How can the brave and expansive idea occur to (any one) that an ordinary man can off (the strength of) his own valour overturn even the concentrated valour of all the adversaries in the world, when by intellect and tradition (one) is fond of wallowing in unearned glory in the name of (one's) forefathers! How can such expansive intellect and the grand idea of soaring up to the sky on the strength of the self-confidence of equality occur (lit. touch) to the small Wamanraoji, whose sight is narrow and conventional and looks with attachment to the memory of the glory of his own class in the past, in Brahmi culture? How can that which is not in the well come into the bucket? Only the "Khad Khad" sound of the empty bucket can be heard in abundance till the ears get sick of it.

Why was not Dheersinha made the leader?

It is because of such stunted ~~xx~~ inadequacy of intellect that Wamanraoji's drama has been spoiled in this way. What are the ideas placed by the dramatist before the people as likely to show them the way? These are that a king of whatever nature he be, can alone do good to the people, therefore, the people should keep their eyes only on the individual called the king and should bear patiently whatever falls to their lot. Owing to this idiotic idea, the self-confidence of the individual for one thing, gets thoroughly eradicated and in addition men become fatalists, weak and there <sup>fore</sup> imbeciles. If, instead of this, Dheersinha had been given prominence, if the structure of the drama had been erected on the strong and solid foundation of his meeting with Rejaswini on an extremely touching occasion, and if instead of leaving nothing for Dheersinha

to do after this one occasion, he had been made instrumental in causing a rebellion with the help of Tejaswini, and (it had been shown) that the people establish their own opinion and their own autonomy by opposing both Matangeshwar and Kandarpa and if instead of the prosecution of Tejaswini, it would have been brought about that judges of the popular party judge the unpardonable crime of Kandarp and compel him to bear proper punishment like all other ordinary men, how noble and creative a form would the drama have assumed? After (assuming) such a form the drama would have become of a very high order. As this great situation was not brought about, the drama has become altogether worthless. Veer Ramnaraji ought not to have been afraid of compelling the king to answer (for his deeds). The people of England have done that thing several centuries ago and even in these days Russia, Germany, Portugal etc have many actual examples to show. But what can one do, when one's own coin is bad? How and to what extent can such stored intellect (lit. bread) be adequate?

Ramanraji's thoughts about the ability of women.

Similarly the direction shown by Mr. Joshi as regards Tejaswini, bears testimony to his narrow ideas regarding women. His intellect obsessed with the mannish point of view cannot give up the idea that Tejaswini, though so spirited and of such (An independent character, is after all a woman. Women are the halves of men, they must in the end behave only in accordance with the directions of men. They must keep honour with man and must conduct themselves only as a means for the luxury of men. Such being the inferior idea of impressed on the mind of Ramanraji, he has, after all these efforts, with the instinct of the man class, brought forward the insignificant Kandarpa in order to release her. And in order to keep faith with the traditional idea of inferiority, through the instructive inspiration of the established idea like the faith of women towards their husbands (she) has been made to put a garland round the neck of the wretched Kandarp (when he was) on the point of death and has been dragged without reason into a widowhood. But what right has



Dr. Joshi to give women such an insignificant and inferior status. The instinctive love for branding women with the slavish and servile idea that even though (her) guess about Khandarpa went wrong, the proper purpose of (her) life lay in becoming a nun, because of the faithfulness to him, that is, to his manhood, of her womanhood, is a remnant of the rotten tradition of the bourgeois class. Our ancestors of thousands of years ago, who were obsessed with (the pride) of being conquerors, gave women, with the object of fostering their dominance, the position (lit. fastidiousness) of priority in things that ~~adorn~~<sup>add</sup> and that can be enjoyed; and indirectly they were given a subordinate position as compared with men. That might perhaps have been necessary in the then circumstances of the scuffle of economic movement<sup>b</sup> in society. But with what authority and justice did the dramatist give such a subordinate status to Tejaswini who shows all qualities superior even to men and who gives actual evidence of valour and ability? There is no answer to this, excepting the ~~man~~<sup>man</sup> ideas about woman kind made firm through tradition. The edifice of the war of independence could have been easily sustained over the combined valour of both (Tejaswini and Bheersinha) if instead of the wretched, inferior Khandarpa, she herself had been made <sup>the</sup> inspiring (personage) and Bheersinha had been given to help her. Not only that, but it (the edifice) would have become more natural, impressive and inspiring.

Places ~~for~~ showing dramatic art.

Even if the fact is left aside that the drama has become a farce, owing to inadequate imagination, Khandarpoo has proved altogether inferior even in other qualities as a dramatist. Extraordinary incongruity<sup>u</sup> is, as it were, the soul of this drama. Besides that, an indication cannot at all be had in the drama of human character, and of the other large and small emotions and thoughts of man. (One) does not at all feel that the dramatist knows that the maintenance of the world requires other equipment besides some silly idea of patriotism. Similarly, it appears from the episodes in the drama that the dramatist entertains the curious idea that love means unrestrained

and flaring voluptuousness that can be experienced by the bodily senses. He seems to be absolutely unaware even of the existence of such subtle and yet strong sentiments relating to the heart as affection, love etc even in the sphere of the senses of knowledge or of the mind. How attractive from the point of view of dramatic art, is the scene in the first act, after the removal of the love-ring, the confused condition of the king. What a commotion of subtle, sweet and delicate emotions of love ought to have arisen on the occasion. But at that place Tejaswini's heart begins to overflow with heroism and the timidity of the poor Chandarp gets intoxicated with love and he can become brave. Even if such a stupid episode be miraculous, how can it escape the blame that it creates unnaturalness and destroys "the human element"? The same is the case with the meeting of Tejaswini and Chandarp near the tomb of Pratapaditya, in the second scene of the second act. That was an occasion for the separation of two loving individuals. It was an occasion for utilizing to the full (lit. pouring) skill calculated to severely agitate all vital human sentiments by a conflict between the delicate but strong ties of love and the hard, harsh and strong sentiment of principle and duty; Instead of showing that the delicate but tough fibres of the attraction of love were gradually giving way before the extreme harsh brilliance of duty and that in the end the delicate sentiments of love got absorbed in the thoughtful power created by the triumph of principle and that the strong Tejaswini is coming out with deep solemnity, Mr. Joshi has given this episode the purely theoretical form of the dry, Vedantic kind of the self-possessed sishis and those practising Tapasis in some cave of the Himalayas, and has turned this rich state of things into the Sahara desert. And the reason for this is the greater infatuation of the intellect for the miraculous rather than for the actual, that is, for the Natural. As the intellect tends to be romanticist rather than realist, it is not possible for the natural sentiments in human life even to rise in the intoxication of the miraculous.

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and the temptation arises to regard the imaginary wetness of the mirage in the dry desert as the tenderness of love.

Other minor defects.

Let that be. <sup>defects</sup> These are the main ~~aspects~~ of the drama. Where the core itself is rotten, one should not allow oneself to be misled even though the plant appears a bit fresh. Besides these defects, there are others of language etc. But such (defects) are found in any work. Because, language is not a settled affair. It is the outcome of the individual style, habit and line of thought. Therefore, there is no reason to get maddened with the mad idea of the foolish reform of language (started) by Mr. Saverkar, if owing to contact with Hindi and Urdu such soldiers of military discipline like ~~there were such soldiers of military discipline like "were surjiki kahi lang bardast, sauran, girafar, kamli, namla, alakhatt war, parade frequently (through the pages of the drama) with the object of making (the language) vigorous. At the most it can be said that words like "shandh", "aleeb" "ahulachat" which have been put in the mouths of even women, with the idea of heroism, are a bit out of place. The bankruptcy of imagination in the original plot of the drama has been already dealt with (severely) above. But even though the plot be weak, the net of imagination spread ~~all~~ while developing this defective plot is also very clumsy. The confusion and indefiniteness of thought <sup>cannot</sup> be described. The argument put forth in the third scene of the first Act while expounding the idea about the king and the kingdom, is so vague and indefinite that it may be doubted whether the dramatist himself can say what moral is to be derived from it. The ideas of the dramatist about what is a king and what is a kingdom are so dim and incomplete that it can be easily seen that the dramatist is not at all well matured in this respect with himself. Specially the lawyer like dialogue at the time of the meeting of the <sup>u</sup> ~~gavara~~ and Tejasvini is also quite ordinary.~~

Songs in the drama.

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As regards the songs, we have nothing to say about melody etc. but from the point of view of the sweetness of the drama, it is entirely improper to substitute songs at any place one likes. It is really a big art to adopt the sound of the melody of the song so as to develop the sweetness (of the drama) and Mr. Khatikar alone has mastered that art. The dramas WAVAR-VARA and Vidyaharana are excellent ideals from this point of view. As (sweet) sound is the special feature of the songs the ear does not like an uneven use of words and this is found in respect of some songs, especially the songs of Mandara. Otherwise the other songs are not only all right but, though from our point of view the imagery be inadequate, still several songs have been well written from the point of view of making attractive such vague sentiments as independence, sacrifice of life, one's own country etc., to those persons walking through the rut of custom, whose imagination is limited as in the

English in original.

(sage), "the chameleon can run only upto the hedge." Brevity that is, the knack of concise-ness, of telling everything in brief, is the very life of a drama. Similarly suggestion is also a necessary quality arising from it (brevity). But the dramatist possess both these qualities in a very small measure.

English word even in the original

the "actions that follow successively in the drama, therefore, do not appear as well set off (but) assume a leisurely form like idle talk in the cool of the day. This defect is prominently seen in ending the first Act and in keeping at the end a song for Lejaswili. Similarly, the first scene of the second act is unnecessary. It does not mark any progress of action (lit. drama) but merely repeats the previous scene. This is detrimental to the developing interest of the first half of the drama. The Yuvara, however, a first class thing in this worthless drama. All his sentiments and actions are exceedingly well drawn up. It is only from this one thing that Mr. Joshi can derive satisfaction as dramatist.

In the end this at least must be said that whatever be the quality of the drama, it becomes very interesting. For one

thing there is everywhere the roaring sound of heroism and the second reason is the ability of the actors in the <sup>Salwant</sup> ~~Salwant~~ <sup>(Dramatic Company)</sup> ~~Salwant~~ <sup>Mandali</sup> Mandli, might be inferior as compared with the Gandhara <sup>(Mandali)</sup> Gandhara but their set (of actors) is such as to be an example even to the Gandhawa <sup>(Mandali)</sup> Gandhawa. Every actor supplements every other and this is the main reason that invests the drama with interest. The acting of Binanath, Kolhapure, Kothatkar etc and similarly that of others like Bholanath, exceedingly harmonize together for which they deserve praise. And it is our clear opinion that credit for the fact that Mr. Joshi's drama is having a good reputation is entirely due to the skill of the actors rather than to that of the dramatist.

Apranti 23th May 1927.

Stunted Marathi Literature.

In the previous issue, we have attempted, by reviewing at length the play Manadumbhi, to draw the attention of the devotees of literature to an important feature in society the twelfth Literary Conference was held in Poona and its (different) accounts have been published in the last week. Mr. Shripad Krishna Achalkar, the President of the Conference has, by making a speech full of humour, tried to disprove the late Mr. Rajwade's statement that the Marathi language was on the point of death. The speech is passable in other respects but it has proved quite incapable of disproving the above statement of Mr. Rajwade. We do not think that Mr. Achalkar's statement will be disproved even though the President had, in order to prove that Marathi literature was not on the way to death, prepared a mile long list of the poems being published (lit. the Ganges of poetry flowing) every year, of the series (of books called) Surasa, Saras, Bharat Mahara, Kutumb Chikshan, etc., and of dailies, weeklies, monthlies and books like the encyclopaedia, and had presented a long series of simple or complicated puzzles on words.

To take a piece of paper and to write anything indiscriminately to one's heart's content, is not a sign of the vitality of literature. But the question is how far the thoughts in this indiscriminate writing are actually of a creative character. As the President himself observed, in passing, at the end: "The Marathi in this era (lit. life) aims at the utmost attainment of freedom and of the writers (lit. writer class) and readers (lit. reader class) serve language in the right way this <sup>goal</sup> will be reached early." This object has been correctly stated by the President but very few have got quite a clear idea as to how this object is to be accomplished. In the first place, very few show <sup>the</sup> ability of understanding what the difficulties in the way of freedom are, what their character is, how powerful they are. And as a result of that there is

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the original

no proper realization and knowledge of <sup>the</sup> different movements in the actual world (lit. circumstances) and no reason is left for the independent idea to arise what is really good (or) bad in that and how it should be removed or accomplished. This means that ideas or thoughts and plans which will uproot the defects in social affairs cannot arise, so that these serving literature can do nothing but reiterate the old, imitative system. This means that these servants of tradition and past things do not consider how (daily) affairs are to be changed with a view to the future. For that purpose, (such) persons devoted to literature are required, as will minutely and critically examine present day affairs. This means that instead of those who get inspiration for their imagination from the past, that is, from the indirect, literary ~~the~~ writers must have the vision of looking at affairs constructively through the actual and it was because he saw this absence everywhere <sup>that</sup> Mr. Majwade said that Marathi had been reduced to a dying condition.

vitality does not consist in the length or breadth of the ~~the~~ writing but in the creative efficiency of thought and so even if there be seen today a profusion of writers and writings, most of them have not the scientific vision of the creative power of making the actual effective, so, the whole of their literature is merely like a pool of stagnant water; <sup>that</sup> (water) is not capable of growing anything beyond khaj-als round about that pool, (and) the only marvel to be seen is what can be shown by creating a variety of colour and forms only in that. But owing to their (the writers) <sup>being</sup> strangers to the realization of the affairs of the future, orchards and gardens full of rooms of useful plans and thoughts cannot be raised on that pool. For that purpose are required flowing brooks or big rivers of thoughts which are natural, which can find a way out of the commotion of the movements of actual things, and which assume a creative character in the (daily) affairs. Then alone can the territory of various plans on

An inferior ant

their banks become rich and fertile by their water. therefore though leagues upon leagues of literature be seen to have been created through lack of these ideas and thoughts of an actually practical character, it proves barren if the test of utility is applied and it was in that sense that a critically inclined person like Mr. Rajwade had declared (lit. stamped) Marathi literature as being in a dying condition and so long as the President has not shown a (literary) work showing the direction of the movements of the innumerable affairs, taking place from day to day that statement cannot be disproved by a list (lit. garland) of the persons who have become big or of writings.

True Translation.





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Kranti 24th May 1927.

Release of Mr. Dange.

Unprecedented welcome in Bombay.

Mr. Dange's release.

Recalling his work.

Mr. Shripad Amrit Dange who had received four years rigorous imprisonment in the Cawnpore conspiracy case was released on Tuesday, the 24th at 6 A.M. from the Arthur Road Jail at Chichpokli. He was to have been released on the 23rd but on seeing a very big crowd of people collected outside the jail for his reception his release was on some excuse postponed for a day. On Monday several prominent persons had collected outside the jail. Maulana Shaukat Ali, (and Messrs) Achyutram Kolhatkar, Sambhaji, Vistvanatham, Swami Kumaranand, Nageshwarrao, Joglekar, Sanzagiri, Spratt and other friends and admirers of Mr. Dange were present. They all were extremely disappointed owing to his nonrelease. On Tuesday morning he was released before the men had collected. But Mr. Joglekar and other congressmen had already come there. Then he was kept seated in a motor car there for some time. All persons gathered together again at about seven, as had been announced. Khilafat volunteers, men from the Girni Kamagar Kaba Mandal, men of the Workers and Peasants Party, Maulana Shaukat Ali, Mr. Spratt etc. were present. After garlands and bouquets had been presented to him on behalf of the congress and other institutions and a photograph along with the others had been taken at the jail gate itself, Mr. Dange was taken by the men (collected) to Mr. Joglekar's place at 168 Fanaswadi.

Public meeting in the "Congress House"

A public meeting was held on the 24th in the evening at the "Congress House" in order to congratulate Mr. Shripad Amrit Dange, who had been sentenced to four years

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in the Campore Bolshevik Conspiracy Case, on his release from jail. As Mr. Sarfojni (Haidu) who was to have presided could not come, Mr. Broacha was called upon to preside. Mr. Tairai, Achyutarao Khatkar, Solicitor Kher, Messrs Vishwanath and Sambhuti, Madras members of the A.I.C.C., Mr. Spratt of the British Labour Party, Mr. Joglekar, Swami Kumaranand etc. were present. As soon as Mr. Lange came to the place of meeting he was welcomed with applause. The President Mr. Broacha, in his address, in opening the meeting said: We have gathered here on the auspicious occasion of the 'Empire Day'. It is also today that news has been received of the arrest of Mr. Avari, the satyagrahi <sup>hero</sup> ~~new~~ of Nagpur. This is indeed a god-send for the Govt. on the Empire Day. The relations between Russia and England are getting worse and worse. England unscrupulously attacked the 'Aress' house. In China a big British army has been sent for the protection of the Indians (there) (Laughter). The Bolsheviki are establishing themselves in China today. Bolshevism is much better than the blood-sucking 'John Bullism'. It is very good that Mr. Lange has been released at this very time. I hope that he will soon begin to organize the students and the workers. Because I am perfectly sure that we shall get swarajya by this movement alone. After Mr. Broacha's speech was over, Mr. Lange was garlanded on behalf of the congress committee and the Peasants and Workers party. Mr. Tairai said in his speech: I was under the impression that the right of freedom of thought existed in at least this twentieth century. But the case against Mr. Lange has shown that (this impression) was wrong. The crime of Mr. Lange was that he corresponded with the M.K.Roy and that correspondence also was in order to let Mr. Roy know that his opinions differed from Mr. Roy's or in order

to gather some information. But it was (considered) a crime to demand the right of freedom of thought ! That Mr. Dange speaks out boldly whatever he feels, is a matter to be admired. To consider that he has become all the greater because of his coming out of jail today. (Applause. Mr. Achytra<sup>o</sup> Kolhatkar said that Mr. Dange should be given the title of G.C.S.I. (Great and courageous son of India). 'Comrade' Joglekar, after reading out the congratulatory wires received from Mr. Singaravelu of Madras and from Mr. Muzaffar Ahmad, who had been sentenced along with Mr. Dange, said: By prosecuting Mr. Dange the Govt. has laid our movement under great obligation. Extreme misapprehensions about our movement prevail among the people. These people and papers of Govt's party who will suffer because of our movement have spread misleading misapprehensions. Our movement is (intended) to enable every one, among the people to meet the necessities of worldly life. It is our object to create such a social order as would permit every individual man or woman, in the community to live happily. If this movement spreads the whole of capitalism and the British Govt will have to lose every thing of theirs. Therefore, in order that, opinions of this character should not spread and in order to destroy this seed at its very root Mr. Dange was arrested and jailed on some minor pretext. But instead of the movement disappearing thereby the attention of the people was however, drawn towards our opinions and this movement is today vigorously on the increase in this country. Big leaders like Pandit Kastilal Nehru etc, have also admitted this and have shown that they realise that the politics in the country will gradually proceed in the direction of the socialists. Since the tour of Mr. Saklatwala this movement is only increasing in vigour and the old leaders are making useless efforts to make their position stable by checking the increasing power of the people. It is a matter for great joy and encouragement that Mr. Dange has

returned among us on such an auspicious occasion. As a co-worker in this task I welcome him affectionately and entertain the hope that in this struggle of the future he will firmly stand his ground and will help this task according to his capacity.

Mr. Spratt also said in congratulating Mr. Dange that the present was a good time for organizing the workers. After the speeches of Messrs. Samburtti and Vishvamath, Mr. Dange said: 'I am neither a Bolsheviki nor an opponent of the British Govt. The Russian Communists are called Bolsheviki. I am an Indian communist. The British Govt. carried on an agitation against the Bolsheviki and that is the reason why it calls any communist, 'Bolshevik'. I at least welcome the Trade Union Bill which has been brought forward in England at present. Because that will throw back the big (lit. fat, fat) office-holders of the British Labour Party and will strengthen the movement of the socialists in that party. Discontent will become ripe in England also and it is this discontent that will crush British capitalism. I myself am not at all against the British people, I am opposed only to British capitalism. Indian capitalists or British capitalists are both similar. Now, as the British capitalists swallow everything, I will take the help of even the Indian capitalists in order to remove that thorn (viz. the British capitalists). But after doing that work I shall not fail to destroy Indian capitalism also. He finished his speech after giving an assurance to continue his work as before.

True Translation.

Kranti, 4th June 1927

Congress and the Worker

The workers and peasants in the country are gradually awakening and showing eagerness to protect their own interest, but that special strength has as yet been created among them but they have learned the direction of organization and this strength is being based on the power of organization. The workers are ignorant but every individual has got the capacity to understand one's own interest. Similarly even these ignorant people have got that idea, and the efforts of the workers and peasants are going on through spontaneous inspiration in order to provide properly for their daily household needs, and as soon as difficulties are felt in that, the tendency has become apparent of resorting to methods like strikes etc in order to find a way out of them. These strikes of the workers are nowadays to be seen frequently and though, as compared with <sup>(workers)</sup> ~~them~~, the peasants are not organized to that extent, still getting in the end exasperated through penury as regards livelihood they too are turning to the use of the weapon of strike. Owing to the daily increasing scarcity as regards the household life the working people have naturally begun to be terrified through the natural realization of a common danger and it is through this (unification) that the class-sense of one's own-ness is to get strengthened among them. This class-consciousness (lit. sight) is being created of its own accord owing to the difficulties of household life and the strikes that have to be made for the purpose.

The work of organization has not as yet been properly done, therefore, it is not that the workers actually get success if they make strikes getting exasperated with the penury as regards their household life. But these strikes represent (lit. are) the exasperation that is created from excess of disappointment. Therefore at such a time, the tendency of the workers is one of indifference towards success. But if some actual benefit is seen even of <sup>any</sup> ~~the~~ act,

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done without caring (for its consequences) in such a condition of exasperation, the indifference (as to consequences) in the tendency to go on strike immediately takes the form of knowledge, and the people realise the power of organization and then the work of organization goes on becoming easy. That was the outcome of the last strike of mill-workers.

As owing to the increasing penury as regards household life the tendency to go on strike is thus being naturally created among the workers, some account or the other about strikes is heard from all over the country. Today there was a strike on the Bengal-Nagpur Railway, tomorrow in the Pulgaon mill, a strike took place at the Madras oil factory, there was a strike in a press, the men on the southern Maratha Railway seemed to be inclined to go on strike, that is what is being seen everywhere. Owing to the actual experience that at such a time of difficulty for the people none helps them excepting their unions, the working class has lost interest in other movements or institutions in the country. It is all right to indulge in empty talk that the congress is an institution of the people. But as it has been seen that the congress is of no help whatsoever when actual occasion comes, people have lost interest in the congress. This means that the congress has lost the support at its back and it is losing its strength and the bourgeois class has to accept defeat in the struggle it is carrying on with the Govt. in the name of the congress. These bourgeoisies having seen that they cannot in their political checkmate Govt. owing to lack of support on the part of the people, have begun to think how to get this support. And as soon as they began to think that way, they saw that if the congress wanted the support of the people, it must take part in the movement for the daily household life of the people, which means, that the congress must help the cause of the working people at the time of their

organization and strikes. Having realised this, the congress leaders have now begun to show sympathy with the work of the organization of the workers. Since Mr. Saklatvala's visit they have realised all the more the necessity of showing interest in the working class and Mr. Brinivas Iyengar, the President of the Congress, is nowadays talking of workers' organization in time and out of time. And humanitarians like Annie Besant, Shiv Rao etc. calling themselves the champions of the labourers, are taking advantage of this new policy and are seeking to join the Congress. From this whole policy, it may be safely said that there will soon be talk in the congress about the interest of the working class. But at the same time an important thing must be remembered and that is that the congress is today an institution thinking about the interest of the bourgeois class. A difficulty began to be experienced in the way of this interest and the need for the support of the masses began to be felt for that purpose, the attention of the congress has been drawn towards the masses that is towards the workers-peasants. It is in their own interests that they want the support of these masses. The humanitarian benefactors of the workers will be deceived by this new policy of the congressmen and will give the congress the support of the working people in the interests of the bourgeois. But in actual practice, the congress will not place the demands of the working class from the point of view of that class. An attempt will be made to give the workers' movement the form of humanitarian charity. So the working class must at this time be on its guard and must take care of its rights and frustrating this dodge of the bourgeois class must make the congress an institution struggling for the rights of the working class. If that cleverness is not shown these bourgeois will not, in accordance with their natural inclinations, fail to join the capitalistic class and to foist on the head of the working class such suicidal compromises as in the Bengal-

Nagpur Railway strike. It is solely because of solicitude for its own interests that this bourgeois class has always neglected and betrays the interests of the working class. Therefore the real guardians of the interests of the working class must be particularly on their guard, till that class becomes really strong through organization. The working class must not, with the far-sighted policy of taking advantage of the new policy of the congress in order to promote organization <sup>without</sup> allowing the working class movement to be swallowed by the congress.

The congress and the Labour Movement

These must be made one, said Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar, the President of the congress, in the course of a speech at Madras and he also said that he would support the Labour Movement after Hindu-Muslim unity has been achieved. Mr. Srinivasa, President of the Madras Labour Union, has become a member of the congress with the object that the working class should enter the congress.



Kranti d/ the 11th June 1927.

Is there no class struggle in India?

Interview with (Dr.) Baklatzala.

Dr. Chaturji Baklatzala the champion of labour and of India, after his return from India to England, said in the course of an interview to a press representative there, "When I went to India I was charged with having gone there to create class struggle which did not exist among the people there. But there is no necessity of creating class struggle there, it already exists there and it is not possible for anyone to stop it. On one side there is the class of Indian well-to-do men passing its time in pleasures and luxury according to the old tradition, while on the other there is the labour class which is in such a bad condition that even an idea of that poverty and life cannot be had in Great Britain. Leaving aside epidemics like plague the rate of mortality of children below one is 270 per thousand in other times in the industrial towns there. This rate is 330 per thousand in the city of Bombay. The cause of this excessive death-rate is the half-starving condition of the parents and the birth of children in insanitary places. The same figure of mortality for the rich class is 30 per thousand. The rate of infant mortality among the rich class in England is 60 per thousand and among the poor class 100. The class struggle in India between the rich capitalists and the poor workers is of such a severe nature that the workers must form a strong organization of theirs to offer resistance to it. The history of the growth of Indian industry is the linking of the power of production in modern advanced times with the minimum of wages. This experiment was tried in India by getting passed the Indian Trade Union Act and as soon as it was that that it was successful, it is going to be applied to the workers in England also in the form of Mr. Baldwin's Trade Union Bill. Our (British) Trade Unions failed to perform their duty with regard to the Indian labour<sup>ers</sup> of

protesting in time against the Indian Trade Union Act. To atone for that the British Trade Unions must now take in hand the work of collecting information regarding the Trade Unions in India by sending at least two representatives every year to that country. The political movement of the Indian Workers' Party is every day increasing because the Indian peasants and workers are realizing the importance of unity and the necessity of devoting their time and attention to organization.

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Kranti 6/ 11th June 1927

The original  
with word  
generally means  
attack by a  
band of robbers.

Black machinations of the Conservative Party :

The secret of the terrible raid on 'Arcos' House.

The sudden raid carried on, on the Arcos House by the Govt. will not fail to have an extremely bad effect on the trade between Russian and England.

One of the objects of this raid is to destroy the gradually growing friendship between Russia and England. The eyes of the reactionaries in England whose hearts are pining for a war with Russia, turned white on seeing the contract for a loan of one crore pounds at the rate of 3 1/2% interest made a few days back by the Russian Trade Delegation with the Midland Bank. Just after the contract, the Delegation had also made commercial contracts with companies in different parts of Britain. If these contracts had been observed, British industry would probably have prospered as a result of the supply of goods to Russia ; but if that had happened, how could the Baldwin company (i.e the British Cabinet) direct its attacks against Russia every now and then ? It is, therefore, evident that the raid on the Arcos House at a time when the Commercial relations of both these countries were about to become more intimate, must have been the direct result of some black machinations.

It is clear from this how much the Baldwin Company is desirous of breaking off the connection with Russia. Even in February last Mr. Chamberlain had sent an insulting letter to Russia. The Labour Party ought to have put a strong collar in his eyes at that very time. But as unfortunately that was not done the present occasion of impudence has arisen and the Govt. raided the Arcos House and attacked the members of the Delegation ! But it is now going to cover this act by disclosing the documents it requires at the hands of its secret Police :

Secret raid.

The officials had not even got information.

The agitation caused among the Soviets is not due to the conducting of the search of the Arcos House under the British law, but due to the secret raid on the Trade Delegation which enjoyed independence according to the treaty of 1921 !

Moreover this search was also conducted in such a manner that the men there could not in any way attend to their primary rights and even the safety of the House.

But the most noticeable thing was that even the search warrant was not shown. (The men in the house) were not allowed to remain present till the search made without showing the search warrant was completed. The secret Police were doing their work as they willed, with the help of the enemies of the Russians. Similarly the officials there were not even informed as to what papers had been taken away ! So also no one has the idea as to what mischief the Police might have played while taking the search !

After one hour had passed away since the search had begun, the Police came so much to their senses as to show the warrant. But though this warrant was only for taking the search of the Arcos House the Police committed trespass and raided the office of the Trade Delegation ! Moreover though the warrant was issued only for the search of the building, the Guardians of law took the search of all the Bank there, the persons (there) and the London branch of the Supreme Economic Council without hesitation, by breaking the law.

Is this a lawful act ?

Was the real object of the attachment at the Arcos House to get back political papers actually lost ? Or whether the original object of this act was to trace the connection between the Soviet and British subjects and to find out how much money had been spent on propaganda ?

3.

If the second object was prominent, the attachment was illegal. The order of attachment cannot be enforced beyond particular acts. And that order cannot at all be enforced against those acts in respect which it had not been issued.

Therefore the Labour Party in the Parliament and other workers' Unions ought to fight out for the legality of this attachment.

Reassentment of the paper 'Pravda'

The Pravda newspaper of Moscow writes in connection with the search of the 'Arcoos' House at London-

"British Imperialism is trying its utmost to make the Soviet enraged. But because this game of theirs proved a failure in Peking they have placed forward this piece (in chess) of the Arcoos (house) for being sacrificed. Not being satisfied with the mischief wrought by their Party in China, the Conservative Party is now trying to create quarrels between the Russian and the British subjects.

The Conservative Party could not show even a single reasonable ground for the raid (lit. sieged) on the Arcoos (House). But it is carrying on this black act by adopting agnosticism. Anything can be made to appear just by means of such hiding tactics, but whereas the work of discovering 'those unknown papers' has been handed over to secret spies they will necessarily find out those papers.

The thinking world might have realized from this that the Conservative Party itself has fanned the fire. It ought now to remain prepared if big flames break out from it.

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*MTC.*



Govt. has, according to the policy of Capitalism, already given adequate protection to the mill industry by levying an import duty of 11 % and by abolishing the excise duty. The result of this protection is that Capitalism has realized that it is (more) profitable to invest capital in India and to start mills than to start mills in other places and to bring cloth to India and a beginning has been made to invest Japanese and British capital increasingly in the already existing mills or in new ones. The Japanese capitalists have already declared their policy of starting mills in India. Just following this new policy of Capitalism the Govt. has adopted the policy of abolishing the extra import duty on machinery (as recommended by) the Tariff Board. This means that it is the policy of the Govt. to create a favourable situation for Capitalism as a whole and the mill industry. The Govt. has no objection to allow the necessary concession to the Indian mill-owners as partners of this Capitalism and Govt. has proved it by abolishing the excise duty. But Indian capital has still a great share in the partnership of the mill industry and a beginning has been made only recently to invest capital from the Empire in this country. By reducing the import duty on machinery and other mill requisites, provision has been made for the rapid increase of the partnership of Imperial-capitalism in the mill industry. But to increase the import duty from 11 to 15 per cent <sup>as long</sup> as this portion of the partnership has not sufficiently increased, is to give a large part of the profit in the industry to the Indian section and on the contrary to create unnecessary difficulty in the way of the goods coming today to India from Empire-capital parts like Manchester, China, Japan etc. This demand of the mill-owners will not be accepted today because

3.

Empire-capital will derive no advantage from such concessions until sufficiently large part of the industry here has been secured (by it). How much soever they clamour for it that will be of no avail. Govt. will reject the demands of the mill-owners by clearly telling them that the clamour is for their own profit and that it aims at deceiving the other partner of theirs.

Then this takes place, capitalists will not fail to adopt other measures to satisfy their unrequited selfish desires. This is a natural law of Capitalism. And then at that time the mill-owners will not fail to make provision for filling their own pockets by cutting down the wages of poor workers in order that they may be able to have everything such as coaches and horses, motors, bungalows, race horses etc., for their luxury, their pleasures, their gambling. It is necessary for the workers to beware in time and to prepare themselves to face that occasion. Last Saturday Mr. Joglekar has clearly sounded a note of warning about this to the workers of the Victoria Mill here in the meeting in connection with the Satyanarayan (worship). Not even four days have elapsed since then then (Sir) Victor Sassoon the prominent mill-owner has given support to it. Therefore we earnestly request all the mill-workers to beware and to join the Girni Kamgar Mahamandal. Open a branch of the Union in every mill and all uniting together by ready to fight. The crops had ripened at the time of the last strike. Today you are going to be attacked in the midst of the rainy season. Therefore collect your funds as early as possible, so that we and you shall not fall a prey to the selfish machinations of the owners.

Similarly we say to the workers in other industries besides the mills that it will not do for them to remain quiet in this struggle of the mill-workers. If the wages of the mill-workers are reduced today, tomorrow



4.

will be the turn of the railway-men. The dock-workers will be confronted with the same difficulty. Because it is the policy of the owners to reduce wages. And though the industries be different, the owners are the same. The owner of a mill is the owner of a press, is also the owner of a steamer, is a share holder of a railway company and a partner in a tramway (company). Similarly he is in the Port Trust, in the mines, in the telephone company, in the gas company, in the electric company and is a grain merchant (and) a cotton merchant. Therefore his policy of filling his (own) coffers by reducing the wages of the workers prevails in all the industries. An outcry is not raised against such things in time as the workers are not organized and (so) the workers have to suffer hardships. Therefore we say with folded hands "Workers, awake and form your respective Unions. You can only be able to face the highhandedness of the owners if you workers in all the industries stand together by forming your Unions. The whole working people must awaken just to give a fight to this future danger on the mill-workers and if time comes, must give a warning to the mill-owners and their supporter the Govt. by stopping all, the railways, tramways, post (offices), telegraph offices, Govt. offices, banks, private firms etc. Similarly the mill workers should first take the lead in it, form unions and become strong. The Trade Union Congress, the National Congress and the workers and Peasants Party should get ready for this danger and should make preparations to face the battle on behalf of the working-class. We, therefore, suggest that the office-bearers of these three institutions should begin these <sup>preparations</sup> ~~three institutions~~ early. It is probable that this suggestion may be objected to as in a way explaining the policy of a far distant future. But we are willing to put up with this objection on account of our insistence to show the proper direction.

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Aranti 25th June 1927

Municipal Workmen's Union.

Three months have passed since the establishment of this Union. During the three months the union has done a good deal of useful work. Accord<sup>ing</sup> to the usual experience, the municipal officials (i.e. official class) are directly or indirectly making efforts to bring obstruction in the work of the union, but even in this the thing for joy is that the municipal commissioner has got some sympathy for the union. The union has brought to light several cases of oppression by the officials. Chief among these are such things as dismissing the workers arbitrarily without notice, giving notices at the outset of the monsoon (and thus) dismissing men during the monsoon causing them inconvenience and suffering, dismissing forcibly from work those who, as proved by their horoscopes, are not above 55 years of age, by saying that they are, refusing to pay heed to complaints as regarding the prevalence of bribery etc. Men are dismissed on the excuse that there is no work for them but no officer from those getting fat salaries from £ 200 to £ 2000 is sent away. They too ought to be sent away if really there is less of work. But the fact on the contrary is that there is sufficient of work, for, work is given by contract even outside the municipal workshop. It is this ex clandestine system of contracts that is the cause of the ruin of the poor workers. The union sends all complaints to the corporation, but that body does not seem to have awakened yet in this respect. (We) feel sure that if this corporation thus neglects the matter in future the union will not fail to get it to do its work on the strength of its increasing power. The work of this union is going on with great vigour.

True translation.

1.

Kranti 9th July 1927

Well done I Malini

The Bourgeois (lit. white-dressed) dexterity

for the interests of their class

Economic analysis (lit. dis-criminative) of the  
slavery of women?

(by K.N.Joglekar)

Since the marriage of Malini Panandikar with Ghulam Khan, great commotion has arisen in the Maharashtrian community. The opinion is being expressed by almost the whole of the bourgeois (lit. white-dressed) class and its organs that it is an extremely disgraceful thing for the whole of the Hindu community that an uneducated Hindu girl should marry a person of another religion. All papers, considered influential, are condemning this act and an outcry is being raised everywhere that this marriage is a terrible attack befalling the Hindu community owing to its disorganized condition. This marriage is sure to be used to strengthen the movement of Hindu sangathan by showing its bias-bear to the ignorant populace which has been made accustomed to follow traditional custom. And when the simple-minded ignorant community walks into this ditch with its own feet, the wheel of the real progress of society is sure to be to get a considerable setback. Therefore, at this time, all wise persons, must come forward, without falling victims to emotion with clear determination to warn the community.

All the movements like Hindu Sanghatan, Musalman Sanghatan are movements in the interests of the handful of bourgeois (lit. white-dressed) class created by the love in the past of luxury and ease. In the old day economic condition of society the control of society lay in the hands of this handful of people and therefore that class had directed and limited all social functions in accordance with the interests of its own class. By manufacturing

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according to that pattern the opinions of Shastras and ethics, arrangement was made to make the dominance permanent. But owing to the pressure of increasing population the capacity of this old system and these social functions to satisfy the needs of mankind began to be felt inadequate, as a result of which social functions began to get new directions and turns and with the passage of time old systems and practices became useless in the changing economic system and life of society, and receded <sup>into</sup> with the background and disappeared in course of time. But owing to these changing circumstances very great difficulty was created in the worldly affairs of that class, of that part of society which owing to ancient systems, could make the whole community toil according to its (of that class) own desire and self-interest and could thereby arrange to meet all its (of the class) needs, and naturally this bourgeois (lit. white-dressed) class began to hate these changing circumstances and got engrossed in the anxiety as to how to re-establish the former position of dominance of its class. A clear indication of this is the attempt to take society to the old circumstances by such means as Hindu Sanghatan, Musalman Sanghatan, Khaddar Sanghatan etc.

While in this way preparation was going on by way of the movement for Hindu Sanghatan for the economic dominance of that class, the Malini Gulabkhan marriage has given quite another heavy shock to the class enamoured of the old tradition. Already in the changing economic circumstances the men (lit. man-class) in society have gone out of the control of the bourgeois (lit. white-dressed) class. To that extent the old Brahmi culture has become effete. But in addition to that the whole woman kind, the more than half part of society, which for several thousands of years and ages had got used to the slavery (imposed) by men is beginning, as represented by Malini, to cut off the chains of this old tradition. This is an earnest of the future epoch of the evolution of human culture, of the age

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3.

of the equality of all men.

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Looking to natural creation, it is not (found) that <sup>on</sup> <sup>K</sup> is superior and another inferior because (of one being) Purusha or (another) Prakriti or (one) male and (another) female. So long as animals are living (lit. their affairs are going) in purely natural circumstances, such a sharp distinction is not seen. But when the human being had to begin the process of imposing his burden on nature by artificial means, the old ways of nature receded into the background and new ways began to come into vogue. And the distinction of man-class and woman-class was created in human culture and in course of time, owing to economic dependence, that woman-class became subservient to the men and when it got accustomed to it, that culminated in (its) acceptance of full dependence or slavery of the man-class. And as they got accustomed to the system of behaving in this manner and when that system began to be considered ~~in~~ as acceptable to the Shastras and to respectable men, a part of humanity remained so much degraded as to be under the perverse and bad impression, that such dependent condition was the limit of its evolution. But in accordance with the increase in population, immediately when in various <sup>S.</sup> times the existing means of subsistence raised by the labour of the man-class alone began to prove incapable of satisfying the needs of society, it became necessary for the woman class to take part in the work of the actual struggle for life and gradually, owing to the realization ~~z~~ that (it) can in its sphere carry on economic affairs, the sense of dependence on man of the woman-class began to get slackened and according to human nature it became possible for the woman class to ~~establish~~ establish the control of its own sentiments and likings and dislikings over ordinary affairs. And in fact, womankind does actually exercise this its natural right, this its equal and independent entity. But the womankind of that class, forming a minority, in

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whose hands lay in bourgeois fashion the task of controlling society, the women in that class above, which was therefore considered high, are, owing to economic dependence, subservient to men. And as the means lay in the hands of this class to stamp anything as good or bad, the unreal and wicked idea that it is the dependence of the woman-class that means its superior condition has been put into vogue under the name of the selfish culture of one's own class. But these ideas of the higher class are not really true.

There is really no distinction as high and low between women and men. From the point of view of social evolution the task of both is equal. And in the totality of social functions women must get the right of complete equality. But it is economic dependence that is at the root of all serfdom in society. Just as owing to this economic dependence, a nation or community has to remain under the control of another and has to regulate all its affairs according to the selfish scheme of the dominant nation, similarly it is because of economic dependence that all the affairs of women have been regulated according to the convenience of the men-class. And under the grand name of culture even ordinary human rights have been declared as not proper in the case of women. But on every occasion when this economic dependence has not been able to assert itself, individuals from the woman-class do not fail to exercise their right of equality. Today with the help of the material sciences man can create in abundance the means for his sustenance and can create circumstances in which one community need not be dependent upon another. On the strength of the knowledge of these very material sciences it has also become possible for one half of mankind to come out of slavery. And the woman-class will get its rights of the equality of humanity only if that condition is acquired.

It is not at all that men only have likings and dislikings and women have not ! It is then terrible inhumanity that the likings of man alone should be considered and woman should be compelled to behave according to them. Women also are human beings. They also have emotions like joy, grief etc. They too have likings and dislikings. It is then inhuman for the man-class to insist that they alone have not the right of creating around themselves proper circumstances according to their taste. Marriage is one function out of the many functions of life. As in other functions, in this function also woman must get rights equally with man. It is unjust that man alone should have the right of selecting a (woman) companion, agreeable to his own nature while woman should not be allowed to consider how her (man) companion should be. It amounts to showing ignorance and indifference about the principles of evolution of the world that the man-class should insist upon continuing as it is, this compulsory imposition of his likings upon women, under the name of custom, culture or tradition.

A community like (that in) Russia which is showing mankind the direction of new culture, is to-day bearing testimony as to how this natural ~~evolution~~ evolution of humanity can be accomplished without causing any <sup>harm</sup> ~~harm~~, if economic dependence is abolished. Recently ~~on~~ the occasion of the convocation of the Women's University Sir Sankaraj Nair drew attention of the women graduates of \*Mingana to such a status equality of the women (lit. woman class in Russia and indicated to the women (lit. the woman class) in the world and especially to the Indian women (lit. woman class) the farthest limit of their advance and clearly advised them that the educated women (lit. woman-class) should carry on their work (lit. should behave) keeping in eye on that limit as (their) goal. It is necessary to congratulate Lalini Bai Panandikar from the point of view of the evolution of mankind,

Place where  
Women's  
University  
situated

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because she showed the boldness of giving a reverse turn to the inhuman atrocity of oppressive social custom, by indicating clearly her liking (or) disliking in the matter of ~~marriage~~ marriage. Her marriage with Gulabkhan is merely a question of happiness or otherwise of two individuals with which we have nothing to do. If from the ground of individual equality Gulabkhan and Malinibai felt love for each other, took pleasure in the company of each other, others have no business to meddle with it. And we shall not allow any one to be unnecessary meddling in that way. As a human being it is our right to create around ourselves circumstances according to our convenience. That is the meaning of the bold behaviour of Malinibai. Women (lit. woman-class) can exercise this their right. She must be congratulated in clear words for the indirect social service rendered by her, owing to her staunch insistence on individual right, of showing to the half of mankind the way of self-realisation by laying down this lesson (and) trampling under ~~foot~~ feet the tradition and the custom of several thousands of years. And it is our clear opinion that every one who has a real liking for human evolution will not but congratulate her in equally clear terms.

True Translation.





Kranti 9th July 1927:

The Mahad Satyagraha

There is no doubt that the fanatical touchable Hindus of Mahad have created a cause for resentment by obstructing the untouchables from taking water from the Chavadar tank and by beating them. The untouchable community, especially the educated men from it, and others from the touchable communities also who feel disgust for untouchability have got much irritated because of this beating and a meeting of protest against it, was held last Sunday in the Cawasji & Jehangir Hall here, under the presidentship of Dr. Ambedkar and it has been decided to start satyagraha at Mahad in order to secure for the untouchable community the right of taking water from the Chavadar tank. Water is a necessity for human life created by nature. The untouchables also are men and they have as much right to live as all other touchable communities and it is their birthright to drink for that purpose the water, which is the life-giving substance created by nature. It is extremely regrettable that the minds of the Mahad untouchable Hindus should have been so enslaved by old, antiquated and worthless customs as to fail to understand this. But it is this that is likely to convince one of the inadequacy of our, what is called 'Hindu culture,' 'Hindu culture.' After the Aryans came some time in old days as conquerors and established the right of ownership of all natural materials, they considered all their predecessors as serfs and got used to getting service (lit. hospitality) for their own class, and getting supplied all necessary worldly needs at their hands and this their practice has continued, for several thousands of years, just as it was, up till today. It is a sign of the worthlessness of our tradition and culture and of the lack of intellect of our bourgeois (lit. white-dressed) class which calls itself educated and is worried about that old tradition that this idea about the right of ownership should remain even today while themselves toiling as the serfs of others

and that these serfs should be perverse enough to give trouble (lit. give blows with the elbow) to a class of serfs among themselves.

But the reason why this bourgeois (lit. white-dressed) class shows such lack of intellect is that society has been from the first built up on the idea of the right of ownership. The bourgeois (lit. white-dressed) class was considered the hereditarily privileged class in all the community. That class after establishing first this its privileged position made current the false delusion that it was natural and therefore just to have such a privileged position, and it is this delusion that, under the dignified name of custom, is today creating such distinctions as touchable and untouchable and is making man forget his natural humanity. Therefore, the only way, not only to cure this defect about touchability or untouchability, but to cure all the defects is to eradicate this very idea about hereditary privilege from the social structure and to reconstruct society on the principle of equality. Therefore, the movement begun under the leadership of Dr. Ambedkar to secure for the untouchables by satyagrah at Mahad, the right of touching water, is, in one way proper. But in our opinion this movement is quite inadequate. The Satyagrahas like that of Mahad are useless unless the original disease is touched and remedies adopted to make pure the very blood of society (lit. the person in the form of society), to abolish hereditary privilege and to make effective in all affairs the principle of social equality. The Mahad affair is a boil appearing on the body as a result of impure blood. That (boil) is sure to give out pus and dirty matter, but it will not do merely to wash and clean it. Not only that but it may be better to touch the root question of abolishing all hereditary privileges, leaving this boil untouched for the moment. Because the real grievance is not that water is not allowed to be taken from the Chavadar tank. But the reason for the original

grievance is that social arrangement which makes the untouchable community toil as slaves, keeps it in perpetual economic slavery and owing to which other people legally deprive this community of the earnings of its labour, so that it has always to remain in penury. It is out of this legal theft by the hereditarily privileged people of the earnings of the touchable and untouchable hard-labouring working people, that are created these necessary means like Chavadar tanks etc, that satisfy the needs of society. That is, if the working people do not allow this theft of their earning, they will surely be able to get any number of Chavadar tanks, houses, clothes and such things of worldly life that are necessary for the daily affairs. It seems to be the idea of Dr. Ambedkar and his satyagrahis that the failure to get water from the Chavadar tank is the only adversity and grievance for the untouchable class and that they have all other means of happiness available to them in plenty. These men have committed a great mistake in giving this question the form of honour or dishonour in being allowed or not allowed to fill water. It is the natural right of every man to drink the water of the Chavadar tank, similarly it is also the natural right of man to get in sufficient quality all such other necessities of life as houses, utensils, and clothing. That principle of hereditary privilege which infringes on this natural right of man and makes it impossible for man to live, that system of hereditary privilege must be broken up. And teaching that principle to the touchable and untouchable working people, Dr. Ambedkar and all those who resent social injustice must start a movement (saying), the wealth and grain created by (you) yourselves is yours, do not give it to the Miradar (lit. one holding a hereditary office) money-lender or Kotsa samindar, he is deceiving you in the name of law, let us try to change this unjust law and to introduce instead the new law of equality and let us have resort to Satyagraha for that purpose. Then

only will they be saved. If this movement is carried on and the legal theft of the earnings of the working people is stopped, there will remain no necessity for breaking heads or getting heads broken by making satyagraha for the water of the Chavadar tank, men will then of their own accord begin to secure their convenience by creating ~~of their own accord~~ the Chavadar tanks that will be required at any place. Therefore, even though we may sympathize with the Mahad satyagraha it is our clear opinion that this movement is extremely narrow and silly.

True Translation.

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Aranti 9th July 1927

These are the big by birth (lit. sons of big fathers)

Labour brethren should learn by heart the names of the following persons who opposed the suggestion for the reduction of the rent of the cement chawls. This <sup>instance</sup> ~~example~~ makes it clear that these rich persons (lit. sons of the Godless of wealth) enter Councils, Local Boards and such other institutions with the sole object of protecting their interests. It is necessary that hereafter the worker and peasant class alone which forms the majority of the people, should bring such institutions under its control. Most of the following gentlemen are either house-owners or factory-owners or the agents of such people.

1 Sir Vasantrag

Dabholkar

2. Sir P. C. Sethna.

3. Mr. G. A. Thomas

4. Mr. N. M. Damaoig

5. W. H. Nelson

6. S. D. Saklatwala

7. Mr. K. D. Bell

8. Mr. S. B. Bilimoria

9. Mr. S. K. Mahistullah

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Kranti 16th July 1927

Fiasco of the Nagpur Satyagraha

Legal theft of the earnings of the people.  
Severe remedy of a universal strike of class-war.

( By K.N. Joglekar )

After making considerable noise for a month or two, the conductors of the Nagpur Arms(Act) satyagraha have been compelled in the end to stop that satyagraha. It is extremely disappointing that occasion should come for leaving incomplete in this manner the work begun with great hopes. When after the first flush of enthusiasm was over, the conductors began to feel that the work taken in hand could not be sustained, it became a great question before them how to complete the work without being charged with being silly, and just as previously the completion of the flag procession was brought about through the efforts of Mr. Vithalbhai Patel without any loss (lit. check) to the prestige of either the government or the popular party, in the same way the one important point before the conductors (of the Arms Act) satyagraha was how to complete the satyagraha without bringing into disrepute the cause of the satyagraha. And with the advice of Mr. Broacha and Mr. Sambhmurti, the question of the opinion of Mahatma Gandhi was brought forward and a theoretical discussion was created as to whether this Satyagraha ~~was~~ inconsistent with the principle of non-violence, and the plan of stopping the satyagraha till that was settled was cleverly put into effect and the conductors came out safely from the (critical) occasion of responsibility for satyagraha, for which it will not be improper to praise them. And though it might have been necessary to stop this movement without any outcome, still the conductors must be congratulated also on the energy and cleverness shown by them in this respect. Movements raised on the basis of silliness are sure to end like this whether Mahatma Gandhi is there or Abani (and) ~~Abakar~~. If the leadership of the movement be in the hands of a big <sup>bungler</sup> ~~confusion~~ manager like Mahatmaji, he will show in his movement as great a lack of intellect as the Himalayas. It is only proper & if

Avari, Adakar and Rijare, and others, being comparatively smaller men, show by their silly and foolish movement only as much <sup>lack</sup> ~~lack~~ of intellect as the hamatch(mountain).

Though we are in this manner using rather severe language about this silly act of foolishness, still we have full respect for the good intention of those participating in this act. Now it is clear that mere good intention is of no avail where the original idea itself is inadequate and delusive. However good the intention, owing to inadequacy of the intellect, (they) fail to understand what is the real defect and in the flush of mere sentiment, the foolish act of dashing the head against whatever appears before the eyes takes place (at their hands). In the last issue while writing about the Mahad Satyagraha, we had indicated how this mistake occurs. The real question is about cutting the very strong halter in the form of British capitalism. How will the marching on foot through the streets of some ten to twenty men of Nagpur taking a few (lit. four) odd iron bands in hands as swords affect that (question)? This action is like that of the ignorant child which derives satisfaction for itself by placing between his legs a stick intended for spreading clothes to dry and by beating it a good deal calling it 'horse'. And when our leaders, who are considered very wise, bring forward many such stratagems of childish play making a show of subverting the British political power, one pities the ignorance of these leaders. Some think that it is sufficient if the spinning wheel is plied in every home and yarn spun, while some think that the machinery (lit. waggon) of the bureaucracy, the agents of capitalism, gets stopped if obstruction is offered in councils and if the obstacle about the assent of the council is brought forward. Some think that this machinery (lit. waggon) is sure to stop if a few individuals from the bureaucracy are killed and several others think that this machinery will be powerless (lit. <sup>lustre</sup> ~~lustreless~~) before the lustre of self-sacrifice if such self-sacrifice is made by individual braga. But none

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Capitalism is the real cause of our poverty. This capitalism exerts control over political power through the bureaucracy and by controlling all communal functions and making all the community toil, to be under its own control all the articles created by the community under the name of the law framed by itself regarding the right of ownership. It is this system that concentrates all power in capitalism. Care has been taken that the toiling masses should by intellect and by ideas and by inclination be slaves of this monopolistic system. Rules of morality and immorality of that character have been put into practice. Therefore they (the toiling masses) do not understand that the evil plight they have to put up with has been brought about by such plunder of their natural earnings and that therefore this evil plight constitutes an injustice. and it is therefore that he continues like that to rot in his sufferings.

All the wealth and grain in this country is created by our labour from the inside of this land which is a gift of nature. It is the intention of nature that it should be used for the sustenance of the inhabitants over the land. But some crafty men, in defiance of this intention, claim for a few men like themselves the ownership of that wealth and grain and instead of using it for satisfying the natural worldly needs of all people, usurp it for themselves. So that the masses cannot use it and they starve. therefore, the only real way is to uproot that system of the right of ownership which has brought so much danger to the community. and therefore an attack must just be directed towards the wrong idea about the justness of this system, which has been deliberately impressed upon the masses.

All the functions in the community are for the happiness and convenience of all people, and not for the convenience of a few. therefore, all the community must have control over all these functions. the cultivator raises grain. the railwaymen transport it. the men in the Postal and Telegraph Departments help communications. the mines supply mineral wealth to the community. men in factories create useful articles from raw



materials and provide them to the community, in this way by all the total (i.e., compressed) functions in the community are created the various conveniences in the whole community. And it is necessary to create such a system of control that all the people, according to necessity, will get their use. When (a worker) after working in the Postal (Department) bears the burden of a useful function of the community, his other worldly needs, (such as) clothes, grain, housing etc. must be provided by his other brethren who bear the burden of the other functions of the community. And the same applies to the railway workers, the mill worker, the dock worker, the worker in the Telegraph Department, the agricultural worker and to the worker in every event and function in the community. And all these various functions must be coordinated and controlled with a policy by which the necessities of all these people will be satisfied. But, as on the principle of the system of ownership referred to above, this control is in the hands of a few persons, the policy of satisfying the needs of all the people has been departed from and the control of functions in the present community is going on according to the policy of how communal functions will be controlled by their own class. Therefore, these people rob for themselves a considerable portion of the earnings of the people in the community as the fee for this right and, to that extent, every one in the community has to starve. An actual example of this is that the workers in the conduct of the railways in India made a profit of 13 crores of rupees in 1923, exclusive of the total expenditure. Instead of this amount being used by the workers getting it in the form of an addition to their wages, and (thus) satisfying their needs, capitalism has spent these ten crores of rupees in acquiring the power of looting according to the capitalistic system the people in Central Asia, by constructing a trans-frontier railway. As a matter of fact, these ten crores of rupees were created by keeping the railway workers without food and half-starved, and, therefore, those workers alone had a right to them. All the wealth and power of capitalism and its agent, the government, is created only by keeping half-starved

the working people in the community. But the common people do not understand this because of their ignorance, and through ignorance it is being crushed under the erroneous and unjust law of the right of ownership of capitalism. Therefore, the man must take in hand the work of stopping this loot, by way of demanding adequate wages in order that the earnings of the people should be devoted to their worldly affairs, after destroying (i.e. burying) this system of the right of ownership. People will easily be inclined towards such a demand with zeal because an addition to the wages will mean an advantage in the daily affairs. And the consciousness will be created among them of the right that they must get all the necessities of their worldly life and they will not fail to rise against those who bring obstruction in that. The real work is to awaken in this manner the workers in every function in the community and to organize them and to check the loot of the right of ownership. When the whole of the working class is so awakened then in order to take away the control of communal functions from the hands of that capitalism which claims the right of ownership, workers in the Postal Department, in the Telegraph Department, in offices, in docks, in the railways, in mines, workers in all (such) factories will be able to destroy the power of bureaucracy by securing control over the factories by means of committees in their respective factories, and the transfer of political power to the hands of the people by facing the political power of the bureaucracy with the severe remedy of a general strike by establishing central unions by means of such committees in order to destroy it (the bureaucracy) for good, will come about in due course. Therefore, it is an extremely harmful thing that, instead of following the powerful way of a general strike of railway, telegraph, postal dept, docks, mines, factories, which (way) gives a shock to the power of the Govt and contracts it (that power) and instead of <sup>the organization</sup> training the men in these industries as preliminary preparation for that (strike), wise men should do the foolish act of sending to jail, emotional persons of good intentions, in such worthless work, by taking out processions in the streets of Nagpur by making swords of a few mis-shapen bands of iron.

But such foolishness takes place only because of failure to understand the secret of the power of capitalism. Therefore those carrying on hereafter the movement for the freedom from serfdom of the people, should take care of following the proper direction of organizing the working people with the sentiment of class-war, as the natural culmination of capitalism in the world, so that a sinful deed of wasting time and energy, as in this arms (act) satyagraha, will not take place at their hands and the power of the people will not be unnecessarily wasted.

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Kranti 16th July 1927

Workers and Peasants Party.

Message to the Musalman and Hindu people.

(On the occasion of the last Muharram the local workers and peasants party had publicly addressed the following to the Musalman and Hindu people.)

As the Muharram holiday is being observed at present, the Workers and Peasants Party of Bombay is requesting the Indian people to preserve complete peace. It is necessary for people of all religions to refrain from falling victims to a movement of communal hatred and from cutting the necks of one another, and to behave with brotherly feelings. We have seen during the last three years communal riots taking place everywhere and in these riots it is the poor people only among the Musalman and the Hindu communities that fall victims. The mass movement of the people for swarajya is today receding into the background and everywhere is spreading the poison of communal and religious movement. The monopolistic class which by inciting the Hindu and the Musalman people against one another sucks the blood of all of them is giving encouragement to the communal movement. This movement is spoiling the way of the unity of the Hindu and the Musalman people and is cutting down the vigour necessary to acquire independence. The working class is today following the Moderates who are after fat salaries or seats in the Council (and) who are careful about the interests of their class, or the priests, or similar persons in the workers' movement.

The working class of no religion gains in any way from this communal movement. It is only the monopolistic persons that secure benefits for themselves by creating dissensions among the people. For the sake of the political and the economic uplift of the working class, they (the workers) ought to refrain from joining any such movement. If riots take place, if blood is shed, that is sure to be the blood of only the poor. It is really an unfortunate matter that when the poor people among both the Hindus and the Musalmans are being equally crushed under the pressure of the higher class, there should be mutual dissensions between them.

The lakhs of Indians who remain half-starved, if they want to follow the path of uplift, ought to increase the power of internal organization and must take resort to the way of independence. The lower class people among both the Hindu and the <sup>Communities</sup> Musalman ~~communities~~ are subject to similar sufferings. At such a time they must promote mutual brotherliness without being led away by people loving luxury who have made their pile. All the slaves in the world must go aggressively to acquire swarajya by joining under the auspices of (lit. umbrella of) the international union, regardless of caste distinctions.

Brothers, as the Workers and Peasants Party takes a lead of people of all religions that are being crushed, it has today to issue a warning that (you) should beware of such <sup>a</sup> harmful movement. The communal movement will weaken our strength of unity and will postpone independence and swarajya. At such a time, people destroying the unity among us must be answered by raising the banner of unity and, giving such an answer, (we) must fight till success is secured.

Kranti 23rd July, 1927.

Thoughts, treacherous to the people, of delusive patriotism

In the Shradhanand paper dated the 21st July appears as editorial a curious five column article on "Partition of Sindh and partition of Bengal." As this paper is conducted under the guidance of the Sawarkar brothers, one cannot help feeling surprise at this curious article. On seeing the whole <sup>trend</sup> policy of the article and especially the suggestion at the end, one begins to suspect whether these sawarkars are the ones among the revolutionaries of 1907 who stood up ardently prepared to sacrifice their lives in order to eradicate thoroughly the British political power from India, or whether these sawarkars of the Shradhanand are some ~~others~~ where those revolutionary sawarkars hating thoroughly the English power and where the sawarkars of today who are anxious that the British political power should abide in India? Perhaps people will not think even trustworthy such an idea about the sawarkars, therefore, it is necessary to give an extract from <sup>their</sup> his article.

"Falling perhaps even now a victim to that tendency on the part of the Government, not to allow as far as possible the organized strength of <sup>the</sup> Hindus to increase, which led Government to help the Muslims at the time of the Bengal partition, and in order to propitiate the Mussalman government will not hesitate to make an independent province of Sindh and to endanger the communal life of the Hindus there. But we warn the government in time that if it commits such a mistake, it will put (lit. push) into danger not only the interests of the Hindus but these of the British power also. Because in this matter the benefit of the loss of the Hindus and the government depend upon the same policy. The better organized, strong and powerful the Hindu people in Sindh, the more favourable will it be to the frontier politics of the English. Because we need not tell the English government that when in the near future some great world-war <sup>is</sup> the German great war again rises and when England gets involved in it and when it becomes impossible to send the European army for the protection of India, Afghanistan will not fail to invade India with the support of Russia. Afghanistan having no outlet

on the sea is generation after generation struggling to capture the port of Karachi. But if the government adopts such a policy alone as will maintain intact the power, the organization and dominance of the Hindus in Sindh, the Hindus in Sindh will be found to fight today also against any muslim aggression with the same determination and with more unity, with which determination their ancestors under the leadership of Dahir fought against the former musalman invasions."

On reading this extract, the readers will easily realize that at the time of the future danger to the British Empire, the savarkar brothers and those sharing their point of view will be supporters of the English power because the interests of the British Ruling power and of the savarkars and those sharing their view are identical. One cannot really help regretting this transformation in the ideas of the savarkars. The savarkars are coming forward to give a guarantee to the government that when in the near future a great world war arises owing to the covetousness of British capitalism, they will fight on the side of the Empire in order to maintain this capitalism and its Imperial power. Seeing this, one begins to suspect strongly whether the head of the savarkars is in its proper place. It is the time of adversity for the empire that is the time of (good) fortune for all dependent communities. Have the savarkars forgotten this great principle? That the savarkars should have so much fallen down as to regard that the time of adversity for the empire was a time of adversity for themselves is an attack of misfortune that can be hardly equalled. It is a great calamity that has come over this unfortunate community that men like the savarkars, well tested in service to the people, should so much identify themselves with the empire. It is a very great triumph of capitalism and of the statesmanship of its bureaucracy that (it) should have beguiled such great and respectable men, should have confounded their intellect, should have dragged them in its camp and should have assimilated them in its school. It is necessary that people should beware in time of this new incarnation of

The reference <sup>made</sup> appears to be ~~to~~ brothers' about to take place. ~~that~~ who helped the British against the Peshawar

But why blame the sawarkars? Their desire is good. They feel great solicitude for the well-being of the people. They will not hesitate even to sacrifice their lives for the benefit of the people. (Their) good will and the sentiment are very ardent but as the idea about popular benefit that has occurred to them is extremely wrong, these well-intentioned people are unknowingly acting like the handle of the axe which cuts down its own family! The wrong thing which was shown about the satyagrahis, when writing about the Nagpur satyagraha, the same wrong thing will take place at the hands of these sentimental people. These persons have taken into their head some half-crazy idea called the Hindu Samrathana (organisation) and are inclined to sacrifice their lives for its sake. And this their sacrifice is likely to place unnecessarily a bright light a wrong idea so as to mislead the people and to involve the ignorant community in adversity like sheep.

In accordance with the post-war economic policy<sup>it</sup> having an organised clique of capitalism as far as the empire is concerned, indigenous capitalism and its agent the bourgeois class in India, has been given a share by the reforms in the administration. Such a new policy of partnership has been brought into effect owing to the rapid progress of indigenous industry, owing to the opportunity offered by the Great War and the benefit gained by the empire. Owing to this the former condition has disappeared in which there was a conflict between British capitalism and indigenous capitalism, which made it possible for ~~extreme~~ movements like the swadeshi movement to rise. There is a quarrel going on in the indigenous class about the division of this share in partnership got by Indian capitalism. In reality, it concerns only a few people. Partnership in this profession of looting the country has been given by the reforms Act only to two per cent of the people in the form of franchise. This franchise is secured on (the strength of) the <sup>e</sup>cl<sup>a</sup>verness of exploiting people on capitalistic principle. Only he is considered fit to share in this partnership of political power, who by successfully looting the workers (and) peasants will pay Rs 23-25 as assessment or will show



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...ation will work according to the capitalist policy of  
robbing the working people. The only thing that will be consi-  
dered there is how this government can be legally and effi-  
ciently carried out. Though Hidayatullah be a muslim there  
is not such prospect of his deciding that the zamindars  
should not take rent from the hindu muslim tenant. Whether  
you be hindu or muslim, that distinction does not exist  
in the law of loot by capitalism. Jinnah, Rahimatullah, Sale-  
bhoy, Jata, Wadia, Narottam Morarji, Mukam Chand, Lalji, Narainji,  
Birla, Harkisanla, Mukherji, Bannerji, Goswami, Patel Desh-  
mukh, Naval, Patsachiva, Patwardhan, Ghinde, Gaikwad, Rhonsle,  
Givaswami, Iyer, Iyengar, Pantalm, whoever he be, his h/c is  
sure to act according to the principles of capitalism regard-  
ing looting and will frame laws and regulations favouring  
these principles. At the time of this loot, distinction will  
not at all be made that this (man) is a hindu, this a muslim,  
this a parsi, this a non-Brahmin, etc.

white crossed), advanced leaders are struggling for a divi-  
sion of this political power, with the desire of creating a  
condition in which they will get the maximum of benefit in  
social affairs. And for this task, satelites and followers  
are being gathered according to the convenience of every one.  
This competition (lit. rancour) has commenced in the form of  
groups such as hindu sanghatan (organization) and musliman  
sanghatan, Brahman (and) non-Brahman, Sikhas, Gujratis,  
Deccanis etc. Whether (Mr.) Jinnah should go into the Coun-  
cil or (Dr.) Munje? Whether Hidayatullah should be minister or  
Dadabhoy? Or a Deccani will be after all better as a minister?  
Such are these things. In reality whoever goes there, that  
does not at all concern the masses. The machinery of adminis-  
tration will work according to the capitalist policy of  
robbing the working people. The only thing that will be consi-  
dered there is how this ~~lootment~~ <sup>lootment</sup> can be legally and effi-  
ciently carried out. Though Hidayatullah be a muslim there  
is not such prospect of his deciding that the zamindars  
should not take rent from the hindu muslim tenant. Whether  
you be hindu or muslim, that distinction does not exist  
in the law of loot by capitalism. Jinnah, Rahimatullah, Sale-  
bhoy, Jata, Wadia, Narottam Morarji, Mukam Chand, Lalji, Narainji,  
Birla, Harkisanla, Mukherji, Bannerji, Goswami, Patel Desh-  
mukh, Naval, Patsachiva, Patwardhan, Ghinde, Gaikwad, Rhonsle,  
Givaswami, Iyer, Iyengar, Pantalm, whoever he be, his h/c is  
sure to act according to the principles of capitalism regard-  
ing looting and will frame laws and regulations favouring  
these principles. At the time of this loot, distinction will  
not at all be made that this (man) is a hindu, this a muslim,  
this a parsi, this a non-Brahmin, etc.

Really speaking the masses have no right at all in this  
political power. But in order that the bourgeois (lit. white-  
dressed) class should succeed in this individual competition  
between these persons with vested interests, it has, on its

own side begun to make noise by inciting the masses on questions like that of religions. And it is this that really inspires Hindu Sanghatan, Muslim Sanghatan, Sikh Sanghatan, non-Brahmin Sanghatan. In order that a few of their relatives should secure more of cream with the help of reserved places in the legislatures, the poor, harassed working masses are being incited by such delusive sentiments as that the Hindus want certain places, that the Muslims want certain places, that ~~there should be reserved seats for the~~ Marathas. But in this lies the selfishness of the bourgeois (lit. white-dressed) class, which is only two per cent of the population, which has secured a share in political power on (the strength of) the prosperity of (its) economic condition and it is these people that parade themselves as the leaders of the community.

This will prove that the reason why our leaders become inclined to support that Imperial Government, which is the chief (lit. Jewel in the crown) of all dacoits is that they and their bourgeois (lit. white-dressed), monopolistic class has got a partnership in capitalism. It must be remembered here that our leader class aims only at securing the right of looting the masses and not at arranging to stop the loot of the working people by making them independent. It is certain that the next great war is going to take place between the school of loot of the capitalistic system and the school of the autonomy of the working class. It is also equally certain that in that (war) England, the chief of thieves, will be the leader of the party of plunderers and Russia will be the leader of democracy. In the war against the workers that is to go on at present against the workers in China in order to preserve the right of plundering, Russia and England are opponents just like that. It is against the joint capitalistic system of England and India that the working people will have to fight in the democratic revolution that is to take place in India tomorrow. Though it is certain that at that time also the democracy will get help only from the friends, China, Russia, Turkey (and) Afghanistan and that

it is these (countries) that will be found to oppose the party of English capitalism in the Great War, signs are apparent that the sawarkar school will become an ally of capitalism, will get the working people intoxicated with the opium of religion and will do the wicked act of creating divisions in the popular party by various methods like this: this is a Hindu, this a musalman, this a Brahman. These religious sanghatan-walas are the 'Katus', treacherous to their own people, in tomorrow's movement for swarajya. These plunderers will join capitalism in order that their class should get into its hand the power in social affairs, and by mixing with them, will get a partnership in the political power here as their agents and will help capitalism against the working people seeking to snatch away this political power. Such is clearly implied in the article by the sawarkars. Is it not a sad irony of fate that while Russia will be the friend of the movement to awaken <sup>the</sup> working masses here and to make them self-dependent, i.e. self-evident, while patriots (like <sup>the</sup> sawarkars) will through love of one's class join the capitalistic party of England, which seeks to bury this idea of democracy and will perform the black deed of strangling their own brethren? (It is a matter of extreme disgrace that the intellect of the sawarkars have gone so much astray, they should be so deluded, they should be so blinded by the narrow idea of class-interest that instead of organizing the working people and advising the people that they should not help the bureaucracy at the time of the next war, that its activities should be stopped by a general strike, that they should take political power in their own hands and establish democracy, they (the sawarkars) are prattling without any hesitation that they will be the cause of pressing the people down in extreme servility by helping the imperial power to bury the friend of democracy.

Kranti 23rd July 1927.

Madras Congress Committee and the question of  
unemployment.

The Madras Congress Committee has taken in hand the question of unemployment there and the Congress Committee has decided to make all possible efforts to reduce unemployment. In India this unemployment is increasing day by day in the middle class and it is reducing, especially, the educated people to a condition of extreme penury. This has been also noted in the report on unemployment issued by the Labour Department of the Government of Bombay. In such conditions, if a body like the congress takes the question in hand and extends help to the harassed unemployed, only proper respect will be created for it. It is one usual complaint that the masses will have absolutely no love or interest for the congress so long as it pays no attention to the daily life of the people and will not take in hand a programme calculated to remove their sufferings. And today's congress of the bourgeoisie (lit. white-dressed), of upper classes like lawyers, doctors, etc., so long as it does not get the support of the people will never become a vigorous and revolutionary institution. The Madras Congress Committee by taking in hand the question of unemployment has introduced a necessary and proper practice. But what will our congress committee of Bombay do? The Bombay Provincial Committee had a few days back resolved to hold a conference of the unemployed but that resolution has not been given effect to. Cannot the Bombay Committee as yet give up the fondness for a paper resolution?

True Translation.

Kranti 23rd July 1927

A public request to the clerks in Bombay.

I, who am addressing the following to you, am myself like you a clerk getting beggarly wages and being robbed. I am fully confident that the request I am making will not go in vain, because in it I have only described the bitter misery of a clerk's life and have suggested ways for redress.

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Like thousands of my other brethren in Bombay, I too do dull, mechanical, strenuous (lit. till death) work in an office, for which I get a few rupees as pay and my own experience has made me realize how hard is our life and how much difficult it has become to somehow fill the belly in that much. Like thousands of others I have to take care of my family and when owing to a petty whim my boss (lit. 'sahab') threatens to dismiss me, I have experienced the pangs of the unbearable thought that I would in that case have to die on the public road through starvation, ~~xxxx~~ along with my family. I too have shed tears of grief when I could not through want of money make proper arrangements for the nursing, medical attendance, medicines and nourishing food for any beloved person of the family who might have fallen ill and I know that this my experience is just like the experience of thousands and lakhs of others in this vast city of Bombay.

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We clerks belong to the 'lower middle' class and are conscious of our particular social status. Naturally it becomes necessary for us to live in a way becoming that status, which has made the burden of our life still further unbearable.

Though we are today bearing all these terrible sufferings which ~~xxxx~~ destroy our stamina and make us prematurely old, still we do not think of organizing (ourselves) into a 'clerks' union'. We are paying no attention to the measures being successfully used by workers labouring in mills and factories to increase their own strength, and the reason is that we feel ashamed to call ourselves workers and to adopt the remedies of the working class.

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therefore we are a part, a class of the clerical class. For this reason we must bring about organization and must increase the strength of union like other working classes. In the present society there are only two classes. The first that of the owners, known as 'capitalists' and the second that of servants, of the slave class, of persons earning their livelihood by selling their labour to capitalists. To which of these two classes do we belong? We clerks, earning beggarly wages, being plundered, belong certainly to the second class that of slaves. We have no independent means of earning our living and naturally we go to the capitalist and say: "Sir, anyhow give(us) some service. It does not matter if it is on beggarly starving wages we sell ourselves and naturally the capitalists take undue advantage of it.

In this way we have been made articles of commerce in the bazar. Our price rises or goes down in accordance with the principle of demand and supply. Therefore when there is a large supply of clerks in the market, their price goes down and the rates of the services goes down. When our price is thus reduced or service is lost, our sufferings increase and our whole life becomes unbearable and full of grief.

How long are we going to bear this? How long are we going to see the starvation of our family, through lack of sufficient and nourishing food? How long are we going to see with shut eyes the sight of our children not getting milk, not getting the advantage of proper educational and social facilities, through the inhuman system of capitalism?

We must bring about organization and must take care that the life of ourselves and of our family is passed in happiness and contentment. We must by establishing some useful union gain the necessary strength to struggle against our owners who rob us.

Why should we be ashamed of joining some union? Several persons working in several offices and departments here, have established unions. Look at the unions, established by the clerks in the postal department, in the currency office, in the Port Trust in railways and in telegraph office. And consider how much advantage (and) strength these members have gained by the establish-

establishment of the union.

Let us by following the example of these our clerk brothers establish our own unions. Let us also take advantage of this their experience.

Why then make delay in establishing a powerful, organized union?

Let us be every today ready to struggle for our human rights.

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Kranti 31th July 1927

The Madras Workers' Conference

Mr. Joshi feels the burthen of the congress.

The first session of the Madras Provincial Labour Conference began under the presidentship of Mr. E. M. Joshi, the General Secretary of the Trade Union Congress. A considerably big collection of delegates and visitors was present. Mr. S. Shivararam, president of the Labour Union, while welcoming the delegates, said that it was not proper to introduce political differences of opinion in the labour movement and expressed the opinion that the Trade Union Movement was the real labourers' movement.

Mr. Joshi in his speech gave the history of the Trade Union movement in India and expressed the opinion that the <sup>agricultural</sup> wage-earners in cultivation in the province must be organized. He described the limits of the Trade Union work in the province and expressed disapproval about the scheme not to have relations with the central institution. He further said that it was satisfactory that the law had allowed outsiders to work in Trade Unions. Only 5 per cent of the Indian workers were literate and to say that they should organize themselves by themselves, was to say indirectly that they should have no unions. Most of the men working in the labour movement were actuated by a lefty motive and would withdraw from that movement when the labourers became competent enough to stand on their own legs.

Speaking about the Trade Union movement and politics he said that it was not proper to say that Trade Unions should have no connection with politics, because in the creed of the Trade Union Congress it had been clearly stated that that body consisted solely in order to ~~promote~~ promote social, economic and just political interests. He further said that the labourers before joining any political party should carefully see whether that party was prepared to help them if they were faced with danger. He said that judging by that criterion, there was not a single political party in the country which the labour move-



ment should join. There were many difficulties in the way of the labourers joining the congress also. As the congress issued mandates to its followers in the legislative bodies, there was the possibility of a conflict of duties.

After this speech, the work of the conference was postponed to the next day.

Madras, date 27th- The session of the Madras Provincial Labour Conference again commenced today in the Perambur Barrack. The president Mr. Joshi, finished today the speech left incomplete yesterday because of rain. He said that, as labour laws had been passed through the Imperial and the provincial legislatures, the Trade Union in India can do much political work. It was not possible to establish a vigorous labour party till the working class got the franchise. Therefore, so long as that right was not secured, there was no objection to cooperate with other parties on our conditions. One condition out of these conditions for cooperation should be that on questions of economic interest, liberty to vote according to opinion should be allowed.

While considering what kind of relation the Trade Union movement should have with such bodies as the Hindu Mahasabha, the Anjalis League, the Brahman (League) non-Brahman League etc., Mr. Joshi said that the workers would find after full consideration that the binding of economic condition was more effective than the binding of cast, religion or country. Giving in the end a warning that (the workers) should remain aloof from the communal movement, he said in the end that if there was any religion likely to be used by the workers that was the religion of Trade Union (ism). The main principle in their religion was that of <sup>was that of - substance, equality and fraternity</sup> the proletariat class was their caste and the human community was their nation.

After the president's speech the conference passed eighteen resolutions affecting the interests of the labourers. These included such subjects as amending the workers' Compensation Act, establishment of an arbitration committee, an inquiry into the condition of the labour class in the province, and a resolution was also passed recommending that the working class should use only swadeshi cloths and swadeshi articles.

Kranti 30th July 1927

What is the religion of the worker?

This week the meeting of the Madras Trade Union Congress took place at Perambur in Malabar under the presidentship of Mr. Narayan Rao Joshi. Mr. Giri, who had just returned from Geneva was also present at the meeting. A brief account of the resolutions passed in the meeting and the thought-worthy speech of Mr. Joshi have been given elsewhere. It is in every way right that all the resolutions passed were calculated to promote the interests of the proletariat and gave expression to those demands of that class which require to be immediately given effect to. It is intended at present to put down here our thoughts about the two or three points that Mr. Joshi has mentioned in his speech.

Mr. Joshi said that the attention of the Trade Union Congress must be drawn towards the interests and organization of the large peasant class spread all over the country. If this suggestion is to be given effect to, a net work of the branches of the Trade Union Congress must be spread all over the country, just like the Indian National Congress. The peasant and worker class must of course, get as much work done through the Indian National Congress also, as is possible. But Mr. Joshi does not approve of this policy. In his presidential speech, he has clearly expressed the opinion that the working class should not go into the Indian National Congress. The National Congress issues mandates to its followers by way of its resolutions and some one political party dominated that body. So it appears to be his view that the working class will not profit by going into the National Congress. But that is not correct. In the first place it is not so much true to say that the national congress issues mandates. The national congress does <sup>issue</sup> mandates, but no body obeys them. Only the members of that political party which issues the mandates, obey them. Followers of the other parties do not obey them, and yet they can stay in the congress. Not only that, but the congress itself invites to the congress people holding opinions different than its own. In order to take advantage of

the influence of the National Congress as the most influential political body in the country and as it is necessary to make it, when possible, a body of our opinion, that is, one considering the interests of 98 per cent of the people, we cannot say that the advice of Mr. Joshi that the peasant and working class should not go into the congress, is likely to be agreed to. It would have been a different thing if Mr. Joshi had been a gentleman advocating solely the purely economic uplift of the working and peasant class. But he places forward even political demands and declares that the Trade Union Congress also has full authority to take part in the political movement. How then can it hold <sup>ground</sup> to say that the worker and peasant class should not go into the congress to establish its dominance? The non-Brahmin party of Madras also had decided to abandon this narrow policy, <sup>and</sup> the possibility has been created of the Bombay non-Brahmans doing the same thing now. Many principles, policies and <sup>of that party are similar to the demands,</sup> demands, policies and principles of the worker and peasant party. Taking this into consideration we do not think that Mr. Joshi's opinion will be accepted or should be accepted.

The second important point of Mr. Joshi is that the workers should not have connection with any body like the Hindu Sabha or Muslim League carrying on communal or religious movements. The high-class and rich bourgeoisie (lit. white-dressed), only carry on the process of blood-sucking, of the poor and the low class people under the excuse of religion. The working class should not adopt the suicidal policy of joining it and should not fall victims to the crafty designs of zamindar-ism, capitalism and priest-ism (in both the Hindu and the Muslim religions). This advice of Mr. Joshi is such as should be wholly followed by the working class. When in the local seamen's union, the possibility had some time back arisen of factions based upon the foolish differences of Hindu, Musalman and Christian, then also Mr. Joshi had given a similar advice at that time and that advice bore fruit as the seamen themselves realised that the economic plight of all of them was similar. If anywhere else also, attempts are being made to create dissensions in the working class under

a religious or communal excuse, those people should remember the advice of Mr. Joshi. Whether the owner be a Gujar, a Parsi, a Brahmin, an European, or any one(else) he treats in the same way the worker of any cast or religion. That being the case, as Mr. Joshi said, the working class has no religion, caste or nationalism or anything(else). His religion is only one, that is, to increase the power of organization and <sup>of</sup> its strength to improve its(own) economic condition. We congratulate Mr. Joshi on placing forward this principle of class-conflict in such a clear and easy way.

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Aranti 13th AUGUST 1927.

A big procession of Mill-workers.

Attack on the workers' wages.

New, crafty scheme of the selfish owners.

SUPPORT the demands of the strikers.

(From our special strike correspondent)

The eyes of the mill-owners have in the end turned to the wages of the workers, which has created extreme discontent among the mill workers. The mill-owners have begun a new dodge of taking more work from the workers by getting more labour out of them without improving the machinery and of effecting a saving by cutting the rates of wages. After the report of the Tariff Board was issued, Sir Victor Sassoon had from England itself advertised a cut in the wages of the workers, but as that raised considerable clamour, the mill-owners lost courage and gave an assurance to the workers that they had no intention to cut down the wages.

New dodge of the owners.

Hardly two months had passed after this, when the mill owners have let out of their bag an altogether new plan of reducing the wages. Taking nominal shelter of the recommendations of the Tariff Board, but without making arrangements for using better machinery (raw) material and sizing material, cotton etc. according to its recommendations, efforts have been commenced to make the weavers work three looms instead of two. The present machinery and material is so bad that it makes it very laborious for the workers to work on two looms, so that Tariff Board has clearly expressed the opinion that arrangements must be made to lessen the labour by necessarily effecting reform in them (machinery and materials). But the mill-owners are ignoring this main main thing and they have made clear their intention of reducing their expenditure by making (the workers) work three looms instead of two, and by effecting a reduction in rates. The responsibility for bringing into effect this new plan has been undertaken by the Company of Sir Victor Sassoon himself and it is in accordance with it that it (the scheme) is being tried at the hands of the Company's officials

in its own mills. At first some men in the Manchester mill were given more looms to work like this, for which they were given full rates and, there<sup>fore</sup>, the workers received some more wages. In that hope some men worked these looms, seeing which, efforts were made to introduce it (the scheme) in the Apollo, Mayor Sassoon and David Mills.

How the men got deceived

In the beginning, in the name of giving a trial, clever men were selected and were given more looms. Since the 10th of July to the end of the month, this trial was begun in the Apollo mill and in the other mills. At first some men were given two pairs, that is, four looms to work. But as (they) could not cope with them, (the system of) three looms was begun in the Apollo mill on the 26th/27th. And then when the month was about to end, a plan was hit upon through the jobbers to introduce the scheme of three looms ~~given~~ the 1st, and to pay full wages for two looms and to divide the wages on the third loom half and half between the Company and the workers. What was settled at the time of this trial was that the workers would be given full wages for three looms. Still, owing to failure to improve the machinery and the material, men remained absent owing to the strain of the three looms, and changes had often to be made among those carrying on the trial. As the men began to fall ill, the workers do not approve of this work even on payment of full wages. When in addition to this the men afterwards saw the new (crafty) scheme of the Company to swallow the wages, they got disaffected and saying that they did not want the work of working three looms, all the weavers of the Apollo mill came out on the 1st. They were followed by the men in the Manchester mill who came out on the 4th.

Seeing this trouble the trial in the Mayor Sassoon and David (mills) <sup>got stopped and the working of his looms as before</sup> was begun there immediately. The owners made the plan of foisting three looms on the men of these two mills by dealing with them and breaking them down, while not allowing disturbance to take place in the other mill, and in this way to face the strike. Seeing this plan of the owners, the workers are making an attempt to make the men in the other mills alert by giving them a warning about this plan.

The dexterity of the Union.

The Girni Kamagar Maha Mandal has accepted the leadership of the strikers and by appointing a Strike Committee of Messrs K.N. Joglekar and D. B. Nayekar, has entrusted to them the work of making all arrangements for making the strike successful. Accordingly the committee having asked for redress of the grievances of the workers by writing a letter to the L. D. Sassoon company an interview took place for five hours on the 11th between Mr. Stone, the Superintendent of the Company and Messrs Joglekar, Nayekar, Alve and four other strikers.

What took place in the interview?

In the interview Mr. Stone, while placing forward the company's side said: "At present, owing to competition from Japan the mill industry is threatened with ruin. So we are asking Government to levy protective duties, but government does not listen, so we are compelled to reduce expenditure. Accordingly, we have planned to reduce the expenditure by making the (men) work three looms instead of two, according to the recommendations of the Tariff Board, and by reducing rates for the work as a whole. Though rates be reduced by working on three looms, the worker will get higher actual wages than on two looms; so on the whole the workers stand only to gain by that. In England, Japan, America, every man works four, six, fourteen looms. In Japan even women work three looms. So our Marathas will be easily able to cope with the work and there is no ground for the fear about illness etc. In the same way, it is necessary to reduce the rates also, otherwise we will have to stop the mills in the present competition and the mill industry will completely fall (to the ground). Therefore the workers should make self-sacrifice to help us to maintain this industry and to face Japan. If you do not listen today to what we say we will have no alternative but to stop the mills and as today cotton <sup>commands</sup> a better price than working on two looms, we shall sell off cotton and make profit and then the workers will be put to much trouble" Mr. Joglekar soundly rated Mr. Stone <sup>back</sup> after hearing this his speech which was (characterised) by a kind of independence and obstinacy.

What the workers had to say?

Mr. Joglekar said: "Admitted that the mill industry is today in a bad condition. But it is the duty of those who exercise authority over the mills to make proper improvements in them. Even today the workers get low wages. The owners should not come out with the lakhs and crores which they get as profit in war time, by squeezing the workers up till today. It is extremely cruel to ask the poor workers drudging while starving, to pinch their bellies and make self-sacrifice in order to face Japan. Similarly as your material and machinery are out of date, men get broken (lit. their stitches get loosened) today, even while working on two looms. It is not then in keeping with humanity that the company should play the dodge of foisting upon them one more loom (thus) <sup>and</sup> reduce men and effecting a saving in wages and reduce the rates. Similarly while you justify the working of three looms in the name of the Tariff Board, what about the recommendation made by the Tariff Board about the same time about improvement in machinery and in cotton and about using better weft and sizing material?

We too are persons gifted with intellect.

"You ask that as even the Japanese women work three looms are the Karathas more impotent than women? But bring improved machinery like Japan (and) America. Give good long-stapled cotton and then our Karatha weavers will show that they can work not only three or four looms but even ten or fifteen. It is not in the least that we workers are beasts of burden and other people are intelligent men. We too possess intellect. But is it <sup>you</sup> yourselves who want to make us drudge on broken material, without using improved machinery and want moreover to pocket any profits you like. How can that happen? You say that the industries will be put a stop to. You need have absolutely no fear of that kind. If you do not improve, some others will purchase the mills and work them. English capital will purchase the mills. At the most you will not get profit. Therefore, what reason is there that the starving labourer should for that fill more thorns in his belly? If you say that the men will not tire out by working on even these



three old-fashioned looms, why do you not agree to provide 'sick insurance' for them?

These hiding tactics are not required.

You say that the wages are not to be cut down. Then, when the average rate of goods produced by working three looms, comes to ₹72 per man why is the company thus tempted to give him ₹60 instead and to swallow ₹12 per man for itself? Today you show the bait that the men will get ₹48 to ₹50 but in that you calculate at such a low rate that 60 rupees are given instead of 72. And when one-third of the weavers become unemployed, you yourselves will say tomorrow that you are getting any number of men you want and (thus) you will try to reduce the wages (lit. rates) further, so that in the end three looms will be foisted upon the workers and again you will bring the wages gradually down to ₹48/50. Do you think that we do not understand this your dodge? Then why should we for the sake of a rupee or two imperil the livelihood of thousands of our brethren and fill your houses (with wealth)? If you want to work three looms, bring new machines like that, construct a new shade and increase the work if you like without effecting a reduction in today's full wages. If you make such improvements the men will, without any hindrance, work three (or) four looms. But cease talking of cutting down the rates while working three looms of the present pattern." After there was a talk of this character Stone Sahab said: "Then consider what you like". Thereafter the members of the deputation examined along with Stone Sahab the attendance sheet for days when the three looms (system) was being tried. It shows that the men are right in saying that (they) cannot cope with three looms. Therefore, Mr. Joglekar said: "There is no doubt that the men, being tempted by ₹12 will fall ill. Then, they will have to remain absent for one <sup>week</sup> and will have in addition to spend on medicine. If then you get money on the strength of the lives of the men why should not the company pay them full wages during illness and pay for their medicine?" Stone Sahab, of course, thought that this will mean a new trouble for him, so without deciding anything the men returned.

13/8/27

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Subsequent of the strike.

The workers as well as the Girni Kamagar Mahamandal and the Strike Committee are determined to continue the strike determinedly till their demands are fulfilled and Messrs. Joglekar and Kayekar are making all possible efforts in every order to secure for it the sympathy and help of all worker-brothers. Every day in the morning and in the evening the strikers gather together and all the workers are being put on their guard by informing them about the reduction in wages by means of hand-bills and meetings. The workers in the Apollo and in the Manchester mills are fighting today against the reduction in wages and the strike committee has given a warning to all that if those workers fail in that fight the attack will come to be directed against all the workers. Therefore, all the workers should show sympathy towards the strikers and workers in every mill should pass resolutions to that effect. The strike committee has sent handbill to that effect to all the mills.

Today's big procession.

Similarly in order to awaken all the workers, the Girni Kamagar Mahamandal has decided to take out a big procession today of the strikers and other worker-brothers. All the workers should without fail participate in that. Similarly all workers should come forward to offer even monetary help to their strikers-brothers through the Girni Kamagar Mahamandal, if it becomes necessary in order to maintain the strike. The strike committee and the Girni Kamagar Mahamandal have decided even to do picketing in order to maintain the strike, if occasion demands it.

The demands of the strikers in brief.

1. We cannot work three looms of the present (pattern)
2. We are not prepared to effect a reduction in wages by reducing the rates.
3. We are not prepared to get dismissed one-third of the weavers
4. Arrangements must be made for sickness insurance and we must get full wages during sickness and an allowance for medical charges
5. Good cotton should be used according to the recommendations
6. We poor people are not prepared to starve ourselves in order to make improvements in the mills.

of the Tariff Board, so that we shall not be liable to be blamed  
in that cause as at present.

6. The mill owners should produce their war gains and bring  
new machinery, should erect new sheds and without reducing the  
men should introduce the new system of three, four or six looms.  
Similarly the rate for work also must not be reduced in the least

7. In order to form a union of the mill-workers the men of the  
Union should be given full freedom to help the men by coming into  
the mills and to form a union.

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Kranti 20th August 1927

Ruinous confusion in the congress

really used.

the bourgeois (lit. white-dressed) leader  
As the Madras congress is approaching, grandees in the congress are busy struggling to maintain their respective leadership and, thinking, how to eradicate that small but staunch party of the youths, the new vigorous and revolutionary party which is seeking to raise its head in the congress. Some are gradually telling their friends the news brought from England while taking meals (there), while some are engrossed in travelling from Delhi to Simla, from Simla to Mysore and Bombay. Some are feeling the necessity of going to England, while some have begun to study the suggestions to be made in the evidence to be given before the forthcoming Royal Commission, the (sad) tales to be told about diarchy. Some have even begun to prepare a swarajya constitution for placing it before this commission and some have even from now begun to proclaim that this constitution will be accepted by this commission. It appears that only the responsib<sup>le</sup>ts, only people of limited political aspirations, will place their difficulties before the commission and will take up only to the moderate, limited Mantra asking that these (difficulties) should be removed and some more reforms should be granted and (they) will say somewhat loudly that they should be given particular powers (as) they are not extremists, are not (persons) of unlimited political policy, but if they are pacified with a few crumbs, they too will be ready for a compromise and in the end this Royal Commission will return home safely after finishing its work. In short at the bottom of all this agitation, this confusion and this big noise about the welfare of the country, created by the two per cent bourgeoisie (lit. white-dressed class) under pretence of keeping on its head the care for the whole of the country, is the only main object of how the interests of their (own) class can be protected. This theorem must be understood by the hard-labouring Indian workers-peasants.

Kranti 20th August 1927

Ruinous confusion in the Congress

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As the Madras Congress is approaching, the bourgeois (lit. white-dressed) leader and his cronies in the Congress are busy struggling to maintain their respective leadership and thinking how to eradicate that small but staunch party of the youths, the new vigorous and revolutionary party which is seeking to raise its head in the Congress. Some are gradually telling their friends the news brought from England while taking meals (there), while some are engrossed in travelling from Delhi to Simla, from Simla to Mysore and Bombay. Some are feeling the necessity of going to England, while some have begun to study the suggestions to be made in the evidence to be given before the forthcoming Royal Commission, the (sad) tales to be told about diarchy. Some have even begun to prepare a swarajya constitution for placing it before this commission and some have even from now begun to proclaim that this constitution will be accepted by this commission. It appears that only the respondents, only people of limited political aspirations, will place their difficulties before the commission and will take up only to the moderate, limited Mantra asking that these (difficulties) should be removed and some more reforms should be granted and (they) will say somewhat loudly that they should be given particular powers (as) they are not extremists, are not (persons) of unlimited political policy, but if they are pacified with a few crumbs, they too will be ready for a compromise and in the end this Royal Commission will return home safely after finishing its work. In short at the bottom of all this agitation, this confusion and this big noise about the welfare of the country, created by the two per cent bourgeoisie (lit. white-dressed class) under pretence of keeping on its head the care for the whole of the country, is the only main object of how the interests of their (own) class can be protected. This theorem must be understood by the hard-labouring Indian workers-peasants.

As it will not be at all difficult to unravel the mixed-up threads of the political movement as a whole and of every movement in the country once this crucial point is understood, we have at the very beginning unrevelled, this main part of the bourgeois movement before the peasants and the workers and even if an attempt is made to cover that ugly part by various right shams like patriotism, popular service, love of one's country, boycott, opposition to Councils, Swarajya, acquisition of authority, non-cooperation, satyagrah etc., that ugly and sore part will never fail to be noticed by the 93 per cent of the population if use is made of the sharp rays of the above described crux of the matter. Therefore remembering this main point (its defect) (and) considering minutely the whole political moves being carried on by the congress leaders, let us consider how far the interests of the workers-peasants party stand to gain or loose by that.

It is necessary for us to make a beginning first from the departure to England of Patel Sahab. Though when going to England this Honourable Sahab advertised loudly that he was going in order to study the parliamentary system, yet we still do not feel that there is any truth in that. We had expected that that his pilgrimage to London had some political object in it, and seeing the suspicious <sup>burning</sup> ~~blinking~~ of optimism <sup>with</sup> ~~in~~ reference to the Royal Commission ~~is~~ raised by Mr. Patel ~~with~~ after his return from England we are all the more confirmed <sup>in</sup> our suspicion. The Hon'ble Mr. Patel is a prominent gentleman in congress politics, perhaps he was ~~sent~~ <sup>sent</sup> for privately by British Imperialist politicians with the one selfish object that the plan about the Royal Commission should be carried out, if possible by making use of Mr. Patel himself! We can say (that is) not so and Mr. Patel seems to have been fascinated also by the Mohri ornament of the Commission. As soon as Mr. Patel came, Pandit Motilal must have seen him and must have naturally asked the question "well, friend, what news have you brought?" and ~~he~~ <sup>he</sup> hearing this news of his the Panditji went running to Bangalore to see Gandhi and thereafter Panditji decides to go to England.

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The only meaning of all this is that the Bourgeois (ill, white-dressed) class is prepared to make a compromise with the British political power, for securing some more political concessions, forgetting internal difference of opinion for a moment, it is not very difficult to guess from this that the Panditji's visit to England, <sup>been planned solely to carry on</sup> must have negotiations about this compromise. Leaving at this point, this scene in the drama being enacted on the congress stage let us turn a little to Madras.

Though the vigorous talk being carried on some time back with Poona by Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar, the President of the congress, and his friends, about the policy of responsive cooperation, might have been considerably checked by the new policy of the Justice party, (as seen) at Coimbatore and though his friends like Mr. Satyamurti and others have decided outwardly to give support to the vote of no-confidence in ministers, still it is not very hard to know that these people going about with a tiger's skin on, are only sheep. This gentleman, sitting quietly at Madras under the excuse of ill health, is thinking day and night of the policy of responsive cooperation and of how to remove from his way the thorns of the rebellious revolutionaries in the Madras Congress and it is only because he has as yet found no convenient way to do this, that he is pursuing the evasive tactics of postponing the meeting of the All India Congress Committee and this has been fully realised by the new party of the young (left wingers) which is just raising its head in the congress and we hope that this new party will not fail to try in its own way to baffle this dodge. As if to add to this confusion, Dr. Ansari, the 90 per cent elected president of the Madras congress, has issued a public statement and though it has been declared in it that if he becomes the president of the congress he would support the policy of the movement of full non-cooperation and Civil Disobedience still this his declaration will prove vain and meaningless in the absence of the organised preparation of the people that is required for carrying on the movement of full non-cooperation, an or of Satyagraha. The Doctor will be deceived if he be under the impression that peop

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will gather vigorously under the flag(lit. the umbrella) of the congress only by such glaring(lit. extremely red) advertisement <sup>and</sup> it is not surprising if then, even he perhaps gets disappointed and becomes ready for compromise like others of his 'compromising' friends. Those who accept the policy of responsive cooperation today, even they, only two to four years back, were vigorous <sup>propagandists</sup> of such 'wordy rebelliousness;' but in order to make successful such a movement of the rising up of the people, they have to be first organized and it is necessary to base this programme of organization on the griev<sup>ances</sup> of the daily distress of the people without which they do not understand the meaning of your movement. Our Indian political leaders do not seem to have understood this great secret and if perhaps they have understood it, at least this much is true that no practical effort of that kind has been made by them, because of their being mesmerized by the selfish view of class interests.

In this way the dodge of the clique of the bourgeois leaders in the congress is to bring the congress politic<sup>al</sup>, from the revolutionary way, (which) though thorny and hard, yet leads to independence, to the royal way of the parliamentary system, of Councils, Royal Commissions etc. And, if that(dodge) succeeds, the British Imperial power is planning to postpone its today's death to to-morrow by perhaps deciding to give them so much Jahagir as will advance the interests of that class. To stop such a rascally treacherous, ruinous confusion is now ~~wholly~~ wholly in the hands of the scattered youths in the congress and we request them that they should organize their strength and should, with minor change take in hand the programme placed before the congress by the Workers'-Peasants' Party. As this programme has been drawn up only after thinking of the daily hard struggle(lit. an affair involving a scuffle) of the peasant and worker class, the largest class in the country, (and) of such question as to how they can be raised from that(struggle), they(peasants and workers) will immediately approve of it, and they will of their own accord join the congress flag(lit. umbrella). A movement like Civil Disob<sup>edience</sup>.

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is possible only if the strength of the congress increased in this way, and if such an organized movement is created, the death of the British Imperial power and the sun-rise of Indian independence will take place at the same moment.

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Kranti 27th August 1927.

Mill Workers' Strike

The mill-workers in the Apple and the Manchester mills have declared a strike against the new dodge to cut down wages played by the owners under the guise of the three looms (system). That (strike) continues yet though 27 days have passed. The strikers have not taken wages, etc and it is their firm determination to maintain the strike until their demands are granted. The Girni Kamgar Kaba Mandal is holding meetings after meetings all over the city; meetings of five to seven thousand persons are being held at various places and it appears that other mill workers will not fail to come very soon to the help of the strikers. All have given promises that the other mill workers will help the strikers by (getting them appointed in temporary) vacancies and to join the strike as soon as the Girni Kamgar Kaba Mandal declares it. The G. D. Sassoon Company is making strenuous efforts to create disunity among the strikers and vigorous effort is being made to draw the ignorant workers again back to work on the strength of bribery and by threats of keeping the mills permanently closed. But, Messrs. Joglekar and Mayekar, the leaders of the strikers, as also Mr. Alve, the President of the Mahamandal, are making strenuous efforts to maintain the unity of the workers and all the efforts of the mill-owners are proving fruitless. There has not appeared the least disunity among the strikers up till now. On the other hand clear signs are apparent of all the working people having being awakened owing to the efforts being made <sup>night</sup> night and day by the leaders of the strikers during these twenty-five days. Seeing that the Sassoon Company was playing the dodge of crushing the strikers in these two mills on the strength of their other mills, the leaders of the strikers have given a clear warning to the other workers that they will have to come to the help of the strikers and at almost all places the workers have lent them support. Since the last two or three days the effects of the agitation by the Mahamandal have been apparent and agitation has begun among the people in every mill about going on strike. The owners have

begun to feel afraid of this and at various places the Police bundobust has been increased. Special Police guard has been placed at mill doors. A thick rumour has spread every where that Messrs. Joglekar and Mayekar, the leaders of the strikers, are going to be arrested and if that happens there is a possibility of considerable commotion arising among the people. The strikers are almost on the point of extremism. Up till now they have been peaceful owing to the efforts of the leaders, but it does not appear that that state of things will last for many days. The possibility has become apparent of some trouble arising if help is not received in a day or two, <sup>from</sup> of the other mill workers as promised (by them) to the strike leaders. It is understood that in order to lead them by the peaceful, lawful way Messrs Mayekar and Joglekar have announced in Thursday's meeting that they would themselves go for picketing to the other mills along with the strikers. Signs are therefore clearly apparent that the strike of all the mills cannot but take place in a day or two. The workers really aim at the The E. D. Sassoon Company and the strike-committee has decided to confine the strike in the beginning only to the mills of the Sassoon Company. There is considerable prospect of the strike having spread probably before this news comes out in print.

True Translation.

(Below portion translated "They go abegging before the English.")

Therefore the workers should now pay attention to this thing also. The owners and the landlords have captured (Lit. have eaten up) this National Congress and are making efforts that its movement for real independence, for the welfare of the workers may not be started and have become ready in the Lucknow meeting to beg for crumbs of Swaraj from the English.

(Below portion translated "Only one man Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru ----- for capitalising with the English.")

But none listened to what Pandit Jawaharlal said. How can these capitalist patriots appreciate what the Workers' and Peasants' Party says?

The Bombay (Provincial) Congress (Committee) is in the hands of this very capitalist clique. If the leaders of workers go to ask for help for strike, these men defeat the Workers' Party by forming their (own) majority by keeping their underlings present. Last time the Workers' Party could get Rs. 2000/- from the Congress when, in order to get them, the Workers' Party took its members there, kept them present and formed its majority.

(Below portion translated "The Congress is helping the Tata and (other) owners".)

These men go to far away countries and say in the name of the Congress that the workers in India are quite contented and that they love the Indian capitalists. These men make laws in the name of the Congress and burden us with more taxes. These Congressmen get laws passed and granted crores (Lit. two, two crores) of rupees from the treasury for the mill-owners (and) for the Tata (Iron) works every year. But they remain absent when the time comes for enacting laws for the welfare of the workers.

Therefore all workers must capture this Bombay (Provincial) Congress (Committee) this year. Members for this year must be enlisted before the 20th instant. Election of new office bearers will take place after two months. Workers should fill it by electing their (Union) officials to it. One can become a member

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(Below portion translated "The Congress is helping the Tatas and (other) owners".)

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Therefore all workers must capture this Bombay (Provincial) Congress (Committee) this year. Members for this year must be enlisted before the 23rd instant. Election of new office bearers will take place after two months. Workers should fill it by electing their (Union) officials to it. One can become a member

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on payment of As. 4 once a year. The Workers' Party is making all the arrangements in this matter on behalf of the workers. Join it and capture this den of capitalists going on in the name of the country. And then declare that the owners' Congress speaking in the name of the country has now become of the workers. Ownerism has now reached its end.

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Kranti 3rd September 1927.

The workers' demands had to be accepted

May the Girni Kamgar Mahanandal be victorious!

In the Apollo mill of E. D. Sassoon, the workers had up till now to work on two looms. The company had decided to bring into effect a scheme that the workers should work three looms in the same pay, instead of two. But the workers repudiated the scheme in time and had begun a strike since the last four weeks. If the workers had accepted this three looms scheme, it would have injured all of them in the following three ways:

1. The workers would have got less wages even after doing more work,

2. There was a possibility of the increase of unemployment among the workers and (3) The scheme would have had an exceedingly harmful effect on their health also. The workers had, therefore, to resort to a strike in order to protect their interests.

Attempts at a compromise

While the strike was going on, several efforts were made to bring about a compromise between the workers and the mill-owners. But as the owners' class was in its usual haughtiness and the managers were hoping in vain that the workers would come to their senses without any trouble, once they began to starve, all efforts at compromise proved unsuccessful.

Picketing movement

In the meanwhile, seeing that the owners and the managers did not come to their senses merely by stopping work, the strikers' Committee started the picketing movement and during the last four or five days, the leaders of the strikers and the workers who had joined the strike began peaceful picketing at the David mill, which proved so effective that the Police had to pay attention to the matter and the owners also were impressed by it in the proper way alone. In case that much picketing did not prove effective in any way the strike-committee had begun quite vigorous preparations to picket more mills and there was, therefore, considerable possibility of perhaps a general strike of Bombay workers taking place.



Had to yield at last.

Either through the intervention of the Police or because the mill-owners lost courage, on Wednesday morning a notice was posted on the mill-door that the three looms system had been cancelled and that the workers should come to work.

Confidence in leaders

On Thursday morning the strikers collected as usual before the mill. The agents of the managers were in various ways enticing the workers to go to work. The Police present before the mill were also requesting the workers to go to work. But the strikers gave them a clear reply that they would not go to work till ordered by the Strike Committee.

The demand of the Committee

The Committee of the strikers placed the following three chief demands before the owners:-

1. That the three looms system should be abolished.
2. That the managers should give an undertaking that the workers joining the strike, will not be dismissed.
- and 3. That an assurance should be given that workers unwilling to work on three looms will not be dismissed.

The owners at first hesitated to publicly accept the above demands, but seeing the unity and the strength of the workers, they posted in the end on the mill-door a notice that the above three conditions had been accepted.

Discipline of the Workers.

The discipline, the unity, the tenacity, the mental courage shown by the workers in this strike - all these qualities were praise-worthy. Though picketing was carried on for the last five days, rioting did not take place in a single instance, nor did they allow their determination to waver in the least. There is no objection to say that the strike going on for these four weeks became successful only because of their self-confidence,

firmer unity (and) tenacity. The leadership of this strike was vested in the Girni Kamagar Mahamandal. We congratulate the conductors of the strike and the Girni Kamagar Mahamandal on the Mandal conducting this strike successfully. May the workers be ever victorious!

Working Committee of the Mahamandal, Girni Kamagar Mahamandal, Gandhinagar, Gandhinagar, Gandhinagar.

Kranti, dated 3rd September 1927

The Strike became successful.

We congratulate the workers just and the Girni Kamagar Mahamandal next of making the owners of the Apollo mill accept their demands. Many Unions came into existence during strikes and then break up or get slack. The strength which the Mahamandal has acquired in this strike should be expended by it in increasing further the power of union. In this matter not only the Mahamandal but Unions of all kinds ought to work with attention towards two things chiefly :-

(1) The continuous conflict or war between the owner and working classes, this conflict and war continues always for twenty-four hours, even if there be a strike or not. While continuing this conflict the workers should try gradually to place before themselves the point of view that in the end all economic and political power will go in the hands of the (intellectual and manual) workers, (and) education should be given from that point of view.

*sketch in original*

(2) The leadership should vest in the workers themselves and careful watch should be kept as regards honesty in money matters. In the movement of the bourgeoisie (lit. white dressed) much money comes, but at the same time there are men to make inquiries that is not the case with the workers. The poor workers can on the strength of their large number raise thousands of rupees by putting together pies. But they have not yet got the knowledge of making inquiries about its disbursement. But once their mind gets a shock they will not again touch the Union even with a pair of tongs. That was what happened five years back in the matter of the ~~xx~~ Tramway Union, <sup>(and) the</sup> Victoria (Drivers' Union).

We have no doubt about the leadership of the G. K. Mahamandal. But we are pointing out in time this pit covered with green grass in the workers' movement or in any (other) movement.

The owners have accepted the demands, but seeing even the object in that acceptance, the Mahamandal should from now begin further work. Besides the tenacity of the workers, there is one more reason why the strike ended. It is that if the machinery remains idle in the rainy season it rusts and becomes worthless.

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The owners of the Apelle mill were from the inside threatened by this ghost of rusting and from the outside the workers showed their strength. (Finding himself) within these two blades of the scissors the owners lost. But perhaps all the owners might, after Diwali and after the troubled question of import duties in unitedly make an attack. <sup>The Assembly is ended;</sup> The previous preparation for it should be commenced even from now.

True Translation.



Kranti 10th September 1927

Foolishness of G.I.P. officials.

Attempt to make (the workers) lose confidence in the  
Union.

The working people know that there is a big Union of the workers working in the G.I.P. Railway. With the secret motive of making (the workers) lose confidence in this Union, the officials of the Company have decided to create a new rival institution called the "Staff Council", in order to create difficulties for the Union. The officials decided on the strength of the authority in their hand to hold an election for that 'Council' and, accordingly, even in spite of intimidation only 200 out of the 6000 men took part in the election, because the workers know that it is the Union that is the institution that will protect their interests! And while they have such a Union, an Union of nearly 4000 men, what necessity is there for them of this make-believe toy of the officials? As the workers in the workshop did not take part in this election, it is evident that they have got confidence in the Union and not in the "Staff Council." We warn the officials that they should not by such base means make efforts to break up the Union movement and we affectionately request the workers that they should increase the membership of their Union.

True Translation.

Eranti dated 24th September 1927

Bombay Municipal Workers' Union

The Commissioner recognizes the Union.

The local Municipal Workers' Union has been registered under the new Trade Union Act of 1926 and it has got a Registration Number.

Now as the Commissioner Sahib has recognized the Union, it has become considerably easy to remove the grievances of the workers. There is now no objection whatsoever for any municipal worker to be a member of the Union. The office of the Union is in Improvement Trust Chawl No. 1 Ferass Road. On the next 1st it is going to be removed to chawl No. 17.

True Translation.

Kranti 1st October 1927

Russia and communists.

A deputation of three Americans, Prof. Douglas, Prof. Professor Davis and Mr. Coyl had gone to observe how the condition of Russia was from the commercial point of view. Professor Douglas has expressed the opinion that in no other country will improvement in the economic condition of the workers be found to have taken place so rapidly as has been brought about in Russia (lit. there) by the Bolsheviki after subverting Gyardoni. Mr. Coyl who is the editor of the "Railwaymen's Journal," says that in Russia political power is at present in the hands of the labour class. And Professor Davis says that the Soviet Government has accomplished an unprecedented thing by resuscitating the economic condition of their country.

Grand anniversary in Russia.

On the 31st October next is going to be celebrated the tenth anniversary of the Russian Revolution. For this auspicious occasion, '(The) society for the promotion of cultural relations between Russia and foreign countries,' an institution founded in order to reestablish and promote cultural contact between Russia and other countries, has invited some leaders from India. These include the names of Mr. Subas Chandra Bose, Jitendra Mohan Sen Gupta, Ramanand Chatterji, editor of the Modern Review, Syed Abdulla Brelvi, editor of the Bombay Chronicle and Anasuya Sen. In order that the economic progress of Russia should proceed more rapidly, preparations are going on for opening on this occasion, new Power Stations, Railway Lines and health-homes for the work-







Kranti 8th October 1927

A WARNING

We have nothing to do with the war of British capitalism.

The fate of the British Imperialists is so hard, that no sooner were they free after destroying one big enemy of theirs, than one more strong, new, Marx enemy came to birth. If a minute observation is made of the movements of British statesmen during the last ten years, of their discussions, their meetings, their conferences, their speeches on various important occasions, it will be seen that the whole of their strength and intellect is apparently engrossed in the question and in the efforts of getting the question, as to how this new enemy can be vanquished. During the last ten years they tried their best to win over to their side different European nations, desirous of spreading their Empire, but the British statesmen did not succeed in that, as all the nations had got tired because of the last Great War, as their economic strength and man power was spent in the war beyond their capacity, as the exhaustion of the last Great War and the destruction of the economic and man power had not yet been made up, similarly as there was mutual opposition between the interests of these European nations, and as the wrong idea of the masses in every country of destroying themselves by (unnecessarily) joining in war for the sake of the ambition of the capitalists in their country, had disappeared owing to the wisdom taught by the last war. This enemy however is getting stronger and stronger day by day. British statesmen are seriously doubting how far even the Dominions can help them on this occasion. They therefore place the whole reliance now on the economic and man power of India and British statesmen are trying to utilize it fully.

All the wars in which British Imperialism participated during the last hundred years or all the wars that it caused and won in the end, all those wars were fought by British Imperialism on the economic help given and the supply of soldiers made by the Indian people. The three Afghan wars, the war in with the Boers, the Boxer rebellion in China, the two Burmese wars, and the last great European war, all these wars could be fought by the

the British only on the strength of the Indian army and the money created by the labour of the Indian people. It was <sup>Indian</sup> national treasure, and Indian soldiers that were used to extend the British Imperial Power in Turkey, Egypt, Persia, Africa, Mesopotamia, Palestine, Nepal and Tibet. It was with (the help of) the Indian soldiers that Hongkong was snatched from China and it was the Indian army that was of use to them in foisting opium upon the Chinese. And now that the Chinese are making efforts to throw away the yoke of the British Imperial power, it is by spilling Indian blood, and by spending as much money as they like of the Indian people that those efforts are being frustrated. Several times, though against the wishes of the Indian people, the Indian nation had to stand in the way of the independence of other nations. The British Empire has attained its present high status only because it could use anywhere and in any way the army recruited from the Indian people and the money earned by (lit. of) the labour of the Indian people, which is spent like water on war materials. (It is therefore) that the British statesmen are in a position to put on airs as they like and British statesmen can give threats to every nation considered as standing in the way of the interests of British capitalism.

The greatest mistake made by our Indian leaders at the time of the last Great War was that trusting in the sweet (false) promises of British statesmen, they advised the people to help the British Govt with money and men at the time of the greatest difficulty facing that (Govt) during the last hundred years. It is indeed a great misfortune that Lokamanya Tilak's great political skill proved affete at that time and the wrong idea occurred to Gandhi, the advocate of Satyagraha, of advising that help should be given to commit Hindus, to the terrible destruction of men in war.

Why should the Indian people, by pinching their belly, by hearing the cries of their children and by starving, spend the money earned by the sweat of their brow in the quarrel whether

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British capitalists should capture all the markets in the world or whether the German merchants should graze there to their heart's content? Why should they spend their blood? Have the wages of the Indian labourers increased because the British capitalists won success? Has their poverty been reduced in the least? Are not their working hours the same as before? Have they begun to get sufficient food and clothing required for the protection of their lives? Has the crowding and dirt in their living places been reduced? Has their health improved? Have the medicinal facilities for them been increased? Have their children begun to get education? Has the insult and persecution at the hands of the owners stopped? Which of these things have taken place? And if British capitalists do not do these things for them, why should they feel joy or grief if the products of some others, instead of those of the British, because, because available in the market? And why should they make such a big self-sacrifice for British capitalists? Capitalists everywhere are the same. It is not that British Capitalist, are more merciful, liberal or polite. They too are as merciless miserly and haughty as German Capitalists. What have the poor people to do with their mutual quarrels? They quarrelled the other day but to-morrow they will not fail to join hands and exploit the poor.

After the Great War was over the Parliament of British capitalists after taking courage in both hands gave the Indians the first instalment of Swarajya. What did the poor, whose brethren sacrificed their lives in the war and who give money earned by their labour while pinching their own bellies, get in this instalment? That compulsory primary education for which the late Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale had begun efforts twenty years back that too has not as yet become possible. Money can be had for opening an exceedingly expensive railway line in the mountainous tract on the North-West Frontier or to pour into the Arabian sea but scarcity of money comes in the way merely of the education of the poor.

Unfortunately at the time of the last Great War, we had not become wise. But at least now we must in time become cautious learning a lesson from the Great War. At the time of this future Great War the British statesmen will try various efforts of deceiving us by sweet (false) promises, but people ought not to fall victims to these efforts. Our Indian capitalists and the national leaders who protect the interests of those capitalists will not fail on this occasion also to help the British capitalists as they did during the last war. Because, British Capitalists will show them the bait of some new concessions in trade and of some more posts in the Govt. administration and they will fall victims to the bait. But we must remember one important thing. It is that we have nothing to do with the wars of the capitalists. There is no reason why we should for their sake sacrifice our own lives and should give them monetary help by leaving half starved those dear to us. This self-sacrifice does not in the least benefit us, our brethren and our future generation. On the other hand there is the certainty only of being responsible for the sin of getting their nations bound in chains of dependence. Even though we may have not have the power to release other nations from dependence, we should not at least commit the sin of pushing them deeper into the ditch of dependence.

The Indian masses can take part only in the fight and that fight is the one required for improving the economic and political condition of 98 per cent of the people. The Indian people must determinedly turn their back against all wars excepting the war that will have to be fought against British capitalism and its allies, for removing the unemployment in the country, for getting an increase in wages, for reducing the hours of work, for stopping others from indulging in luxury at the costs of their (of the 98 per cent) labour, in order to stop (any one) getting rich by means of rent, interest and profit, for bringing the machinery creating wealth under ownership of those who create wealth by their own labour, for making happier in all ways the lives of the 98 per cent of the people. To give help in any other war is to cause injury to ourselves at our own hands, to make tighter the chains of dependence in our feet, and to commit the sin of pushing (other) nations into the hell of dependence. Therefore, Indian brethren, beware in time.

Kranti, 15th October 1927.

Sufferings of workers in hotels.

In Bombay there are a large number of Hindu and Irani tea-shops, which are liberally patronized every day by lakhs of people. But while going and coming out of these shops has any one ever considered how much the workers working there must be suffering? No. Because it is the welfare of the worker class, the main (class) in society, that is being neglected and treated with indifference everywhere. The educated class, which thinks, which agitates, has not the least desire or capacity of thinking from the point of view of the workers. But this state of things will not last for long. Let that be. After a special inquiry it has come to our notice that the workers in the Bombay hotels have to drudge from 15 to 19 hours per day, and if one sees the wages paid for that, it must be clearly said that the profession of a hotel proprietor is sheer piracy. Our readers must now have understood the secret why hotel-proprietors immediately amass so much money in a very short time. These proprietors appropriate the money created with the help of the hotel-servants and thereby they naturally get big-bellied. This profit and money of the hotel proprietors represents the fresh, vigorous blood of the servants. We are suggesting to our hotel workers one way of stopping this blood-sucking. It is that they all should unite and immediately create an Union of their own and on behalf of the Union should just start a movement for reducing the hours of work and should put a check to the unrestrained profits of the owners. The hotel workers should remember that on the strength of the power that will be created if they make the Union strong, they will be able in future to own all hotels and tea-shops. We shall consider in future how that can be done.

True Translation.

Kranti 15th October 1927.

But who are meant by a COMPANY ?

Mr. Walchand Hirachand is a big capitalist. He is honoured in capitalistic and Govt. circles. He is also often appointed on Committees. As Mr. Walchand to himself is an Indian, it is not surprising if his patriotism is coloured with Indian-ism. And as he is a capitalist, his patriotism is (naturally) more engrossed in industrial questions. Mr. Walchand has said in an interview that the Bombay Steam Navigation Company obstructs the aspirations of the Indian maritime merchants and places before the Govt. evidence damaging to these aspirations. While bringing to notice this badness of the B.S.N. (Bombay Steam Navigation Company), Mr. Walchand administered a slap also to Killick Nixon & Co., the agents of the (B.S.N.) Company. Readers, not seeing sufficiently deeply, might be thinking that the slap given or the censure made by Mr. Walchand is wholly of purely British Capital. British capitalists obstruct our maritime aspirations, the B.S.N. Company and its Agents Killick Nixon & Co. are among our opponents and in this speech Mr. Walchand by calling these companies as bad, has in such words declared his patriotism. But while getting information about the above companies, we found out this. Looking to the names of the Directors of the B.S.N. Company, the following galaxy is seen.

1. Sir Sassoon David, 2. F.C. Annisley, 3. Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy, 4. Sir Purushettamdas/Makoredas, 5. F.K. Dinshaw, 6. (Sir) Parbhashankar Pattani, (7) D.W. Wilson (8) Dr. Kayas. Out of these 8 Directors, seven are Indian Capitalists. Mr. Walchand himself says in his speech that three-fourths of the capital of the company is Indian. If then (it is stated that) the company opposes Indian aspirations, to whom does the blame in that statement attach ? The name of the company is as uncontaminated and formless as Parbrahma. ~~The blame will~~ The blame will attach not to the name but to the individuals wielding power who work behind that name and if it is examined

who are those individuals they are found to be from the Indian capitalists themselves. Then, instead of saying vaguely that the company opposes Indian aspirations, why not say that it is the Indian capitalists themselves who give evidence against Indian aspirations? Mr. Malchand knew that by saying merely that the company does this, people, instead of entering more deeply in the matter, will hold the British power alone responsible. Mr. Malchand knew that the Directors of the company were Indian capitalists and that if he accused them by name it would make public the selfish patriotism of Indian capital and the selfish clamour by the rich.

This shows it clearly that the Swarajya which Indian capital wants is required for the benefit of the rich men of their own class. The patriotism of capital, its love of Swarajya is all devotion to one's class, <sup>Swarajya of one's class and love of one's class.</sup> Indian politics is not actuated by (lit. is not of) six sentiments of the heart. It is of the capitalist class wishing to assure autocratic power over the general Raj of the country by becoming powerful in the economic Raj. And the middle class writers, poets, clerks are doing the work of peons in the politics of capitalist Nabobs. As the culture, the philosophy, the morality which is coming into existence as national culture comes out of the brains of these peons, it is sure to be only a class-culture beneficial to the class of the rich. Pure independence for the country is only a deceptive name like the name company. The heirs of the cream will in the end be found to be a handful of capitalists.

True Translation.



1.

Kranti dated 15th October 1927.

Kharagpur News.

It was decided to open the railway workshops at Kharagpur from the 7th of October. But the railway officials did not open the workshops seeing the resolve of the men in the meeting of 15000 workers on just the previous day. Some representatives of the worker's Union and Mr. Mukundlal Sarkar have gone to seek advice from the Madras leaders and Mr. Giri, the President of the Union, is securing the sympathy of other workers on the Railway to the just demand of the Union, by going to various places on the Railway line. Assurance is being got everywhere from the workers that they would immediately join the strike, if the Union decided to declare it. After visiting Raipur, Dongargarh and other places Mr. Giri has now gone to Nagpur.

Bombay Municipal Workmen's Union.

On behalf of this union a Deputation consisting of Messrs. Jhabwala, Nimbkar, Rajaram Bin Rajaram, Viththal Gajjar, H.S. Haider, Gajjar-an Khema, Shekh Mohamad, Ganpat Vithu, Nanji Nishabhai, Ahmad Yar Beg and Ibrahim Kismuddin etc. went yesterday to the Municipal Commissioner Sahab in order to consider the complaints of the workers.

Last Monday, a public meeting of the workers and steam-rollers drivers in the Ferras Road Municipal Workshop was held under the Presidentship of Mr. Jhabwala. After the leaders, Messrs. Jhabwala, Nimbkar, Rajaram Bin Rajaram and others had delivered speeches, resolutions were passed thanking the Commissioner Sahab for giving recognition to the Union, electing members of the Deputation, protesting against the dismissal of workers, protesting for disregarding the demands of the Union, asking for 1 month's privilege leave and 21 day's casual leave in a year to the workers, asking that the sub-committee elected by the Corporation should consider the demands of the workers in a consultation with the Union etc.

A meeting of the World workers also was held and complaints placed forward.

The Government of India and the Workers in the  
Kharagpur Railway Workshop.

The Govt. of India, after making inquiries from the Agent of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway has during the last week issued a lengthy statement justifying the notices of dismissal served upon the workers in the Kharagpur Workshop. Not feeling the necessity of taking into consideration, before publishing this statement, what the workers' leaders had to say, the Govt. has made public its decision without even making any inquiries with them. The Govt. says that the notices of dismissal were given by the Railway officials only after full consideration, so it is not prepared to ask the Railway Agent to withdraw or cancel them; similarly there is no necessity of making any further special inquiry in this matter.

On the other hand, being meetings of the workers have been held at various places and they have protested against the above mentioned statement by Govt. and have also declared their resolution not to retract the present struggle till they get justice.

The Bengal-Nagpur Railway had decided to open on the 12th the Kharagpur Workshops recently kept closed. But it is not yet known how many men went back to work, etc.

2.

is faced only with two alternatives - either to fling away that principle and the other to keep quite and starve.

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The heart of which man will fail to be shocked (lit. be divided into two) at reading the unfortunate (sad) story, given at the top ? Does not the fact, shocking to the heart, that this woman, before killing herself, had to starve for three days continuously along with her three children, testify to the injustice in society ? This woman in order to fill her belly tried her best to get some work, but as she did not succeed in that, she had in the end to die by throwing herself and her three pretty children into the well. Who is responsible for this injustice ?

X X X

The present (lit. today's) order of human society is responsible for this ! If the social order had not been based on the principle of private ownership, if the administrative system of society had not been based on that principle, the working class masses would not today have had to suffer starvation ! Two percent of people in the society are intoxicated, being engrossed in happiness and luxury, while 98 per cent of society is being scorched by daily anxieties ! (It) is wholly engrossed in the one care as to what of to-morrow (though) today might have been tidied over ! And (it) is continuously repeating always the one Mantra (spell) as above, 'let us free ourselves from this danger at least by suicide' †

X X X

But suicide is not the real remedy; the only real remedy is to radically destroy the principle of private ownership, by all the harassed (section of) society becoming organized. The whole of the harassed worker-peasant class is studying this extreme remedy, and is continuously thinking how it will come to be adopted. So long as such a revolution does not take place in the social order, the harassed worker-peasant masses are sure to be faced with thousands of occasions for the destruction of themselves and their children. Worker-brothers- think! think! think!

True translation. H

Kranti dated 17th September 1927

Danger to Kharagpur Railway Workers.

Insolence  
Arrogance of Railway officials

10000 workers out of work.

The officials of the Bengal Nagpur Railway have suddenly decided to close the workshop at Kharagpur, which has thrown out of work 10000 workers who are faced with starvation. Naturally great discontent has been created among the workers.

White-washing by Railway officials.

This is perhaps a dodge for dismissing these workers who took part in the last strike, and the Railway officials are saying that they had given advance notices that they were going to reduce men. These wise officials are saying in their own justification that they had promised to give fund (and) gratuity and also wages for one month to these workers who would have leave of their own accord, but these proud officials ought to have understood for how many days these men will live on their fund (and) gratuity after losing service ?

True Translation.

MA

1.

Kranti 5th July 1923.

What next ?

Hardy strikers who strenuously maintained the strike are already aware of the different hardships the workers have to face, once they go on strike. But the faint hope is entertained by many that they will be free, as a result of their strike coming to an end through some divine miracle or through the help of men calling themselves very great. The striker becomes disappointed and abuses all, when after waiting for help in this manner he fails to get it. In order that the mill-strikers may not be deceived in this manner they should see what their present condition is.

Why did the strike begin ?

The owners had already decided four years back that the wages of the workers were to be cut down. They accordingly gave notices in 1923 that there will be a general reduction in wages of 11½ per cent and the strike of 1925 took place. It continued for two and a half months. The owners had brought about that strike with the intention of getting removed a particular Govt. tax on them. The tax was removed after a strike of two and a half months and the owners got a profit of a crore or a crore and a quarter of rupees. And that time they declared that they would stop the reduction of wages. But it is the motto of capitalists to break the promises made. As their attention is ever fixed on getting more and more profits, they began to reduce the wages though the tax on them was removed. But the reduction was not introduced in all the mills. After the lapse of a year or two they again asked the Govt. to grant more concessions. But it was not granted. The help which the owners ask from the Govt. is never really given by the Govt., it has to be ultimately paid for by the workers and the peasants. The cause why the workers and the peasants did not get help from the Govt. was that the owners could not convince (the Govt.) that their business had reached such a ruinous condition.

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These men according to their usual practice attacked the wages of the workers when the Govt. gave them the reply that the mills will work well if all the slackness, bribery (and) in discipline going on in the business of the owners, was stopped. And in 1927 they started (the system of) three looms and two sides. The workers came out victorious in the first skirmish and the management of the Sassoon group stopped that system for some time.

After that skirmish all the owners began to cut down wages since January 1928 by vigorously effecting changes in the sorts and reducing the wages per pound. (They) went to the verge of telling the workers to put on badges round their necks like prisoners.

Strikes in one mill or two on a small scale continued from January to April. The workers got exhausted. In the end the general strike began when Fazalbhoy's group which had not been caught in the whirl-wind of strikes came out.

The general strike took place in order to get the cut in wages restored. If wages had not been cut down, if new laws had not been applied to us, the strike would not have taken place.

The workers held their own very cleverly and bravely in the freshness of their vigour after the strike was declared. This freshness of their vigour lasted for two months. But the workers have no money to hold out for many days. when the workers have always to remain on half-meal how will it be possible for them to remain without employment (Lit. to eat) at home for two months? Still the workers alone can fight for their demands even in spite of starvation. Accordingly after maintaining (the strike) vigorously for two months and after the pinch of hunger was felt very much, the eyes of the people were directed towards help. Everyone began to think that grain must be got as help.

But who was to give help?

If we take into consideration the case of the city of

Bombay or any (other) city (we will find) that their residents have got fixed notions. Particular persons follow a particular profession. After a strike is declared, those particular persons will view the strike according to the its effect upon their business. All the mill-owners are against us. So also those who derived profit when our wages were being paid and those who lost their profits on account of the strike are sure to be against us. The grain dealer *hania* tries to bring the strike to an end. The house-owner tries to end the strike. The money lender *karwari* cries against the strike. Clerks, doctors, peons - all these - who graze on their business speak against strike. The workers have to win the strike after overcoming all these friends of the enemies. The worker cannot afford to consider what people will say, because all these men are always sure to remain against them.

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Under these circumstances who is to be requested for help? Looking to the *seda* of the workers, some men might pay two pice or four pice out of a sense of shame. But the strike of a lakh and a half of workers cannot be maintained with such help. workers' Unions in other countries give help. There is also a limit to it. They give that help by pinching their own bellies (and) therefore we must be thankful to them even if that help is inadequate.

What next?

All these roads are blocked. How can this struggle of the workers continue if help comes to an end? Every worker ought to consider this. Leaders have not descended from the sky. They have not got a magic wand turning which money will come down in a heap. The work of the leaders also goes on, on the strength of the workers. The leader cannot do anything if he has not got the backing of a majority of workers. Therefore every worker ought to consider how to get over the next step. All should declare their determination that the strike is not to be broken as far as possible even if the grain gets finished, that all are to remain out till the cut in wages is restored (and) that the owners are to be compelled to grant our demands on the strength of our unity.

*M.A.*

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1.

Kranti 8th July 1928.

The Mill-Workers are not impotent

The strike cannot continue with grain alone.

The strike continues on the bravery of the men

The mill-workers have given a battle with the colossal power of the big capitalists nearly for these three months. While giving a battle with the demonic power of this capitalism the mill-workers had no weapons whatsoever. They had nothing with them except the sole power of the stoutness of heart, the resolution to win their demands. The workers had got no police like the hired police of the wealthy capitalists, they had no lorries, no weapons, but they have continued the struggle up-till-now with empty stomachs merely on the strength of organization. They have collected Rs.50,000/- on the strength of their own luck and fought with the owners.

Strike cannot continue on the strength of money alone, strike cannot continue on the strength of meetings, strike cannot continue on the strength of a few (Lit.two or four) leaders, strike takes place through the voluntary (Lit. Self-existent) consent, through the free will of every

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worker, is maintained by their will and is broken at their  
will. If one and a half lakh of workers determine to continue the strike,

none has the power to break it

but if one and a half lakh (of workers) resolve to break the strike, no person whatsoever, no picketing of any sort can be able to stop it. The Workers' own opinion, their own will is the only final power.

In what direction will this colossal man-power turn now? This colossal power, this ocean of human beings struggled with hunger, the Police, the owners, the house-owners (and) the newspapers. Such a fight with such starvation (and) hardships cannot be given by any pandit who has received elementary (Who can read Ta Pa.) education,



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it is, therefore, that the clerks who have no experience of fighting, who make their faces always gloomy collapsed in the very first skirmish. And seeing that the workers are getting tired while fighting, the owners, the clerks the Police are trying to defeat them by stealthily attacking the exhausted warriors from behind and by arresting their leaders.

There are in the army different sorts of soldiers as the kachcha soldier, pacca soldier, the big bodied soldier and the some what weak soldier. All regiments of all the soldiers are not of one and the same sort. So also in the struggle of the workers some are weak, some are stout, some are timid while some are dauntless. Even among the workers some are rich, some have got some money while some are also quite poor. Whenever the fight of the workers' strike begins, special stress has to be laid on the protection of the poorest of the poor and the weakest of the weak by keeping them behind and on taking the fighters to the front and making them fight. For instance the poorest of the poor are more in need of grain, therefore, money has to be collected and provision made for them. But all strikers do not sit with their eyes fixed on grain.

Those whose salaries are very low, those who are in difficulty of getting two meals, are not able to continue the fight without grain. But those whose salary is somewhat satisfactory hold out, go to their villages (and) help others. Therefore in the fight of us workers, it should be borne in mind that the strike as a whole cannot be carried on on grain. Today our experience is telling the same thing. There are in this city

five lakhs of workers

including the mill workers and their children. But to how many persons was grain distributed within the (last) three months? To thirty to <sup>forty</sup> ~~thirty~~ thousand persons at the most. Then why did the remaining one lakh of workers and their children not break the strike and go to work? The

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cause of it is that all the strikers are not such as could not do without grain. There are many (of them) who can continue the struggle,

for one month more

even if grain is not distributed to them. All workers should take this thing into consideration and think over the same.

Whose is the strike Committee ?

Every worker should consider this. The strike-committee is not the owner, the strike-committee is not the giver of food. The strike-committee has been created by the power of the workers. If there had been no workers, if there had been no struggle of the workers how could the strike-committee have come into existence and who would have given money to it ?

Therefore we say that a strike is maintained as a result of the resolution (and) the determination of the workers themselves. Leaders or committees rise from the power of the workers. The whole worker class given birth to leaders and committees by its opinion on its own strength in order that its struggle should go on systematically and that it may have spectacles to see its path properly.

After taking this point into consideration, we should think over what we workers would do if the money with the Committee is spent up, if the distribution of grain is stopped ?

What shall the poor batch in our fight do ? And what shall the workers having some saving (Lit. who keep four mosels with them) do in order that the poor batch in the worker army may not court defeat falling a prey to hunger. There are such

five thousand jobbers

among the mill-workers as, if they only intend, can give meal in their own dish to one poor guest each, to one poor fighter each, who was up-till-now living on grain. Five thousands have the ability to keep alive on one meal twenty

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thousand workers for at least a fortnight.

Similarly one month more can be safely passed if workers in other industries thinking that the struggle of the workers is everywhere the same, give help to those who have become complete paupers and who cannot do without going to work.

If the workers make such a firm resolve, exhibit such spirit, the notices that have been posted will be withdrawn. For, the enemy does not accept defeat until he gets exhausted. We shall be victorious only when we shall give a fight to the last. Mill-workers will conduct the tremendous fight that will take place hereafter. It at least appears to be the meaning of the workers' speeches delivered in the meetings that though the poorest of the poor women were defeated and commenced going to work, the spinners shall not give in until they get their wages and the weaver who will not retreat till the last, even until his last breath passes out of him, will not retrace his step until the cut in his wages is restored.

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1.

Kranti 8th July 1928

Reply of the workers to the notices of the owners.

The mill-owners have posted on their (of the mills) respective doors a notice containing new rules and the new system of work and an average estimate of the wages that will be given henceforth. A marathi translation <sup>of</sup> of these rules has already been published in the first issue of the Kranti newspaper. The new rates of wages also have been given in the notices exactly as we published them.

Deception in the notices

The rates given in the notices are of those getting fixed wages and of the piece workers. The approximate wages given in the case of those doing piece work are those that would be earned by a worker if he could get good materials in a proper way. But it has not been shown in the notices how the men may be reduced. It has nowhere been shown in these notices (Lit. papers) that 13,000 men from the spinning departments have been reduced. Because they have not given in these notices the estimate of how many doffer (boys) and Tarwallas are to be kept for working the sides. They have shown it in the papers handed over to the compromise-committee of the strike-committee. It is therefore that in the new notices it is not all the men have been called to work. The mill owners will reduce a number according to the new scheme and will take only the necessary <sup>of</sup> number/workers to do the work. It is not that all those that were formerly employed in the mills will (now) be re-employed.

Second deception

(was) in respect of jobbers. There is not the least mention of these men in the notices. It would have been stated (in them) if their former wages are to be retained. But we have already pointed out the changes that have been effected in the work and the wages of jobbers and head-jobbers and the reduction of men that is going to be effected. The owners

have hidden it

while posting their notices. This hidden thing was clearly explained to jobbers in the jobbers' meeting held in the Damodar Thackersey Hall on the 6th (instant). About 700 to 800 jobbers and nearly 100

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head-jobbers attended the meeting. New rules of work and wages were shown to all of them. According to new rules nos. 17 and 21, framed by the owners the overseers mukadams and jobbers will be arrested hereafter whenever any offence against the Factory Act takes place in mills. The owners fraudulently start the mills ten minutes before the fixed <sup>time</sup> and close them ten minutes after (the fixed time). During the whole day they take work at least for half an hour more than ten hours. But the Factory Inspector who is appointed to find out such breaches (of the Factory) Act is not (at all) aware of this open breach and when the history of the factory-inspectors in the world of being in concord with the owners is the same it is easily understood why no notice is taken of ~~this~~ this fraud of the owners; and if such ~~frauds~~ frauds are found out, who received the punishment? The owners are the real culprits but the subordinates will have to bear the punishment.

Neither <sup>the</sup> wages nor the rate of

the weaving department

have been shown. We have given the estimate on referring to the owners' own books, what wages would be ~~earned~~ earned by weaving five or six (particular) sorts. From that, all have already come ~~to know of~~ to know of the heavy reduction (Lit. massacre) effected (by the owners) in the wages of the weavers.

Four days have elapsed since such notices were posted. But sufficient men to enable the working of the whole mill have not yet gone into any mill. It appears to be the determination of the men to win their demands for an increase in low wages, for the restoration of the cut wages to the former level and for the stopping of the reduction of men.

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Arrogance of the hospital authorities

The owners and the Govt. erect hospitals, make a false show how every kind they are and make an attempt to mitigate the anger of the workers due to their oppression. The King Edward Hospital of Parel is an attempt of this nature. The Bombay Municipality conducts this hospital. A big Capitalist has paid for it a part of the money earned by profiteering. But many have got the experience how the workers are treated in this hospital if they go for medical treatment. With regard to the beating by the Police, in particular the officers and other servants of this hospital behave in a very timid and insolent manner. Workers that were wounded in the attack on Tuesday had been taken to the hospital. Instead of giving them first aid, & the officers began to inquire officiously why a person beleaguered by the Police did not come with the Police etc. The case of a person had received such an injury that it was difficult for him to walk two steps. Instead of making arrangement even for four hours of such a person, he was sent out of the hospital after giving him medicine. But it is the complaint of the workers that on the contrary much is made of the Police if they go there. Even if their foot receives a slight injury that is noted down and no one makes an inquiry even if the life of the workers be in danger. That the hospital is under the control of the Municipality means that it is in the hands of the owners. Therefore it requires no mention that the workers are not properly taken care of in it. In the autocracy of the rich the hospitals also are of the rich!

*W.C.*

Kranti 12th July 1923.

Blind demon of the owners

the  
may  
municipal  
corporation

Petit Shet is a big bellied owner, Petit Shet is the president or the leader of the gang of owners. Similarly Modi Shet is a slim (bodied) owner. These two spoke while opposing the resolution for the grant of one thousand rupees to the workers. They made that speech like a blind demon. When a blind demon is eating his victim he says "I cannot at all see that men are being sacrificed, that some one is eating men. Then how should I say that men are dying?"

Men are starving on account of the cut in wages effected by the owners. The owners become fat by eating men that is by pocketing their wages and by cutting them down. And when a strike takes place, when starvation begins (they) raise the outcry "where are men dying? where are men starving? We cannot see?"

These two delivered a speech that,

The workers are not starving and they have no trouble at all.

If there be the authority of blind demons over society or men all men would gradually enter their bellies. Capitalism is a blind demon. The masses will only be profited if its authority is overthrown.

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R 1.

Kranti dated 12th July 1928

via palace  
a seraglio.

Mahal- Municipality of robbers.

In the city of Bombay there are more than five lakhs of men consisting of the mill-strikers and their wives and children. The population of the mill workers is half that of the whole city. The city Municipality receives taxes from all persons. As the number of the poor is particularly greater, more money is wrung out from the poor workers. When the lives, livelihood and the wages of the workers were in danger, the Bombay Municipality which exists on the workers, refused to give help to them. The resolution was moved in the Municipality that Rs. 1000/- should be given every day to save the wives and children of the strikers from starvation which was thrown out by it. From this it is clearly seen that the Bombay Municipality is full of the slaves of the owner-class.

The municipal dues are levied from all. Money is received from all. But after receiving money, the Municipality behaves like lawful burglars. (It) only wants money but (it) does not confer the right of voting upon the workers who pay it. For, these thieves are afraid that if the right of voting be conceded to all, the workers will defeat them in election and drive them away. Therefore gangs of the owner-class are always trying that the workers should not get the franchise. The workers should keep in mind all this roguesery of the Bombay Municipality and should consider what expiation should be given to such rascals.

The Bombay Municipality must be called a Mahal of robbers. In this Mahal of robbers, thousands of things are done for the benefit of the owner-class. Some of them are these.

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What is going on in the Mahal of robbers ?

1. Some months ago they gave Rs. 43,000/- to the house owner.
2. Their contractors who construct the roads in the city, pocket money.
3. The schools conducted by them are full of mismanagement and nonsense.
4. They gave their consent to the removal of the tax on bal



2.

of cotton of the mill-owners. The owners will get a remission of 10 lakhs of rupees.

5. It is being discussed whether the owners should be helped by reducing the tax on water supplied to them.
6. The arrangement prevails in the raj of this Municipality that there is scarcity of water in the workers' locality and sufficient water in the locality of the owners.
7. The roads in the city were given to the owners and they were permitted to run tram-cars. Those owners are receiving much money. Still the Tramway Co. has decided to raise the fare from one anna to one anna and a half. This Municipality is merely pretending to oppose it (the rise of fare).
8. This (Municipality) is <sup>in</sup>enemical to the workers in all respects.

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*JWA*

Kranti 15th July 1928

Deceptive demon of the owners.

Owners having two bellies and two mouths

will give food to the starving children of the mill-workers but shall cut the wages of the mill-workers-the parents of the children.

We shall unhesitatingly accept what will be given to the children as it will be given out of our cut wages but shall not allow the wages to be cut down, shall not work for more hours, shall not listen to rules like prisoners. Give a further increase ~~in~~ WAGES.

The Bombay Municipality refused to give help to the workers. But some impression was created on the mind of the owners in the municipality and outside, seeing the grand collection of workers collected on that day. The determination of the workers and their strength became visible to the owners.

Afterwards Dr. Deshmukh, the Municipal President started a fund. Sir V. Sassoon contributed Rs 10,000/- to that fund, Fasal-bhey Sheth contributed Rs 5,000/-. Dr. Deshmukh contributed Rs 1000/-. His Excellency the Governor contributed Rs 1000/-.

This fund will remain in the hands of a committee of the municipality, that body itself will look to its expenditure. The fund will be spent for the workers' children alone (and) not for the strikers.

The workers know the names of those who have given help. A substantially large amount out of it has been given by the owners.

What does this show? (It shows) that the owners have got two bellies and two mouths.

(They) cut fifty lakhs of rupees from the workers' wages and put it in one belly and when the workers go on strike they take out twenty thousand rupees from this very (amount) out of another stomach in order to give food to the workers' children.

One of their bellies eats us up like a demon and after eating us concoals our children in order that they may not cry. This is what is called deceptive devilishness.

One month of the owners give order of cutting down our wages in order to crush us and the other mouth of theirs tries to

deceive us at the hands of our children, talking sweet words.

They have one set of teeth to eat and a different one to show. This is what is called a deceptive demon.

One hand of the owners drives us away from the chawls. The owners throw us away on the roads along with our children and remove all our pots and other things if our rent remains outstanding on account of strike and afterwards the same owners pretend to give food <sup>to</sup> our children. Deceptive demons!

If a deceptive demon gives good food to eat, it should be taken and put into <sup>the</sup> pocket, if he gives a palace, it should be taken. But if he afterwards says 'be my slave and work on those conditions which I will dictate,' he should be kicked and the strike should be continued.

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*JWA.*

Krantii 15th July 1923

Govt's mediation

Mr. Joshi's letter

Mr. Joshi has written a letter to Govt. in connection with the mill-strike. In that letter he has written that the strike has been going on for many days and that both the parties have become obstinate. The owners only nominally put forward a scheme of standardising the rates in all the mills but cut down the rates in all of them. The Govt. should, therefore, mediate this time, if it thinks it proper and necessary. This mediation should be made as it is made in England or in some other way. That is there should be a Committee of the owners, the workers and the Govt. or the Govt. itself should appoint a committee or an officer. They should consider the owners' scheme and the demands of the workers. Only that there is no necessity for both the parties to state <sup>beforehand</sup> that the decision that they will give will be accepted by them.

Mr. Joshi has written this letter in his private capacity. He had only informed the Strike-Committee beforehand that he was sending such a letter.

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*Joshi*

Kranti 15th July 1923.

Take help but do not be deceived

The SasoonWallas and Fasalbhoy are the cause of this year's strike. The twelve mills of Sasoon, thirteen of Fasalbhoy and other mills reduced the rates, changed sorts and introduced (the system of) two sides and three looms. The workers were therefore compelled to go on strike. This year the owners compelled the workers to go on strike.

After the strike continued for three months, the owners declared further new rates, according to which the lowest rates and wages in the worst possible mill in Bombay have been made applicable to the workers and notices have been posted that they should come to work if they were ready to get themselves treated like prisoners on such bad wages.

The workers are not ready to go back to work on these conditions.

The workers and their children have begun to starve as they have no money saved with them and because the large amount given by the other workers specially by the Russian workers has been almost spent out.

Who is causing the starvation of our children? Of course the mill-owners. But what will the workers say if these very mill-owners come forward and say that they give food to the workers' children and save them from starvation?

The workers will say only this: "You appear to be very good if the children are to be saved from starvation, restore the cut wages of their parents. Then we shall go to work and shall ourselves give food to our children. You will save fifty lakhs of rupees every year by cutting down our wages and in order that we may not get enraged for it you will distribute assets of twenty thousand rupees to our children. Good justice indeed!"

You are giving us this bribe of twenty thousand rupees in order to raise fifty lakhs (from us). Give the twenty thousand rupees that you are giving, but we shall not return to work unless the cut wages and the demands are granted.

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### Third attack

Many strikers have taken place up-till-now but in them the owners had not given money for the children of the workers. That what is the reason of the owners doing so this time alone ?

This year the workers have fought out their strike with two parties. The onslaught of the owners from one side and the onslaught by the Police from the other. The workers very vigorously checked and faced the onslaught on both the sides. In the very first skirmish firing etc took place and the first attack on the workers came to an end.

Afterwards the owners planned the dodge of bringing the workers to their senses by starving them. This dodge continued for two months. Seeing that the workers did not submit even though three months elapsed, resourceful men on the side of the owners have begun to play a third dodge.

To raise on one side an attack at the hands of the Police on the leaders of the workers and on those who quarrel with more vigour, to launch prosecutions against leaders, to beat the volunteers, to belabour the workers and on the other by giving help and food to the workers' children, to convince the workers of the owners' goodness and to bring them back to work on their cut wages, (such is the dodge).

The first two attacks were made openly in broad day light. But this third one is very clever and diplomatic.

None will say that the workers should not accept the help that has come. Help should certainly be taken, but our mind must not become weak on taking it. Our determination must remain firm for the spies and the hirelings of the owners will remain moving amongst us while distributing help. If one gives food to our child we naturally begin to feel some confidence regarding him. Then we feel this confidence we gradually listen to him. When this happens, he who gives help manages to get his object fulfilled and then we are deceived.

Therefore this third attack must be watched very carefully.

*Swat*

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Aranti 15th July 1928

(Police) Commissioner's letter to the Strike-

Committee

Place for the Police in meetings

After the Police reporter was driven out from workers' meetings, inquiries began as to what was the law in this matter. The policy of law in this respect appears to be making that the Police have no right to attend the private meetings of the Union as well as the meetings of the members. The Police, were, therefore, driven away from the mill-workers' meetings and the Strike Committee wrote a letter to the (Police) Commissioner that the permission granted to the Police reporter was being withdrawn. For two days after this the Police did not attempt to enter in the meetings forcibly. From this it appears that their side is lame from the legal point of view. Then the Police Commissioner wrote a letter to the Strike-Committee that the strike was a conflict between the owners and the workers, with which they (the Police) had no connection, that he used to send men because wrong reports of the speeches made in meetings were being published and because the Govt. might get correct reports and that therefore the Strike-Committee should take this into consideration and grant the permission which had been withdrawn.

The letter was discussed by the Committee. It was written in reply to the (Police) Commissioner that while reserving the right to admit the Police or not permission was given to their (of the Police) men (but) that the committee had the right to stop them again.

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*Note,*

Kranti dated 15th July 1923

Magic of the Tata Company

The rates in the Tata Mills were cut down and that mill joined the strike two months back. Why were the rates reduced? Because, it is alleged that the company incurs loss, the products are not sold, their cost (of production) is high etc. A few days back a meeting took place of the shareholders of the Tata Mills. It was decided in it that in place of the capital of one crore only five lakhs should be retained now. There is a trick at the bottom of this intricate affair. In the days of profiteering during the war the Tata Company purchased a mill in Girgaum at a cost of a crore and a half of rupees. These one and a half crore of rupees were shown as debt on the Naigaum mill. Afterwards the mill was sold for 36 lakhs, that is at a loss of one crore and fourteen lakhs. But to whom was it sold? To themselves. Those who bought it were the Tatas themselves. But who paid the debt that resulted on the account of this intervening loss? For the Tata Company took the debt, but who advanced it? The Tatas themselves. The loss on the debt was debited to the Company and the profit on the debt as well as the interest was reserved for themselves. Ten rupees are transferred from the right hand to the left, again five rupees are taken out of them and saying that the right hand had suffered loss of five rupees, the loss is made up from the lower pocket and the interest on it is demanded by oneself and then because the money had been lost the shareholders are told that they should now give up their shares as those rupees had been lost and the workers on the other side are told that the manufactured articles do not command sale and that their cost of production is high. (Therefore, they should) take lower wages and have a cut in the rates. The small shareholders are ruined, the workers are ruined. These capitalists alone become fat.

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*W.C.*



1.

Kranti 22nd July 1928

Place where the workers' children will be fed.

The Municipal President collected Rs.38000 in the name of  
the strikers

The President of the Bombay Municipality is a big doctor. His name is Dr. Deshmukh. This Dr. Deshmukh is not a doctor for the poor. For he is very learned. He, therefore, charges five hundred rupees as his fees for examining or tearing up (Lit. operating) a patient. He had said in one meeting that he was not a doctor of the poor. This doctor saheb is a fast friend of Fasalbhoy Shet the big mill-owner. It is said that the doctor Saheb removes sickness from the family of Fasalbhoy on receiving high fees. Thus Dr. Deshmukh is extremely moneyed (and) acquainted with the mill-owners.

When he was in the Municipality many mill-owners also had given their votes to him at the time of his becoming its President. Doctor Saheb has started a fund in his own name.

This fund was started for the starving children of the strikers, big big owners and other men naturally contributed to it. This fund has reached Rs.38000/- up-till-now. Food will be given to strikers' children from this fund.

Rules, place (and) time for giving food and the  
articles of food.

Arrangement made by the (Municipal) Commissioner

Children whose age is less than two years shall get 3 chataks of milk at a fixed place. Children between 2 and 12 years shall get 2 chataks of boiled rice and  $\frac{1}{2}$  chatak of dal. Milk shall be given to (young) children living on milk and to those that take rice, rice will be given <sup>to</sup> times a day once at 9-30 in the morning and again at 4-30 (in the evening). The milk or food that will be given must be consumed on the spot. Everyone must bring his pot from home for milk. Food shall be served on leaves.

All this arrangement will be made by the Municipal Commissioner. The food will be available at the following places :-

- (1) Chichpokli, plague camp.
- (2) Parel, <sup>c</sup>vacinating station.
- (3) Worli, <sup>A</sup>Cement Chawls.
- (4) Gherapdece.
- (5) Foras Road - Batliwala's Dharmashala.

The Strike-Committee has no connection at all with this arrangement. Suggestions to Children's parents

Parents of boys and girls should go with their childrens to the above places in their respective localities. If a child be less than two years of age, a pet should be taken and taking the milk that will be given, children should be fed. Meals should be given to children between 2 and 12 years.

Complaint should be made to the Strike- Committee or to the newspaper Kranti if anyone beats or ill treats the children

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*GWC*

1.

Kranti dated 29th July 1928

Three and a half months of the strike.

What is written on the notices by the owners ?

(This review of the three months and a half of the strike is being intentionally published. It is given in order that the workers should see what happened before and what is the condition now and should after consideration decide by discussion among themselves what should be done in future. Similarly the information regarding the rules made by the owners and the new rates (fixed by them) has been given again.)

Exactly a year has passed away. The managers of the Sasoon (group) forced the men in the Apollo and the Manchester mills to work two sides and three looms. The workers went on strike. After some days the owners consented to stop this system. The men want to work.

Seeing the hardships suffered by one owner, all the owners made a new plot. The sorts were slowly changed in every mill, the rates were cut down at some places, while five to ten rupees were cut down from the wages at others.

January to April

At the beginning of January, Sasoon (group) and Wadia (group) again made an attack (and) passed orders that looms should be cleaned everyday and that two sides and three looms should be worked. From January to April strikes began to take place in the different mills in quick succession. On the 16th of April the workers in the Fazalbhoy (group) felt the cut in wages very much. They received the wages and came out. The workers in the Textile (Tanksal), Kasturchand and Fazalbhoy requested their brethren in Parel, Parbhadevi, Kaigam (and) Byulla to baffle the oppression of the owners. Meetings and processions were organised. The Police and the owners got irritated.

The Police fired on the workers at Shivri on the 23rd April. One worker named Parashuram Jadhav died as a result of it and two were wounded.

The police fired bullets and stopped even those mills that

2.

were working. The gates of all the mills in Bombay closed down on the 26th (April).

The Govt. thought that the workers went on strike being influenced by some Bolsheviks. The hired panchits of the Govt. did not know that a lakh and a half of workers cannot be ready to starve on the advice of the few (Lit. four) persons. It requires a powerful ground. The strike would not have taken place if the owners had not cut down the maintenance (Lit. stomachs) of the workers. The Governor came to Bombay from Mahabaleshwar, sat in his office in Fort, saw the owners, took tea in the interval, and saw such of the 'labour leaders' whom the workers were not ready to listen to. The Governor lent one of his ears to the owners and directed the other to the workers. What he heard by one ear passed out by the other. And the Governor went back. After returning he opened his mouth and severely criticised the leaders of the strikers. Sitting at a dinner on which thousands of rupees had been spent given by rich persons and Govt. officials, enjoying the fake flavour of wine bottles worth thousands of rupees and sitting at Mahabaleshwar and standing on a high mountain the Governor politely reviled at the hungry, half fed but warlike (and) brave Bombay workers.

#### The month of May

The workers commenced picketing the mills when the month of May set in. Nagu Sayaji's wadi became the camp of the workers. Agreement was reached between the leaders of the Moderate and the Extremist Parties.

The Police got possessed by a devil and they prohibited picketing. The workers decided upon offering Satyagraha. Good sense arose in the Police Commissioner's head. Two volunteers each began picketing at the gate of every mill.

The outstanding wages for April began to be distributed on the 15th of May. The workers received their wages and started for their native places. 60,000 workers went to their native places.

Seeing the vigour of the workers, their discipline (and) their determination, the owners attempted to create disunion amongst them. The Govt. sent one of its Councillors to carry on negotiations again. Sir Cawasji Jehangir came (and) saw the workers and the owners. The workers' representatives proved by producing statistics how very untrue was the cry of the owners that the wages had not cut down by them. Sir Cawasji (Jehangir) said that he would inquire (into the matter). But Sir Cawasji is himself a mill-owner. The owners objected to an inquiry and the Councillor nodded saying 'allright'.

The hired spies of the owners were baffled, the Governor himself came and returned with empty hands, the Governor's Councillor came, said that he would inquire into the matter and calmly slept after going. In the end the Municipal President awoke. He realized at the end of May that he was the President of the Municipality of the city and that he ought to take pains for the workers of the city. He called the workers' representatives and asked them why they went on strike. Seventeen demands were placed before him by way of a reply. Dr. Deshmukh, the President said that he would try with the owners. But for many days after this it was not known where he was.

On one side the workers began to make complete preparations. The workers in Russia sent Rs. 21000 for the strikers. The Govt. tried to withhold the same but in the end it gave (the money to the workers).

#### The month of June

The Police decided on the 1st June to attack the workers and arrested Mr. Dange. The owners on their side slightly slackened their stubbornness and began negotiations with the Joint-Strike-Committee. The representatives of the Committee began to confer with the owners. The seventeen demands were discussed. In the discussion the owners placed before the Committee the new scale of wages, (and) the new conditions of work.

The owners placed before the workers the new scheme, clearly making public the way in which they used secretly to cut off the

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wages for the last one year. The workers' representatives examined that scheme and found out that.....

The wages were cut down in such a way in the whole spinning department that is from bhuler (Blow room) to reeling that the owners could save two and a half lakhs every month and 10,000 men could be dismissed.

Up-till-now 11000 workmen used to work for 8½ hours a day and used to receive 1¼ if they had to work for more hours. These 11,000 workers shall have to work for full ten hours and they will not get 1¼. That is there will be a cut of 12 per cent in their wages and they will have to work for an hour and a half more.

Out of 5000 jobbers and head-jobbers, 1000 to 1500 will be dismissed and the work of the rest will be increased by 1½ and their wages will be cut down by 20 per cent.

The wages of looms-men in the weaving department have been cut by 20 to 35 per cent. Moreover the pick-wheel would be kept at so high a speed that there would be so much breakage of yarn that it would be impossible to do even half the present work.

This much about the big axe. Along with this big axe more or less severe blows have been aimed at the head of the workers. They are the new rules of work.

Seeing all this, the workers gave a reply that they did not approve of this scheme. The negotiations broke down even while the talks were going on in respect to the spinning department.

The owners issued notifications that they had increased wages in some departments and had reduced them a little in others and tried to mislead the men by giving false figures.

#### The month of July

Then by the beginning of July the owners posted notices on the mills by way of a dodge to overthrow the StrikerCommittees. The new rules of work and the wages of the workers were given in them. The notices of the wages of the fixed wage earners only were fixed. Merely the approximate amount of wages was

given in the case of workers who did piece work.

What is written in the owners' notices?

New rules

Rates of wages.

Mixing room

Newgany	Rs. 31-8-0
Mixing spreaders	Rs. 25-0-0
Satiwala	Rs. 32-0-0 on two satts.

Blow room.

Lap and scutcher men	Rs. 27-0-0	If on one machine.
" " " "	" 35-8-0	If on two machines.
" " " "	" 31-8-0	If there are two men on three machines.
Waste machine men	" 24-8-0 to Rs. 25-8-0	
Sweepers	Rs. 22-0-0 Men )	For all departments.
"	Rs. 17-0-0 women)	

Cat department.

Girwala and Pattiwala	Rs. 27-0-0
Lappala	" 25-0-0
Vatlavara	" 22-0-0
Phalat Giranwala	" 27-0-0

Roving department.

Piece-work-approximate wages will amount to so much

(as said by the owners).

Drawing loom	Rs. 33-4-0
Slubbling loom	" 38-0-0 for 84 spindles
Inter loom	" 35-0-0 for 124 spindles
Roving loom	" 32-0-0 for 160 spindles
Fine roving loom	" 38 to 42 If work is done on two sides.
Doffer boys	" 21-0-0
Oil men	" 27-0-0

Ring department.

Doffer boys	Rs. 20-0-0
Tarwallas	" 23-0-0
Sidemen (thick weft)	" 26-4-0
Do (thin weft)	" 27-0-0
Oilmen and binders	" 31-8-0 (one each for 600 spindle)

Reeling

Reelers Rs. 22-0-0 Approximately according to the counts of the yarn.

Winding and Warping

Grey winders Rs. 22-0-0) Approximately according to  
 Colour " " 24-0-0) the counts of the yarn.  
 Universal " " 26-0-0)  
 Warping " 44 to 57

Sizing

Front sizer Rs. 85-0-0  
 Back " " 42-0-0  
 Beam Carriers " 30-8-0

Drawing Department

Drawers Rs. 54-0-0  
 Bleachers " 27-0-0

Yarn house

Stamper Rs. 40-0-0  
 Front foders " 23-0-0  
 Back " " 27-0-0

Calender-men ) Front Calender-man Rs. 31-0-0  
 ) Back " " 23-0-0

The rates of some sorts out of the rates of cloth department that have been given:

Plane Khaddar

Width 24 inches - whole piece 24 yds - weight  $6\frac{1}{2}$  pounds - pick 40 - beam 14 - weft 8. Rate 4 pies a pound of this sort.

Patti border dhoti

Width 27 inches - whole piece 8 yds - weight  $\frac{1}{2}$  pound - pick 34 - beam 24 - weft 32. ~~Approximately according to the counts of the yarn.~~  
 $6\frac{1}{2}$  pies per one piece of this sort, that is  $8\frac{1}{2}$  pies for a pound.

Patti dobby dhoti

Width 30 inches - whole piece 7 yds - weight 1 pound 1 ounce.  
 Patti 8 - border  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch - runner  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch - pick 40 - beam 24 - weft 32.  
 $8\frac{1}{2}$  pies for one piece or 8 pies for a pound.



Fancy border check Sari

Completely coloured - width 40 inches - whole piece 2/7 yds -  
weight 1 1/2 pounds - pick 32 - beam 20 - weft 20.

8 1/2 pies for one pound.

That is Rs.40 will be got now where Rs.60 were being received formerly.

That is now Rs.36 will be got where Rs.51 were being formerly received.

That is now Rs.21 (will be got) if formerly Rs.30 were received as wages.

Time for meals and recess

The recess hours of factories and the time for taking meals have also been changed. They are as under :-

working time

Morning 7 to 9-30 work

From 9-30 to 10 recess

From 10 to 1 work

From 1 to 1-45 (three quarters of an hour) recess

From 1-45 to 6-15 work

That is, those who used to prepare their own meal and could go home and prepare it owing to the former recess of full one hour, cannot do anything now. As few men take their meals in the mills, the half-hour recess is of no use for many persons.

Prisoner's ticket ?

A ticket and a number will be given to every worker. He should show it while going in and coming out. A fine of Rs.4 will have to be paid if the ticket is lost.

If anyone is found by the officer to remain absent from his place for from his loom after coming to work, his wages will be cut down.

The owners have the right to close without notice any looms or any department in the factory. The wages will not be given for the days for which a department may be closed.

It will be considered an offence if the workers do the following things. The manager will inquire into it. If any

2.

offence out of these is committed, the worker will be dismissed and the whole of his wages will be attached.

1. Remaining absent for more than three days without proper reason.
2. Disobeying the order of officials.
3. Going on strike without giving one month's notice.
4. Instigating others to go on strike without giving one month's notice.
5. Infinging other rules framed for individual departments.
6. Committing theft.

The workers would not go to work on seeing these notices. The workers got enraged on seeing the possibility of reduction in men, reduction in wages and stopping of the bonus and prohibition even of bidi and tobacco.

A resolution was moved in the Municipality that help should be given to the workers, (but) that was also defeated by the underlings of the owners. The work of distributing grain was continued by the strike committee. Seeing that the workers do not flinch from their determination, a new net was thrown on the workers at the hands of the Police and Mr. Nimbkar was arrested and prosecuted. Beating of men was started.

The owners are now playing the last game. The final cards of the owners' are as under :-

Card 1. (Causing) men to starve.

- " 2. Not allowing the strike committee to get help.
- " 3. Alienating the men by giving help through the owners and the municipality.
- " 4. Deputing spies and rogues, getting offences committed at their hands, and charging the leaders with them.
- " 5. Sending leaders to jail.
- " 6. Forcibly getting in false men through Goondas and circulating the rumour that the mills are working.
- " 7. Harassing men with the bludgeon of the Police.

The owner-government and the moneylenders have got so many games to play. The resolution of the faithful, brave and fighting workers is the only one trump card of the workers which is superior to all these.

*S. V. R.*

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Real  
Workers.

Kranti 29th July 1928.

Page 5 (below a photograph)

women-volunteers of the Strike-Committee who did picketing.

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Kranti 29th July 1928

Page 6 (below a photograph)

Volunteers of the joint-strike-committee.

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Kranti 29th July 1928

Page 7 (below a photograph)

(Funeral) procession of Parashuram Jadhav who was killed in the firing.

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*SWR.*



1.

Kranti 2nd August 1928.

Last attack by the mill-owners.

Workers, now the last occasion come, be attentive and

Play this game cleverly.

The European Merchants' Chamber told the (mill) owners that trade has suffered a loss of five crores of rupees on account of the strike. The strike must and in some way or the other. The Share Brokers' (Lit. Gamblers') Association has also said the same.

Now the time has come for the owners being attacked from all sides. The workers were and are ready for an inquiry in order to show the falseness of, and to demolish, all the false accusations made against them. But the owners did not accept an inquiry because their secrets might be exposed in it (and) because their gambling, their false accounts (Lit. figures) and their stratagems of ruining the workers might come to light.

Now the owners are going to play the last game on the 6th August that is on the coming Monday. It is as follows :-

The doors of two or three mills will be opened with the help of the Police and the goondas. The goondas and the Police will be taken in and a false outcry shall be raised that the mills are working. The object of the owners is that the men may consider that the Police and the purely hired goondas are the workers and real workers may come to work. In some mill Police and their companions are to be given the garb of the workers and making it appear that the mill is working the men are to be deceived. For, looking to the men that had gone in, others will say "They have gone, come, let us go." Then when the real workers go in, these Police in false (garb) and the goondas will be sent back.

False rumours will be circulated in chawls that the owners have granted the old rates and the clerks and some jobbers will help the owners in doing so.

The owners are going to make complete preparation of bringing about <sup>a</sup> maramari (scuffle).

This dodge will continue for eight days. If the workers

do not go to work being deceived then the owners shall have to suffer permanent defeat. This is the last dodge of the owners. The workers have become tired out on account of starvation due to the strike continuing for four months. Therefore it is the dodge of the owners to try to work some mills by letting loose the Police, goondas, clerks and treacherous jobbers on the workers and making them false promises.

Baffle this dodge. Resort to picketing in chawls. Explain to your brethren that this is the last occasion. If this is won we are sure to win. Set guards at night. See what rumours the spies of the Police and those of the owners circulate.

Everyone must become courageous at this time. The Strike-Committee has so far distributed grain worth Rs.60,000/- (sixty thousand). The Committee will arrange for ten thousand rupees more but will not stop (distributing) grain. We know that the workers are starving. But this is a war. Victory is not gained unless we sacrifice ourselves in it. Victory is not gained unless patience is resorted to.

If you defeat this last dodge, 12000 workers who are going to be dismissed shall get work, the wages of forty thousand men from the spinning department will not be cut down (and) the plan of the owners of cutting the throats of the weavers will be defeated.

Remember that <sup>the</sup> looting profits by the owners has not stopped. In only yesterday's meeting of the owners Fazalbhoy said that his company made a profit of 22 lakhs of rupees.

Therefore say to the owners '(We) will not go to work till (our) demands are granted.'

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*SWA.*

1.

Kranti 12th August 1923.

The Govt. will appoint a compromise-Committee,  
but the strike will not end unless the cut wages are restored.  
If investigation is to be made, it should be made into the deceit  
of the owners and their profiteering should be buried.

The Bombay Govt. has resolved in the Legislative Council at Poona that a compromise-committee should be appointed to settle the dispute between the mill-owners and the mill-workers. A meeting of the owners and the workers will be convened to consider whether such a compromise-committee is wanted or not. If that meeting arrives at the decision that a committee should be appointed, then the Govt. will appoint a committee.

The workers want compromise and their demands.

<sup>The W</sup>  
Workers will not accept compromise with a cut in wages. Moreover we must get an idea beforehand as to the manner in which the Govt. will appoint the Committee and of its personnel. The personnel. The terms of reference of the committee should be settled beforehand. The terms of reference must be settled in consultation with the owners and the workers. The workers will be ruined if the committee institutes an inquiry only into those matters which the Govt. will ask it. For, when the owners effected a cut in the wages (they) complained that they were incurring loss. The workers say "Your loss is not due to our wages". This is the real root (cause) of the strike. The workers are ready to lay their hands on it, are the owners ready or not? The owners should be ready to this condition regarding the inquiry if they are prepared to prove the truth <sup>of</sup> what they say and to prove that they are not giving false promises, that they are not indulging in craftiness, looting and false transactions. The workers are ready to prove that if loss is being incurred, it is not due to the workers but to the several frauds of the owners.

The second subject for inquiry should be this: the owners have made deliberately false statements that they have not cut the wages, have not changed the sorts (and) that the workers went on strike without any cause. The workers are ready to show evidence ~~where~~



about their falsehood. Are the owners prepared to show openly their muster rolls, pay books etc ?

This is the only compromise

that (we) shall not accept lower wages and shall not obey the rules of prisoners. Some owners say that the owners themselves have not understood who will be profited or put to loss and to what extent as a result of the new rules and the new scheme drafted by the owners and one owner has suggested that this scheme should be worked out until that is known.

The workers say

"Our wages have been cut down in that scheme. They should be restored (and) this new scheme should be so worked out as we can get our former wages and those getting very low wages may get an increment." And the workers and the owners should make a contract to work out this scheme for two years. The owners should not make any change in it till that time. And till then it is the opinion of the workers that if the owners may be incurring loss it is merely due to their gambling. Therefore a committee consisting of the workers and all the owners and an impartial person should be appointed in order to watch the management of the mills. Then we shall see

how do the owners pocket crores of rupees.

"Till then (we) shall not accept even a reduction of a pice in the wages and shall not work even for a minute more."

Kranti 17th August 1923.

The owners say "First come to work, then the Committee will give its decision."

The workers say "Let the Committee give its decision first, let the rates and the wages be settled, then the strike shall be called off."

Continue your attack - make preparations for going home - our demands must be granted.

Though the compromise fails, the workers will not be discouraged.

A procession of thirty-thousand workers shall start for going to their villages.

Grand preparation in various chawls

The second meeting of the owners, the Government and the workers took place at 11 O'clock on Thursday. The main question before the meeting was only one. It had been ~~xxx~~ unanimously settled in the meeting on the first day that an inquiry committee should be appointed and that committee should consider the demands of the owners and the workers (and) it should be inquired what wages the owners have cut, why they have been cut and why were the new rules framed. At first the owners also consented to this. Later on they started new talk: "Call off the strike, join (your) work, and take some money by way of advance till the committee gives its decision, join (your) work first, then after the result of the inquiry is out we shall settle the rates and the wages etc."

The strike-committee held its meeting on Thursday morning and decided that it was not possible to call off the strike until it is definitely decided what the inquiry committee will grant us (and) what rates and wages will the owners give.

This decision was communicated to the owners. The reply on the part of the workers was communicated to the owners that the work of the inquiry-committee should be commenced, that the inquiry should at once be started and a report made within <sup>and</sup> fifteen days or so that the strike should be ended by drafting an agreement in respect of rates, wages and rules and getting it

about their falsehood. Are the owners prepared to show openly their muster rolls, pay books etc ?

This is the only compromise

that (we) shall not accept lower wages and shall not obey the rules of prisoners. Some owners say that the owners themselves have not understood who will be profited or put to loss and to what extent as a result of the new rules and the new scheme drafted by the owners and one owner has suggested that this scheme should be worked out until that is known.

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signed by the owners and the workers.

At that time the owners retired to consider the matter and said on coming back "we don't want the inquiry-committee if you are not ready to call off the strike at once."

The workers said, "we know what you will give us if we first go to work and then settle the wages. And even if the strike continues, what difficulty is there for you in starting the inquiry? As you say so, it must be your dodge to get the committee appointed, to break the strike and then to keep the committee hanging."

Yesterday's compromise was broken in this manner.

The workers should now be on their guard, for, we are sure that the owners desire very much to start the mills and herein lies our strength.

Let us make preparations to go to our native places, all jobbers, masters and other persons should become ready to send their men (to their native places). The occasion is really criticized.

It is our only declaration that the mills will not begin to work until the cut wages are restored and the new notices are cancelled.

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*JWA.*

Kranti 17th August 1928.

History of the compromise

Secret agreement of the owners with the Government?

The owners changed front at the eleventh hour.

A meeting of the owners and workers and the Government was held on Wednesday the 15th at 2.0'clock at noon in order to effect a compromise in connection with the strike. This meeting was called by the Government. Mr. Joshi had on the 14th July written a letter to Government that as the owners and the workers were not both of them ready to talk with each other, the Government should mediate and call a meeting of both. But the owners were not ready to accept an inquiry or a compromise-committee. Then from the 16th August the owners began to open the mills one after another. The attempt (lit. it) failed. Then the session of the Government's Legislative Council took place. And taking its advantage the owners informed the Government from the inside that they would accept a compromise-committee. But when the owners informed the Government that they <sup>accept a compromise-committee, they had</sup> would <sup>laid down one more condition that they would accept</sup> a (compromise) committee only if the workers would call off the strike and come to work as soon as it is decided to appoint a Committee. The owners say that the Government knew about this secret condition (lit. pag). They might have communicated it to the Government but the men did not certainly know it. From what the Government stated in the Council it could only be seen from the outside that attempt should be made to appoint a compromise-committee.

The owners do not <sup>want</sup> compromise.

The meeting on Wednesday was held on conditions - on secret conditions thus settled from the inside and not known to the workers but known only to the Government and the owners. The representatives of the workers had gone there with the only idea of at first appointing a compromise-committee with the consent of both the parties. But the owners were not ready for it. They only wanted an inquiry committee.

The workers' representatives took no objection to it. It may be called a compromise-committee or an inquiry-committee the real point was only this that by the appointment of some committee, the committee might try to bring the quarrel to some end.

Therefore when the first meeting commenced both (the parties) expressed the opinion that an inquiry-committee should be appointed. It was then discussed which matters the committee should inquire into. It was decided there that:-

(1) It should be considered whether the new scheme regarding wages and work drafted by the owners was proper or not.

(2) It should be considered whether the 17 demands of the workers were proper or not.

(3) It should be considered whether the new rules regarding work were proper or not.

While settling these conditions, the question naturally arose that the books of the owners will certainly be required to investigate all these matters, then how can the books and their statistics etc be had? If the workers' representatives would demand them, they (the owners) must give them. A good deal of discussion took place on this. In the end it was settled that the workers should ask for the necessary books from the inquiry-committee and that the owners would bring them before the committee and keep them for the inspection of the workers' representatives.

Secret condition of the owners

All this was settled. It was also settled that an inquiry-committee should be appointed (and that) it should institute an inquiry into the above-mentioned three items. The secret condition of the owners known to the owners and the Government till that time had not so far come out. After this the discussion arose as to the composition of the committee. The workers said that a committee consisting of the owners, the Government and

3.

the workers should be formed and that it should give the decision. But both the owners and the Govt. opposed this suggestion. The owners did not give any reason for their opposition. But that reason is clearly obvious. If the representatives of the workers sit on the committee they would put embarrassing questions to the witnesses of the owners and would bring into the open the owners' books as a matter of right.

Extremist leaders not wanted.

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Here appears  
to be some  
mistake in  
the original.

The owners opposed this suggestion in order that the leaders of the workers should not get this opportunity. That the Govt. opposed this (suggestion) was no doubt due to the above reason of the owners. \*How would the Govt. like the opportunity of seeing the workers in the confusion of the owners? But there was another cause of the Govt. besides this. The Govt. did not give it out. It pointed out quite a different reason. But the real cause was something else. It was this that if the workers' representatives were taken on the committee, the workers would send on their side some one only out of Nimbkar, Mirajkar, Jhabwala, Dange, Jechi (and) Alwe. And nearly all of them are the members of Workers' and Peasants' Party, most of them Communists. The Govt. is bent upon crushing this party. Then how are the members of such a party to be taken on the committee? If they are taken on the committee they will sit side by side with the big owners and the big Govt., will see the books and will lay bare the wisdom of the owners' witnesses. Therefore the Govt. did not like that these Communists should be appointed on the committee and should secure all this advantage for the workers. But the Govt. did not (also) like to tell this frankly. It was afraid that if this was stated, not only would the Govt's name, already of bad repute, would further earn bad repute but also that the Workers and the Peasants Party would become stronger and that the (number of) Communists would increase.



The Govt. forget history

Therefore the Govt. put forward the lame excuse that the quarrel was between the owners and the workers. Therefore if the representatives of the parties in a quarrel be on the Committee, both will quarrel and each one will say that his party is good and truthful. And in the end the work <sup>of</sup> giving the decision will fall to the lot of only the third person, that of the Govt. But it appears that all the past things have passed out of the memory of the Govt. which is ruling (India) for these one hundred and fifty years. There was a quarrel between the Govt. and the people as to whether the Swaraj reforms granted by the Govt. were functioning properly or not. But there ~~was~~ were the representatives of the people on the inquiry-committee appointed in that connection. When in the peasants' struggle in Champaranya the Govt. appointed (Mr.) Gandhi on the committee it already knew that (Mr.) Gandhi was from the first on the peasants' side. The Legislatures have insisted up-till-now that every committee appointed by Govt. should whenever there is a quarrel between any Govt. Dept. and the people, should have on it the people's representatives. On the contrary if there were the representatives of the workers and the owners on this committee in connection with this quarrel the workers would have placed their confidence upon it on account of their men being on the committee. Of course <sup>the</sup> the owners do not much care for this. For, in this <sup>the</sup> struggle/Govt. has so far supported the owners' side only. Educated intelligensia has supported the owners' side. Therefore a committee of the impartial will ~~mean~~ mean the committee of the owners and of the Govt. it will inquire into the matter and will attempt to give a quite judicious decision!

When should the strike be called off?

In the end after this point was settled, the question arose how the strike should be called off. The workers asked what they (the owners) offered if the strike is called off. Then the owners said that they would from now to the date of

the decision of the committee pay wages as settled by the committee. And that the workers might take some advance till the day of its decision comes. (The workers) refused to take advance ~~it~~ (some amount drawn before-hand). To commence work after four month's starvation and when all money-lenders and rent-collectors demand payments (Lit. stand in front) to receive ten annas for one rupee's work; who will listen to such perverted advice? Then again it was suggested that all men in the spinning department should be given one rupee a day in advance and those in the weaving department should be given one rupee eight annas. The workers refused this amount. For, the sider of the spinning department and the weaver certainly earns more than this every day. The workers said that wages of the year 1925 should be given to them till the decision <sup>of the inquiry-committee was out and after the decision</sup> had been arrived at, the owners and the workers will settle the matter. The owners got startled at the mention of the year 1925. Then the workers said that they would decide the matter the next day. The owners wanted the decision immediately (but) they could not get it. They wanted to start the mills by ending the strike on the spot in one meeting. But no sooner they were told that we would postpone the decision of this till the next day than ~~it~~

the dodge of deception.

the secret condition of the owners and the govt, came out. "We don't want the inquiry committee if you are not ready to end the strike now. For, we had communicated our condition to the Govt. that the strike must be stopped as soon as the committee was appointed." The workers were wonder-struck to hear this condition. There was no mention whatsoever of such a condition in the letters sent by the Govt. to the workers in this matter or in the announcements to the newspapers. An inquiry-committee should be appointed and that committee should express its opinion only on examining the justness of the demands of both the sides. The workers and the owners may or may not accept it as they liked. The workers

bold type  
in the original.

6.

had not the least idea that the condition would be considered in the meeting that an inquiry-committee should be appointed ~~an~~ only if the strike would be called off. And a committee was appointed and its work was defined. Now whether the strike should be continued or stopped till the decision of the committee is out is quite a different question, it has no connection with the inquiry of the committee. But as soon as it was said that we would discuss this the next day the owners put forth the question of thievish obstruction and deception that they would accept the inquiry-committee only if the strike would be stopped and that decision must be given at once <sup>at</sup> the very table.

straight-forward reply.

When it was inquired how could we know your secret condition on the basis of which alone you would be willing to accept the inquiry committee, the reply was received "we had informed the Govt. about it." The workers gave the straight-forward reply "but we did not attend the meeting upon this condition and the Govt. which ought to have informed us of this condition of the owners did not inform us about it." And (the workers told them) ~~it~~ that if they would persist in their obstinacy to accept the inquiry only if the strike would be immediately called off and not otherwise, then they should clearly say that they did not then want the committee any longer.

The owners were not ready to publicly accept this and to expose this farce of secret agreements. They accepted what the workers said about coming to a decision the next day.

A meeting was held as settled at 11 o'clock on Thursday. The representatives of the workers informed the owners that the committee should start its inquiry and the report should be submitted rather early. After the report is published, the owners and the workers should permanently end this difference by entering into a final agreement among themselves regarding wages, rates and rules. The workers do not approve of settling the conditions and considering (Lit. seeing) the report of the committee after calling off the strike.

Dodge of breaking the strike without granting the demands

On hearing this, the owners retired into a room to discuss the matter. Then they gave their decision that "you should join your work just now, we shall give you some money for your expenses. If after the report of the committee is out, it is acceptable to both of us, we shall finally settle the rates and the wages." The workers did not accept it. Let the committee be appointed. It is not at all difficult to go through the inquiry and to finish the work within fifteen days. But the owners want to break the strike, they do not really want an inquiry. The clearly apparent dodge was to go on accumulating the account <sup>by preparing accounts</sup> at intervals after the strike was over and <sup>then</sup> to set at naught the committee. For, the owners fully knew that once the strike was broken, the workers being exhausted will sit quiet even though their necks were twisted at <sup>will</sup> ~~the~~ inside (the mills).

Question to the owners

At this time Sir, Ghulam Hussain, General member to the Govt. asked the owners what objection they had to appoint an inquiry-committee during the continuance of the strike. The committee can work even though the strike continued. But the owners clung to their secret condition for, their real demand was the breaking of the strike. They take <sup>an</sup> inquiry committee to be a great fun or farce. Because <sup>they</sup> know that after the strike is broken, even if the committee gives its decision against them, the workers cannot go on strike again for six months even if they do not abide by it.

The word amayar i.e. to work occurs here in the original, but it does not suit the context.

thus failed the dodge of the owners of breaking the strike by making <sup>it</sup> show that they were willing to accept an inquiry committee. And they made public their craftiness by saying that they did not want the inquiry-committee.

*SWL*

Aranti 19th August 1923.

Who broke the compromise?

What does Mr. JOSHI say?

Friday evening Mr. Joshi delivered lecture in Girgaum in an organization of some educated persons. In that lecture a pleader said that the people were against the strike because there ~~was~~<sup>were</sup> communists in it. And that the people entertained the suspicion that some men from Lancashire had come to incite the strikers.

Mr. S. M. Joshi gave a reply to all these doubts. He said "What is to be gained simply by saying that the Communists are bad? The Communists come to the front because they go among the workers and carry on their agitation (and) fight for them. If you do not want the communists you yourselves should <sup>go</sup> in their place and fight but the fight of the workers. Then the workers will listen to you. So also it is childish to say that the strike is going on because of the instigation of a Lancashire man. One and a half lakh of workers will not starve themselves for four months and continue the strike merely because of instigation. Making such a false accusation means seeking opportunity for shutting one's eyes to the real hardships and demands of the workers. If there really be any agents of Lancashire amongst us they are the newspapers like the Times (of India) owned by the capitalists from there (England)."

The owners broke the compromise about the strike. The newspapers are mistaken in blaming the workers. The owners broke the compromise by raising the new question that the strike should be ended as soon as the inquiry committee was appointed."

A resolution to help the strike was passed in the meeting.

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1.

Kranji 23rd August 1928.

Tenacity of the workers and the compromise.

Tactics regarding the compromise.

The owners dispersed the meeting of the owners and the workers which was brought about through the mediation of the Govt. The owners at first accepted the committee and then went back on their word. They went back on their word saying "We shall accept the Committee if you will break the strike and come to work." Evidently the workers merely laughed at this suggestion and came back. But before concluding the meeting (Lit. Committee) the proprietor of the Sasoon (Co.) suggested "If both the parties do not agree as regards this (matter), why the discussions which used to take place formerly in the meetings of the committee of the owners and the workers, were discontinued? What objection is there to continue them?" The workers said "Your President stopped them when the discussions were going on." In the last meeting they said "We shall inform you the date of the next meeting." (But) they have never again called the workers since that time.

Then it was rumoured that Dr. Deshmukh, the Municipal President was making an attempt to effect a compromise. It has not as yet met with much success; but attempts are going on on his part.

Our compromise will be successful if the tenacity of the workers remains intact during the continuance of all these efforts (Lit. tazar). The strength of the workers' strike is required at the back of compromise and success, this is why no one is ready to break the strike by mere talks of compromise. For, the workers fully understand that if they go to work on the conditions of the owners, the owners will sit quiet pecking ten such committees.

Therefore appoint any committees (you) like, we have no objection to it. The workers are ready to sit on them and to expose the owners' manipulations in accounts. But

2.

But if the owners think that the strikers should join work notwithstanding the appointment of the committee, an agreement regarding wages for two years must first be entered into. The committee may go at ease from mill to mill for two years and inspect their accounts. But the rates that you will now settle must be got by us for at least a minimum period. Otherwise we might resume our work to day and after ten days your committee might recommend a cut in wages. We shall not accept this bargain. It was not for committees but for wages and (our) liberty that we remained on strike for five months.

Another dodge has come to our ears. (It is asked) whether our pre-strike condition was bad. The owners will abandon their new scheme, you abandon the mention of the year 1925 and make a pact. The suggestion appears nice. But wages and rates of which time are meant by pre-strike wages and rates? For though this general strike was declared on the 16th April, the cuts, a the campaign of reduction and the series of strikes has been continuously going on from the time of the Bascon Mill strike of July 1927. Therefore the words pre-strike rates and wages is a mere trap. Moreover no one has still prepared a list of prestrike rates and wages. During the whole of this year such a good deal of craftiness of the owners and the Govt. has been apparent that though both of them have got thousands of clerks and offices, none of them has published a table of the wages and the rates that were formerly paid in the different mills. To state that the workers know what their wages are and not to publish them when asked: such is the policy of hiding adopted by the owners and the Govt's Labour Office.

But the workers will not be misled by such tactics. Appoint a committee of the workers and the owners and let it collect the rates and the wages in all the mills at the rate of 20 mills a day! What harm is there for the owners to show the rates and the wages obtaining in the three years 1925, 1926, 1927? And then you yourselves and the people

3.

will clearly understand what your new schemes, rates etc. are.

The mountain of our strike will not move till that time. We shall fight in this very manner, but shall not cut our throats with our own hands by accepting a compromise of any sort.

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*W.C.*



REPLY dated the 6th September 1942.

What next? A similar fight hereafter. He who would be very much exhausted at the very beginning should be supported by others. Letters sent to us by workers and a reply to them.

Not even one would fall back.

Will Rs. 10,000 more be received for the strike?

1. We have received many letters from the workers. Different men have made different suggestions in them. Some say "we shall stop from going to our villages as soon as negotiations start. So should we go or wait?" The reply to it is only this that they should not wait with the hope of compromise.

The owners become more strict when those halt who want to go out.

2. Some men wrote that grain distribution should be stopped and money should be given for proceeding to villages. The reply to this is that if grain is distributed there remains no room for making such difference as giving less grain to one and more to another. Now/some places mistakes are being made and some one gets less someone gets more, while someone does not get anything at all. But this takes place in the case of very few persons. But to pay the fare for going to one's native place will entail more partiality. One's ticket will cost ten rupees while another's will cost ten rupees. A worker from Nokkan will reach(his native place) in two rupees, while a man from Ponna will demand four rupees(while some one will be able to reach(his native place) only in four annas. If the strike-committee spends ten rupees for one and ten annas for another, partiality will increase, misunderstanding will spread among ourselves and the enemy's party will grow strong. Still the Committee is carrying on negotiations in this way with the steam-ship companies.

3. Some workers say that the strike committee has not got an abundance (lit. sea) of money. The money with it is therefore sure to be exhausted some time or the other. What should the workers do if grain(distribution) is stopped after the money has been exhausted? and why should compromise be effected with the owners if they have not still conceded the demand?

The reply to this is that the workers are poor but not beggars. We know that in the house of some workers fire for cooking is not lighted for four days together and their children cry on account of hunger. But it must be borne in mind that we are fighting for our own selves. Imprisonment, oppression and starvation have to be suffered in war. Some one has however informed us as yet in writing or orally that the strike should be broken and the owners conditions should be accepted. The Strike-Committee and the leaders are ready to obey that order of the workers. The workers should therefore give the reply of the question what is to be done if grain distribution is stopped. The committee could so far

Distribute grain worth Rs. 10,000/-

on account of the vigour and the courage of the workers. The Communist workers of Russia are ready to pay ten thousand rupees (10,000) more to help our strike. But it appears that the Govt. or our enemy has placed obstacles in its way. Still all the workers should hold a grand meeting and should communicate to the world their opinion and their resolution as to what this fighti. Army of the workers should do.

At any rate it appears from what all persons have written in the letters received by us that:-

1. The reduction of men and wages made by the owners must not be accepted.
2. Those who can, should go to their native places.
3. Those who cannot should pull on for some days more as far as possible.
4. Those who have gone to villages should not come back even though the rumour is circulated that five to ten mills have resumed working and should not enable the owners to get sufficient workers.
5. Preparation should be made to continue the fight adopting guerrilla tactics.
6. All should think over how the next attack is to be made and should inform the committee of their decision.

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1.

Kranti dated 30th September 1923.

Compromise and the steamer.

Provision made by the Strike-Committee for sick workers.

Inform your real intention to the Committee without  
fear for the Committee is yours.

The Strike-Committee arranged for a special steamer for one thousand strikers desirous of going to their native place. We are certain that the attitude of the owners must change as soon as the strikers leave the harbour. Men are suffering terrible starvation, sickness is increasing, the persecution of the workers carried on by the wicked house-owners who have become masters of lakhs by unjustly seizing the land in Bombay and investing in it the money produced by the labour of the workers, has reached its height. Mercenary pleaders of this country calling themselves the brethren of the workers (Lit. us) but thirsting for money, are showering notices and attachments on behalf of the owners. The Bailiffs are filling the Court house by snatching even a handful of rice in the house. The owners on one side are feeding our enemies with money and have begun to print and distribute gratis handbills and newspapers cutting our throats. The fight is raging hand to hand on all sides. What is the Strike-Committee doing at such a time? See what the leaders selected (Lit. made ready) by the workers do, and declare your intention.

The Strike-Committee is strenuously striving to bring about a compromise. But in order that a compromise may be successfully reached, the fighting ~~any~~ must not get disunited. Treachery must be beaten and banished (Lit. thrown out of the gate of the village). There are two or three ways for reaching a compromise before the Strike-Committee. On thousand sides thousand suggestions are being made by every one. The Committee is considering all these suggestions and is making the way for compromise clear and easy for those who have sent the suggestions, by effecting such changes in them as will not be ruinous and deceptive to the workers.

2.

Among the various suggestions so far received, (the following) three are prominent :-

(1) the owners should accept (lit. listen to) the new scheme of the workers. (2) the workers should accept the new scheme of the owners with general increase of some percentage (3) or they should ask for an increase of 15 per cent on the pre-strike wages and begin work till an Inquiry-Committee is appointed and its report is out.

The Strike-Committee has very carefully considered these three suggestions. It requires no mention that (Suggestion) No.1 is of course at once acceptable to the Committee, because we shall certainly accept our own scheme.

(Suggestion) No.2 is also worth consideration. But it is impossible to ask for a general increase of 20-30 (or) 40 per cent on the owners' scheme. For, in their scheme if they have cut 10 per cent at one place, they have cut 30 per cent at another x (and) at some places they have cut down 40 per cent. So if a general increase of 30 per cent is asked for, the person whose (wages) have been cut down by 10 per cent will get 20 per cent more, while the person whose (wages) have been cut down by 40 per cent will lose 10 per cent (out of his original wages). We certainly want an increase if it can be had, but we do not want an increase which brings no loss. Therefore how can a general increase be demanded so long as different rates and wages are not increased in different proportions ?

Suggestion No.3 also appears to be a nice one. If on the appointment of an Inquiry-Committee it will do its work carefully, if there will be the representatives of the workers on it and if it will not effect cut and reduction in hot haste within three days of the stopping of the strike, give us so many percent increase on pre-strike wages as will give us our former wages, stop new systems, give us some advance and then let the work of the committee go on !

The Strike-Committee will very carefully consider all suggestions and there is no doubt that it will bring about in



3.

a short time a really successful compromise with the help of the workers.

It is understood that the Owners' Association also will consider these suggestions. Some owners in that Association favour suggestion No.2 and some favour suggestion No.3. It is learnt that the meetings of the Owners' Association are frequently held.

The Committee is in the meanwhile making arrangement of medicine etc for sick workers. The relatives and the neighbours of sick persons should personally give information in the office. Similarly those who wish to communicate any complaint of theirs should communicate it to the secretary.

It is to be stated in the end that paying attention to your honesty, your oaths, your extreme sufferings in future if you lose courage, your future unemployment, (your) reduced wages, (and your) increased work do not destroy the fruit of your self-sacrifice and tough fight for six months.

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*W.C.*

1.

Kranji 13th Oct. 1928

Irrational behaviour (Lit. Reverse side) of the  
Khatara Mill.

The owners of the Khatara Mill distributed grain for some days during the strike. The Agent of the mill strove much for a settlement of the strike. But as soon as the pact had been entered into, a beginning to break it has been made in this mill. This is a very bad thing. Men in the folding department of this mill have been asked to work for 10 instead of 8 hours. The Manager says that he would grant some increase in the wages in return for that, but, sir, we neither want your increase (in wages) nor the ten hours (of work) ! A worker also informs that the 420 men in the spinning department have been reduced to 320 and the 14 colliers to 8. Is it not that the pact is being well observed ? (The complaint has been forwarded to the Owners' Association ).

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Insolence in the Sopari Beṅg (Mill).

There is already the quarrel about two sides in the Sopari Beṅg (Mill). It has not been settled by this strike. But the fire of it will remain smouldering in the same manner and it will blaze some time or other. But the owners have played one more trick in this mill except that of two sides. There is a 'Wais' department in this mill. There is no connection whatsoever of the new and old systems as regards the workers in that department. It is said that the wages of those workers were cut down thrice during the year 1927. Now the owners instead of giving the men in that mill (Lit department) the wages of 1927 as promised by them, are telling them to accept the reduced pre-strike wages. Workers, listen to this, and begin preparations (The complaint has been sent to the Owners' Association).

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2.

In the Simplex Mill at Katasta

The time for closing of the Mechanical Dept. has been changed from 5:30 P.M. to 6 P.M. The Manager has been written to attend to this and change the notice. The Owners' Association has been informed).

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*Will*



Aranti dated 28th November 1928.

Beware of spies.

Brahmin-Non-Brahmin and other quarrels are not wanted  
in the labour movement.

Our enemy's party has let loose spies in different guises. The workers already know about secret spies. Some spies act treacherously after winning a place of great confidence. The workers should therefore be on their guard in such matters. The work of those who place difficulties in the way of the poor workers is very big. Information has reached our ears that some persons are making preparations to foster the Brahmin-Non-Brahmin controversy. It is better that the workers have a previous intimation about this. If one raises the question of caste or religion in the workers' movement the workers should at once silence him. At present we are struggling for (our) wages, for conditions of work, for (the number of) men. Brahmins, Mahars, Dheds, Ghatis (and) Marathas carrying it on are all one. Similarly if anyone entertains any doubt he should openly ask for an explanation and get it cleared. One should not remain murmuring in lanes and corners and if one be acting in that manner it is an indication of impotency.

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KRANTI

1929

Kranti dated 13.1.1929

Page 4, Col 3.

Meeting of Tramway workers

Mr. Jhabwala's resolution thrown out.

A meeting of the Tramway workers was held on the 7th (instant) opposite the Ladar workshop. Messrs Jhabwala, Bradley (and) Dange were present at the meeting. At the beginning Bapu Shinde, Secretary, gave a report of the work of the Union. Then Mr. Dange, general secretary, explained what was gained by sending a deputation to the Manager and what will the workers gain from the new rules regarding gratuity, provident fund, bonus etc framed by the company. Then Mr. Bradley gave a report of what happened at the Jharia Trade Union Congress. In the end Mr. Jhabwala began to speak. He said, "I cannot agree with Dange and Bradley and I am accused of going astray, and you people should change the name 'Tramway-men's Union' and adopt the name 'Tramway Workshop Union.'"

Bapu Shinde opposed the resolution about change of name. The resolution was thrown out.

Then (Mr.) Dange gave (the following) reply to the speech of (Mr.) Jhabwala: "It is quite true what we said about Mr. Jhabwala that he is going astray. Because when the Government Police fired on the workers (Mr.) Jhabwala wrote letters to the owners against us and against the workers and silently tried to get (himself) patted on the back by the owners by petiously saying that he was very quiet (and) that he did not want strikes. We will certainly speak against such craftiness and frightfulness on his part. And I have got evidence regarding these letters, Mr. Jhabwala should not bring this quarrel in the Tramway Union and if he has to bring it, he should give previous notice about it. We are ready to produce evidence. Just at this time Mr. Jhabwala dissolved the meeting."

The word 'police' in the original appears to be a misprint for 'olisanin' that is 'by the police'

The word 'hali' in the original appears to be a misprint

2

How can the union prosper when workers swallowing 5 per cent commission out of the union subscription for recovering it dance as leaders at the signal of Jhabwala's eyes and who dance to the <sup>lane of</sup> lame Jhabwala! On the contrary Jhabwala would find it convenient to play a nude dance (complete license) by creating disunion!

Mr. Jhabwala's opposition to the Managing Committee, his inability to controvert opinions, his going away from the very meeting when the members would ask questions regarding mismanagement are things extremely dishonourable to those who call themselves leaders.

A private meeting was held at Kanmad on the 23rd and 24th February 1929 to discuss all these things and to give a proper lead to the union movement. Several representatives from far off places were present at the meeting. Men at Kanmad had invited Mr. Jinwala, the President, Mr. Jhabwala, the General Secretary and the members of the managing committee of the Bombay branch. But Mr. Jhabwala did not allow anyone to go. For his mind was telling him that the workers at Katunga and Farel will turn against him when they would clearly know his own actions.

After that a meeting was again held at Farel on the 27th (and) 28th and as the members placed before the meeting the full measure of Jhabwala's past actions, Mr. Jinwala ought to have dealt with the matter as president. But Mr. Jinwala took the side of Mr. Jhabwala and first Mr. Jhabwala and then Mr. Jinwala went away from the meeting. Then the members of the managing committee unanimously selected barrister <sup>Rukar</sup> ~~Kinkar~~ (Kagpur) as the president of the meeting and continued its work. And forwarding the decision of the meeting to Mr. Jhabwala and Mr. Jinwala, a reply to it was demanded till 12 noon on the next day. Mr. Jhabwala gave some sort of reply but he did not remember to bring it into practice.

Mr. Jinwala expressed regret because Mr. Kulkarni's



name was suggested for the presidentship of the Trade Union Congress instead of that of a leader like himself who had spent his energies (lit. mind) and money! The moderate leaders are merely hankering after honour! What else (do they do)?

After this Mr. Jiwala and (Mr.) Jhabwala caused a meeting to be held on 4.3.29 through their devotees to protest against the meeting at Manmad and the resolution of the 28th and got their demonic desire satiated by making them express/protest against the resolutions and getting the resolution passed that money will not be sent to the head office till this confusion is put an end to by the Bombay branch.

There is a limit to deceit. (But) Mr. Jhabwala has forgotten even this in his attitude of vengeance what his condition would be when the workshop men become clearly aware of its excess!

A Railway worker.

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GWL

Kranti dated 20.1.1929

Page 3 (full page)

Mr. Alve's reply to Jhabwala

(Now-a-days since comrade Jhabwala has left the Workers' and Peasants' Party, he has begun to write letters abusing Alve, Dange, Nimbkar, Joglekar, Bradley and others, in every newspaper. While writing them Jhabwala boasts that he conducted all those movements that took place up-till-now. Mr. Alve has written the following article by way of a reply to him. Jhabwala says that he conducted the strikes of 1923 and 1925. And he has told a good many lies about them. This article contains quite a different information.

Those workers who may desire to write articles further criticising this matter should write them and send them to us. On hearing all criticism we shall give our reply in the end.

Editor, Kranti).

Past history

It is now 9(or) 10 years since the mill-workers' movement started. Mr. Baptista had started a Union called "mill-workers' (Union)." I am a man working on behalf of the union from that time. Jobbers (and) head-jobbers from some mills were working with Baptista. But the work could not be systematically conducted as it should. Because the jobbers (and) head-jobbers being men always acting according to the wishes of the owners, the workers could not derive the benefit that they should have done, discontent was rife among the people and it resulted in the breaking up of the union.

Then Bole, Talcherkar, Chagare Master and other began to work for the workers through the Hitavardhak Sangh. (1923) secretly held meetings in the chawls and only saw if anything could be secured by goodwill by going to the bungalows of the owners. But this clandestine management of affairs did not meet with success. Afterwards people gradually lost confidence in that union also and that (union) too came to an end.

And in 1923 the general strike for bonus began. After the passing of 8 or 10 days after the strike not a single person came even to inquire why the men went on a strike and the former respectable leaders also began to make themselves scarce. At that time I made up my mind and realized that there is no help for us but to get redressed through self-help the grievances of us workers. Therefore taking some of my worker brothers with me I started such work as issuing handbills (and) holding meetings and started vigorously the movement of the working class. On seeing this my work, Mr. Bhatavdekar and Nayekar joined me. As I had got the experience of both the previous unions, I had clearly wanted both these persons that this movement of the workers must be conducted by the workers themselves. Then as we approved of the ideas of one another the organization called the Girni Kamgar Maha Mandal was inaugurated. The strike of 1923 was conducted by that organization and it proved a failure. After the strike was broken I went to my native place on account of my family difficulties for five or six months. During these six months the Girni Kamgar Maha Mandal did not get even a single more member than twelve.

On coming from my native place I asked the secretary how the Maha Mandal was going on. At that time the secretary and the president gave the reply that not only did the number of members not go above twelve but that all of the twelve were not also willing to pay the subscription. On hearing this the words slipped from my mouth "you are unfit to manage the Maha Mandal." Afterwards I could not agree with those persons. And I independently opened an office of the very name 'Girni Kamgar Maha Mandal' near Krabhadevi and began to work in it. In the very first month the number of members exceeded 12 hundred to 13 hundred, they appointed me as president. Within one year the number of members reached upto three and half thousand. (I) could not get the necessary leisure to do the work. As I was a looms-man in a mill, it became impossible for me to carry on the work of the



mandal after working (in the mill) for ten hours. Still after the mill was closed in the evening I was making the workers realize what organization is by seeing some persons during two three hours at night by holding meetings at different places (and) by taking out processions on holidays. Just at this time the owners got passed in their association the policy of effecting a cut of 11 per cent in the worker's wages. As soon as I heard this news I got engrossed in the thought as to how to awaken the working class which was sleeping (and) how to do away with the coming onslaught. After considering how the workers who had been defeated in the strike that took place in 1923 will be ready for a strike (and) after creating some new life among the workers, I resolved to carry on this work. I began to carry on vigorously the programme of the Sunday evening processions etc. but the people did not gather together as they should have. Therefore I adopted another remedy. I began to sing the songs of the working class in all those chawls where the workers lived. And when the men gathered, through love of singing, I instructed them by delivering a lecture that the owners were going to effect a cut of 11 per cent in their wages and that <sup>they</sup> (workers) should, therefore, get awakened (and) should not remain sleeping. I kept on a programme of this nature continually for two months and eighteen days. And as soon as the notice effecting a cut of 11 per cent was posted (I) took out a huge procession of the workers (and) holding a very big meeting of all workers, sounded the bugle of strike. And I warned them in that meeting that as soon as the handbill was cut the work of the 83 mills must be stopped. In this manner the pain (taken by me) for two months and eighteen days, bore fruit. All mills were closed on the day fixed. After that deputations were sent to the owners and to the Governor on behalf of the Kaha Mandal. This (was my) programme and in that strike Mr. Joshi (M.L.A.), Bakhle, Asavle, Jinwala, Jhabwala, Bole and others, all these joined and fought out the strike together for three months and a quarter.

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And in that strike the work of keeping discipline and peacefulness, distributing grain to the workers, giving passes of steamers and railways for those going outside, had fallen on me. Nothing took place at the hands of big leaders except sitting in the Girson office and making discussions. (In doing this toilsome work God gave me success in the end. For which I am thankful. After the strike came to an end all began to say "Let us all unite in one union and work." But from past experience the idea came in my mind that we could not agree with these big leaders, (and) that ever and above being the slaves of the owners we would become slaves of the advanced and talkative leaders also and deciding in my mind that the workers' movement must be carried on by the ~~work~~ workers themselves, I began to carry on independently the (work of) the Girni Kamgar Maha Mandal and on the other side a union was started under the leadership (lit names) of Mr. Joshi (M.L.A.), Bakhle, Jinwala, (and) Jhabwala. In this way two Mandal (Unions) of the workers came into existence. Mr. Jhabwala having separated himself for some reason from the Kamgar Sangha formed his independent union called "the mill-workers' union." Moreover Kayekar was driven away from the Girni Kamgar Maha Mandal and as I am not much educated Mr. Joglekar was appointed as an adviser in the Girni Kamgar Maha Mandal. And 9713 persons became the members of the Girni Kamgar Maha Mandal in one month. And Joglekar and myself began to fight the Laseen strike. Our timid comrade Jhabwala also used to take part at intervals. After conducting this work for some days, Joglekar began to do the work of the Railway Union and as I was left alone, therefore, when Nimbhar Kasle (and myself) - three men of my sort ready to deal a blow for blow - joined together, I got through the favour of God such men as I was in want of for many days and the workers' movement became vigorous and they began to understand very well in what their interest lay and what was the use of unity. After that statesmen like Lange and Bridley

(and) Kirajkar joined(us) and this strike of 1928 was fought out with great vigour. Comrade Jhabwala used at intervals to come to the meetings to give support(lit consent). Thereafter the crafty owners began to say that they would negotiate(lit speak) with a registered union alone. Mr. Joshi's union was a registered union and our Maha Mandal was not registered. (I) went to the Registrar's office with the object of getting our Maha Mandal too registered. But as soon as the owners came to know that the Maha Mandal was going to be registered, they got afraid that these terrible men would again stand up to fight with them(and they) took in hand Kayekar who had been driven away from the Maha Mandal and clandestinely getting the name of the Maha Mandal registered <sup>handwritten</sup> ever to Kayekar.

Then our union was registered with the name 'Bombay Girni Kamgar Union' and now the manly leaders in this organisation have begun to deal a slap to the crafty owners. And the doctrines of the mill-workers were promulgated in the whole of Bombay and the selfish and idle owners began unceasingly to think day and night of the Girni Kamgar Union just as Hansa had been thinking day and night of the '8th. It is on account of that that these owners go to the Government for shelter (lit enter into the arm-pit of the Government) and alleging that these leaders are communists request it to arrest them. But these selfish owners should remember that - when the peasant and worker class gets excited as a result of the oppression of the owners it will go ahead even of the Communists. The outcry raised by the owners and the Government against the six persons is quite meaningless. The peasant and worker class - not of Bombay alone but that which has spread over the villages in India is at present becoming <sup>vigorously</sup> extremist. And as oppression increases day by day extremism of that class will accordingly more and more increase. Therefore the hard-hearted capitalism should restrain a little its monstrous ambition and should stop the oppression of the people that is going on.

Special suggestions to Comrade Jhabwala

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Comrade Jhabwala do not be afraid in this manner, do not run away, do not be impotent. You call yourself the leader of the Workers' and Peasants' Party, why do you give <sup>such</sup> vacillating report in newspapers? When a worker like me has become a communist on account of the oppression of capitalism what does it mean that you a leader of workers who has inaugurated two hundred unions should through weakness publish in newspapers "I am not a bolshevik." A leader of workers must be of the blow for blow type. No slave can become the leader of the workers. What is the use of feeble leaders like you in the face of oppressive capitalism? Hiding at the back of such unjust capitalism which has not even a jot of justice in it and getting terror-stricken as soon as the rumour arose that these extremist leaders were to be arrested that you may have to go to Government's jail for the welfare of the workers, why do you beseechingly publish in newspapers "I am not an extremist. I am not a Communist?" One who entreats in this manner has no right to make himself a leader among the worker and peasant class. You do not go to the Government's prison, so also you do not give advice to the workers. Pass your life with your wife and children in some valley. I am ready to go to jail (lit to become the guest of the Government). So also every worker (and) peasant is ready. And (he) will remove the oppression and sufferings coming on him. Now there is no necessity of leaders like you. This only I have to suggest to you.

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A. A. Alwe

President

Bombay Girni Kangan Union.

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*Handwritten signature*

Kranti dated 23-12-1922.

Betrayal of the Railway-Workers. - Machinations in  
the Railway Union - Mr. Jhabwala's secret letter to the  
Agent - his quarrel with the Managing Committee  
Jhabwala's fraudulent policy - Profit of 11 crores  
from Railways to the Govt. but what did the workers  
get? Will the movement of railway workers collapse?

In to days's issue we have specially put in more matter about the Railway workers and their movement alone. Taking carefully into consideration how attempts are going on on all sides of obstructing the increasing movement of railway workers, it is necessary to devise severe remedies against them. In particular the cause of writing to day about the confusion in the railway worker's Union and about Mr. Jhabwala is that Mr. Jhabwala has fallen foul of the Worker's and Peasant's Party, the Lal Barta Bombay Girni Kamgar Union and its leaders and has begun to rave wildly against them. We are not offended by mere abuses and raving but going still further he has begun to create difficulties with his own hands in the path of the worker's movement. Mr. Jhabwala has begun to create confusion in the movement through the pride of false personal greatness and through his failure to realize that he should now take to a more vigorous path changing the way in which he worked for so many years. There are other parties just like his which have supported him and have begun to attack us. The Govt. and the owners also feel pleasure at it. We have, therefore, resolved to tear off the veil of all the movements against the Worker's Party and to show them in their genuine form.

And today the movement of the railway workers has been taken up by way of first instalment. Because the general meeting of the railway workers is going to be held and Mr. Jhabwala getting enraged at the handbill addressed to the railway workers, issued by our Party during the recent riots, wrote an article in the "Chronicle" newspaper to the effect that Dange, Aise and others should not interfere in the matter of his railway workers as if the railway workers were the private servants in Jhabwala's

house : Jhabwala's trend of thought will be further examined in the next issue, (Editor, Arant) r

Different parties in the worker's movement and

(their) present condition.

These divisions were not clearly prominent when the worker's movement was being freshly inaugurated five (to) seven years back. Because the work at the beginning was mostly done through charity or benevolence, it can well be said that ~~there was no worker's movement~~ there was no worker's movement worth the name till the year 1916-17 that is till

the conflagration of strikes/

was seen every where on account of the destitute condition of the poor in their worldly life as a result of the increase of prices owing to the great war. After 1916-17 when the epidemic of strikes arose everywhere and the ordinary affairs of the people began to be hampered, then only it was realized by men considered as thoughtful that there are many poor workers in the country and that they are suffering to some extent in their worldly life. As the factories were closed as a result of the strike and as loss was incurred in business, even rich men began to realize that there was something wrong with the poor workers and that their business would suffer if no attention was paid to them (workers). On account of several such reasons the educated people began to form the opinion that the condition of the poor must be improved. At first, for many days, the simple and straightforward thing did not occur to many through various reasons that the poor workers were suffering because they did not get sufficient wages for adequate food. It did not occur to the owners for if thereby it were proved that the wages of the workers should be increased the profit-eating booty of lakhs of rupees falling into their pockets would have been reduced and the cause of this thing not occurring to other middle class educated men was that their occupation would have been hindered if they thought over things that would not be liked by the owners as their means of livelihood.

was subordinate to the wishes of the owners. Still it had been necessary to adopt remedies to satisfy the workers tormented by hunger, as they had begun to create confusion by stopping work. Instead of making the arrangement for granting them adequate wages enough to satisfy their hunger (the owners) without touching the question of hunger began to consider whether an understanding could be brought about with the workers. At that time the owners because they wanted some excuse to defeat the rights of the workers, raised the false outcry against them that the workers were uneducated, that the workers were drunkards, that the workers were indebted, that the workers were weak and sickly.

#### Uncontaminated Movement of Humanitarianism.

When this thing was discovered what delay was there to create the means for conciliating the workers! At once rich men like Thaksey, Curriathoy came forward with the bags of money accumulated because of inadequate wages paid to the workers and taking the help of some educated persons considering it creditable to call themselves social servants or the servants of the country, some (of them) started the Social Service Leagues or Jiva Daya Mandals (Humanitarian leagues) and donations were given to them. And (they) started several remedies such as that of circulating libraries, day and night free schools, free dispensaries, hospitals, funds, gymnasiums, sport clubs, temperance movement and free cinemas screening the evil effects of liquor. The special feature of all these movements was that there was at the back of this movement the support of the money received as charity through the favour of the owners and the men carrying on this movement were required to be in harmony with and (had to work) more or less according to the wishes of the owners. This much about the initial stage of the labour movement.

In this manner though these remedies were such as would attract the attention of the people for a short time still they could not relieve the owners of the trouble of strikes as no arrangement whatsoever had been made in regard to hunger, the root of the malady. On the contrary the work of giving advice

to the workers on occasions of strikes, naturally came to see these persons carrying on the movement of the people through humanitarianism. And these persons had, however, amicable relations with the owners. How then could they do such a thing as would endanger the pockets of the owners? As a matter of course, the workers' movement used decidedly to receive a set back.

#### Remedies adopted by Govt.

The owners were thus on the one hand trying to reconcile the workers. Similarly the Govt. also began to make a show of considering the condition of workers and improving it and created special seats for workers in the Legislatures. He also made an arrangement was made to send somebody from India to Europe to the Geneva International (Labour) Conference. The work of performing these things also naturally fell upon the above mentioned conductors of the Social Service League or the Jiva Daya (Sangha).

On one side (they) used to keep themselves on amicable terms with the owners as a result of which the business of the workers was imperfectly done and the workers used to remain discontented and on the other a competition used to take place for these Govt. posts of honour. As this discontent of the workers was coupled with the above competition, it became necessary to quarrel, taking the side of the men, in order to secure greater support of popular opinion and the workers' movement getting out of the limping state of humanitarianism, ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ because a bit stubborn and began to stand on the basis of right. This was the time for a difference of opinion to arise in the workers' movement. While carrying on the movement in the above manner, the stage of the above difference of opinion arrived among Mr. Baptista, Tarai, Dalvi, Kaji, Desarkadas, Joshi, Jiwala, Jhabwala, Asavle, Hale etc.

#### Jhabwala begins to become extremist.

When the time came for selecting persons as labour representatives for the (Legislative) Council of 1926, opposition arose



between Jhabwala and Joshi because Joshi and others did not recommend Jhabwala. And Jhabwala Sahab blamed the Council and called Joshi as Moderate. In the meanwhile being neglected and knocked about under the leadership of persons of the humanitarian doctrine, the workers also had become wise and had been making efforts to stand on their own legs. New men who had received experience in the strikes of 1923-23-25 etc. became ready and the movement was started for the rights of the workers. This assumed a substantial form by 1926-27 and the Workers' and Peasants' Party was inaugurated to carry <sup>on</sup> the movement according to this new method. And it began its work by chalking out the direction of making the neglected workers' movement self-reliant and shibborn.

Since the spirit of the man of this Party became manifest in 1927 during the strikes of the mill-workers etc., Jhabwala Sahab wishing to separate from Joshi began to incline towards these. His object was that he should prepared under his leadership a powerful section of the workers' movement, opposed to Joshi. This Alliance became firm since the Cawnpore Trade Union Congress at the end of 1927 and Jhabwala became a member of the Workers' and Peasants' Party.

#### Discipline of the Workers' and Peasants' Party.

It is the motto of the Workers' and Peasants' Party to make the workers' movement stand on the basis of right by removing all humanitarian ideas from that movement and to create a spirit among the workers of carrying on their own movement by themselves by making them self-reliant. It is therefore the strict rule of the Party that the lines of the movement must be chalked out and every member must act according to them. From time to time the meetings of the executive body of the Party take place, every small or big question regarding the workers' movement is thoroughly discussed and the policy in every matter is definitely decided upon. Though Mr. Jhabwala was a member of the executive body he did not take the trouble of attending its meetings and therefore his behaviour was several times opposed to the policy of the Party. But taking

into consideration the work he was doing and with due precautions to see that the principle was not affected on the whole, Jhabwala was warned from time to time.

#### Jhabwala's disappointment.

Jhabwala was in truth a labour leader of the old school. He had been brought up in the system of enforcing authority over people with the pride that he was some grandee come to lay the people under obligations. As it was not possible for him to put up with this stern discipline of the workers' Party and the policy of training the working class by making it self-reliant, he began to become disappointed regarding the workers' Party. His opposition became clear specially in the general (Lit. big) strike of the mill-workers. Opposition became evident and things went to their excess in regard to Jhabwala's plan of keeping Rs. 600/- with himself out of the money received from Russia for helping the strikers and his advice to bring about a compromise by accepting a cut of 3 1/2 per cent. Jhabwala joined the Party with the intention of becoming a big leader by forming a clique opposed to Joshi. But instead of that he had to bend his head (Lit. neck) before the discipline of the Party and (he) got a subordinate position everywhere and instead of giving orders through the Union (he) was on the other hand obliged to obey the authority and the orders of the executive body as the men had been trained according to the policy of the party. On account of all these causes the condition of Jhabwala was (according to the adage) 'one thing was done and the result was quite different.'

#### Kinds of repression

Meanwhile as the workers' movement became vigorous on account of the disciplined efforts of the Workers' and Peasants' Party, the Govt. also began to pay attention to it and from the Trades Dispute Bill, Public Safety Bill and other signs, it appeared probable that the roller of repression would be active. As soon as all these future happenings were evident, Jhabwala Haheb who had been tired of the discipline of the Party being bewildered began to think of withdrawing (himself from the Party).

#### Jhabwala was terrified

Jhabwala who brought about a hartal at the time of the Simon Commission, Jhabwala who spoke in and out of time the language of strike, became afraid at the thought of repression, got confused on receiving a warning from a Govt. official and changing the policy of the Railway Union as decided at Ehusaval ~~ambaykarak~~ and superseding the resolution for the preparation of strike adopted by the managing committee on the 16th Nov., ran to fold his hands before the Agent and being deceived by the false promises of the Agent reduced the demands of the Ehusaval Conference on his authority. He did not remember, in his frightened condition, to see how lakhs of men would have to suffer less even though he may perhaps be able to save himself by restoring to such a behaviour. He resigned from the Party only to save himself. The important thing about the resignation is that he wrote his resignation on the 23rd September when the Party took him to task for depositing Rs.14,000/- which had been sent for the mill-workers, in bank, in the name of his wife and for keeping Rs.600/- for himself out of that amount. But he did not submit it that time in order to avoid notoriety because it was his own fault. But he sent his resignation on the 9th in order to be able to free himself from the talk of flight which began when a reply in the negative was received in the interview with the Agent of the G. I. P. Mly. on the 7th Nov. And he (Jhabwala) was busily engaged in advertising "I am not a Communist." I do not advise the creation of confusion. But he could not abandon his temptation for leadership. Therefore he adopted the censurable policy of putting the people backwards because he was not prepared to go along with them (and) has brought matters to the risk pitch of betraying thousands of railway servants by kicking the resolution adopted by the governing body on the 16th Nov., and by starting officiously to effect a compromise with the Agent. And he has begun to make aspersions upon the managing committee and Joglekar (and) Bradley of the workers' Party because the managing committee was not ready for this suicidal retreat. And on account of it all the work of the Union has become slack. It is the work of the worker class to find out a way out of this.

Mahunza, Parcel Worker's Union movement.

Several persons have become quite alarmed since the labour movement became vigorous during the last year or a year and a half. The Govt. has become uneasy (Lit. the stomach of the Govt. is aching) on seeing the awakening that is taking place among the people. The owner class are getting headache. And people who so far paraded themselves as labour leaders have also begun to tremble because they feel as too heavy the responsibilities created because of the terrific aspect being assumed by <sup>the</sup> labour movement along with the increasing awakening of the people. Uptill now one could easily parade himself as a labour leader on writing an application or on giving free medicine to ten (to) twenty persons or on making the farce of carrying on a night school for an hour or an hour and a half on coming (once) in a month or a fortnight, and at the most on starting some small cooperative society and opening a store of cheap grain or cloth for a few days. And by parading as a leader they could get access to Govt. darbars to seats in the Council or in the Corporation. But all this has begun to change since the masses being harassed by the terrible attack of enhanced prices due to the war began to kick and toss. The days of becoming a leader by merely taking a stroll for an hour or so only at leisure through the locality of the peer after practising one's profession of a doctor or a pleader etc. But these old fashioned people are not able to bear the burden of the new movement, still their ardent desire for leadership continues. These leaders have therefore begun to find fault with the workers who have become enraged being tormented by poverty. And they have raised a false outcry that the men go on strike through the instigation of some wicked persons. In raising this outcry the Govt. the owners and these humanitarian old fashioned leaders Jinwala, Asavle, Eals and others working during leisure hours in

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the form of random talk, are of one opinion.

How strikes took place in Bombay?

Jinwala, Jhabwala, Govt, and the owners- all these raise the outcry that the big strike of the mill-workers which took place last year in April, took place in this manner through the instigation of boisterous people.

(A sort of bogey is created with regard to them by calling them communists). And by raising such false outcry a systematic attempt of frightening workers other than mill-workers and prejudicing their minds against the men of the Workers' and Peasants' Party.

But the actual state of things is quite the contrary. During the last two (to) two and a half years the labour movement in Bombay has become spirited. The cause of it is not that the workers create confusion through the instigation of Joglekar, Dange, Kimbkar and others belonging to the Workers' and Peasants' Party but because when the workers being exasperated owing to inadequate arrangements for maintenance and express their anger in the form of strike these men of the Workers' and Peasants' Party make efforts to make this struggle of the working class successful by making it disciplined, and by increasing (its) organisation by labouring day and night. The Workers' and the Peasants' Party has never instigated the people to create ~~any~~ confusion. On the contrary we have when a strike is declared, made efforts of properly fighting out the struggle by making it disciplined. This can easily be seen even by a cursory observer of the history of the last two years.

In July 1927 the strike of the Apollo mill took place. At that time and thereafter Messrs Joglekar (and) Alve working on behalf of the Workers' Party, made it successful.

In January 1928 the strike of all the mills of Sassen took place again. At that very time Spratt, & Joglekar (and) Alve tried on behalf of the above party

to not unite together all mill-workers. But then either through the timidity or treachery of one leader of the workers, the plan came to nothing, the strike was broken and the people suffered losses.

This ~~trick~~ success strengthened the owners and in April they attacked the workers' wages from all sides. Then on April 1st (or) 2nd the Kastur Chand mill at Dadar came out, on the 2nd (April) the Textile Mill joined it and after two or three days after this strike was declared, Joglekar, Nimbkar, Dange and others of the workers' Party came to give help to the strikers and taking into consideration the mistake of the strike in January, the workers declared a general strike, and by organizing it (they) created such a powerful discipline and unity among the workers as to enable them to give a vigorous fight for six months. From this it will be realized by all that the rumours circulated by Jinwala, Jhabwala and others regarding men of the Workers' and Peasants' Party that these are men who create confusion, these are men who cause loss to the workers, are false and so on. Why do strikes take place? It is an insult of the workers that Jinwala, Jhabwala and others blame the workers and raise a (false) uproar that men unnecessarily go on strike for the sake of fun through somebody's instigation and it is a matter for shame that Jinwala and Jhabwala who call themselves labour leaders, should blame the workers in this manner. These showy (and) proud leaders should know this simple thing that men do not declare strike and remain starving out of fun but that they go on strike through exasperation in order to obstruct the owner and to get some provision made for their maintenance, at least to some extent when they cannot earn enough for the maintenance of their family even after working honestly day and night.

Therefore it is not only an injustice but rascality to blame the workers for that or to shower abuse and curses for that on persons of the Workers' and Peasants' Party.

How does the labour organisation begin?

As a general rule all workers maintain themselves by getting work as they can. The owners are robbing them. Such is the order in all industries. But when this oppression and high handedness becomes unbearable, the people turn round through exasperation, strikes take place and an organized opposition to oppression is created. This is what is called Union. This very order of things will be manifest if all the history of the Union (movement) up-till-now is seen.

Railway Workmen's Union.

The history of organisation that began among the G.I.P. workers and the men of the work-shop is also of this nature.

Anyone will be naturally wonder-struck if the present wages of the Railway workers are compared with their pre-war wages. The big salary of Rs.5/- (was given) to the coolies and apprentices in the workshop and the fact salary of Rs.15/- (was given) to the telegraph masters and ticket collectors. How the men could have lived on this (salary) is a great question. In these circumstances the men were alarmed on all sides on account of the increasing prices due to war and the strikes of the workers naturally began to take place. Though the owners were getting the profit of lakhs of rupees, strikes after strikes of mill-workers took place in 1917-18, 1921-21, 1923 (and) 1925 for the increase of wages. Men had to undergo suffering. (Some of them) had to fall a prey to the firing. It was only after this that the workers got increase of wages and high prices allowance etc. And a thing worth being specially noted is that while all these struggles were going on there was no organised Union of the mill-workers. \*Still the excessive harassment that the men had to suffer on account of poverty.\* The case with the railway workers was the same as with the mill-workers.

Seeing that they could not manage on account of the high prices prevailing during the war (the workers at) Parel and

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 etc.

Katunga had to declare a big strike in 1917. Then alone could they get an increase of 10 per cent in their wages. And taking a lesson from this strike, the men started a Union by way of an organized effort with the object of removing their sufferings.

Seeing that the workshop was successful, a movement began among the men on line - station masters, telegraph masters, hamals (coolies), porters, guards, drivers etc, - a big meeting was held at Manmad and the men on the line prepared for a fight. Then only did the Company promise an increase in wages. The staff Union of the line and the workmen's Union were vigorously going on till 1919. The Company broke the agreement even after consenting to increase the wages in the Manmad Conference and deceived the people. This gave rise to a new stir. And when the wave of the strike reached up to the throat the Company, it sanctioned high prices allowance to the men in the workshop to supplement their wages and appointing Sir Narayan Chandavarkar as arbitrator for the (men on the) line the Company promised to grant their demands. It is a different thing that the men were deceived by (secret) machinations with (Sir Narayan) Chandavarkar

The movement of the Union was vigorous till 1919-20 on account of the above agitation, but because (Sir Narayan) Chandavarkar deceived the men on the line and because about the same time the Company insolently started in full force the reduction of men in the workshop, the Union began to decline in 1921. At that time shrew leaders like Jinwala, Terzi, Baptista and others who carried on the Union, lost courage, made the men spiritless (lit. cut the feet of the men) and a strike of the men could not take place.

#### Increasing discontent

As the men had to suffer defeat in this manner, the Company became more insolent. Men on the line became dispirited on account of (Sir Narayan) Chandavarkar's deceitful conduct and the Company having alienated some leaders and managers of the ~~express~~ the Union through the bait of increase in wages, made the movement of the Union weak. Though the leaders had in this manner become mute, the discontent among the men was increasing





because their straitened condition had not been removed. Though particularly the men on the line were discontented the work men in the workshop came forward and in 1922-23 men in the Parel (workshop) declared strike for the convenience regarding the gate. The gate was burnt. At this time also the managers of the workshop Union adopted a suicidal and retrograde policy and did not allow Mantunga to go the help of Parel. This eccentric conduct had the expected result and the workers at Parel had to retreat. On account of this affair the men at Parel were greatly enraged with the Union and nearly all workmen at Parel resigned from the Union and the Union in the Parel workshop broke up. The men at Parel who came out of the Union that time did not again join the Union for four (to) five years. When in the month of May last 1923 the All Railway workers' Conference was held at Bhusaval and when the Union adopted an aggressive policy the workers at Parel have slowly begun to join the Union again. Still even today 50 per cent men from Parel are suspicious about the Union, as Parel has not forgotten that in the last strike Jhabwala and Yother leaders deceived them.

After the breaking up (of the Union) at Parel the workshop went on strike in 1924-25 on account of medical examination. That strike lasted for 23 days. But as the Union had become weak on account of dissension and as the leaders were not fully competent, the strike somehow went on and the men had in the end to retreat though they were very much prepared. The only thing for satisfaction was that as the discontent of the people had become manifest through the strike the Railway authorities showed a bit of softness and the medical examination which was very strict at first was made somewhat slack.

This question that had remained undecided on account of the weakness of the leaders, is still lying unsettled and when in the month of June and July last, 1923, the men in the workshop again girded up their loins and threatened (lit. gave a kopy cry) a strike there only the officials have begun to say that they would settle the matter. But as the Union has not still been

free from the alligator-like grip of cowardly leaders, the officials have been putting off the Union and the men on evasive promises in words. And in order to hide his incapacity and weakness Jhabwala Sahab the weak leader of the Union is making the censurable effort of deceiving the men in the workshop by deceitful lies and of fastening the blame for weakness on Jaglekar, Bradley or the managing Committee. If Jhabwala Sahab may be thinking that he has thoroughly deceived the men under the cloak of his hypocritical straightforwardness and showy saintliness as the men did not know the facts truly he will not fail to realize soon that this is merely a mistaken idea on his part.

#### Mismanagement in the Railway-men's Union

Jhabwala's confusion. Jhabwala is known to all as a great labour leader. Having started fifteen to seventeen Unions according to the tradition of the humanitarian labour movement and talking in a sweet manner, he parades himself as a great benefactor of the men and that passed off owing to Mr. Jhabwala's saintly dress and garb in the labour movement up-till now in its humanitarian aspect. But now that the men have awakened and discontent is growing, this guise of leadership is about to be exposed.

#### Too many things in hand and not even one complete

(lit. Bundle of rags and not a single intact).

The Sahab (Jhabwala) boasts that he is the manager of fifteen to seventeen Unions, but the management of even one Union is not being properly carried on. The correspondence of the Unions is not carried on in a proper manner. The grievances of the people are not systematically placed forward. The whole work remains half-done (and) pending as the Sahab (Jhabwala) has no time to spare to handle any question fully. And as no way to redress the grievances of the men is available, they are becoming discontented and displeased/and everywhere indifference about Unions threatens to be created. Jhabwala is in the B.E. Railway Union, in the Port Trust Union, Municipal worker's Union, Motor drivers' Union as also in the Tramwaymen, C.I.P., Telegraph peons,

skilled artisans, postmen, Dock workers, press workers, mill-workers (Unions) etc. That of one and two, his officious intermeddling goes on at twenty-five places. And chaos has grown everywhere and the men have become displeased.

Former days of patching up matters have gone away. Work has now increased and it is not possible to do it carelessly and it is not possible to do it carelessly and without deliberation. But the work of the people is being neglected as the temptation of leadership and the allurements of the carriage hire or other allowance to be got from every Union cannot be restrained. Jhabwala can rarely be seen in the office of the Union, otherwise clerks of different Unions who had learnt a little of English and who act as they are bidden, putting (on paper) the grievances of the people according to their capacity, manage the work by somehow taking signatures of Jhabwala Sahab wherever he can be met with - either in train, in the street, in meeting or in the office of some Union. And then if some trouble arises by the occurrence of some mistake the Sahab (Jhabwala) is ready to disclaim all responsibility and to blame the people. This has today caused confusion in all Unions.

#### Complaint of the people

The workers have now become restless as they have realized that their work is spoiled on account of Jhabwala's slackness and are trying to get the work done by appointing other capable persons under Jhabwala as he cannot get leisure. But when such capable men come for doing the work, a check is put to Jhabwala's autocratic management, as he does not like this system and he creates trouble in it.

Jhabwala is the editor of the newspapers of all the Unions but he would not write even a single word in them. Jhabwala is the secretary everywhere. But he does not look to the office work anywhere, half-educated employees cannot manage it and men in the Union have no time to see to it after following their own occupations. On account of this all the work gets procrastinated.

#### Discontent in other Unions

On account of this, men in the B.B.C.I. Railway Union, being disgusted, have been making efforts, on the strength of the managing committee, to grant the powers of doing work to the assistant secretary, retaining merely the name of Jhabwala.

Similar discontent is rife among the members of the Professional Motor Drivers' Union and they have also been thinking of removing chaos under the leadership of the managing Committee, and handing over in this manner <sup>the</sup> management to a capable person.

In the same way the name only of Jhabwala has been retained in the Tramway Union. In the Telegraph peons' Union there is a similar disagreement between the Sahib (Jhabwala) and the managing Committee and the workers in the Union. Similar bickerings are going on in the Press Workers', Municipal Workers', Dock Staff and other Unions.

#### Disputes in the G.I.P. Union

that is seen elsewhere is also to be found in the G.I.P. Railway men's Union.

The Union movement is of two kinds. One is the conventional mode of getting redressed the daily petty complaints of the people and the second and the most important mode of constructive organization is that of creating a general awakening in the men and making them organized and disciplined for the struggle of obtaining such concessions as would give more rights to the working class and improve their condition.

There are nearly one and one quarter lakh of workers in the G.I.P. (Railway) and they are scattered over three thousand miles from Bombay to Delhi, Nagpur, Jabbulpore (and) Raichur. It is not a thing to be attained in an easy-going manner to awaken so many men, to bring them in a Union, to increase their strength and to chalk out successfully the ways of improving their condition. And Jhabwala Sahib has no leisure to do the work himself and no desire to allow others to do it. Not only this but he has the inclination to create obstruction in the way of others because if any other person would do the work because he (Jhabwala) has no time to do it that would lower his greatness. On account of this, chaos is rampant in the G.I.P. Union.

His-management in office.

The office work is not at all systematically done. The record and the books are not properly kept. Correspondence is not properly done, mere receipts and replies are not given at the proper time and the case is not at all placed forward after systematically examining the complaints of the people. Many important papers of several persons are carelessly lost. Jhabwala Sahab issues orders and circulars at his will, not minding the rules and regulations of the Union. (He) sends inconsistent letters to the branches. (What he) says today is not maintained till to-morrow and (what he) says the next day is not maintained the day after. It is all a matter of putting off (things) by vacillation as suits the occasion. In order to hide the disrepute that he cannot cope up with the work the whole rotten practice is going on by keeping pleased any one who meets by behaving according to his inclination, (and) by winning all to himself by holding <sup>the</sup> debate of a salary of five or ten rupees or of commission as is given to those who collect subscription in the workshop. And on account of that work the work of the Union is poisoned.

(Opposition to the managing committee.)

While in this manner slackness was being exhibited by Jhabwala Sahab, the Committee connived at him at the outset looking to his good name of several years and the members of the Committee attempted to make amends for his slackness with the help of Messrs Joglekar, Bradley and others. The committee settled the demands etc. of the Union and chalked out (the line of) work in such a manner as to attract the attention of the people and within a year or a half awakened the people by carrying the movement to the nooks and corners of

the C.I.P (railway). Jhabwala's grumbling continued but the Committee paid no heed to it. But while the accidental extent of work was in this manner increasing from the outside the work began to accumulate because the discipline of his <sup>office</sup> management was not maintained inside and because Jhabwala had no in despatch. Therefore the Committee was compelled to pay attention to the internal management also just like the external. Because the Committee had started its work with dash by already keeping Jhabwala in check regarding the policy of agitation of the Union and by definitely settling the direction and method of popular awarening and because Jhabwala was tied down to that policy therefore he got displeased and when over & above this the Excom Committee began to think of keeping its central on the internal management also Jhabwala came to his wits' end. Jhabwala Sahab had so far grown up in the old system of the Labour Movement. He was used to make the people behave as he liked but the policy of training from inside and making the workers able to bear the burden of the Union which Joglekar Bradley and other persons of the Workers and Peasants' Party started brought about great difficulty. Men in the Railway are not uneducated as other workers. They have intrinsically got the ability of managing the affairs the Union themselves. When in addition to that the policy of giving them a training in self-help was adopted in the Union its effect was seen quite easily and the fear of the people disappeared on account of policy of the Union. The Union grew vigorously and self-confidence of the people became firm. As a matter of course it was proper for the Committee to make efforts to remove the internal dis-order in the Union. But though at the beginning Jhabwala reluctant

gave his consent to that action of the Committee still he began to consider this control by the Committee unbearable. And he began to consider it undignified that his hands and feet were totally tied down by the control of the Committee and that he had to do his work in subjugation to the orders of the Committee instead of being the master of the Union.

Anger against Joglekar and Bradley  
 Seeing that his (hereditary) right of behaving as he master of the Union according to the old tradition as disappearing, Jhabwala Saheb began to chafe. And he began to oppose Joglekar and Bradley and Kulkarni, urandare and others who had become clever workers of the Union because this authority of the Committee began to be effective on account of the policy and teaching of Joglekar and of the Workers' and Peasants' Party, and he began to strive to bring <sup>the</sup> Union against his control by putting a check to the work of the Union which was going beyond his control and the result was that he adopted a policy of retrogression on all sides. Moreover the retrograde policy of Jhabwala got support on account of the rumour of the blowing of wind of repression on the part of the Government and the wicked mentality arose in him that it does not matter if the people were betrayed for his own safety. At first he began to break up the all round policy decided by the Managing Committee after paying attention to all the aspects of the Labour Movement - the vigorous policy of creating awakening by making friends with the Trade Union Congress (and) Railway Federation and by doing vigorous work on the whole line. Though the Managing Committee selected him on behalf of the G.S.P for Railway Federation and though it gave a mandate to him to go to Simla and to create a combined



Union of all Railway workers, not only did he refuse to go but he also opposed the plan. So also he opposed going to Jharia for the Annual Session of the Trade Union Congress and the Federation and going on the line he began to perform the bad act of creating enmity on the line regarding the head office Committee by telling them false things. Similarly he began an attempt to create disunion by telling false things to the men in the workshop. The Managing Committee appointed the strike Committee for educating and organising the people and adopted a vigorous policy in the way of which Jhabwala created obstructions. (He) tried to frighten the men on the line by holding the false bogey of strike before them. (He) began to oppose the movement of the Strike Committee. He with-held money for work as decided by the managing Committee and Joglekar had to make the arrangement of publishing the first issue of the weekly 'Railwayman' on the date decided by the Committee by making payment himself. (He) delayed paying money as decided by the Strike Committee. The money for the expenses of the delegates to the Trade Union Congress which the Committee decided to pay to them, has not still been paid and (he) has created obstruction in the work of the Committee by threatening to resign if it would not give up its policy in regard to the movement.

Drive away Joglekar and Bradley.

Jhabwala submitted his resignation because a censure motion was about to be moved on account of his continuous infringement of the resolutions of the Committee. And in that (resignation) (he) threatened that Joglekar and Bradley should be driven away otherwise he would himself go. As up till now the work on the whole line was done in the name of Jhabwala there was possibility of confusion taking place among the men as a result of his resignation. For all the internal machinations were not known to them. Therefore the Committee asked in clear terms what the offence of Joglekar and Bradley was. But as he could not show any clear fault on their part, the saheb (Jhabwala) began to give saying "I do not agree with them, they betray the Union. Our work does not go on

because of them". This was considered in two or three meetings of the committee successively and every time he tried to raise an outcry blaming Jeglekar and Bradley and so also Kulkarni, Purandare, Punde and other members of the managing committee for the work being ruined every time owing to his own weakness and keeping aside the question of principle that (he) did not want the authority of <sup>the</sup> managing committee, he has begun to make the mean attempt of giving this question of principle the dirty character of a personal quarrel by abusing Jeglekar and Bradley.

The Managing Committee having considered all the facts and having placed them openly before Jhabwala Sahab, the President, it was decided according to his suggestion by the unanimous opinion of the whole committee that Jhabwala should carefully look to the management of the office and Jeglekar and Bradley should carry on the movement according to the policy of the committee on the whole line beyond Kalyan. Jhabwala accepted the proposal for the time being as he could not help it but afterwards he created an obstruction regarding the payment of money to Jeglekar for going on the line for the work of organisation, insolently disregarding the order of the committee and the President. Now on account of this autocratic action that the men on the whole line are losing their temper and that questions regarding it are being asked from Manmad and other places, it is learnt that an attempt will be made to justify his autocratic action by holding the general meeting at Bombay on the 28th of the next month, on the strength of the men at the Matunga and the Paral workshops by deceiving them. But it is a question how far the men in the workshop also will consent to Jhabwala's autocratic confusion, after they come to know the facts.

#### Serious Betrayal of G.I.P. Workers.

Railway workers form an exceedingly important part of society. Just as the whole body will become lame if the arteries in it get spoiled so the whole society will begin to toss and shafe if the means of communication like the railways, steamers, motor (cars) etc are stopped. There are eight lakhs of railway workers in India and the business that goes on with their labour leaves

Govt. a profit of at least ten crores every year. A similar profit was received in the year 1928-29 and the railway budget which has been published only today also shows that a profit of ten crores will be made. Moreover the Govt. has kept up till now 36 crores of rupees in the reserve and renewal accounts. What are the wages of the railway servants (even) when the business is so flourishing?

#### Pitiable Condition of railway servants

There are three to three and a half lakhs out of the eight lakhs of men do not get even 15 rupees a month. Two and a half to three lakhs out of the remaining, at the most receive 30 rupees as wages. A rupee a day is not enough even for the fodder of cattle like the cow and the buffalo but the railway workers have to lead a life with their families at a lower cost. And only the Govt. treasury is ever flowing with the money received by sweating these men.

#### Policy of the Railwaymen's Union

Taking the above critical condition of the man into consideration, the Union decided upon the programme of improving their condition by awakening them. Accordingly the movement was started on the G.I.P. (railway) with the demands of a minimum salary of thirty rupees, eight hours work etc. as laid down by the Bhusaval Conference and the strength of the Union reached from 6 to 42 thousands within 7 (to) 8 months. Joglekar, Kulkarni, Bradley and others got settled in the (Railway) Federation on behalf of the G.I.P. (railway) the policy of making agitation on these lines on all railways as on the G.I.P. (railway) and the movement was carried on upto the Railway Board.

#### Opportunity of agitation

Though men's demands may be quite just all circumstances must be favourable for their being granted. The movement was begun with due attention to the fact that the owners do not grant concessions to workers easily. Taking into consideration that there was an opposition to the Simon Commission all over the country and seeing that the Govt. wanted to preserve its

prestige by taking this commission over the country, the Managing Committee of the Union (decided upon) the tactics that the railway servants should take the advantage of this difficulty of the Govt. and that catching this opportunity they should win their demands regarding wages etc. And with that object in view it secured the support of the Railway Federation and the Trade Union Congress and began making aggressive preparations internally according to the programme of the Strike Committee all over the line.

#### Initial preparations

The demands were decided upon at Bhusaval in April.

In May and June awakening was affected by making a movement all over the line.

In July (and) August the line and the workshop were amalgamated and a big Union of the whole G.I.P. was formed.

The foundation of unifying all railwaymen was laid down at Madras in August and at Aizawl in September. And a vigorous preparation was being made in the meanwhile by carrying on a movement all over the line.

Jhabwala Sahab found himself in a fix and had to submit to the orders of the Committee. Still he continued to grumble from inside.

#### Interviews with the Agent

In order to free himself from this difficulty Jhabwala began to make the attempt of freeing himself by bringing about confabulations between the Agent and the movement. Interviews took place with the Agent. Jhabwala was on the verge of spelling the matter in the first interview but the occasion was tided over by the sagacity of others. In the subsequent interviews <sup>the</sup> Committee gave the leadership to D.B.Kulkarni. The last interview was fixed on the 7th Nov. after a discussion on various points. Men from all places on the line arrived. It was unanimously decided to stick to the Bhusaval demands.

#### 7th November

The interview of the representatives of the Union took place

as was settled and the Agent expressed in clear terms his refusal to grant the demands of the workers. A special meeting of all the representatives was held in the evening and it was firmly decided to make preparations to spread a wave of strike all over the line according to the aggressive programme. A meeting of the managing Committee was held on the 18th November to give a lawful character to this resolution. The resolution of the representatives of the 7th Nov. was confirmed with the approval of all including Jhabwala and the programme of complete management and the direction of work by appointing a strike committee for future work was also decided upon.

The Agent's dodge

The (railway) officials were privately striving to get complete information of this movement of the Union. The Agent no doubt insalantly expressed his denial on the 7th but Govt. had privately warned (the railway authorities) in clear terms that they should not make the railway servants discontented and allow confusion to arise while the Simon Commission was touring the country. Therefore the officials found themselves in a fix on account of the decision of the Union regarding aggressive policy. A very hazardous remedy was adopted to get out of it.

Jhabwala became Chandavarkar

The Railway Company was in a similar fix in 1919-20. The officials planned to repeat the Manmad (and) Igatpuri Conference and just as the workers were betrayed by alienating Chandavarkar similarly a very hazardous game was played with respect to Jhabwala and Jhabwala was caught in the net according to the expectations of the officials. Jhabwala was already tired of the control of the Committee. When in addition to that he saw this burden of work ahead he lost courage. The sagacious officials carefully watched the movements of Jhabwala and the committee. People began to circulate rumours of repression in the agitated atmosphere of the mill-workers' strike. Crafty persons began to try (to alienate) Jhabwala. Still Jhabwala was talking the language of the Workers' Party till the end of October. In the Workers' Conference at Jhansi he had made a speech saying

that Soviet Raj was required, still Jhabwala became powerless as he found himself squeezed between the jealousy he felt towards Joglakar (and) Bradley on the one side and his irritation at the control of the Committee, the appointment of the Strike Committee, ~~the~~ the burden of future work and the <sup>of</sup> bogey repression if a strike was declared. It is also said that some big Govt. official whispered in his ears "Jhabwala Sahab, why do you create hubbub with Nimbkar, Dange and other brats? They are disreputable persons. You are a man with children. They will throw you in difficulty (lit ditch). Now Govt's repression will start. Will (you) then go to Jail?" That settled it, Jhabwala's face turned pale. This thing happened soon after the appointment of the Strike Committee and in order to find out a way to run away on the very next day Jhabwala ~~privately~~ phoned privately to Scott Sahab. It was settled in the private interview between the Agent and Scott Sahab that Jhabwala should write a letter to the Agent requesting him for permission to see him privately and should start fresh negotiations. Jhabwala received from Scott an intimation to that effect. In the mistaken haste of saving himself, Jhabwala on the 19th Nov. that is only after three days after the managing Committee had chalked out a programme for the preparations of strike, sent a secret letter to the Agent begging for a private interview (and) this letter strengthened the hands of the Agent, Jhabwala did not achieve his object by this secret letter but the Agent called by wire Mr. D.B. Kulkarni Station Master, Parel, the Acting President of the Union, for an interview on the 23rd Nov. along with Jhabwala and in his presence asked Jhabwala in return "Jhabwala Sahab, what is the necessity of your seeing me privately? I have no private work with you and I do not wish to speak with you alone about the Union and for this alone I have called by wire (Mr.) Kulkarni, Your president, even against your ~~and~~ desire." In this manner the Agent succeeded in his object and

Jhabwala was non-plussed.

Alterations arose in the Union, it lost its prestige as a

result of Jhabwala's secret statesmanship and he had to come back empty-handed. When these things were revealed in the Managing Committee the men naturally got irritated and Jhabwala began threatening language about submitting his resignation and when matters reached to such a stage (Jhabwala) began secret machinations to effect disunion in the Union by openly setting at naught the Managing Committee and telling lies to the men in the workshop and raising imaginary ghosts of communists, strikes etc. Then it has already been written elsewhere regarding (his) obstruction to the work of the Trade Union Congress, obstruction to ~~the work of the Railwaymen newspaper~~, obstruction to collect strike fund, obstruction to the work of organisation and awakening carried on by the strike committee and trampling under foot of the order of Jhabwala and the Managing Committee. Jhabwala has in this manner imperilled (lit thrown into a ditch) the movement for the livelihood of one and one quarter lakh of men and has brought the Union on the verge of a break-down only for saving himself. Taking the whole policy into consideration, this was an opportunity of at least 4) to 50 per cent demands being granted if the movement would have been carried on with vigour during these two months according to the resolution of the strike committee. And guessing from private information, there appeared to be a good chance of a favourable decision being given in regard to the minimum wage of rupees 23 (to) 22, 8 hours work, medical examination, leave and quarters. This becomes very clear from the budget speech of Sir George Rainey, the Railway member, and his references in it showing solicitude towards the labour movement. Everyone knows that the years ago at the time of Mamad, Igatpure (Conferences) the railway workers foolishly placed their confidence in the reputation of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar. And they had to regret for it afterwards. Today also the same question has cropped up before the railway workers with some difference.

Do not want a tent with one pole

Jhabwala may have done lot of work up-till-<sup>now</sup>, but he is unable to bear the new burden of the increasing movement of the

workers. The workers at "adi Bunder are displeased because he was unable to do their work. Men on the line also are grumbling about his mismanagement and the Agent has exposed his old fashioned diplomacy. Therefore, men must learn to carry on their own movement instead of ruining themselves by depending on somebody and if they themselves cannot get sufficient leisure they should take the help of anyone like Jhabwala or Joglekar and conduct their business according to the good or bad policy decided upon by the committee. This is the real secret of the uplift of the workers. A poor dish prepared with one's own hands will in the end be found to be more nutritious than rich dish taken at the sweet will of another. Therefore every officer of the Union must be compelled to act according to the decisions of the Managing Committee not believing in the lame excuse of Jhabwala who according to the adage that a bad workman quarrels with his tools complains that he could not advance the welfare of the workers because of the defective managing Committee consisting of Joglekar, Bradley, Kulkarni, Shinde, Punde and others.

So also instead of relying on hired help from the outside, men from among the workers at various places must come forward to lift the burden of the work of the Union by starting branch committees and by creating through them worker leaders from every Department. People should remember that the power carrying to success the work of the Union will arise only when the Union is thus constituted on sound foundations.

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G. W. L.



Kranti dated 3-3-1929

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Excitement among Railway workers.

Retrenchment in Jhansi workshop.

Special meeting at Kanmad.

Confusion of Jhabwala in the Wadi Bunder meeting.

G.I.P. Railway-men's Union.

Special Conference of Railway Workers.

The G.I.P. Railway-men have become enraged on account of Mr. Jhabwala's policy of retreat. Men are suffering terrible loss on account of Moderate policy. In order to put a check to it, the Kanmad branch took the lead and held special meeting of the representatives of the different branches of the Union, on the 23rd and 24th February at Kanmad. The subject before the meeting was "to remove the mismanagement and chaos from the Union." Along with the representatives of the branches Messrs. Jhabwala, Joglekar, Jinwala, Bradley and other office bearers of the Union also were specially invited for the meeting. According to it Mr. Joglekar and Mr. Bradley attended but Mr. Jhabwala and Mr. Jinwala did not attend.

This meeting at Kanmad was a private meeting called by the Railway-men themselves and the main object (of it) was that all should consider and investigate the confusion in the Union with an open heart, which means that the work of Mr. Jhabwala, the secretary of the Union, was to be submitted to scrutiny there. And therefore Jhabwala Sahib avoided to attend the meeting even though an invitation had been sent to him fifteen days in advance. Not only this but he did not also make arrangements to send representatives on behalf of the Bombay branch.

Deceiving the men in the workshop.

Up-till-now the practice was going on that the Sahib (Mr. Jhabwala) used to tide over the occasion by making some pretences. And the workshop men have been kept in



the dark as to how scheming goes on in the Union. The scales began to turn since the men of the workshop and on the line joined together on the 2nd August. The out-look of the workshop men got widened as they began to have connection with other men and they became wiser as a result of their reconciliation with others. Therefore seeing that the Union had become slack, the men in the workshop also began to grumble along with the men on the line.

Therefore the representatives of the men in the workshop ought to have gone to this Manmad meeting. All railway workers were going to make an open inquiry about the confusion by mutual exchange of views. As a matter of course the representatives of the workshop would have been made aware of the facts as regards all the confusion and the suspicion that is entertained by the men in the workshop regarding those on the line as a result of the scheming of Jhabwala and Jinwala would have been removed by mutual reconciliation, the men on the line would have understood the heart of the men in the workshop, and men in the workshop could have fathomed the heart of the men on the line. And the unity and the strength of the Union would have increased by the unification of all railway servants being crushed under the oppression of one and the same Agent. When the invitation from Manmad had been received Jhabwala Sahab, the branch secretary, instead of frankly explaining all these things to the Committee and advising it to send its representatives made such an arrangement by secret manipulations that the men in the branch should not know the facts.

#### Scheming by Jhabwala

Jhabwala got distracted as soon as the men at Manmad called a meeting to inquire into the affairs of the Union and in order that that meeting should not be held, he hit upon the plan of holding the general meeting at



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by increasing their organization vigorously. Similarly this arrangement was decided upon in order that the mismanagement in the office should be removed and that the arrangement of the Railwayman paper also may be properly made. And it was decided to communicate these decisions to all the branches and to oblige the managing committee to give effect to them.

#### Meeting of the Wadi Bunder railway workers

##### Jhabwala ran away

A public meeting of the railway workers took place in the open space of the Wadi Bunder goods shed in the evening on Monday the 25th. Jhabwala made great efforts to explain matters some-how but the railway workers were not satisfied with it and took Jhabwala severely to task for his mismanagement and for the loss cost to the people thereby. Seeing that he could not defend himself and could not disprove the charges brought against him by the men Jhabwala Sahab in the end ran away (lit with bag and baggage) from the meeting. After his departure the meeting went on for one hour and on the whole situation being explained to the men by Joglekar and Purandare, the opinion was expressed by all that the general secretary must obey the orders of the Committee and that the Union must accept only an aggressive policy.

#### Fiasco of the general meeting.

##### Jhabwala's scheming.

Great stir has been caused among railway workers before the people through the Kranti the mismanagement of Jhabwala. Jhabwala's underlings of Khar are saying that the things are false. But some workers openly asked Jhabwala to file a suit against the Kranti for defamation of the Union if these things were false. On this the above mentioned Sahab (Jhabwala) and his followers got confused and began to say, "Let it go sirs."

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people have been all the more convinced on account of this. Jhabwala called the general meeting at Matunga in order that he may be able to secretly manage things according to his desire. But taking the whole (complicated) affair into consideration men at Matunga began to ask why the blame of the matter should come to their head. Jhabwala Sahab has become perturbed on seeing that his stronghold itself was shaky and moreover as to what would happen after his running away from the Wadi Bunder meeting.

Evidence of Jhabwala's weakness.  
This general meeting was intentionally held in an out of the way compound in Matunga in order that it may be managed according to his desire. So also in order that other persons may be more confused, all the members were not invited according to law and besides that the notice of the meeting given in the Railwayman was given separately in English. Such a confusion was caused. After all these machinations had been exposed in the managing committee on the 27th the meeting of the 28th was declared unlawful and cancelled. Now the committee has decided to hold the annual meeting of the Union on the 1st April in the Damodar Hall.

Retrenchment in the Jhansi workshop.  
Signs are visible that as in the case of other railways the axe of retrenchment will fall on the G.I.P. Railway. As the Union strenuously worked during the last year, the scheme lay suppressed. Now through Jhabwala's prowess disunity and lack of good feeling is prevailing in the Union (and) taking the advantage of that the officials have begun to make secret attacks. Such an attack on the service of hundred to hundred and twenty-five persons took place in the Electric Department at Matunga and a similar experiment is being made at Jhansi. News has been received from the Jhansi secretary that 7 (or) 8 persons out of those that were sent from Bombay

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to Jhansi were dismissed from work because they did not give bribe and it has caused great excitement there. Railway workers should at least open their eyes on seeing these indications of the officers and should start a vigorous attempt of unifying their strength and putting a check to the mismanagement of Jhabwala.

B.B. Railway Union.

Agitation among gangmen

The managing committee of the B.B.C.I. Railway Employees Union has made Jhabwala nominal general secretary (and) has been carrying on the work under its control by appointing Mr. Kadkarni as a paid secretary, because the work of the Union suffers on account of Jhabwala's weakness. Jhabwala's pay continues. But it is understood that the Sahab (Jhabwala) is secretly scheming because the men have made him such a puppet.

Some days back Mr. Jhabwala and Kadkarni had gone to the Agent with a deputation on behalf of the gangmen. During the talks with the Agent, his offer of increasing the gangmen's salary by only two rupees was at first half consented to. And then seeing that the men ask for an increase of four rupees and that they do not listen to his agreement he (Jhabwala) is trying to save himself by scheming to throw the blame of this on Kadkarni. To say the truth, when the men want an increase of four rupees and when they were ready to fight for it, Kadkarni or Jhabwala had no right whatsoever to make a defective agreement. But it is the habit of Jhabwala ~~first to act over-hastily and then turn back when people begin to abuse.~~

After expressing consent before the Agent to the increase of two rupees, it is mean to fly away now saying that Kadkarni did that. The men should not mind anybody be he Kadkarni or Jhabwala and should be ready to censure on the strength of their unity, such defective conduct of affairs. And keeping a strict eye on the tricks of Jhabwala should <sup>make</sup> a strenuous effort for their demands.

*J.W.D.*

Kranti Dated 3-3-1929.

page 2 Col. 4. T.

Friendly (Lit affectionate) message to worker brother

After the publication of the first big handbill of our Union movement, a handbill entitled "Friendly message to the worker brothers in the General Motor India Ltd" was distributed among motor workers. This handbill bears nine signatures, of which five are of persons belonging to the B.P.T. Union only. And the other four are ( of persons ) from the Railway, Municipality and the Kasgaon Dock Workers' Unions. Mr. Jhabwala and Mr. Jinwala are not in the Union started on the 7th January. And this handbill asked the motor workers to join (Mr.) Jhabwala and (Mr.) Jinwala. Mr. Jhabwala and (Mr.) Jinwala have not started a Union of Motor workers and this handbill saying that a new (Union) should be started, does not bear the signature either of (Mr.) Jhabwala or of Mr. Jinwala. It cannot therefore be said that it is the one that issued this handbill. Moreover Mr. Jhabwala can never attend a meeting at the appointed time as he cannot dispose of even the work undertaken by him at present as Mr. Jhabwala was accused only last week in the C.I.P. Union, of holding secret consultations with the owners against the workers and of deceiving the workers by depositing in bank, in the name of his wife, the money received from Russia for the workers. Under these circumstances I cannot but say that it is risky for the motor workers to place confidence in (Mr.) Jhabwala. Therefore I think that those nine persons who gave the message of being friendly to Mr. Jhabwala, may have by mistake printed 'friendly' in place of 'risky'. The motor workers must not get themselves entangled in this false and risky net of ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ friendliness.

V.H.JCahi  
General Secretary,  
Motor Industry Workers' Union.

*JWA.*

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Kranti dated 9.3.29

Page 5 Col: 2

"(He) do not care for the head office"

Mischievous efforts of Jhabwala-sahib in the branch committee

To the editor, Kranti:-

Mr. Jhabwala Sahet has created confusion in the G.I.P. Railwaymen's Union and he has been doing the reprehensible work of creating dissensions among the Union without any compunction for truth or principle, with the help of some sham leaders in the Katunga and Parel workshops by his garb of saintliness and by his sweet talk with folded hands that he was their servant.

In order that he might be called the champion of workers, he is at present playing the trick of keeping in the darkness of ignorance the simple and straight forward workers of the workshop and not allowing their aspirations to get proper latitude. But (as the adage says) the rise of the sun cannot be stopped by hiding the cock in this manner. The issue of the Kranti dated 23.2.1929 has done great service in this matter. The workers on the line of the G.I.P. Railway discovered the capability of Mr. Jhabwala-sahab at the very time when he began to give public explanation regarding himself and the work so far done by him, through the "Kasari", the "Kavya Kai", the "Chronicle" and other newspapers. Because they were convinced that the strength required for carrying out a vigorous programme helpful to the growing agitation in the country had not been left in him and that his fondness for leadership did not leave him. But such is not the condition of the workers at Katunga and Parel. They cannot resist the influence of Mr. Jhabwala and do not get a correct idea of his true nature on account of the work done <sup>by</sup> him for 10-12 years, his white khaddar dress, sweet and courteous speech and their blind faith (in him).

Kranti dated 9th March 1929.

Page 6, Article headed "Oil strike."

Three months have elapsed since the workers in oil works in Bombay went on strike (and) it is still continuing. The Union was registered, yet the owners are not still ready to confer with it. The office-bearers of the Union placed their grievances before the Hon'ble (Sir Ghulam Hussain) Hindayatullah before the big riots. But he declined to interfere (lit placed his hands on his ears) and said he would not do anything. This matter was submitted to H.E. the Governor after the riots. Kimbkar had an interview with the (Private) Secretary to the Governor on the 1st instant. He said that he would send a reply within two days. Eight days have passed still the reply has not been received. H.E. the Governor has already gone away to Delhi last Wednesday. The company has newly employed about 450 Pathans and 200 Bhayyas. Old employees are not attending their work (and) the strike continues.

pecountry  
ben.

Vigorous picketing is being maintained by women workers. Last week three women had been arrested by the Police. Each of them was fined eight annas by the court. Grain is being distributed on behalf of the Union.

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Riva

Granti, 9th March 1929.

New riot by the owners.

(N. A. Alve)

As soon as the Bombay riot has stopped, the mill officials have begun their former riot. The 'Bombay Girni Karyagar Union' had stopped the highhandedness of the mill officials, that had traditionally continued up till now. That highhandedness meant beating the men, taking bribes, to deceive the workers by false rates, to deprive them of their wages. All these machinations of theirs had been stopped. But after the recent Hindu, Musalman and Pathan riot, the mill officials are thinking that there is no objection for them now to carry on their riots. Under that impression, they have begun to spread their net and this had the desired effect. By their wicked acts men from two or three mills have gone on strike. The bad habit which the mill officials have formed up till now, is not getting stopped. Because, owing to their behaviour of pride, their policy going on for several years (to the effect), that value the worker has, he must listen to whatever we say, he must receive whatever beating we give, must give us whatever money we demand, must give us for drinking as much liquor as we ask for, got stopped suddenly owing to the unity of the men. This has enraged the officials and taking advantage of yesterday's riot they have begun to tell the workers : " There is nothing like a union of you people. <sup>e</sup>by what we tell (you) and give us in writing such an agreement as we ask for. Now you have become our slaves." Coming to this their saying, the workers in every mill have got enraged, and everywhere there is continuous excitement. The officials are one after another stopping the mill-committees in whichever mill they have been started. <sup>s</sup>one cannot say how long these arrogant officials are going to continue their wicked deed. Still I have only this much to say to these persons that the working class has now awakened and will not be deceived by their wicked deed. These oppressive officials must understand that every worker

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is now awakened to his rights and his (self) respect. But as they (the officials) are so wicked as not to understand this, strikes are occurring again again at every hour in every mill. The blame for these strikes is laid by outside intelligent persons at the door of the workers and the workers' leaders. One fails to understand for how long the owners are going to allow their pet officials to indulge in whatever they like. Therefore the only thing I have to say to the 'mill-owners' Association of the owners is that they should immediately stop this mischievous game of their officials, otherwise all responsibility for it will remain not on us and our workers but on the owners.

True Translation.

Krauti 3<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> March 1929.

"I do not drink but supply drink to others" Jadhavrao the  
patron of the mischievous Kairi and the Minister of the  
Excise Department of the English Government, delivered a  
speech of the above import in the (Bombay) Legislative Coun-  
cil - but he who wishes to work for the workers must give up  
lucrative Govt. posts, must stop the butcher's work of  
punishing the workers, sitting in the Honorary Magistrates'  
chair - the mischievous party of the "Kairi" is full of  
Govt. officials, so Bahadurs, Magistrates (and) all  
oppressive servants of the British throne. Such a party  
shall only create dissensions in the workers' movement and  
cause destruction: What else does it know?

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In our last issue we referred to how the administration was carried on of the department of the 'Excise Minister' (Lit. Minister of ~~ganja~~ Jadhavrao, who Bhaskarrao was and what interest he had in the Kairi. Thereafter the departments under his Ministership came to be severely criticised in the Bombay Legislative Council. The Grants Bill, expenditure for one's departments has to be placed before the members of the Legislative Council and got passed. At that time while asking for the sanction for the grant for the administration of the liquor, ~~ganja~~, ~~khans~~, ~~gharas~~ department, Minister Jadhavrao delivered a speech. "It is the intention of the Govt. to open more liquor shops and to sell more ~~ganja~~ and ~~more ghara~~ this year than in the previous year. The Govt. will realize from it an additional 3 1/2 lakhs of rupees. And Jadhavrao supported the policy that the Govt. should receive more money in that manner and that more ~~ghara~~ might be sold.

"I am a believer in prohibition, I myself do not drink  
liquor, do not even touch it, but arrangement should be made  
to open more liquor shops and to sell more ganja (and) ghara  
only for the people. This policy of my department and of  
the Govt. is proper."

He delivered a speech in the Legislative Council to this effect. It is the opinion of Minister Jadhavrao that more liquor and charas should not pass into the bellies of the people. But he accepted the Ministership of the Excise Department which is administered against this opinion of his and still he stands to support the Govt's policy of selling additional liquor (and) charas to the extent of four lakhs of rupees.

He is prepared to pay Rs. 000/- to the Yakari in order to knock down the Communist leaders of the workers. The editor hired by Jadhavrao, the Minister of the Excise Department, indulges in tall-talk about Tanaji while treacherously pretending to look after the interest of the workers and starting a newspaper and making preparations to knock down the leaders who have risen against ownerism. But this editor supports the Minister of the mischievous Govt. supplying to the descendants of Shivaji (and) Tanaji additional liquor and charas of four lakhs. He (the editor) prints on one side scraps indulging in tall-talk about Shivaji's name and about the bravery of the workers and passing by the other door he indulges in the flattery of Minister Jadhavrao who receives a monthly salary of rupees four thousand from the Govt. and sitting in a Govt. building is engrossed in the devilish account how to open in increasing numbers liquor shops for the people, how to open more and more shops throughout his own country, his own peasants and workers in the poisonous hell of liquor drinking and charas taking. The Yakari conspirators think that the workers have no inkling of what goes on in the Bombay Legislative Council. What will these conspirators gain by taking advantage of it (the workers' ignorance), by over-throwing the Communists who are opposed to the Govt. and who are the enemies of capitalism and by setting up in their place leaders dancing at the signal of the Minister causing injury to his country and pouring crores of rupees earned on liquor traffic in the house of the Govt. ?

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(Are they going to gain) Ministership of the Govt. for themselves? Is it their only intention to start in the Bombay city the ~~the~~ nude dance which had been kicked out from the Satara (District) by putting in one pocket the workers institutions and in the other bought up leaders? Can service to the workers be rendered by patting on the back Govt. Magistrates, Rao Bahadurs and Excise Ministers, by receiving donations from them and by praising those receiving four thousand rupees a month as salary? If they indulge in tally talk about the welfare of the peasants then how do one and all leaders in the clique of these rascals move about receiving Govt salary and honours? How is it that men who derive profit from the department <sup>u</sup>settling the poison - which ruins the houses and the property of the workers, the liquor, the gharas, the thang and the ganja which ruins the human body - and who fill their pockets with Govt salary, become the leaders of the clique of these rascals?

Don't you want Bange and Mimbkar? Very well, but what are your patrons on whose strength you cut capers? Some one is <sup>the word</sup> an honorary Magistrate, some one is a Minister of the Excise <sup>the ori-</sup> Department, while some one is a Police officer or the court-<sup>case</sup> <sup>tempt.</sup> ier of some debaucherous prince or chief. Then after pocket-<sup>the</sup> <sup>Chats.</sup> aboveing big pieces of lands in the Deah and even after accepting Govt. Ministerships (they) could not achieve the welfare of the peasants, when these thieves dared not utter a single word against the landholders and propertied men, they raise their movement on communal envy in order to hide their intellectual bankruptcy and to secure Govt. services, and got themselves profited for some days. But the peasants also saw the gluttony of these in the Govt. Departments and their love towards the officials and the propertied persons. Therefore those poor persons who had not even a piece of land in their possession began to drive them away.

Still the mischievous Kairari clique could not abandon their desire for Govt. service. It is therefore that hiding the kick that they received there, these knaves have thought

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of honourably entering a new flock in a new city. But one cannot be misled by tall-talk about the workers' welfare and about Taraji and Shivaji. Can the workers not see the shamelessness of receiving salary from the English, the deadly enemies of Shivaji even while repeating Shivaji's name?

The mischievous Malgari party is full of persons inflicting injury upon the country. It is therefore alone that thinking that it had inflicted sufficient injury on the Leah its poisonous eye has turned towards the Bombay workers.

If these harmful mischief-makers have really to benefit the workers they should first do the following things :-

1. All the leaders in this mischievous party should resign their Ministerships and post of Govt. carrying fat salaries.

2. Should stop going to the Barbars of Princes and Chiefs.

3. The honorary (Lit. Annavari) Magistrates and servants who are in their party and who are their patrons should first rise against the oppressive British capitalism and Governmentism.

4. The struggle of the workers versus the capitalists should be started in place of the communal movement.

Without doing this the leadership of the workers cannot be had by the policy of indulging in talltalk about Shivaji and Taraji and by licking the dust at the <sup>feet</sup> ~~feet~~ of the English who surpass the Moghul rulers.

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*J. V. K.*



Kranti d/- 10th March 1922

Meeting of the Managing Committee of the Girni Sangar  
Union, Bombay.

Threat by Kasle

Removal of the traitor will have a serious result.

Because he is from his centre and his own (cap).

A conspiracy to create confusion in the meeting at Lal Bazar

Resolution of the Committee

Attempts to cause dissensions in the Lal Bazar (Red Flag) Union are going on for several days. Their result was seen in two or three meetings. A meeting was held at Fergusson Road after the closing of the mill. It is the usual practice not to continue for a long time a meeting held after the men had got tired after a full day's work. Some men from Delisle Road came to that meeting and maintained obstinately that they wanted to speak. Bearing in mind the time of the meeting and the importance of work one or two persons were allowed to speak and the remaining men were informed that they should speak in the next meeting. At that time some advanced persons looking after the work of the Union itself attempted to create noise in the meeting. But it ceased immediately. The same thing was repeated in the meeting held in the waste land of the Eitiya Mill. A man named Dharam Singh who was (working) in the Union Mill but who is not at present working in that mill and who attends to the work of the Union Mill in the Delisle Road Centre, asked some questions to Mr. Nimbkar in the meeting opposite the Eitiya Mill. Now, every member is at liberty to ask questions. Things cannot be understood without asking for information on any subject. But it was seen clearly from the questions brought this this person with what object they were being asked by the person who wrote them and by him who asked them. Their attitude was such as if they were attacking some enemy. Though the question be a simple one the attitude of one who puts it, changes its import. He asked a question what arrangement was made for the mother of Parashuram Jadhav who fell victim to firing, one year back, at the beginning of the

big strike. What was the object of raising this question in the meeting held to consider the strike in the sizing (department) of the Currimbhoy (Mill), the dismissal of men from mills and the Govt. report? If this member merely wanted straightforward information, the head office was open to him. There he could have got the reports as to what steps were taken with regard to Parashuram Jadhav's mother. But how can this be understood by men sent to create confusion in the meeting?

Similarly a man from the same Belisle Road centre attempted to create confusion also in the meeting at Lal Baug. A person named Balkrishna has been appointed to look after the work at this centre. He has been appointed as a centre organizer. His work is to collect subscriptions (and) to attend to complaints etc. The Union pays him Rs.30 as salary for this work. But since the passion for treachery has begun to spread of late, this man has left (aside) the work of the centre and has started doing other things. He had left the work of the Belisle Road mills and every other work is stopped except that of following Mr. Kase like a tail wherever he may go and of indulging in scandle-mongering. One day there was the meeting of the Committee of the Owners' Association. That efficiency should be expected in roving work was to be considered in the meeting. The owners had prepared a statement of roving work in 84 mills. That was to be considered. Therefore that Committee had invited the Committee of the Union. Messrs. Dange, Alve, Ghate and Kadam accordingly attended the meeting of the Committee. Mr. Kase came later on to the meeting and brought Balkrishna along with him. After the meeting was over, Mr. Dange wrote a letter to (Mr.) Kase informing him "It is better for men appointed to look after the work at a centre to be at their work. Similarly it is better for those men alone who have been appointed on a Committee to go (to represent the Union) otherwise there is possibility of our men being insulted by the opposite party."

Threat to the President

Mr. Kase gave this letter to Balkrishna for being shown in the meeting. This man took six more signatures in the Lal Baug meeting and informed Mr. Alve the President that they wanted to speak and that he (the President) would be held responsible if they were obstructed. It is flouting discipline for a paid man appointed at a centre to administer this threat to the president of the meeting. If he at all wanted the permission to speak he could have managed merely by asking for the ordinary permission. But it does not become a benefactor of the Union appointed specially to look after the work of the Union to give a threat to the president that he (the president) would be responsible if confusion arose. maramari took place or some untoward incident happened in case permission was not granted. If he was angry for anything he could have first placed the question before the Managing Committee. But the ghost of treachery had been infused in this person beforehand. Those whose game it was and it is to gain their object by making a puppet of him lest their head. And this person charmed by incitement began to rave at random in the meeting at Lal Baug. He put a reverse question to the men to mislead them whether the workers should not go to the owners. A straightforward reply was given to this. The work which one is appointed to do should be done by him; when one is appointed on roving it will not do for him to wander to the looms in (the) weaving (department). A person reaches (the) weaving (department) by gradually learning work. Similarly those who have been appointed to look after the work of a centre must do that work. If another work is to be done that should be done by acquiring the ability and the capacity to do it.

The chit that was sent by other six men for permission to speak was placed before the meeting. Then all expressed the opinion that more speeches were not required at that time.

These things that had happened were considered in the meeting of the Managing Committee on Tuesday the 5th March.

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The resolution was discussed that if a person appointed by the Union for a particular work leaves aside that work and wanders elsewhere and creates disorder in a meeting by giving threats to the General Secretary and the President, the Union should dismiss such a man working against the interests of the Union and that he should not also be kept in the Union. Mr. Kasle tried to support Balkrishna's side by creating a contrary impression. He made a threatening speech full of false statements that if any workman came forward they tried to remove him and that it would have a serious result. Balkrishna is a person appointed by the Union for a particular work. There is a difference between an ordinary member and a servant of the Union. But Kasle forgot this simple rule that it was impossible to keep as organizer of the Union a person threatening the President of the meeting and of the Union in contravention of the discipline of the Union and he too gave threats about serious consequences. But the committee gave a proper reply to these threats. It was settled that a letter of apology for what had happened should be taken from Balkrishna and that he should read it in full meeting. The resolution was passed that if he did not do so, he should be dismissed from the Union.

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*M.A.*

Kranti 17th March 1929

A pact between the "Kaiwari" and the Police.  
A conspiracy to get the Union Fund locked up in  
Court.

See this proof.

If the persons of the Kaiwari party had not openly raised the outcry that the Union should pay the amount of security, the Police would not have demanded Rs 500, where persons had been before let off (on bail) on Rs 30 (each). Before this outcry took place, the Union could get released 25 persons by paying Rs 2500. After the outcry Rs 1500 had to be paid for three men.

If a sample is to be seen in what guise thieves, coming into the stronghold of the workers' movement, get an entrance the instance of the Kaiwari should be seen.

This impostor (lit. one repeating various dramatic characters) calling himself respectable, came at first into the workers' meetings, made speeches at one or two places and secured the friendship of some leaders. Any well-wisher of the workers has the right to take part in the workers' movement. The mill-workers' movement is not a monopoly of our<sup>s</sup>. And when therefore Mr. Javalkar of the Kaiwari came at first into the workers' meetings in Magu Sayaji's radi and at Belisle Road, we gave him the respect that was due. When he came into the Union office we did not look at him from the Brahmi-Non-Brahmin point of view but paid him respect as a gentleman wishing to take part in the workers' movement. Mr. Kase etc. had taken the lead in inviting him into the union and to attend meeting. So there was no reason for us to suspect Mr. Javalkar. But after some days he made an attempt to take a treacherous advantage of these visits. An application was prepared with the forged signatures of the members of the Kanagin Committee. The Times (of India) gave out the news that this application was in order that Mr. Javalkar should take up the leadership of the union and plans should be

made to drive out Messrs Lange and Nimbkar. As soon as excitement was about to break out in all the mills, as soon as this news spread, the conspirators somehow covered up the matter and (the ~~the~~ excitement) got calmed.

It is certain that this their effort instead of benefiting the workers' movement will create dissensions to the great advantage of the enemies of the workers. It was seen in the Belisle Road meeting that the sympathy of the Police was at the back of the Kaiwari conspiracy. There was a person by name Gadhari in the Red Flag union on Rs 30 as pay. He quarreled with the Union and took up service in Mr. Bakhle's union ~~and~~ on Rs 50 as pay. Even from there he was driven out because of his "merits". This person has now attached himself to the Kaiwari conspiracy. This person stood on the road in the Belisle Road meeting and made an attempt to raise an outcry. When the meeting began there was no trace of the Police round about the meeting, but as soon as two or three persons of the Kaiwari conspiracy came and stood near about the meeting and the people raised an outcry that they should be driven out, armed police presented themselves round about the meeting. Unless the police had received beforehand information from the Kaiwari conspiracy that this outcry was going to be raised, how did the police present themselves in the nick of time? It is absolutely clear from this that there is somewhere a connection between this conspiracy and the Police.

ironical

As a second proof of the suspicion we have expressed above that the Kaiwari and the police are acting (lit. marching) in concert, is the question about providing security for the arrested men. Arrangements were being made on behalf of the union to release on bail, persons arrested during a riot or in other cases. But it was not our object to proclaim this fact. In order that the police and the Court should not know that the union was paying the security for the men, we had not given

much publicity to this news and did not intend to give it.

But the "Kaiwari - conspiracy" wants to put down the Union in some way or the other. It (the conspiracy) thought that if an outcry was raised that Lange - Nimkar did not pay securities for the men, the harassed relatives of the arrested men will ~~hand~~ hang Lange-Nimkar and its dodge would succeed and, on the other hand, when the Union money got locked up in Court, that money being locked up, should not be of use when occasion came for a strike and the strikers should get involved in difficulty. Those misguided persons who might have got infertuated with the Kaiwari, should pay attention to what the result of this Kaiwari-conspiracy has been.

The Court demanded Rs 100 as security from the accused in the New China Mill case. <sup>that</sup> At time there was not much outcry that the Union was going to pay the securities. Till then the Court used to demand a security of (Rs) 30 or (Rs) 50. But when some ignorant persons of Belisle Road, who had got involved in the Kaiwari-conspiracy, openly raised an outcry that the union had got a large fund and that the security of all should be paid by the union, the police raised the amount of security. As soon as the (jackal's) yell of the Kaiwari was out, securities began to be demanded of Rs 300 and Rs 500 and one day a Magistrate said in the Court that the amount of security could not be reduced as the Union had got much money. "The Police Department is Government's. The Courts are Government's and the real controller of the Kaiwari, Mr. Bhaskarrag Judhav is a Minister of the Government. The Kaiwari gives forth whatever matures (lit. boils) behind the curtain. To raise an outcry that the union should pay the securities, and the police and the Courts on their party to raise the amount of the security so that all the money of the union would go into the hands of the Court in paying the securities of one hundred men only."

In bold  
type in the  
original.

This is called the "Kaiwari conspiracy."

Whoever joins this terrible conspiracy will be similarly knocked down in future. If the persons of the Kaiwari conspiracy had not raised an outcry in an open meeting about securities, Rs 6000 would not have today got locked up with the police. The Union was paying the securities. Every arrangement had been made but owing to the clandestine conspiracy of these treacherous persons, the funds of the union are today getting locked up in the Courts.

The workers must begin mercilessly to deal with these thieves who hate Wange and Limbar, and bring the workers' Union in difficulty (lit. pit).

True Translation.



1.

Kranti, 17th March 1929

Will Kasle explain ?

To

The Editor Kranti.

Mr. Alwe by writing an article in the Kranti has clearly expressed his opinion against the conspiracy by the Kaiwari for creating defection. The Sopari Baitg Pact had been read out to the workers and had been prepared with the consent of (the workers) themselves, and in the same meeting Mr. Kasle had made a speech that the workers should start work. In this matter the Kaiwari had made false charges against Mr. Dange. Against these Mr. Alwe wrote an out-spoken article and challenged the Kaiwari, but what is the reason that Kasle has not condemned this mischievous statement ? Are we to understand this to mean that Kasle has joined the Kaiwari party and approves of all its false statements ?

13/3/29

A weaver of Jacob Dassoon

True Translation.



1.

Kranti, 17th March 1929

Will Kasle explain?

To

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Mr. Alwe by writing an article in the Kranti has clearly expressed his opinion against the conspiracy by the Kaiwari for creating defection. The Sopari Fatg Pact had been read out to the workers and had been prepared with the consent of (the workers) themselves, and in the same meeting Mr. Kasle had made a speech that the workers should start work. In this matter the Kaiwari had made false charges against Mr. Dange. Against these Mr. Alwe wrote an out-spoken article and challenged the Kaiwari, but what is the reason that Kasle has not condemned this mischievous statement? Are we to understand this to mean that Kasle has joined the Kaiwari party and approves of all its false statements?

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