

P. 2092.

To the Editor, The Forward,
Calcutta.

SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY'S
BRANCH LIBRARY
BOMBAY

Dear Sir.

May I seek the hospitality of your paper to express my appreciation of the stand taken by the nationalist members of the Legislative Assembly against the Public Safety Bill? The rejection by the Assembly of this repressive measure, so carefully prepared on the basis of falsified materials, has been an unexpected blow to the imperialists. In their discomfiture, some of them seem to have lost all sense of proportions. For example, the *Times of India* even on October shamelessly repeated the forged legend of my having mentioned Jawaharlal Nehru as "the liason agent between Moscow and India." That was nearly a month after the mysterious letter which was supposed to have contained that reference to Jawaharlal Nehru, had been proved to be of doubtful authenticity. - a month after the Home Secretary had failed to produce a letter with my signature and a reference to Jawaharlal Nehru as the "liason agent". Nevertheless, the *Times of India* takes resort to this false legend to prove Jawaharlal Nehru as what he is not - a Communist, with the purpose of splitting the forces fighting for complete national independence by spreading germs of false alarm, suspicion and mistrust. It will be remembered that in the campaign to prepare the atmosphere for the passage of the Public Safety Bill imperialists and their Indian allies conjured up what wreck and ruin Indian society would be turned into by the Communists. The siren's call did not find a responsive ear. But the sinister attempt has not been abandoned. If poison did not work, persuasion should be tried. The middle class (though they are not "dumb and helpless" like the masses) must be saved from the snares of Communism in order to save India for the empire. The editorial of the *Times of India* (Oct. 18) was written with this purpose. It appealed to the Indian middle class to aid imperialism in stamping out Communism. This impudent appeal is sure to fail, for in the first place it implies an insult to those appealed to. It implies that the middle class intelligencia of India are not capable of judging what is good and what is bad for them, and therefore, should accept the benevolence guidance of British imperialism for their salvation.

The Bombay organ of imperialism would convince the middle class that "Communism is an evil movement" whereas "imperialism and British domination" are mere "bogeys". It indeed has a very low opinion of the intelligence of this class, if it expects to persuade it by such argument. Suppose the middle class cannot do its own thinking, and will be swayed this way or that depending upon the cogency and persuasiveness of the respective arguments advanced.

How are the perspectives in that situation? On the one side, imperialism appealing for cooperation to "bring the evil movement (of Communism) to impotence", and on the other side, the Communists offering the hand of comradeship in the fight for national liberation. The imperialist wisacres will be living in the fool's paradise, if they for one moment doubt which way the middle class will go. They will surely make united front with the Communists (who are the conscious vanguard of the entire working class) in the common struggle for political freedom, economic advancement and social reinvigoration. They will do so not because they believe in Communism. Nor do the Communists expect them to believe in Communism. There is a broad platform for them to meet upon—the platform of national revolution. However much they may dislike Communism, the middle class cannot be scared by it into the arms of imperialism. That would be to commit suicide. If the social, religious and cultural institutions of India cannot be saved except under the protection of foreign imperialism, then they are not worth saving. Still, that is exactly what the appeal of imperialism signify, remain my slave—"don't be led away by cries against the bogeys of imperialism"—and I will defend your religious, social and cultural institution against the "evil of Communism". And what are the terms offered by the Communists? They are the terms of comradeship against the common enemy. Foreign domination obstructs the free and normal development of the Indian people in every department of life. Today, in consequence of foreign domination, degeneration, decay and stagnation viciate the entire life of the nation. If you want a renaissance of the Indian people, come, let us join hands in erradicating the malady that eats into their very vitals.

Imperialism knows that the Communist appeal is irresistible except for those few who can be bribed with a miserly mess of potage. The salvation of the exploited and expropriated middle class lies primarily in the overthrow of the foreign rule, and to work out this salvation they must join hands with the working class. Disillusioned of other means of struggle, the middle class are groping towards the united front with the workers and peasants. The Communists are taking the initiative in the mobilization of the forces of national revolution. Hence the anxiety of imperialism to save the middle class from the snares of Communism.

Yours truly,

Moscow, Nov. 12.

M. N. Roy.

P. 2092 (E)

(Address on the Envelope):—

Bearing postal marks of "BERLIN SW, 24 11 28, 14-15 11 b."

The F o r w a r d

C a l c u t t a

I n d i a.

P. 2093

Telegraphic Address. "GANAVANI". Calcutta.

THE WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' PARTY OF BENGAL

2-1, European Asylum Lane,

Calcutta. 26-9-1928.

Organ

GANAVANI,

(Bengali Weekly)

Dear Comrade Sohan Singh,

I regret very much to say that the circumstances did not allow me to go to Lyalpur. At the present moment we have been passing through a financial crisis. One of our members Comrade Aftab Ali has been living at Almora for reason of health for some time past. I have wired him to proceed at once to Lyalpur to attend the conference. I hope he will reach there in time. We have already formed a reception committee for the All-India Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference. More we shall let you know in future.

Yours fraternally

Muzaffar Ahmad.

P. 2093. (1)

Telegraphic Addrss. "GANAVANI" Calcutta.

THE WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' PARTY OF BENGAL

2--1, European Asylum Lane,

Calcutta. Sept. 26, 1928

Grgan:

GANAVANI

(Bengali Weekly)

On behalf of the Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal we convey our warmest fraternal greettngs to the conference of the Workers' and Peasants' Party of the Punjab and wish every success for the Conference and the future work of the Party.

We congratulate our Punjab comrades on the formation of the Party and especially for their militant magazine "Kirti" and their courageous propaganda and agitation against the war now being prepared by British Imperialism against the Soviet Republic.

The past year has seen a great increase in the force and expression of the militant mass movement all over the country. Lacs of workers and peassants have shown and are showing in the most convincing possible way, by direct action, their dissatisfaction with the present order. The movement of the masses will grow, in volume and consciousness, in it we put our faith for the complete independence and internal regeneration of the country.

But the growth of the movement places a great responsibility upon us. On all too many occasions the militant masses after heroic struggles have been betrayed by reactionary or dishonest leaders. Our resources and organisation are still too weak to enable us to give the masses the militant and honest leadership which they need. It is our task to strengthen and educate ourselves, to draw into our ranks all that is best and most progressive among the masses, and to co-ordinate all forces into a single great movement covering the whole country, with the same aims and programme and working in close co-operation.

We are in great danger of lagging behind the masses, and of allowing them to be seriously misled, discouraged and disorganised. Our task is of greatest urgency.

We of Bengal therefore consider it absolutely necessary that no time should be lost in forming ourselves into the WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' PARTY OF INDIA, through which we shall be able to interchange information and co-ordinate our work, to establish branches of our Party in important provinces and districts

where at present no organisation exists, and shall be able to exercise a greater influence on the whole Country.

We have formed a reception committee for holding a **WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' PARTY CONFERENCE FOR ALL-INDIA** in Calcutta in the third week of December next. We earnestly ask you to send your representatives to the conference, and to combine with us in laying down a programme of organisation and action for next year.

With renewed greetings and good wishes.

We are

Yours fraternally

THE WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' PARTY
OF BENGAL, Executive Committee.

Sd. Muzaffar Ahmad

GENERAL SECRETARY.

P. 2093 (E)

(Address on the envelope)

The President,

Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference,

(Second Sitting, Lyalpur)

P. O. Lyalpur (The Punjab)

P. 2094.

Weekly organ Kranti Kari (Hindi) (JHANSI)

U. P. and DELHI WORKERS' & PEASANTS' PARTY,
A L L A H A B A D .

Ref. No..... Allahabad,192

President:— To
Dr. Biswanth Mukerji, The Secy.
Zafar Bazar, Gorakh- Naujawan Sabha Conference
pur. Lahore.

Dear Comrade,

Vice-President:— The ways of Imperialism are well
Dharamvir Singh, known to us. I do not know if this
M.A., M.L.C. letter will reach you, so I am sending
Taga Boarding House, my greetings by wire too.
Meerut.

General Secy:— May I warn you against confused
Puran Chandra Joshi, terminology. Every born of society has
M.A., its own ideology, and class-societies
34, Holland Hall, create myths to hide class-exploitation,
Allahabad. to hoodwink the exploited and drug the
young enthusiasts. Nationalism is the
ideology of capitalism, we cannot say
that we stand for the 98% and that is
what we mean by nationalism. Nationalism implies that we con-
sider the nation a unit that we stand for all the hundred metaphys-
cal humbug. As true Marxists we know that there are classes
within the nation whose interests are irreconcilable, that is what
the Red Flag stands for. Let us not unconsciously become canon-
fodder for Capitalism, which nationalism in practice means. I
hope you will unequivocally proclaim the ideal of the Socialist
Republic of India in active co-operation with the Socialist Repub-
lics of the World. I am sure you will denounce pacifist internatio-
nalism as well as the latest Bond street cut—"I am a Socialist but
not a Communist". fling back the answer which the Third Inter-
national sent to the I.L.P.

We want a newer and a younger world free from all exploita-
tion—a classless society. The only scientific strategy to achieve
that end is unflinching, with all shades of class-collaboration!

We know that bloodless cronies and hypocritical class
conscious bourgeoisie hold the field to-day and are meeting in
informal conferences and negotiating terms with our political enemy
—Imperialism. Let them carry on their bargaining. we know
tomorrow belongs to us and we live from that hope. In the

meantime let us, young intellectuals, systematically totally declass ourselves. Let us guard against humanitarianism—all Dan and Daya as solutions of the social problem. Lenin wanted a compact band of professional revolutionaries I am sure the Sabha will prepare whole-time workers and not lawyer-politicians, devoted to the pure idea yet not romanticists but stern realists. If we achieve this Comrades, ultimate victory is ours-

Victory to the Red Flag!

Long Live the Naujawan Sabha !!

Fraternally,

P. C. JOSHI.

P. 2095 (C)

Rejected

A registered cover containing a letter from Zeitungs Vertrieb Gebr. Petermann, Berlin—Friedenan Rhenstrahe 28, and also a cheque No. 194255/Fr. 23 in respect of Rs 6/- issued on the Lloyds' Bank Ltd in favour of Ganavani, 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

Zeitungs-Vertrieb }
Gebr-Petermann }
Berlin-Friedenan }
Rheinstr 28.

Nov. 25th 1927
Berlin—Friedenan
Rheinstrabe 28.

Subscr. Dept.

Ganavani Calcutta.

Dear Sir,

Enclosed please find cheque in high of Rup 6'00 for one copy of your paper from 1st of Jan. '28 (sic) to 31st of Dec. 1927.

Yours Sincerely
(Sd). Illegible
Leitungs-Vertrieb
Gebr-Petermann
Berlin-Friedenan

Cheque Rup 6'00.

P. 2096 (P)

A letter from Spratt to Muzaffar Ahmed, dated 16-1-28.

C/o Ghate.

16-1-28.

Dear Muzaffar,

I have been trembling for some days in expectation of your letter. Alas, I have fulfilled my forbodings. I know this is the best time of the year for study of affairs in Bengal, or anywhere else, but I fear I cannot come at this movement. For (a) the Textile strike is still on. It may yet extend to a general strike, but even if it does not, I want to be present during its course. I even left Madras earlier than I had intended for this reason. (b) I have not yet got hold of my typewriter etc., from the police. They promised them in a few days but—(c) I am in the important committee to arrange for the Municipal Workers' Hartal when the Simon Commission lands. This is a difficult work, which it is whispered, may land us in prison. (d) Everyone demands that I should stay for some little time longer. That would not matter, but the next point does: (e) that I have not enough money to come. I am waiting for some now and wiring, but they are hard up as we are.

I could not make out what happened to the Doctor's strike. I think I saw this report, separated by several days, that it had finished. I hope that some permanent organization has been created as a result.

Thanks for the information about Majid. I shall be seeing Chamanlal himself in a few days (perhaps) when there is a Bombay Presidency Youth Conference over which he may preside. I have asked him before, of course, but continue pressure of this kind may have its effect even on him.

A further circumstance, adds to my embarrassment at the moment, and that is that I am the convener of the sub-committee charged with formulating a constitution for India on behalf of the T. U. C. The National Congress W.E has now invited to T.U.C., to meet it in connection with this and Joshi proposes that this sub-committee should be the T.U.C. representatives. I am in agreement but it means that I have to take a hand in formulating our suggestion. Kishorilal and Daud, and Sethi, are on the committee, and I shall have to write to them in detail about it.

Please accept my usual apologies for not coming and give my love to Halim and Rashid, and soon.

Yours,
Sd./ P. Spratt.

P. 2096 (P)(E)

Address on the envelope:—

Mr. Muzaffar Ahmed

c/o Peasant's and Workers' Party Bengal

2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta

P. 2097-C

A cover containing a typed letter in English from S.A. Dange, Provincial Secretary, Wadekar Build, Girgaum, Bombay 4, to Muzaffar Ahmed, 2/1 European Asylum Lane off Lower Circular Road, Calcutta. The envelop bears the seal of Girgaum, Bombay date illegible.

Wadekar Building,

Girgaum,

BOMBAY. 4.

Dear Mr. Muzaffar Ahmed,

I am sending a report of our informal gathering at Cawnpore. You will please get it read and signed by those Comrades mentioned in the report and staying in your city.

You will kindly return the same by registered post to me as early as possible.

Just at present I am not able to supply each member with a copy for being retained with him. I hope to do it if work progresses.

Yours fraternally,

5. 12. 27.

Sd. S.A. Dange.

PROVINCIAL SECRETARY.

(Enclosure).

Wadekar Build,

Girgaum,

Bombay. 4.

To, Members of the "T.U.C. Left".

The following report of the "Trade Union Congress Left", in the Cawnpore Session is being circulated for information and signature. Each city on the left is being sent one copy. You are requested to sign and return it to the member, who has been deputed to act as the link in each city, and also to append on a separate paper any inaccuracies you might note, in the report of the proceedings,

Yours fraternally,

(Sd.) S.A. Dange.

5. 12. 27.

PROV. SECRETARY.

THE T.U.C. LEFT.

When the 18th Session of the T. U. C. met in Cawnpore, it was found that the policy on which the Congress is at present run needed a change and a higher outlook. A few persons were found to agree on a set of principles and tactics, which later on found expression in resolutions and amendments to the official policy of the T.U.C. An informal gathering of these persons decided to lay out a plan of a cohesive group and plan for future work in order to foster real trade Union activity amongst the workers.

WORK IN THE CAWNPORE SESSION.

We had to move several amendments to the report of the General Secretary. While mentioning strikes, only names of the Right Wingers were brought in with special care. In opposition, we enunciated the policy of omitting the names of individuals as far as possible and giving credit of success to unions concerned. In the paras greeting the British Delegates and condemning the persecution of labour organisers, we moved the inclusion of the names of P. Spratt Fazal Ilahi Hossain, convicted in Peshawar to five years R.I. in the para of recently started labour organs, only the "Indian Labour Review" of Mr. Kirk was mentioned. We amended it to include the "Kranti," (Bombay), "Kirti", "Mehanatkash" (Punjab), and "Ganavani", (Bengal).

RESOLUTIONS

A resolution expressing sympathy with aims and objects of the League against Imperialism and Colonial oppression was suggested by Sethi (Jamshedpur), but was not allowed. The official Party supported by Purcell opposed it on the alleged ground that the League was an off-shoot of the 3rd International. We exposed the some results of Purcell and the Capitalist character of the 2nd International. Mr. Purcell's attitude in 1925 was brought

to light from quotations from his article in the Labour Monthly on international unity.

RE-AFFIRMING LAST YEAR'S RESOLUTIONS.

Resolution on Imperialism, (a bit changed.)

Resolution on China,

„ „ International Unity.

(Deploring failure of the Anglo-Russian Unity Committee.)

A resolution condemning the encirclement of the USSR. by the Imperialist states and provocation to war was rejected by President.

So also one expressing sympathy for the work of the Pan-Pacific Conference of Canton.

A resolution of ours, (adopted) condemned the refusal of passport to Saklatwala.

OFFICES

Office of the organising Secretary of Council of Action was got for Jhabwalla, and that of Assistant Secretary to Dange. The Council of Action and the Committee to draft a Constitution include the following:—

P. Spratt, S.H. Jhabwalla, S. A. Dange. An informal meeting held at Gowaltoli Cawnpore, on 29. 11. 27. decided to concentrate mainly on building up new and penetrating the existing Unions. The following attended the informal gathering, and discussion to evolve a plan of systematic Trade Union work.

BOMBAY.

1. Dange, 2. Mirajkar, 3. Ghate, 4. Joglekar.

LAHORE.

1. Feerozuddin. 2. Majidali, 3. Gohar rahman.
4. Bhagsingh, 5. Sohan Singh.

CALCUTTA.

1. Muzaffar Ahmad, 2. Dharani Kanta Goswami,
3. Bashak, 4. Kedarnath Roy, 5. Aftab Ali.

TOTAL—14.

The other who could not attend but worked with us in the above list. On their formal consent being taken, a fresh list will be issued, for the information of members.

Yours fraternally,

Sd/—S.A. Dange.

PROVISIONAL SECRETARY.

Wadekar Build.

Girgaum,

BOMBAY, 4.

P. 2099. C

A cover addressed to C. L. Lease Katherine cottage Bergheath, Tadworth, Surrey, England containing another cover bearing the name "Brown" on it. Inside the inner cover there are 2 sheets of typed matter from "M. A." Calcutta, Dt- 10-5-28. The letter runs as follows.—

My dear J.

Your letter of the 26th Jan. did not reach me in time. I am quite at one with you on the remarks you have made about the Indian National Congress and ourselves. But many of our comrades have still got much charm for the Congress. I scarcely get any support when I fight for not accepting any office in the Congress which means a waste of energy. We may become members of the A. I. C. C. Provincial Congress Committee and even the members of the Executive Committees. On our accepting office we are to commit so many things which we must not do on principle. What is your opinion about it? I am really very sorry that our role was not stated, in the manifesto. I in fact suggested to do so. But comrades were of opinion that in that case it may not be read with interest by the people of the Congress. Their main idea was to create some left tendency within the rank and file of the Congress. This sort of tactics will not be any use in future.

The manifesto was drafted hastily and the point of the National constituent Assembly was added in the last moment.

This is why it was not clear We shall rectify it when we get opportunity. I think we should do so when we publish the report. The paper you have referred to in your letter does reach us scarcely. There is a great deal of difference between Bengal and Bombay. The latter is a small body and therefore indentified with the communist party But the things are quite different in Bengal. Here we are bigger body have got our affiliated unions and also branches. It seems that you get some wrong report about us. Dr. Sen Gupta is not a landlord. He is always a supporter of the cause of the peasants, though his ideas are not upto the mark, yet he will reach to it. His fear has given much shatter. In any case he is better than Thengdi in every respect. Mr. Atul Chandra Gupta is not a landlord he is a son-in-law of a big Zamindar. But what it does matter. He is always anti-landlord and stands for the abolition of landlordism. He is also very much sound and forward in thought. As a president of the Party he never dictates us of any policy. You know very well that Bengal is a Zamindar ridden Province. In this Province even the proletarianised intellectuals are prolandlord in thought and action. So it (is) not an easy affair here to get people who stands for the abolition of landlordism. I do not know the name of Shasmal was suggested to have him in the party. Is he not a landlord and a pro-landlord? We have formed a provincial committee of the workers' and Peasants' Party of India. We propose to hold next National Conference at Calcutta in December next. There is an ample prospect of work in Bengal. Our lack of resources is our main defeat. The subscription we collected is not at all satisfactory. In response to our appeal for the fund for the paper we got a little more than Rs. 200/- what is too small to begin with. The publication of literature is being hampered for want of fund. We have not been able to lay before the strikers our main points correctly for the lack of money.

Ambrose is here and working hard. He has much been reduced in health.

M. A.

P. 2100. (C)

A typed letter in English dated 25-1-28 from Biswanath Mukherji L, M & S., Gorakhpur Divisional Kisan and Mazdur Sabha, Gorakhpur, to Muzaffar Ahmed, secy Peasants' & Workers' Party of Bengal, 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

LETTER NO. 630.

FROM

DR. BISWANATH Mukherji L. M. & S.

Gorakhpur Divisional Kisan and Mazdoor Sabha,

GORAKHPUR.

14

To

Sj. MUZAFFAR AHMED, Secy.

Peasants' and Workers' Party of

BENGAL.

Dear Muzaffer Ahmed

Glad to know that you are going to hold a Workers' and Peasants' Conference on the 3rd and 4th March 1928. You know that I have organised here at Gorakhpur a Divisional Workers' and Peasants' Sabha. It has been working for the good of these classes of people for the last 3 years. I am sorry your conference does not extend any invitation to this body. I shall be glad if you do it after hearing it from me. We shall be too glad to join you to strengthen your cause.

Awaiting your kind and early reply

Yours fraternally

Sd. Biswanath Mukherji

PRESIDENT.

25/1/28.

P. 2101 C

A typed letter in English from S. V. Ghatge, No. 751, Girgaon Road, Bombay, to Muzaffar Ahmed, No. 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta. The envelope bears the seal of Girgaon, Bombay, dated 9. 12. 27.

My dear Muzaffer,

I have just received a telegram from Com. Singaravelu, suggesting that a Communist Conference be held during the Congress week at Madras under the presidency of Dr. Dutt. The time being very short, I am writing Singaravelu that I am consulting all the comrades for their opinion, on receipt of which I would be informing him about the final decision of the Executive. Please let me know your idea in this matter without any delay so as to enable me if necessary, to convene a meeting at Madras. Please consult Spratt also about this and let me know. Friends here have suggested that an ordinary meeting of the Party be held at Madras and no Conference. Please write to me what I should do regarding this.

Of course my book shop will be opened after the Madras trip.

Regarding the suggestions about a paper, it should be published in the Marathi language, and if anybody is helping us I don't see why it should not be started. We can talk about these matters when we meet at Madras.

Yours faithfully,

Sd/- S. V. Ghatge.

9-12-27

P. 2102 C.

A letter dated the 2nd of August 1928, written by Phillip Spratt, 2/1, European Asylum Lane, Calcutta, to F. C. Mellonie, 106, Guildford Street, London, W. C. 1, England.

2/1 European Asylum

Lane, Calcutta

2-8-28

Dear Comrade,

At last I answered your letter, and apologise for not doing so earlier. I have been trying to get hold of some of the documents published by the bodies I know of, and am sending a few to you. None have materialised yet from Calcutta, though I can say with assurance that they are just out some time.

When I first read your letter I was tempted to reply with a "No" to all your questions. Apart from consideration of grammar that would probably be the most accurate answer, but I will try to say something to each.

1. *Workers' & Peasants' Party Resolutions etc*

You should realize that there are three Workers & Peasants' Parties (Bombay, Bengal, & Punjab), (plus of course 1 or 2 other groups which may become genuine parties, as at Nagpur, Gorakhpur, Ajmere, & Negapatam) These all act in practice separately, and there is not yet formal unity. It is hoped to establish an all India Workers' & Peasants' Party, including most of these groups, in December next. The resolution in question was drafted by members of the Bombay and the Bengal parties, the most politically developed, and was later adopted by both.

As to what has happened to it in Bombay, I do not know as I have not been there since March. At that time a group and about 6 College students was meeting with Workers' and Peasants' members, and discussing Theoretical matters. It was proposed to develop this into a genuine Youth Organisation. I doubt if it has been done. Probably it was dropped at the time of vacation in April, and all the party members will have been too busy since then to take it up again. In Bengal a beginning is only now being made. A group of a dozen or so, including one or two students, and the rest "Dhadralog" (non. descript middle class young men, unemployed, etc) has met two or three times and decided to establish a " Young Comrade League ", (Saklatwala suggested this name). Its formation will probably now be announced in a few days. Its address is not yet fixed.

2. (Nos of Young Workers, Workers & Peasants' Parties etc.) It is safe to say that none of these three parties has any working class membership to speak of (Bengal, Punjab, probably have some active peasant members). The Bombay Party when I knew it was almost exclusively petit—bourgeois, though some of its members were in close touch with workers. This has probably changed a bit now I personally even lost a chance of giving at then for it, and then psychology was undoubtedly altering. The Textile strike has probably enabled them to enrol some active workers. Naturally these would at one yet be separated between " Young and otherwise ". In Bengal there are a number of workers members in theory but not more than three or four new ones are active They all happen to be young.

This situation may seem odd to you. It is the result of several factors, including particularly the extraordinary separation

which has grown up (accidentally I am told) between the educated calasses, even the poorest of them and the masses. Even such people as the workers' and Peasants' Party members find it extremely difficult to overcome this. It is true so far as I can tell (the language difficulty hampers me) that workers on the whole are extremely backward. They have been kept out of things for so long by the upper classes etc. I was accidentally asked to get hold of a genuine worker to send to Youth Conference in England, but I could not find out who would be of the slightest use. None the less, the workers' and Peasants' members exaggerate this backwardness, I am sure, and their natural laziness is mainly responsible (I should have said by the way, that the Gorakhpur group probably, and that at Negapatam certainly, contains a large proportion of workers. The latter, however has never existed, I think).

3. (Attitude of Workers' and Peasants' Party to other Youth Organisations etc). You seem to have got hold of the wrong name. I have never heard of the "Order of Young India", and if such a body exists, I think it cannot be important. As to Youth Organisations generally, there have been All-India Conferences, but there is no All-India body so far as I know, and for the same reason as in the case of the Workers' and Peasants' Parties. In general only very wealthy people can maintain All-India Organisations. They are usually, I think, federated by provinces, but in fact confined to the one or two principal cities. In Bombay, the Bombay Presidency Youth League is practically the only organisation now in existence. It is almost confined to students. There is also I should mention, a "Young India Society" which is a really a sort of carcass controlling the Bengal Provincial Youth League. It consists of a dozen intelligent young men, who, unfortunately have no policy, but delight in wire-pulling and feeling important. Some are re-actionary—others not so much so. There is also a separate Youth Conference, probably with some organisation. All its members would probably be also members of the Bengal Provincial Youth League. However, originally (early this year) as a protest against the non-political attitude of the Bengal Provincial Youth League. I do not think any serious attempt has been made to follow up the success gained at its Conference. This is a pity in Bengal that there is the All Bengal Youth Association) in theory, a federation), but there are outside besides which may be more important. All members are students or "Bhadralog". I don't think there are any difference of importance among the various bodies. They are all more or less "Members of one another" are all "Congress" in mentality.

In the Punjab, there is, so far as I know, only one body called "Yong India Society", and it consists mainly of people who are

not students. It used to have several branches in the towns. I fancy it is now occurring after a period of inactivity. In each case the attitude of the Workers' and Peasants Party is.....

In Bombay the Workers' and Peasants members were in active in the last Conference and brought in their points of view to some extent. One or two of the Young India Society are joining in the party, I believe, Regular faction work is probably not done, as I doubt if any business meetings are held. The Secretary with one or two friends does it all. This is the usual thing.

The All Bengal Youth Association when founded (under another name in August 1927) was under the influence of Party members, some of whom are still on the Committee which however never use to. The Congress captured it and it became entirely inactive for some time. It is now waking up again. The Workers' and Peasants' Party does not bother itself about these things enough, I think.

In Punjab the Young India Society is practically controlled by party members. Indeed, they are almost the same thing, I think. Again, there would be no formal faction work.

4. (Proportion of workers etc., in Youth Organisations). The answer is none. In the Punjab there may be a few sons of peasants.

5. (Relative influence of Youth Organisation and Workers' and Peasants' Parties). The ratio is indeterminate (%). Neither is there any influence to speak of. The Workers' and Peasants parties are trying to give some. (Still I did not find at Raniganj (Bengal) an organisation which had two young willing members. It was "Congress" in outlook as usual)

6. (Variation of any bourgeois youth organisation). This question answers itself. They are all the same. Actually all the youth organisations that I know of, are very similar in outlook, except that in the Punjab which is definitely more radical.

7. (Which are most influential). This again answers itself.

8. (Publications of the west left section).

(About half a dozen lines had to leave out for want of time).

9. (Parts in strikes et.,) *Practically none.*

In Calcutta during the Scavengers' strike (March 1928) some Congressmen and youths, probably members of a youth organisation, black-legged (in the second strike which was longer, they did not, because the Congress Party in the Calcutta Corporation was, for tactical reasons, supporting the strike). In the Bardoli

affair probably some members of the Bombay organisation have visited the place, and they have carried on an active agitation in the City of Bombay (where also except perhaps in Ahmedabad and Poona they have any strength. It is characteristic that, so far as I know they have taken up no attitude towards the mill strike. They follow the Congress, which supports the Bardoli Peasants' as they are against the Government only. The mill workers are striking against Indian capitalists and the Congress, and hence the Youth Organisation secretary disapproves. I hope to lighten your darkness to some extent.

I am endorsing some documents which are typical. The speech of Mr. I. K. Yagnick is better than the average from our point of view. The President's (Mr. Nariman's) unprompt speech was not nearly as good. I think Yagnick exaggerated the extent of the organisation. I doubt if there is any real membership at Surat, or even at Ahmedabad. I have put in a brown document from the Punjab. It was published by a sort of "Adhoc" Committee very similar, I think, in composition to the leading group of the Young India Society there). Kedar Nath Sehgal (address Khabardi Steam Press, Lahore) is the president of the Young India Society. The document is the sequel to another called—"an Appeal to Young Punjab", which I have not got. You will see that it has discarded its accuracy at any rate for some leaders, which the Bombay and Bengal Youth organisation have not done. But it shows not much trace of class attitude.

I can give you a few other addresses for Bombay. Meherally, Students' Brotherhood, Sandhurst Bridge, Bombay. For Bengal, one is, All Bengal Youth Association, College Street Market North Block, No. 19, Calcutta. Secretary, N. C. Sen and J. N. Biswas. Also, All Bengal Students' Organising Committee, 95/1 K, Baitakhana Road, Calcutta, Secretary, B. N. Das Gupta. For Madras—Indian Youth Congress, 15, Nathu Subraza Mudali Street Mylapore, Madras, Secretary, K. Venkatacharya.

I hope I do not seem excessively cynical about the movement here. There is at least a good deal of life in it, but no organisation worth the name. The ideas are better than in the past, but as publicly expressed are still almost entirely bourgeois that is to say the ideal of the organisers are so. I think that the fact that the efforts of these organisers usually come to nought, and the enthusiasm they are able to get at Conference etc., soon dies down, is due to the fact that most of the youths are turning away from them. The only people who can get funds and publicity knowledge, are those who have the Congress behind them (apart from communal organisations of course) So there has been up to now very little open opposition to the Congress School of thought among the youths. Prospects are therefore hopeful for a radical Youth Organisation

if ever it gets going (About a page was left out for want of
time). * * * * *

I shall send some more documents next week if I possibly
can. I enclose a copy of the report of the Bengal Workers' and
Peasants' Party

Yours fraternally,
Sd. P. SPRATT.

P. 2110.

Continuation sheet no. 3 Dated 28-11-28 of a telegram
which contains the following.—

Continuation sheet No III.

Name Constance Circuit Ref. AKC 118.

77

GYMOVABACA ZADOKEGAKA NYFCYABACA
RANCHYOUSF RADHARAMAN MITRA NAZYLSNEZM
WORKERSDEESUKEN BAURIA CAESPEIK SAKLAT-
VALA WORKERS WELFARE LEAGUE CAESROIF
DAVID MACKENAZIE DAWOTUCE HURTOSEMNY
AFIFTRUGCY KUKAYLYPWY OLCVUFOBKY MUAWB-
SUANY SENZMPUADY MYHOJKERER AWKEHIPTRE
TYVIGROPFU.

P. 2111.

Certified Copy of the Original.

Chartered Bank of India, Australia and China

Post Box No 40

Calcutta, 28th November 1928

Radha Raman Mitra Esq.

Secretary Jute Workers' Union

Bauria.

Dear Sir,

Under telegraphic instructions from our London office, we are prepared to pay you on identification £10-0-0 (Equivalent of pounds ten only) on presentation of the enclosed receipt in duplicate duly signed and stamped (from Saklatwala Workers Welfare League).

I am dear sir,
Yours faithfully,
Sd. Illegible
Agent.

P. 2114.

NEDERLANDSCH INDISCHE HANDELSBANK
(Netherlands India Commercial Bank)

.....O.....

Calcutta, 13/ 12- 1928.

Sold to P. Spratt, 2- 1 European Asylum Lane, Telegraphic Transfer on Bombay

In favour of Mr. B. F. Bradley, Appollo Chambers,

Tullock Street, Fort.

..... at Rs 500/-

..... at (Com) Rs. 1/-

Cost of Telegram Rs, 1/8/-

Contract dated, 192. Rs. 502/ 8/-

Broker NEDERLANDSCH INDISCHE HANDELS

BANK, Cash Dept. Calcutta Agency.

Calcutta, 13/12 - 1928.

To

NETHERLANDS INDIA COMMERCIAL BANK,

Calcutta.

Dear Sir,

I shall feel obliged by your transmitting the above Telegram on ^{my}_{our} account either literally or in cypher, to your Agent at Bombay it being distinctly understood that the same is sent entirely at ^{my}_{our} risk, and that your Bank is not to be held liable, either for any mistake or omission which may happen in the transmission of the message or from its misinterpretation when received.

Yours faithfully,
P. Spratt.

P. 2116

Telegraphic money order dated 13-6-28.

The contents are as under—

Leo Mandat 0567 Calcutta.

R. ARNOT FIVEHUNDRED TWENTYSEVEN RUPEES
EIGHT ANNAS P. SPRATT CARE KISHORILAL
GHOSH KANTAPUKURLANE FOR REPRESENTATIVE
MANCHESTER CONFERENCE ROBIN FIVEHUNDRED
AND TWENTY SEVEN RUPEES.

P. 2119

National Minority Movement.

Hon. Chairman, Tom Mann.

Hon. General Secretary Harry Pollitt.

National Treasurer, Geo Fletcher.

Room 14, First floor,
38 Great Ormond Street,
London, W. C. 1
8th. Jan. 1929.

Dear Comrades,

We would be very glad if you would enable us to establish closer connection with your union. We have a very active seamen's

section and also close connections with the Indian Seamen's Union, of which Comrade Saklatwala is the secretary. You may have noticed in the Labour press of this country articles appearing recently drawing attention to the large numbers of Indian Seamen employed on British ships and their appalling conditions.

We are anxious that no attempt shall be made to divide Indian and British seamen against each other, and with this object in view should like to have closer co-operation with you in order that you may keep us acquainted with any facts to which you would like publicity given, and should also be pleased to receive any suggestions you may have to make as to how we can co-operate in work amongst Indian seamen at this end. Your suggestions will be given careful consideration.

With all good wishes, and hoping to hear from you at an early date.

Yours fraternally,

Sd/, Harry Pollitt.

Honorary General Secretary.

(Note) — The above letter was produced in original by Mr. J. A. Hashemy, Assistant Secretary, The Indian Quartermasters' Union, Calcutta, in obedience to a notice issued by the Additional District Magistrate, Meerut, trying the Meerut Conspiracy Case.)

See 2123 -24-25-26 after 2144.

P. 2127 (P)

My dear Muzaffar,

Thank you for the kindly assistance, Your things are sure to be alright within a short time I hope. Anyway don't work yourself to prostration.

Our vernacular organ has been started—a specimen issue has been out, and a copy must have been sent to you already. Our work here is progressing satisfactorily.

I am sending something for publication in your paper tomorrow or so. In the meantime please be sending some copies to me for distribution among Bengalis here. I have written to Majid to send me Urdu copies from Lahore.

Have you heard from Madras Comrade? What about our Party's working C. P. I.?

Yours

(Sd) S. V. GHATE.

10. 5. 28.

P. 2127 P E

Envelope for the above having the following address written on it:—

MUZAFFAR AHMAD Esqr.

37 Harrison Road

Calcutta.

P. 2128. (P)

Acharya & Co.
Paper Merchants and
Manufacturer's representatives.

Bombay, 23 5. 27
To Muzaffar Ahmad
Calcutta.

My dear Muzaffar,

You may have received the notice of the meeting. Are you coming over here? Really speaking I didn't expect that enough No. of people will attend

Do you require the Rs. 50 which you sent as payment towards my treatment immediately or can you wait for some time? You will let me know immediately. You know I am hard up and it will be very helpful to know if you can wait some time.

Madras friend is expecting to hear from you soon.

Yours
Sd. S. V. GHATE.

P. 2128. (P E)

Envelope of the above with the following address on it:—

MUZAFFAR AHMAD

37 Harrison Road

Calcutta.

P. 2129 P

Y. M. C. A.

Wodehouse Rd.

Bombay.

18.5. 27.

Dear Comrade,

I received your letter a day or two ago, and have since been trying to write something for you. But owing to extreme busyness, with the A. I. C. C. and Trade Union work, I have had no time hither to. I will send something on as soon as possible.

I shall not reach Calcutta for another week or two, I fear. I postponed it so as to attend the A. I. C. C. Sessions, and now further tasks have crowded upon me. I shall positively finish them in two more weeks though.

You inquire about my health. It has been excellent until today (to my surprise), but I have at the moment aches in the head and belly, and fear another attack of fever. But even as I write, it is passing off.

Cheer up and what not.

Yours.

P. SPRATT.

Mr. MUZAFFAR AHMAD

37, Harrison Road.

Calcutta.

P. 2132. (C)

The Communist Party
of India
Central office
BOMBAY.

14.7.27.

My dear Muzaffar,

At the Annual General Meeting held on the 31st May last you have been elected as a member of the Presidium. You will kindly inform me of your approval to work on the same by a letter.

Please send in your subscription Rs. 12 annual also as early as possible.

With greetings

Yours fraternally

Sd. S. V. GHATE.

General Secretary.

P. 2133. (P)

C/o D. CHAMANLAL

Golf Road

LAHORE.

21. 7. 27.

Dear Mujafer,

I do'nt know if you saw Dange when he was at Benares, or if he told you of my position. The facts are that I have agreed with Chaman Lall to assist him in writing his long projected book on Indian Labour, and I am now here doing it. He has also asked me to act while I am here as editor of the "Nation" which is just coming out again. You can therefore understand the renewed delay in my visit to Calcutta. I shall get there in the end of courses, but-

I ventured to give the Y. M. C. A. at Bombay your address, so that I should received letters which arrived after by departure. If you have received any that book important. You send them here.

You probably remember Ramchandra who was at Delhi in March when we were there. I gather that he is to be or has been arrested. I saw him for a moment Yesterday, and he was to come again today, but has not done so, and I conclude therefore that he has been pinched.

Messrs M. A. Majid and Co. send their love.

With many apologies.

Yours

Sd. P. SPRATT.

P. S. I forget to mention a point. Could you give me some idea of what is happening in the congress in Bengal? Or if it is important? I see bewildering notices about new parties etc now and than what has happened about the Trade Unions also? Chamanlal like me has achieved a reconciliation of some sort, which has since broken down, but he knows nothing very definite

I may add that I have not yet become involved in the cholera epidemic

P. S.

P. 2133 [P] [E]

Envelope with the following address.

Mr. MUZAFFAR AHMAD

37 Harrison Road

Calcutta.

P. 2134-P

C/o D. Chaman Lall,
1 Golf Road,
Lahore,
7-8-27.

Dear Muzaffar,

Thanks very much for the letter, which I received yesterday.

I was very sorry that you should be put out by my non-appearance. I admit that I have given you great provocation. Originally I was to visit you in March, and it is now August, while I have not even yet appeared. But there have been important reasons for my staying in Lahore until now, and further reasons, financial and other, which practically prevent my leaving for sometime. I will explain when I see you, I cannot do so easily in a letter.

But any way, you can console yourself by the reflection that it doesn't matter much. What can I do in Bengal any way?

I see that you speak somewhat slightly of Chaman Lall. I agree to a certain extent, though I think your opinion of him is unduly low. It is perhaps foolish of me to take on the editorship of the "Nation" even for only a few weeks, but I really have no alternative.

I went last week to Peshawar with Chaman Lall, who was defending one Fazal Elahi, a man who has just returned from Russia. He was charged under 121-A, convicted of being an "undesirable person," and given five years. I had a short chat with him. He seems a nice chap, but I don't know how he will stand five years goal, Chaman Lall is appealing quite rightly.

The Ramachandra case is going forward slowly. It is expected that he will get a year or two.

I got a letter recently from a young man named Shingarpure, whom I met in Bombay. He has met you, he says, and is studying Bengal. I hope you lead him in the right direction. Please give him my love, and apologies to him for my not having written to him. I must do so.

Did you read my father's letter? The old swine, warning me against *wine women* and politics,

Yours fraternally,
P. Spratt.

P. 2134-P E

(Address on the envelope for the above letter).

Mr. Muzaffar Ahmad,

37 Harrison Road.

Calcutta,

P. 2135.

A cover containing two articles on (1) Sacco and Vanzetti and (2) The Role of the Worker's and Peasant's Party. The contents are reproduced below.—

Sacco and Vanzetti.

One of the fundamental basic principles of capitalism in its declining stage is the attack upon the revolutionary working classes of whole world and specially on its Vanguard the communist parties or the Communist International. The reason is obvious, as the communist parties all over the World are the only parties which work for capitalist destruction by all available means—a general strike or an organised mass insurrection. Capitalists are quite aware of the fact, that working masses are moving toward left, so in order to coerce them they do not always use the police, army, C. I. D. etc but special organizations of Fascists have been found, who always do the dirty work of provocation. To defend them we will find from ordinary policeman to the highest State official—Mr. Baldwin on their side

We think the whole World knows perfectly well the reason of the troubles in Vienna a few weeks ago. The Fascisti who were the murderers of a Socialist and his son were consciously set free, this led the workers to an open rebellion. Even the Times in one of its editorials admitted, "That the recent events in Vienna had far greater significance than the events of 1848 & 1923." "But the compromising leaders of the "Social Democrate" betrayed the masses by joining the bourgeoisie. The results are clear to everybody in the reaction.

Now we will draw the attention of our readers to another fact, though less important than Vienna events yet characteristic to

show the "freedom" and "justice" of "civilised countries" the U.S.A. and England. Our topic of discussion are the two innocent Italian anarchists workers-Sacco and Vanzitte. We as Marxist do not agree or believe in anarchism, but we are heart and soul with Sacco and Vanzetti as workers. The charge against them is an alleged murder which they have never committed. The fact does not requires any comments as the actual murderer has admitted in court. "That he is culprit not Sacco and Vanzetti. "Another note-worthy fact is that though they have been sentenced to death for a long time yet their electrocution has been postponed several times. No doubt it is due to the false-hood of the case on one hand and the organized protest of the workers of the World on another. The tremendous service done by the I. C. W. P. A. (The International Class War Prisonal's Aid) had played great part in this matter. Under the auspices of this organisation meetings of protest were held all over the World, demanding the release of these two Italians. London workers also fulfilled their duty by holding demonstrations in Trafalgar Sq. on Sunday 7th August and in Hyde Park on 10th and 11th August. All these meetings were well attended by the workers of every shade except the reformist leaders. "Many speakers emphasised the danger of the new war and the realise of these two comrades' who are not responsible for any crime what-soever. Later on the huge procession of over 12000 workers marched to the American Embassy. There were some accidents first a Fascisti began to blow a bungle in order to interfere with the meeting but in this he failed. Second authorities refused the passage of this procession through Cenotaph in whitehall the nearest way to the Embassy. Third was at Embassy when a police inspector attempted to keep procession in motion instead of halting at the spot, he failed in it also. Embassy was strongly watched by policeman. Its entrence was locked in similar way as prison cell to two Italian heros. The American capitalist were very much afraid of peaceful demonstration, as the doors entrance was not only locked but watched by an crowd policemen. The pressure of the workers compelled them to open the doors to a deputation of five, who got unsatisfactory reply, besides this the Ambassador himself was out of London, therefore nobody could except any paper or word by the deputation. No wonder he was not there. The reason is that workers were representing for workers and not capitalists, so he considered below his dignity to have talk about this subject.

Next time i. e. August 10th the day fixed for their electrocution a huge meeting was organized by the I. C. W. P. A. After the meeting all workers marched to Ameracian Embassy again. The Workers were quite peaceful. They were singing "the Red Flag" and "International". Perhaps our readers will think that there were no incidents in such an "Free and democrative" country like London. Here also the British Fascisti came in their motor

with Union Jack on its back, but the workers paid no attentions to it. Suddenly when the procession was approaching near the Embassy, the police both on horse as on foot turned upon the crowd, crushing and beating unarmed and unwarmed people with their batons. From this particular incident we come to few conclusions. First it clearly indicates the fear of an organized workers movement not only for American capitalists who postponed the sacco and Vanzetti's electricution for twelve more days but for British capitalists as well. Second the British capitalists through their tools the police tried to crush the workers as a sign of friendship with American capitalist As. the Germans before and during the war were considered to be the man engaged in destroying the "sacred British civilisation," now the same Britishers have their trust and trade with the same Germans. Third is the mockery about "freedom" "democracy" and "liberty" under capitalism. Forth we think there are many Indian political prisoners incarcerated in Indian jails. Similar organization and protest can be made for them, world wide workers will be upon their side.

We do not know what will happen to these two workers. They may be electricuted the time these lines will appear in press, yet the work are of whole countries will protest against the brutal action of this "American civilization" for which they will either save and realise their friends or else fight like hell to over throw the tyranny of capitalism-the cause of wars and troubles for humanity.

THE ROLE OF THE WORKERS & PEASANTS PARTY I

To consider the role of the workers and peasants party in the Indian Nationalist struggle against imperialism, one must bear in mind the economic-social structure of Indian society, particularly the economic changes upon which has depended the growth of the Indian Nationalist movement after the war. We know India is a colony of British imperialism, as such she remains an agricultural country. British imperialists are not interested in the development of industry, agriculture or social-welfare of the masses. Their main object is the exploitation of the masses. If they have intensified the export of capital to India lately, that does not mean they have done some favour to Indian masses, just the contrary by such operation they have ... encouraged the Indian bourgeoisie, while the conditions of masses have turned from bad to worse. The war of 1914-18 proved favourable for the Indian bourgeoisie, as the British needed large-scale preparation of war materials. So this served as an impetus for the development of textile and iron industry in India. Upon the basis of these economic change we find the growth of a strong Nationalist movement in 1919-21-- the Gandhi movement Though this movement was a great menace to British imperialism as far

it remained a mass movement, it failed owing to the retreat of Mr. Gandhi at Bardoli, when he warned the peasants to be loyal to the Government and landlords. It shows just how far this petty-bourgeois leadership can go when such an historical task as India's independence is concerned. Later on appears the hero of the Nationalist bourgeoisie—Mr. C. R. Das. He proclaimed, "Swaraj for 98%". This slogan remained a theory and was not put into practice. He also betrayed the interest of 98% for 2% by compromising with the British imperialists. The fate of the majority of the people—the workers, peasants, and petty-bourgeois (the artisans, small traders and petty-bourgeois intelligentsia) is still miserable and unchanged. The Congress has failed and will fail in handling these revolutionary forces on the right path. To lead these forces properly a people's party is required. In fact such a party has been formed. The aim of this party is to lead these forces for obtaining the National Independence of India from British imperialism. We hope the readers will not call it a proletarian party, nor can it itself put an end to exploitation of man by man. This can be obtained only by the workers party—the Communist Party. Yet the role of the workers in this struggle against imperialism will be one of leadership. The collapse of Non-Cooperation movement and the evolution of Swaraj Party have correctly proved the necessity of such hegemony. Had it been the real proletarian leadership India might have freed by now.

Even now we hear a "revolutionary" phrasology of many Swarajists, but in the time of action they will turn again to their old methods of "responsive co-operation." This becoming more clear as the time of new reforms approaches nearer. Absence of a clear out programme of action was neither prepared nor discussed by the A.I.C.C. session at Bombay in the fight against imperialism & the role of workers and peasants in it. Even the Bombay Chronicle which stands for responsive co-operation or some diluted form of it, felt compelled to censure the Working Committee for its attitude. It declared in a leading article, "We deeply regret that the committee almost deliberately shurred over the sovereign problem of mass organisation which is unanimously deemed to be indispensable for giving a battle royal to the Government." "From this quotation we can see the role and tribute of the Congress to such a vast problem upon which depends the future of India as a whole. This is obvious that the fear of Congress leaders lies in their position as a class, which the same paper frankly admits. He writes, "No attempt were made either to define the inalienable rights (of the workers and peasants) or the manner of fighting the vested interests evidently for fear of antagonising them against the political movement." Moreover such confused leadership of the Congress strengthens the ties of British imperialism in India, for which disproportionate seats in the Legislative Assembly serve a nice

feul for communal conflicts or the case of "Rangila Rusal." The leaders of both communities serve as Fascisti in European countries the doom masses are the victims of all these evils. No Pandits, Lalas and Maūlanas undergo the hard-ship of it. Today they exite the masses for troubles tomorrow they again shake hands with one anothers as they have done nothing. The root of these troubles is the imperialist domination of India. To achieve this a workers and peasants party is necessary which will organise these forces against foreign domination in order to establish an democratic Republic based upon universal suffrage, abolishment of Land-lords, development of agriculture with State aid, minimum wages and eight hours day for workers, separation of religion from State etc.

P. 2135 (E)

Address on the Envelope—

THE EDITOR,

"GANA-VANI"

37, Harrison Road,

CALCUTTA.

INDIA.

Postal seal of London N. I.

18 Aug. 1927.

P. 2136

A cover containing the following article:—

THE WORKERS & PEASANTS PARTY & PRESS

In our previous article, "The role of the Workers & peasants Party in India" We have repeatedly stressed the idea and importance of such an party in the struggle against imperialism. Today we will emphasize the means and ways how these revolutionary forces can be united for in order to achieve the aim-India's

emancipation. We also pointed out in the former article the deceitful character of the pretences of the A. I. C. C. with regard to helping the masses. But that is nothing new. The fact remains unsettled, what to do? "Unemployment among intelligensia" "strikes & lock-outs" in industrial centers, "heavy burdens of taxes upon peasantry" are the direct effects of imperialist plunder. Under such depressed conditions these forces are groping blindly in one from or another. Mr. Avari tries to form an Republican army all on his own. Then we hear Mr. Horniman speaking about some elements eager to do some thing, but what he is not certain? A new group of "Congress Radicals" has sprung up in opposition of Mr. Sen Gupta. In other words this phenomenon is the result of ruthless exploitation of the Indian masses. All these revolts are evident, clear and natural under such a system of society. But to lead & guide these forces can and must be correctly done through all means-press, agitation and organization. One of the main mediums of agitation is the press-the Weeklies or Daily paper of every party. Speaking of such an elementary principle we do not intend to criticize the attitude of our weekly papers, which devote most of their space for outer problems rather than inner. Full space for foreign news & the growth of working class movement abroad is essential. At the same time it is essential to draw more attention to politics & especially to the work of our own movement. We need to present all the facts about heavy exploitation of the masses the agitation which is taking place, and the programme lines of work necessary to combine all our forces together towards the common goal-the full independence of India from British imperialism,

P. 2136 (E)

Address on Envelope:—

Postal Seal of London W. C.

Aug 25-1927.

The Editor "Gana-vani",

37 Harrison Rd.

CALCUTT A

INDIA

P 2137 (P)

My dear Muzaffar,

I had written to you 3 letters including the fortnightly letter for your paper and I am surprised to hear that you have not received any letter from me.

Your books are being sent to you in a day or two. I shall be sending you the Newspapers, from the date of Spratt's case i. e. 26th instant.

My health is worse—I don't know how I can get on at this rate poor health. But the Doctor is giving me injections. Let us see.

Sacco and Vanzetti Block can't be sent, because, we had borrowed it from 'Herald' I think, and it has been returned to them.

You Know that Spratt's Defence Committee has been formed for collecting money. Mirajkar is the Secretary—office 17 Dwarkadas Bldgs. members Bharucha, Ginwala, Dange, K. F. Nariman, Jhabvala. Please try to collect as much money as possible and send the same here early.

With greetings from Comrades, Yours—

Sd/- S. V. Ghatge.

24-9-27.

P—2137 (P) (E)

(Address on the envelopes)

Muzaffar Ahmad, Esq.,

"Ganavani",

37, Harrison Rd.,

Calcutta.

P. 2138. (P)

Gowal Toli.

Cawnpore.

25-9-27.

Comrade Muzaffar,

I hope you are already in receipt of my previous letter. After coming here back, I suddenly fell ill. Was confined to bed

for three days. Fever and intestinal troubles had again erupted. It is only for the last two days that I feel better. Hope you will kindly let me know as to your health.

Muzaffar, if you be receiving the foreign magazines like 'Asia' or paper 'Foreign Affairs' then you will kindly send them to me from time to time (after you have no use for them).

Do you think you would be able to attend the Trade Union Congress? Do please, come. I am trying hard for Chaman Lal and Dange.

Will you please for my sake go to Mr. Bakshi of Forward and ask him if he would accept my Hijrat story in his paper? Reply soon. I shall try to make the story as palatable as possible.

With Fraternal greetings

Shaukat Usmani.

Dear Comrade Halim,

After coming over here I received your letter for which please accept my thanks. I hope you are quite in spirit. Whenever circumstances permit shall see you in Calcutta or elsewhere.

As for my health Comrade Muzaffar might have told you everything.

With Comradely greetings,

Yours Brotherly,

Shaukat Usmani.

P. 2138 (P)(E)

(Address on the Envelope)

Comrade Muzaffar Ahmed,

Editor "Ganavani"

37, Harrison Road,

CALCUTTA.

P. 2139.

THE LABOUR MONTHLY

A Magazine of International Labour

Editor: R. Palme Dutt

Editorial & Publishing Offices.

BUCKINGHAM PALACE ROAD, LONDON, S. W. I.

Telephone. Sloane 5412.

October 14th

1927.

Dear Sir,

Counting on your friendliness as a subscriber to the LABOUR MONTHLY, I am taking the liberty of writing to you on its affairs.

At the present moment, by doctor's orders I am compelled to take a complete rest for a couple of months and interrupt all writing, including the Notes of the Month. But before taking any such rest, I am very anxious to get into touch with subscribers and friends with regard to the financial position of the L. M., which is a source of very great anxiety.

In common with all independent labour journals in Britain, the L. M., has to meet with financial difficulties. The expenses of the L. M., are certainly lower than those of any comparable journal. All the services on the L. M., from that of the Editor to every contributor, and to our sellers and distributors in the working class movement, are completely unpaid, and done from a desire to help in a common work. But the bare costs of production for a journal such as the L. M., cannot be paid for by subscriptions alone, and the normal source of revenue, advertisements, which the circulation and standing of the journal would in other circumstances easily obtain, is of course closed to us. There is in consequence a regular loss to be met, which can only be met by the donations of individuals.

The donations of better-off individuals are naturally less easily available than they were a few years ago. The sharpening of the class struggle in Britain, and the sincere endeavour of the L. M., to remain faithful to the issues of the working class struggle at every stage, whatever stage may come, without faltering or flinching, has cost us the support of some former friends. It is therefore all the more to those who still feel friendly to the work that we are doing, that we turn with confident appeal to help.

We who are working on the L. M., believe that it is performing a serious and genuine function in the working class movement, that it represents a sincere endeavour to think clearly and honestly and with common sense, to face current problems, to encourage discussion and to raise the theoretical level of the movement, and that its discontinuance would be a loss to the resources of the working class movement in Britain.

If you feel this, even though possibly disagreeing with the editorial policy, that the L. M., represents something of value to help to maintain, I very earnestly appeal to you to do what is in your power in the way of a donation in support, greater or less according to your means.

Best of all would be if you felt able to guarantee a regular annual donation so as to place the L. M., on a secure basis.

This appeal would not be addressed, if the situation were not urgent. You will therefore be helping very greatly, if you can reply quickly.

Yours very faithfully,

Sd/R. Palme Dutt.

Editor.

P. 2139. (E)

Superscription on the envelope:-

Postal Seal.

London S. W. I.

17. Oct-27.

THE EDITOR GANAVANI

THE BENGAL

PEASANTS & WORKERS PARTY

37 HARRISON ROAD

CALCUTTA.

P. 2140.
National Miners' Minority
MOVEMENT

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NAT WATKINS,

38 Great Ormond Street, London, W.C. 1

Official Organ: "THE WORKER"

Muzaffar Ahmad,

The Peasants' and Workers' Party of Bengal,

37, Harrison Road,

Calcutta India.

Thursday,

10th Nov 1927.

Dear Comrade,

Comrade Pollitt is not in the country at the moment, and therefore I am giving the requisite attention to your communication of October 20th.

We are sorry to have to tell you that we cannot hold out hopes of contributions being made towards the Funds of your weekly organ "Ganavani" because three of our comrades, Harry Pollitt, T.R. Strudwick and D. Beech, have just been involved in a Libel case, and we ourselves have to make an appeal to the workers to assist us in raising funds for the very heavy cost of the

case, which have left us practically in a state of bankruptcy. We shall have pleasure in handing your appeal over the "Worker" the official organ of the Minority Movement with a request that a notice be inserted.

The three publications mentioned in your letter the Constitution of the Minority Movement, the Report of the Fourth Annual Conference and specimen copy of membership card are enclosed herewith

We wish you the greatest possible success in your efforts to mobilise the peasants and workers in India, and hope to receive reports from you from time to time as to the progress made.

Yours fraternally,

NAT WALKINS.

National Organising Secretary.

P. 2140 (1)

NATIONAL MINORITY MOVEMENT

ROOM 14

FIRST FLOOR

38, GREAT ORMOND STREET, LONDON, W. C. 1.

REPORT OF FOURTH
ANNUAL CONFERENCE

HELD AT

BATTERSEA TOWN HALL

LONDON. S. W. 1

August 27th -28th. 1927

WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE!

TWO PENCE

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THE-NATIONAL-MINORITY-MOVEMENT

FOURTH ANNUAL

CONFERENCE

SATURDAY MORNING SESSION

The Conference was called to order by comrade Tom Mann, at Battersea Town Hall London, August 27th, 1927, at 10 a m , and opened with the singing of the "Internationale."

(1) ELECTION OF COMMITTEES

The following comrades were appointed to the various Committees.

Standing Orders Committee

J. Scott, A.E.U.; A. Hermon, E.T.U., L. P. Hughes, M.M. Groups, B. Ellis, Miners.

Credentials Committee

G. Renshaw, Shop Assistants, G. Shuttleworth, T. and G.W.U ; J. Coburn, N.U R

(2) CHAIRMAN'S ADDRESS

COMRADES,—It is my privilege to extend a hearty welcome to the delegates to the Fourth Annual Conference of the National Minority Movement, and to congratulate the delegates and the Movement upon the number of delegates present and the number of organised workers represented, notwithstanding the exceptional obstacles that have been placed in our way.

When our Conference was held last year, we were in the midst of the great struggle of the miners which in many respects was a magnificent struggle, reflecting the greatest credit on the vast bulk of the mining population, but which failed to resist the extension of working hours and the reduction of wages of the miners.

As we all know, the miners were confronted with the organised forces of capitalism in the field of private enterprise, and particularly by the organised capitalist State. The Government, and particularly the members of the Cabinet, used their public position and the national resources to fight and to destroy the miners' chances of any betterment, and in the most barefaced way used the national institutions and the national finances in the class war to lower the standard of life of the miners as the preliminary to the same behaviour to other sections.

The spokesmen for the mineowners and the Government declared most emphatically that as a result of the policy they were

enforcing, there would follow substantially more trade and better conditions for workers generally, and attempted to laugh to scorn those who declared that the real trouble is to be found in the capitalist system itself that brings increasing degradation to the workers.

What has followed upon the defeat of the miners? The mining industry is in a worse plight than ever. Two hundred and fifty thousand men that formerly followed mining are in idleness; wages have fallen to so low a level as to be a byword and reproach to those compelled to accept them. The metalworkers are in almost similar plight, the engineers for instance, after futile negotiations for three consecutive years to get back that which had been forced from them in 1922, and apparently seriously claiming a twenty shillings a week advance, are fobbed off with a miserable two shillings. **And the capitalists have the arrogance to tell the workers that only by such private ownership of machinery and private control of industry for personal profit, can industrial success be achieved. Was there ever a more miserable failure? Has not capitalism demonstrated its utter inability to handle the industrial situation except by still further reductions in the standard of life?**

This is the most colossal failure of history! That with ever increasing knowledge and of power to bring into existence every essential of life, the workers' lot is one of increasing penury, his opportunities for earning a livelihood are more and more precarious.

It is astonishing that workers should fail to see the urgent necessity for clearing out capitalist control in the shortest possible time and themselves accept the fullest responsibility and proceed to direct all industry in the communal interest. It is astonishing that there should be any hesitation in setting up One Union for All Mineworkers, the policy of the Minority Movement, and working for the Nationalisation of the Mines without compensation and with workers' control.

We all know that there are trade unions that deliberately aim at supporting the existing capitalist system. I hasten to make it unmistakably clear that the Minority Movement is opposed root and branch to capitalism and all its works, and there is no doubt whatever that the capitalists themselves are fully alive to the fact that the clearheaded and courageous amongst the workers are determined to challenge their domination and are aiming straight at **the control of industry by the workers.**

THE ANTI-TRADE UNION ACT

The Blackleg's Charter

It is one hundred years since our fathers fought for and won the right to organise in trade unions; the boss class in Government

and out, fought the workers at every step, and through the years they have continued to resist the workers using the unions to practical effect. Now, however, they have laid themselves out with all the machinery of capitalist-made law, to hem in, tie up, gag and stifle the trade unionist of the future who shall dare to take or encourage others to take effective action by means of the unions. Comrades, by this Act just passed the capitalists show unmistakably that they are alive to the fact that the unions are becoming militant. And it is for us to meet them with still more militancy from now on every union should behave as a class conscious workers' organisation out to wage the class war on the workers' side.

How can the Act be defeated? By organised solidarity. Is it a practical proposition? Beyond doubt it is the most practical of all questions for the workers at the present time.

Solidarity on the part of the workers would enable the workers to completely defy and render null and void this dastardly Act that has just been carried with such cock-crowing by the Government of the moneyed class. The right disposition put into a one hundred per cent stoppage for one single day would be sufficient to abrogate the Act for ever. If the General Council of the Trades Union Congress will take action to convene a National Conference to resolve upon militant direct action against this Act, we of the National Minority Movement will work wholeheartedly to ensure success. We warn all fellow workers against relying merely upon a determination to vote against capitalist candidates at election times. That, of course, ought to be done, but it requires something with more revolutionary determination than a vote to get rid of the accursed legislative machinery the boss class have provided. **There is no power the capitalists fear half so much as that of a properly conducted General Strike.**

But there must be an end to the policy of excluding militant fighters in the trade union ranks. The exclusion of such fighters from responsible positions in the unions or from attending as delegates to Trades Union Conferences must stop. It is spreading chaos and confusion in our ranks. It is splitting the movement and helping the bosses to smash us.

Let every militant worker declare that he will definitely aim at securing the greatest possible endorsement of militant action on the lines here laid down and we will soon be prepared for effective action

FIGHT AND RAISE THE STANDARD OF LIFE

The metalworkers still have an enormous number in idleness many sections have advocated the forty-four hour week as against the present forty-seven hours, and this we declare to be a very practical proposal. And further, we declare there is nothing standing in

the way of getting the forty-four hour week other than the absence of solidarity on the part of the men engaged in the industry. We are not for spending time merely fault-finding, but it is vitally necessary to be clear as to where our weakness lies, and in the metal trades especially, it is as plain as a pikestaff that what is wanted is united action on the part of the various unions, skilled and other, and **greater Militancy**

The interminable conferences are sapping the vitality out of the unions and the conditions are such that the members should brook no delay, but begin at once to formulate and enforce the demand for reduced hours and increased wages,

With the seamen it requires no Solomon to see what is required to put the seafaring men in a position that would enable them to command and get better conditions, and that is that they should become part of one General Union of Transport Workers. The sectionalism of the British trade union movement is a disgrace to all having responsibility in connection with it. Eleven hundred unions when not more than thirty industries, is a terrible comment upon the fighting efficiency of the movement. The Minority Movement stands for One Union only for an industry and urges speedy action in the work of amalgamation of all sectional unions on the basis named.

The year in front of us should see much done in the amalgamation of the sectional unions. Various Trade Union Congress have definitely declared in favour of action in this direction, but the work needs speeding up and Minority Movement men must be ever active in this direction.

THE UNEMPLOYED

Speeding up is the order of the day in all industries. Bigger locomotives, pulling bigger loads, and the same number of men to man the train. Larger trucks, with more material, same men. Bigger omnibuses, more passengers, same crew. Bigger ships and with oil fuel, much less crew. Then comes the internal combustion engine and no boiler wanted, so further reduction in crew. Engineers make tools and throw themselves out of work. And so on in all occupations. What is the remedy for this? Reduction of the hours of work. Madness, says the capitalist. Yes, and he will continue to say it, let him continue. We must continue to reduce the working hours. This will necessitate a right international relationship, with the unions of other countries and gives urgency to the subject. We require not merely relationship, but a fighting policy of a very practical character. If decent relations obtained between the unions internationally, the six-hour day for miners could be established with ease. It is utterly wrong for those in work to merely pass resolutions in favour of steps being taken to improve the condition of the unemployed, and then plod on working the usual hours. Of course, without much more organisation than we have now it cannot be done,

but the important thing is to be clear-minded as to what ought to be done, and then take action. I here declare that the workers of this country should at once prepare for a substantial reduction of the working hours, and my honest opinion is that the **Six-hour day** is a practical and level-headed proposal and should be seriously entertained by all organised workers. Let us be clear that this is the right direction in which to travel and we can soon decide upon the ways and means of enforcing same.

It is an outrage on decency to have a million men in enforced idleness as we have in this country, and those at work carrying on as though there had been no material advance in the methods of work. Every week that passes over without such reduction means that an increasing number of persons find their way to becoming permanent parasites upon the community; and it should not be overlooked that the first step in workers' control of industry would be such a regulation of the hours of work, as would apportion the total work to be done over the total number available to do it.

The Minority Movement must be at it, pioneering the reduction of hours and so absorbing the unemployed into the ranks of the actual workers.

In the meantime adequate maintenance must be given to all who are deprived of work. We must fight against the parsimony and meanness of our rulers, who would let the unemployed workers with their families starve and rot rather than make adequate provision for them.

WHAT OF THE FUTURE ?

British capitalism is systematically extending its operations in colonial and semi-colonial countries. The wealth exploited from the workers of this country is being invested in other countries where the workers are abject slave. The mines in India mainly owned by the mineowners of this country, the wages in India are so low that many cannot get enough rice to keep them in fit condition to work. They are on the "fodder basis" and lowest and meanest fodder at that, and it is the output of these who work ten to twelve hours a day that is put in competition against the labour of the workers of this country. Instead of carrying the advantages of civilisation to the countries that are backward in economic development, ensuring a decent education, relatively short working hours and a decent standard of life commensurate in some degree with the increased output made possible by machine industry, all the advantages are taken by the master class, and adults and children are made to slave as long as they have strength, no education, no social life, but even the women with their babies are slaves in mines, slaves in mills and slaves everywhere.

Is this to go on unchallenged ? Will not the trade unions of Britain dare to challenge the capitalists, fight them and overthrow their ten times accursed system ? Mealy-mouthed phrases of class collaboration are a gross insult when used by the boss class, and foul treachery when used by those of the working class.

Again I declare, we of the Minority Movement will not let the capitalists continue to get away with it, and we know full well that to stop it means a far higher form of organisation than we at present have, and needs also that the objective shall be seen far more clearly by a much bigger percentage than is the case at present, but we are not as those without hope. We are not of those who turn to the superior persons to be good enough to come to our aid. On the contrary we have the fullest confidence in the power and grim determination of the workers themselves to handle the whole situation. The reactionaries can only retard for a period, the fearful and dull-witted can only block the path till the sturdy pioneers clear the course, and that is the work of the Minority Movement. That we are doing, and that we shall continue to do with increasing efficiency and increasing volume. And nothing can stop us. And no one can stop us. Our men are fired with the right resolve to reach the right goal in the interest of the world's workers, fired with the greatness of the task and the nobility of the work. **We know there is no need for poverty and we are determined not to tolerate the domination of a small ruling class that imposes these conditions upon us**

MUST HAVE A REAL INTERNATIONAL

In order to fight our way to freedom, we must have sensible international relations between the workers of the various countries.

We know too well that the international relations are not satisfactory. We know and every one that has observed knows that the Amsterdam International is a miserable pretence of an international organisation, purporting to maintain the dignity of organised Labour, it never even attempts to make a stand against the workers' enemies, the boss class. When have they shown solidarity, not of the whole of the workers, but for those they profess to uphold ? What sort of struggle did they put up for the British miners ? What hope is there that they are likely to put up a fight for the metal workers of the world, or for those related to them and whose money has kept them in existence ? Their day has passed, they simply encumber the ground, and the time has arrived when we should without further delay, unite in one real world-wide International of the organised workers of all lands. The basis of such organisation must be the frank recognition of the **class struggle, the objective must be the full control of industry by the workers.** And

no time should be wasted in waiting to begin. There are many millions of organised workers anxious to be in action combatting the capitalist reaction. The so-called leaders who do not lead, who cannot lead, who will not lead block the way. These must go. They must clear out of the positions they fail to fill adequately.

Delegates will see that the resolutions on the Conference Agenda deal effectively with all the important questions affecting us nationally and internationally. It is true that we point to the ideal; it is equally true that we deal with the practical questions of everyday life and which, when dealt with, will actually build up from below and raise the standard of life of those who are lowest in the social scale.

The question of Anglo-Russian unity is of vital importance. Such unity must be made a fact. The cowardice of those who whilst being wishful to see unity and real friendship between Russia and this country, hesitate to declare themselves for fear of bourgeois criticism is exceedingly pitiful. This Conference must pronounce in an unmistakable manner upon this and prepare for action, too.

The revelations at the Paris Conference of the I. F. T. U. are a record of sabotage and intrigue—and from those, too, who accuse the Minority Movement of disrupting the movement. The T. U. C. have no longer any excuse for holding back. The T. U. C. must take the initiative in securing a world conference to realise International Trade Union Unity.

I have had the opportunity of visiting China and meeting them in large numbers, I shall be reporting specially upon this. Here I wish to say that there is a very real trade union movement in China. It is very young compared to this country, but they are growing rapidly notwithstanding the terrible obstacles opposing them. There are three million industrial workers organised in the trade unions and ten million peasants organised in peasants' unions. They have many enemies of Chinese origin, militarists, landlords, tuchuns, merchants, compradores and bourgeoisie, but the greatest of all their enemies are the foreign imperialists. Always do the imperialists assist the enemies of the Chinese workers and peasants, sometimes secretly, oftentimes openly, not merely with finance and ammunition, but also by actual massacre of the workers, slaying them by hundreds to crush their attempts at achieving their freedom. **It is surely the bounden duty of every organised British worker to declare fearlessly on the side of the Chinese workers and against imperialists equally when these imperialists belong to this country, as when they do not.**

We of the National Minority Movement will indulge in no ambiguity, but proclaim vigorously that we take our stand with the Chinese worker and against the exploiting dominating imperialists of this and of all other countries.

In conclusion, I want to pay homage to the memory of our late comrades, Sacco and Vanzetti, murdered last Monday. These men were murdered because they were opposed to the capitalist system of society, the whole world can see this, at least all those who have eyes capable of vision. The death of these men will not stop for one second of time any of the propagandist activity making for the overthrow of that system. We again pledge ourselves to fight unceasingly, and with everincreasing vigour against capitalism in all its forms, not in some countries only, but in all, confident that our efforts will soon be successful and that the workers of the world will soon achieve their economic and social emancipation.

I conclude with one more reference to Sacco and Vanzetti. These comrades were determined fearlessly to resist the capitalist system, but they were steady workers, and in no way identified with crime. I am genuinely of the opinion that the only reasons these men were sentenced to death was because they were fighting the capitalist system. We pledge ourselves to complete the work they participated in. It would be fitting comrades, were we to stand and have in mind the grand work they did and the courage they displayed.

* * * *

The Conference then rose and stood in silence.

(3) RESOLUTION ON SACCO AND VANZETTI

Moved by Comrade MacMillian, representing Glasgow No. 9 branch, N. U. R., and second by Comrade Hammond, representing No. 107 branch, N. A. F. T. A.

"The execution of Sacco and Vanzetti is one of the most hideous crimes of its kind yet perpetrated by capitalism.

"We wish to record our highest admiration of the wonderful firmness and endurance displayed by these two comrades in their seven long years of tortuous imprisonment, waiting death for a crime which we, along with millions throughout the world, are firmly convinced they did not commit.

"Their only crime was that they challenged the order of capitalist society, and it was for this that they were really executed.

"We convey to their families and dependents our deepest sympathy and condolences in their terrible suffering and loss. The sacrifice of these brave comrades shall inspire us to greater deeds in our struggle against capitalism.

"The refusal of American capitalism to give up their victims in face of an unprecedented world-wide demand for justice marks a sharpening of the class struggle everywhere. There is no real justice under capitalism, only a capitalist justice with the scales weighted heavily against the workers.

“The raging of the “White Terror” in many countries through the world to-day calls for a constant united resistance by the working class of all lands

“We must strengthen the bonds of international working-class solidarity, and realise more clearly than ever before that the persecution of the workers of one country is the concern of the workers of the whole world.

“We place on record our appreciation of the splendid work performed by the International Class War Prisoners’ Aid in combating the “White Terror” and defending the class-war prisoners, and we call upon all workers to help forward the work of this movement by all means in their power.”

The resolution was carried unanimously.

(4) REPORT OF NATIONAL EXECUTIVE

COMMITTEE.

I.—Introductory

We have pleasure in presenting our report to the Fourth Annual Conference of the National Minority Movement. We are prompted to remind our delegates that the fact that this is our Fourth Annual Conference is in itself an indication of how deeply our Movement has its roots in the working class movement of this country as a whole. At our first national conference in 1924, when the National Minority Movement was founded, there were many who referred to it as “another left-wing flash in the pan that will have its little day and then peter out.” However, a consideration of the following report of activities will show that

we have accomplished much, and that we are building up a movement of active trade unionists that neither the attacks of the capitalists nor the trade union bureaucratic leaders can smash.

2.—Membership.

Our membership consists of individual members, affiliated trade union branches and lodges, trade union district committees, and co-operative guilds.

We can record an increase in our individual membership, but a decrease in our affiliated organisations. The latter is due to the fact that when in April of this year the General Council of the Trades Union Congress intimated that any Trades Council affiliated to the National Minority Movement would neither receive recognition from the General Council nor be allowed to send delegates to the National Conference of Trades Councils, your Executive Committee decided to recommend the 22 Trades Councils affiliated to us to withdraw from our Movement in order to enable them to take part in National Trades Council activity.

We realised this was a serious decision, but having regard to the pioneer work of the Minority Movement in obtaining even this degree of recognition of the Trades Councils by the General Council, we felt that our decision was in the best interests of the Movement as a whole, and clearly showed who were the real splitters in the Trade Union Movement. The attitude of the General Council in this matter was afterwards endorsed by the National Conference of Trades Councils. This decision has in no way lessened our work inside the Trades Councils, and many workers have become individual members of our Movement as a result of this attack and the policy we adopted to meet it

Since our last Conference a great deal of time and attention has been given to the systematic registration and grouping of our members. We have to-day not less than 190 groups, exercising a very great influence in their areas. This reflects itself increasingly in the number of official oppositions our members win, and the wider influence of our policy amongst the workers.

In January of this year we commenced a new system of membership, dating all membership as from January 1st, 1927, renewals to fall due on January 1st, 1928. This involved a big change as we had previously allowed membership to date for one year from the day of application. This method still applies to affiliations, and owing to the financial difficulties that we counter, it will be a long time before we get membership and affiliation fees renewed on the same date each year.

The important thing to note in connection with our membership is that neither the individual nor affiliated membership gives a true reflex of how widespread our influence is. This can best be judged by the response to our various conferences, and the willingness that is displayed in fighting for our policy as laid down at such conferences.

The stronger we grow the more severe the attacks made upon us. Many trade union executives forbid their branches to send delegates to our conferences. Other's like the National Union of General and Municipal Workers have definitely suspended both branches and officials for having dared to attend Minority Movement Conferences. The N. U. G. M. W. being led by democrats like Mr. Thorne and Mr. Clynes, has actually issued a document which all candidates for official positions must sign, certifying amongst other things, that they are not members of the M.M. and do not believe in its policy.

Yet reviewing the position as a whole, we can record in spite of the above tactics, an increased membership and vastly increased influence compared with what we had last year.

3 — The Miners' Lock-out.

During the period between our Third Annual Conference and the end of Miners' Lock-out our members were tireless in their activities on behalf of the miners. Our chief speakers made a tour of the coalfields (special attention being paid to the "black areas"), stimulating and encouraging the struggling miners. This campaign was intensified after the adoption of the South Wales proposals, but owing to the lack of effective direction by the M F G. B. Executive, the most decisive parts of the South Wales policy were never operated.

During the whole course of the Lock-out special attention was given to pointing out the lessons of the mining struggle and organisational weaknesses. Immediately the Lock-out was over our miners' section issued two special publications, one, "The Miners' Next Task," the other, 'British Mineworkers' Union,' this being a draft constitution for a single miners' Union. This represents the most constructive piece of work, and has had the largest sale of any publication we have issued.

4. The Rank and File and the General Strike.

When it became known that the General Council of the Trades Union Congress was calling a special conference of Trade Union Executives to discuss its report on the General Strike, we immediately took steps to organise a series of rank and file Trade Union Conferences. We did this because we knew that few rank and filers would be attending this Special Conference, and that no executive would be there with a mandate from the members of its own union.

It was therefore necessary to show the workers the significance of this conference, and the need for influencing its decisions by pressure from the workers outside. Conferences were arranged at Liverpool, Cowdenbeath, London, Cardiff, Llanelly, Leeds, Glasgow, Newcastle, Sheffield and Birmingham; the speakers were all prominent trade unionists. On the whole the conferences were well-attended, and the lessons of the General Strike and the future policy of the Trade Union Movement were thoroughly discussed.

5. China.

On January 3rd we received a request for Comrade Tom Menn to be relieved of his engagements in order to enable him to proceed as one of an International Workers' Delegation to China. Although a special recruiting campaign had been organised for Comrade Mann, we felt that the work he could do for the Chinese trade unionists was so important, and its effects would be so far-reaching, that we readily agreed he should go.

Comrade Mann left for China on January 27th and returned on July 2nd. We are all awaiting his report with the same interest as yourselves.

From December 1926 to February 1927 events in China were moving so rapidly that there was a constant need for careful explanation and direction of what the working class policy should be. We never hesitated as to the Minority Movement's position, we have constantly advocated the whole resources of the Labour Movement being used on the side of the Chinese workers and peasants. We have advocated strike action to prevent troops and munitions being sent to China, and urged that a special commission be sent to China from the T.U.C. in order to assist the Chinese Trade Union Movement. A policy, which, if adopted, would perhaps have prevented the execution of many Chinese Trade Union leaders, as this only took place when the Chinese traitor generals, like Chiang Kai Shek knew they had the support of the armed forces of the imperialists.

In order to try and do something to rouse the workers to take action against the Government's war policy in regard to China, we had special leaflets distributed in all the important seaport towns, and on Sunday, February 13th and 20th, we organised a series of Trade Union meetings in the following maritime centres. Portsmouth, Plymouth Limehouse, Manchester and Liverpool. These meetings were well-attended and unanimous support was given to a resolution sending fraternal greetings to the Chinese Nationalist Government, expressing whole-hearted approval of the Chinese Government's policy in refusing to continue negotiations with the British Government until all armed forces were withdrawn, and demanding that the General Council of the T.U.C. should take immediate steps to frustrate the aims of warmongers by placing an embargo on the fitting, loading and removal of ships and trains intended for the transport of troops and munitions to China.

6.—The Capitalist Offensive.

Immediately the Miners' Lock-out ended there was the usual outcry for "industrial peace." Prominent leaders hastened to announce the given peace in industry, a trade revival was in sight and "all must pull together." We felt it our duty to warn trade unionists that the end of the Lock-out meant not peace, but new preparations for war upon the rest of the workers.

In January it became known that the Government was going to make changes in regard to the Poor Law Administration that in effect would practically mean the abolition of the existing Poor Law Guardians. Chester-le-Street Bedwelty and West Ham had already pointed the way to the Tory policy for the whole country.

In February came the report of the Blanesburgh Commission on Unemployment Insurance with its proposals for reducing the

benefit of single men over 21 by 1s. per week, giving this married men, its heavy reductions in the benefit to women and to the youth of both sexes, its abolition of extended benefit, and its general acceptance of the pernicious principle of starving the unemployed to keep the general level of wages low. To make matters worse this was a unanimous report, which meant that it was signed by the three so-called Labour representatives, Frank Hodges, A. Holmes and M. Bondfield.

In March inspired speeches were made and articles published showing that the Government intended to introduce legislation against the Trade Union Movement that would strike a terrific blow at the existing practices and policy of the Movement. In addition troops were being sent to China and scurrilous attacks were being made upon Soviet Russia, all showing that at home and abroad the Tory Government felt strong enough to launch a new offensive against the workers. Your Executive Committee felt it necessary to place all these vital issues clearly before the workers, and if possible rouse them to action. We therefore announced during March that a series of conferences in ten provincial centres would be held on April 23rd and 24th, and a special National Conference in London on April 30th, the agenda at all these conferences being:-

1. The Attack on the British Workers:—

(a) The Poor Law Proposals.

(b) The Blanesburgh Report.

(c) The Trade Union Bill.

2. The Attack on the Chinese and Russian Workers.

Immediately *after* we had commenced to organise these conferences the Labour Party announced a special conference in Sheffield on April 23rd on the Poor Law, and the General Council a Special Conference of Trade Union Executives on the Trade Union Bill.

Our Conferences were held in the following towns, Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool, Sheffield, Leeds, Newcastle, Cardiff, Plymouth, Fife, Bristol and London. The average representation in the provincial towns was 65 delegates representing 22,662 workers, and in London 446 delegates represented 300,000 workers. Questions and discussions were of a high order, and the resolutions submitted to the Conferences adopted unanimously.

7.—The Trade Union Bill.

It soon became clear that the Special Conferences organised by the Trade Union Defence Committee were not to be allowed to make any departure from the official policy of pious phrase-mongering. Our members have everywhere put forward the demand for

organised parliamentary obstruction and the need for preparing for a General Strike as the most effective way to defeat the Bill.

As the campaign developed in the country and in parliament, it became clear that the Government was not in the least shaken in its determination to operate the Bill. We began to demand answers to vital questions asking the policy of the Trade Unions in regard to the Bill. Would they recognise it as a legal measure, or would they defy it and refuse to operate it or alter their rules to meet the new legal position? As we go to press a national policy has not been decided upon, the result is chaos and confusion. The Union of Post Office Workers is going to leave the Labour Party and the T.U.C. The N.U.R. is going to alter its rules to meet the requirements of the Bill. The T. & G.W.U. is not going to operate the Bill. This is how the Movement stands at present. Our Conference must give the lead that the official leadership is apparently incapable of giving.

8.—“The Worker”

Immediately after the last Conference our paper “The Worker” was brought from Glasgow to London. There was very soon a marked increase in the circulation and a complete change in the character of the paper. We believe that today, “The Worker” can justly claim to be the best Trade Union paper in the Movement; for reliable facts, figures and information it stands unrivalled and it represents the medium through which week by week we are able to place our policy before the workers.

We regret, however, that the circulation of our paper is still very small, and unless there is a rapid increase we shall be faced with the possibility of having to discontinue publication. We hope the Conference will take steps to ensure that every delegate becomes a regular reader and seller of the paper. In addition we urge the delegates to write to the paper on questions affecting their own unions or trade unionists generally.

9.—Publications.

At the first meeting of the Executive Committee subsequent to the last Conference, plans were made for publishing a comprehensive series of pamphlets covering the main industries and unions. We believe that our Fourth Conference will unanimously endorse our work in this direction. The following is a list of the various publications issued since August, 1926.—

“The Constitution and Structure of the Minority Movement.”

“British and Russian Workers.”

“The Miners’ Next Task.”

“Constitution for One Miners’ Union.”

“One Mineworkers’ Union—Why?”

“What’s Wrong in the Engineering Industry?”

“The Struggle of British Seamen.”

“Havelock Wilson Exposed”

“What’s Wrong in the Textile Industry?”

“Is Trade Unionism Played Out?”

“Trade Union Leadership.”

“The Crisis of Trade Unionism.”

We have on hand a pamphlet dealing with the position of the railways, and also a new constitution for one union for the building trade workers. In addition we have published a series of leaflets dealing with various issues as they have arisen.

The more literature we publish, the wider and more concrete becomes our influence, and with continued support the Executive Committee will endeavour to increase the number of publications next year.

10 —Conclusion.

Our Youth, Co-operative and Women’s Departments, having only been established last year, have, of course, not been able to record the same development as our older sections, but what has been done in these three departments indicates that by our next Conference we shall be able to record a substantial increase in their influence in the various spheres of their activity.

Our Miners, Metal Workers and Transport Workers’ Sections still remain in the order named, our strongest sections. The Printing Workers’ Section is now better organised, its paper, “The Printers’ Pilot,” has a circulation of 4,000, and exerts a definite influence (particularly in London) throughout the printing trades.

The Builders’ Section has done very good work inside the branches and Shop Stewards Councils. Since the controversy on amalgamation or confederation in this industry the section has been busy preparing a new constitution for one union for the whole building industry, which we believe when published will have a wide circulation and influence.

The groups associated with the various general labour unions are carrying on effective work under difficult circumstances, more particularly since the suspension policy has been operated, but before long we shall have such strong M. M. groups within these unions, that the reactionary bureaucrats with their splitting policy will be swept away.

The review of what has been done indicates a tremendous amount of work on the part of all connected with our Movement. We take this opportunity of thanking all the comrades in the districts and at headquarters who have given their services so freely and constantly during the past year.

It has been a year of hard work, but we are now securely established as the main driving force of British trade unionism.

We call upon every serious-minded worker to rally to the banner of the National minority Movement. Our programme and policy are of the character that alone can give the Movement that new outlook and purpose rendered necessary by the new world economic situation.

Signed:

W. ALLAN.	H. POLLITT.
E. COLLINS.	T. QUELCH.
S. ELSBURY	F. ROWLANDS.
G. FLETCHER.	N. SHIELDS.
W. HANNINGTON.	F. SMITH.
G. HARDY.	W. STOKES.
A. HORNER.	T. STRUDWICK.
I. P. HUGHES.	J. TANNER.
P. KERRIGAN.	A. TOMKINS.
G. H. LEE.	W. WARD.
TOM MANN.	N. WATKINS.
G. T. McMILLAN.	MRS. WHOMACK.
C. J. MOODY.	

The Report was considered paragraph by paragraph and adopted unanimously.

(5) THE SITUATION IN BRITAIN AND THE TASKS OF THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

Moved by Arthur Horner (S.W. F M, E. C. of the M F G. B) representing E.C. of National Minority Movement, and seconded by Peter Kerrigan (A. E. U, Glasgow) representing Spring burn No, 4 branch.

Introduction.

THE class struggles of ever increasing magnitude in post-war

Britain of which the General Strike of last year was a manifestation, are due to the fact that capitalism in Britain is in decline. This process is marked by a continuation of the capitalist offensive against the working class, through the Trades Disputes, Bill, the Blanesburgh Proposals, Poor Law Reform and the Reform of the House of Lords.

These measures against the working class indicate quite clearly that the ruling class in its frenzied attempts to maintain its domination seeks to shackle the protective organs of the working class—the trade unions—in order to impose further reductions of wages, lengthen hours and generally lower the standards of the working class.

In addition to this offensive against the British working class British Imperialism plays an increasing counter-revolutionary role in world politics. The military and naval intervention in China against the workers and peasants of China who are struggling against Imperialist domination, and the breaking of trade and diplomatic relation with the U. S. S. R. as prelude to war, completes the offensive of British Imperialism in three main points.

An examination of the situation of British industry and trade internally and externally gives the key to the decline of British industry and the counter-revolutionary role of British Imperialism. It also explains the increasing revolutionisation of the British working class, and impending class conflicts and struggles of even greater magnitude than the General Strike of 1926.

The Decline of British Industry.

Even before the War of 1914-18 British capitalism had entered upon the process of decline, but a decline with occasional periods of recovery and boom. Since 1920, however, the process of decline has almost been continuous as the tremendous unemployment figures and recipients of Poor Law relief demonstrate. The basic industries, coal, iron and steel, shipbuilding, engineering and textiles, which normally employ the major proportion of the working class, have suffered to a greater degree than the less basic or luxury trades. Foreign competition, especially German, was the main factor undermining British capitalism before the war, but unfortunately for Britain the capitalist mode of production knows no national boundaries, and countries which were formerly Britain's customers have now become her competitors. The result is to be seen in a comparison of the total production and trade of Britain in 1913 and 1926. The total production on the 1913 level (100) was in 1926 only 65.5 per cent. and the corresponding decline in the volume of foreign trade taking 1913 as 100, in 1926 imports were 111, re-exports 76, and net exports 58. (In comparing 1913 and 1926 figures the economic effects of the General Strike and the Mining

Lock-out should be kept in view, but even in 1925, a normal year, total production was only approximately 85 per cent of 1913 level). The decline, however, has its origin not in the General Strike, but in various factors arising in the post-war period. The enormous destruction of wealth during the war has resulted in an impoverished home and world market, the industrialisation of the dominions and colonies which received a considerable impetus during the war, the powerful competition of U.S.A. and Japan in world markets, and the out of date technique of production in Britain are all factors which contribute to the general chaos of the capitalist system in Britain.

At the end of 1925, a normal year, it was possible for capitalist commentators to write:—

“1925 stands out as the worst yet experienced in the coal industry”.

“In no year since 1921 have conditions been so unprofitable” (Iron and Steel Trades).

“Shipbuilding in 1925 has been the most depressed industry in the country.”

“The shipping industry was more depressed than at any time since 1920.” Etc., etc.

The General Strike and Miners' Lock-out only aggravated the situation as the following figures reveal.

Production of (in million tons).

Year.		Iron.	Steel.	Coal.	Shipbuilding
1913	....	.. 10 26	7·563	287·0	1 932
1925	....	... 6·24	7·400	233·0	1 05
1926	..	.. 2·44	3·56	126·0	·693

Side by side with this decline in production, there is a corresponding decline of exports

Exports (in million tons).

Year.		Coal.	Iron.	Steel	In million
					sq. yds.
					Cotton Piece Goods.
1913	....	.. 73 9	1·12	4·97	7·075
1925	....	. 50·82	·56	3·73	4·434
1926	..	. 20 60	·31	2 90	3 834

The capitalist class in its attempt to stabilise its industry develops more and more towards concentration and monopoly both

in banking and industry. The inter-relation between banking and industrial capital characterised by Lenin as Finance Capital is becoming more marked in Britain than before the war. The Big Five Banks control $66\frac{1}{3}$ of the total bankers' capital, and dominate 80 per cent. of the banking business. The same process of monopoly and trustification is being applied to industry in an increasing degree as for example —

Railways —Four companies (interrelated) control entire railway system.

Shipping —Half of British or $\frac{1}{3}$ of world shipping controlled by six groups

Shipbuilding —Two-thirds of total capacity controlled by ten enterprises.

Electrical Engineering(Heavy).—In the hands of four companies.

Iron and Steel.—75 per cent. of output controlled by 30 firms (50 per cent. by 4 groups).

Coal —1,400 undertakings, 60 of which control over 50 per cent. of output.

Chemicals and Explosives.—Controlled by Imperial Chemicals Ltd. (Mond).

Cotton Thread —Coats' Combine.

Dyeing Industry —Dominated by Bradford Dyers' Association.

Artificial Silk —Courtaulds control 90 per cent. of trade.

Meat.—Union Cold Storage control 40 per cent. meat imports.

Soap, etc —80 per cent. output by Lever Bros.

Before the war Britain was the stronghold of free trade and economic individualism, to-day trustification and monopoly are essential features, and free trade has been replaced by safeguarding of industry by tariff walls which is an indication of the deepening of competition on a world scale

This process of finance capital reveals also an increasing growth of parasitism, a growth of the rentier class which obtains its income solely from investments. In 1900 over £60 millions were received in interest on foreign investments, while in 1926 this had increased to over £270 million. Income from public companies, Government and Municipal securities and bank capital in 1914 only amounted to £522 millions, reached £1,140 millions in 1921, and out of the national income in 1925 of £3,400 millions, £2,040 millions was obtained from rent, interest, profits and salaries. During the period from 1920 to

1926 the reductions in wages of the working class are estimated at £10·5 millions per week.

Enough has been said to indicate the situation internally and to complete the survey. An examination of the external factors which have a bearing on Britain's decline is worthy of study. In the temporary elimination of Germany following the war, a new and more serious competitor appeared in the U. S. A., which in every sphere has successfully challenged Britain's claim to world power. As the creditor of the whole world with the ability to export capital to Europe, South America and the East and in an increasing degree to the British Dominions and Colonies, the U. S. A. appears as the dominant financial power. In 1925 Britain's total foreign loans amounted to £99 millions, while U.S.A. totalled over £216 millions. In 1926 the figures were respectively £122 and £221 millions ("Satis") The total investments abroad of the U.S.A. have reached over \$12,000 million dollars. (Latin America 4,210, Canada 2,825 and Europe 2,500). Not only in the field of finance, but also in the development of export trade does U.S.A. tend to out rival Britain. In 1913 Britain exported 13·93 per cent. of the world trade and U.S.A. 13·34 per cent. In 1926 Britain only exported 12·43 per cent as against 16·04 per cent. of the U.S.A.

The increasing penetration of U.S.A. into Britain's principal markets is revealed in the following statistics :—

Percentage of Total Imports

From	India.		Germany		Australia		France.	
	1913	1925	1913	1925	1913	1925	1913	1925
Great Britain ..	64·2	52·2	8·1	7·6	51·8	43·9	13·2	13·4
U.S.A.	2·6	6·1	15·9	17·7	13·7	24·6	10·6	14·5
From	Canada		Argentine.		China			
	1913	1925	1913	1925	1913	1925		
Great Britain ...	21·3	17·7	31·1	22·6	16·5	9·7		
U.S.A.	64·0	65·8	14·7	23·4	6·0	14·8		

The figures for India, Australia and Canada indicate the increasing penetration into Empire markets by the U.S.A. while the changed role of Britain and U.S.A. in Argentine and China clearly indicates the process of British decline.

The expansion of industry in the Colonies which is making them independent of Britain has proceeded rapidly since the war. In Canada in 1910 there were 19,000 factories employing 515,000 workers with a total output of 1,247 millions dollars, the corresponding figures for 1925 were 42,406 establishments with a total capital of 3,439 million dollars. In Australia in 1910 there were 13,800 factories with 286,000 employees and a productive value of £99

millions. In 1925 there were 20,795 factories with 439,949 employees with a productive value of £380.8 millions. With her supplies of coal and iron and wool Australia is endeavouring to become the industrial centre of the Southern Pacific. New Zealand also has increased her factories and employees, and capital invested has risen from £16,731,000 in 1910 to £84,000,000 in 1925. South Africa steadily imports machinery (over £3 millions each year), and the number of enterprises increased from 1,645 in 1913 to 7,005 with 180,000 workers. Coal production has developed from about 8 million tons in 1913 to 13 million tons in 1925, and employing over 50,000 workers, while the metal and engineering trades absorb over 30,000 workers. A considerable expansion in coal, iron and steel and metal industry is to be expected in the near future in South Africa. Similarly in India does the development of industry proceed. The number of workers subject to the Indian Factory Acts (in 4,827 establishments) in 1921 was 1,238,410, divided into the following main industries: Cotton spinning and weaving, 282,297, jute mills, 264,373, rail and tram shops, 115,529, cotton ginning, 133,323, engineering, 39,112, iron and steel productions, 17,145 and woollen mills, 11,152. Coal production has increased from approximately 16 million tons in 1913 to over 21 million tons in 1925, and steel production from 183,000 tons in 1918 to 450,000 in 1925. The import of machinery and railway material valued at £9.9 and £33 millions respectively in 1925 can only extend this process.

Sufficient has been quoted to show the tremendous growth of industry in the most important points of the British Empire and how this process contributes to the decline of Britain. Reference has already been made to the fact that Britain's share of world exports had declined from 13.93 to 12.43 per cent. of the world's total, but during the same period, that of all other parts of the Empire had increased from 13.21 to 17.97 per cent. in the same period and correspondingly the Empire as a market for British products has actually shrunk.

The political reflection of the economic divergence of the Dominions and the Colonies from Britain expresses itself in feverish efforts to achieve Empire economic unity at imperial Conferences. However, instead of increasing unity the results of the industrialisation of the Empire are towards increasing divergence. This process coupled with the increased financial and trading penetration of the Empire by U.S.A. clearly demonstrates that the process of decline still continues. In Europe, too, the situation bristles with difficulties for British capitalism. The rapid recovery of Germany as a result of the golden stream of U.S.A. dollars and the complications which are increasing from the operation of the Dawes Plan in marketing reparations is reacting against the basic industries of Britain. The tendency towards approachments between Germany and France as instance in the steel cartel, all these have the effect

of undermining the political and industrial supremacy of Britain in Europe. The development of the Nationalist Movements in India, Egypt and particularly in China with their increasing revolt against Imperialist exploitation only create new problems in maintaining greater armed forces in holding down those subject people.

The development of the U S S R. in the building of Socialism and the resulting improvement in the conditions of the workers and peasants known to the British working class. To the oppressed people of the Colonies and subject nations as to the workers of Britain, Soviet Russia has given moral and material assistance to free themselves from the grip of Imperialism and thereby earned the undying hatred of the British bourgeoisie. British imperialism, surrounded on every hand by insuperable difficulties, is attempting to overcome them at the expense of the British working class, by military and naval intervention in China and by breaking trade and diplomatic relations with the first workers' state—the U.S.S.R.

The Revolutionisation of the Working Class.

We have only to review the industrial struggles of the working class since 1921 to understand the increasing conflict which arises in the process of capitalist decline. In the six years period between 1906 and 1911, 38 68. million working days were lost, between 1918-23, 183 81 million working days were lost, and in the period of 1924-26, three years only, exceeded the total for the preceding six years of 1918-23. The degree of success in these struggles has only been the experience. Shackled by a Trade Union bureaucracy and an out of date organisational machine the working class has been forced to make concessions in wages to the extent of £10 5 millions per week, and in hours in the case of the miners.

Unemployment, always a permanent feature of capitalist society has assumed tremendous proportions in the post-war period. The highest percentage of Trade Union unemployed in pre-war period was in 1908 when 7.8 per cent. was unemployed. In 1914 only 3 3 per cent, in 1926 12.1 per cent. In conjunction with the Trade Union unemployed figures must be noticed the enormous amount of short time worked in the mining and textile industries in particular. The expenditure on Poor Law relief despite the tightening up of regulations continues to expand. In 1913 the expenditure for 794,227 was £11.59 millions, while in 1925 the expenditure had increased to £31.21 millions with 1,205,267 recipients. In 1926 the General Strike and Mining Lock-out almost doubled these figures, and the present recipients increased as the process of disallowed benefits (to the extent of over 40,000 per month) through the tightening regulation in the administration of Unemployment Benefit at the Labour Exchanges That this

policy of increasing impoverishment is to be extended is foreshadowed in the Blanesburgh Proposals and the Reform of the Poor Law. Another factor is the simplification of the Labour process in industry by the use of improved machinery which enables more unskilled workers, men and women and young workers to be absorbed in industry. In this process of reducing working class standards a noticeable feature is the tendency towards levelling of the wages. Not an upward tendency towards the skilled workers' wages, but a downward tendency of skilled workers to unskilled rates (*i. e.* engineers and unskilled workers).

The political and industrial outlook of the working class, however, has undergone a considerable change in comparison with pre-war days. The war left the existing leadership of the Trade Union Movement bankrupt of any ideas or methods as to conducting the workers' struggle in the period of capitalist decline. Class collaboration, the policy adopted in the pre-war period, gave to the British working class certain "palliatives," but the same policy in the post-war has only meant worse conditions. Consequently there has developed an opposition to this policy of Reformism expressing itself in the National Minority Movement.

To-day the correctness of the policy of the National Minority Movement is being clearly demonstrated. The short boom following the Mining Lock-out is passing. The coal industry approaches another crisis despite the sacrifices in wages and hours. Iron and steel, shipbuilding and engineering textiles, all the basic industries, are faced with Baldwin's slogan, "the wages of all workers must come down."

RESOLUTION

"This Conference declares therefore, that as a result of this analysis, the following programme provides the best means whereby the Trade Union Movement can be reorganised to fight the battles of the working class.

1. Campaign for 100 per cent. Trade Unionism and the formation wherever possible of workshop committees, the members of which are to be guaranteed from victimisation by their various Trade Unions

2. The reorganisation of the local Trades Councils to transform them into the local unifying centres of the working class movement.

3. Affiliation of the National Unemployed Workers' Committee Movement and the local Trades Councils to the Trades Union Congress and the acceptance of representatives from these organisations upon the General Council of the T.U.C.

4 Acceptance of the principle of one union for each industry and the immediate amalgamation of unions in kindred industries as a step to the realisation of industrial unionism.

5. The appointment of a General Council of the Trades Union Congress elected by and at the Congress from nominations made by the delegates present, such council to have full powers to direct the whole policy of the Trade Union Movement and be under obligation to the Trades Union Congress to use that power to fight more effectively the battles of the workers.

6. A fight for one united Trades Union International and demand that the General Council take the initiative through the Anglo-Russian Advisory Council to conduct immediate propaganda and agitation so as to make possible the calling of a World Trade Union Congress out of which the united Trade Union International can be created

7. Popularisation and organisation of Workers' Defence Corps which shall prevent the organisation of the workers being destroyed during the periods of acute class struggle.

8. The building up of Minority Groups in every industry so that as a result of organised activity the policy and ideals of the Minority Movement may be made the policy of the Movement as a whole.

9. Youth Demands:—

(a) The re-employment of all young unemployed workers and continued education and vocational training for all young workers up to 18 in special apprentice departments and workshop schools within the factories on the basis of paid work according to the union scale of wages.

(b) Fixing of minimum wage demands for young workers according to industry.

(c) Unemployed relief for all young unemployed on following scale. 14-16 years, 10s per week; 16-18, 15s. per week.

(d) A 6-hour day for all young workers. Abolition of overtime.

(e) Abolition of night work for all young workers under 18.

(f) Fortnight's annual holiday with pay.

(g) Abolition of individual apprenticeship indentures of young workers in collective agreements. Control apprentices by shop stewards and Trade Unions.

10. Women's Demands:—

The old craft prejudices must be discarded, and all unions thrown open to women engaged in the industry for which they cater. The T.U.C. should revive and develop its campaign for organising women and concentrate more on factory gate and workshop meetings. Women should have representation on workshop committees, and where none are eligible the workshop committee should make itself responsible for bringing the women into a Union. The principles of equal pay, equal opportunities, and the organisation of unemployed women should be fought for by all trade unionists, and concrete assistance given by the Trade Union Movement to the formation of Women's Trade Union Guilds.

11. Co-operative Demands—

1. Every Trade Unionist a Co-operator. Where eligible, every Co-operator a Trade Unionist.

2. All Co-operative employees must be Trade Unionists with the fullest rights of Shop and Union Organisation in each department.

3. Affiliation of local Co-operative Societies with local Trades Councils, and a close working alliance established between Co-operative Unions and the Trades Union Congress through the Co-operative Union.

4. The Trade Unions in proportion to their membership to guarantee all credits advanced by the Co-operatives in times of industrial struggle.

5. Trade Unions to invest their funds in the C. W. S. Bank, and support to be given to the policy of forming local C. W. S. Banks.

6. Limitation of Dividends as a means of reducing prices, and thus furthering the competition with Capitalist enterprise, and lowering the workers' cost of living which will bring increased trade to the Co-operatives and establish a closer union between them and the lower paid workers who do not now trade with the Co-operatives.

7. The reduction of Share qualifications of members to £1 per head in all Societies to give the workers a better chance to take up active work, in the Co-operatives with full rights to be eligible for any position in the Co-operative Movement.

8. The formation of Minority Groups working in conjunction with the Minority District or Local Committee, thus ensuring the pursung of a single policy by all active and serious-minded Co-operators.

The Conference declares that such a programme as outlined above will rally the whole of the workers to its support, and the

Conference instructs the Executive Committee of the National Minority Movement to co-operate with any working class movement that is willing to fight for the realisation of this programme."

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Morning session adjourned at 1 p. m.

SATURDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

(6) RESOLUTION ON ANGLO-RUSSIAN UNITY

Moved by Alex. Gossip, representing National Executive Committee N. A. F. T. A.; seconded by G. Chandler, representing Manchester, No. 6 Branch, W. C. A.

"This Conference condemns the attitude of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress towards the Anglo-Russian Joint Advisory Council. It declares that the General Council has clearly shown by its consistent sabotage that it never intended to carry out the agreement entered into with the Russian Trade Unions on the important issues of fighting for international trade unity and against the growing danger of war.

"It believes that had there been any real intention to fight for unity on the part of the General Council, a World Conference could have been held by now for the purpose of creating one united Trade Union International. It believes that the ineffectiveness of the Anglo-Russian Joint Advisory Council, caused by the attitude of the General Council, encouraged the Conservative Government to increase its attacks upon the British and Russian workers. This could have been prevented had the General Council been a real fighting instrument, mobilising the workers of both countries against the present government.

"Instead, the Government has had the satisfaction (at a time when its attack on the Russian workers reached its most intense point) of seeing the General Council not only refusing to hold a full meeting of the Anglo-Russian Joint Advisory Council, but daring to pass a resolution of protest against the action of the Soviet Government in meting out revolutionary justice to notorious spies and counter-revolutionaries.

"This Conference, recognising the important work done by the Minority Movement in influencing working class opinion for international Trade Union unity, and particularly the effect of its Unity Conference of January 25th, 1925, on the General Council's Meeting on January 29th, 1925, when it endorsed the agreement made by the British Delegation in Moscow in November, 1924, again summons its members to the fight for international Trade Union unity, and calls upon all active workers to demand that a full meeting of the Anglo-Russian Joint Advisory shall be called.

"It also demands that the Edinburgh Trades Union Congress condemn the General Council for its attitude towards the Advisory Council, and insist upon the carrying out of the Agreement made in London on April 1st, 1925, by the Anglo-Russian Unity Committee which, amongst other things, stressed the danger of war, and the need for unity, and concluded by declaring.—

"The representatives of the British and Russian Trade Union Movements hereby declare their intention to do what they can by joint means to bring about international unity. The need and importance of international unity is recognised by millions of organised workers throughout the world. Their co-operation in the task of removing racial prejudices, artificial barriers and economic obstructions to their joint development is assured. Knowing that unity brings power, we are convinced that the workers of all countries joining hands across the frontiers, will work to secure their emancipation.'

"The mottoes to be inscribed on our international banner must continue to be the following :—

"Workers of the World unite."

Long live a world-wide Federation of Trade Unions."

The resolution was carried unanimously.

* * * * *

The Chairman then read an invitation from the I. C. W. P. A. for the Conference to adjourn on Sunday in time to allow the delegates to attend in a body the Sacco and Vanzetti demonstration being held in Trafalgar Square. In view of the amount of business it was decided that comrade Wal. Hannington should represent the Conference at the demonstration and deliver the following message :

(7) MESSAGE TO SACCO AND VANZETTI DEMONSTRATION.

"This Conference of the National Minority Movement sends greetings to the workers of London in Trafalgar Square to protest against the cruel and wanton execution of our comrades Sacco and Vanzetti by the capitalist judicial authorities of Massachusetts.

It urges them to bear in mind that class-war prisoners like Tom Mooney are still in American gaols, and to continue the agitation until it is made impossible for American capitalism to crush, torture and murder workmen in the manner it has been doing for many years past.

"It reminds them that capitalist oppression is worldwide, that here in Britain there are many miners and others still undergoing imprisonment for the part they played in the workers' struggle, and

that the capitalist 'justice' of Britain is on a par with the capitalist 'justice' of America

"All workers will keep green the memory of Sacco and Vanzetti. We shall never forget or forgive. The bravery and devotion of our executed comrades are an example to all of us and an inspiration to continue the fight until we destroy capitalism and its monstrous legal machinery for ever."

(8) RESOLUTION ON THE TRADE UNION ACT

Moved by C. Hoyle, representing Liverpool, No. 13 Branch, A.E.U.; seconded by J. Baker, representing Sheffield Branch N.U.F.W.

"This Conference declares that the introduction of the Trade Union Act is not merely an act of revenge for the General Strike, but is a weapon whereby British capitalism is endeavouring to shackle the working class in order to stabilise itself in the new period of acute capitalist decline. This Act is calculated to give the capitalist class a free hand to pursue its threefold offensive against the workers, namely.

1. Against the wages and conditions of British workers.
2. Against the Chinese Revolution.
3. Against Soviet Russia.

'This Conference believes that the easy passage of this reactionary measure has been made possible by the lack of policy displayed by the Trade Union and Labour leaders, who throughout the fight against the Bill have limited the struggle to waiting for the return of a Labour Government to repeal the Act. The workers have to choose whether they will fight and defeat the Bill now, or whether they will allow the capitalists to follow it up by further reactionary measures which will shatter all dreams of an easy repeal of this Act by the next Labour Government.

"This Conference declares that it is lack of a common policy for fighting the Act before and after it becoming law that has led to the present chaotic situation. Instead of one common fighting policy we find the Postal Workers' Union withdrawing from the Labour party and Trades Union Congress, the National Union of Railwaymen deciding to alter its rules to suit the requirements of the Act, the Transport and General Workers' Union deciding not to operate the Act.

"We declare this division of policy to be suicidal, and strongly condemn the General Council of the T.U.C. for the lack of leadership that has made such a position possible. We call upon the coming Trades Union Congress at Edinburgh to formulate a policy of

complete opposition to the Act itself and to the policy of adapting union rules to the requirements of the Act.

"This Conference declares that the Trade Unions must be prepared to refuse to operate the Act, and calls on the whole Movement to be ready to support any Trade Union which is attacked by the Government for so doing. The British workers experienced such a situation during the war period, when in spite of the Munitions Act they found it possible to fight in defence of their rights.

"This Conference calls on the Unions to ignore the Act by collecting the Political Levy as before, and by insisting on the right of the mass sympathetic and political strike if rendered necessary by circumstances. At the same time it urges the workers to be prepared for the Trade Union bureaucracy attempting to use the Act as an excuse for avoiding struggles likely to bring the Unions into conflict with the Government—such attempts must be frustrated.

"This Conference pledges itself (and calls upon the Edinburgh Congress to do likewise) to fight the Act by every means in its power. It urges the workers to organise powerful factory committees, uniting the workers in the factories, workshops and mines, and demands that the General Council shall organise a decisive struggle against the Act, so that in the event of the Government taking proceedings against any Union refusing to operate it, the whole Trade Union Movement shall be prepared to declare a General Strike in defence of that Union, and secure the downfall of the Baldwin Minority Government which is threatening to introduce by so-called constitutional means a system of slavery analogous to that which the Fascists in Italy have imposed upon the workers by other methods."

The resolutions was carried unanimously.

Conference adjourned at 5 p.m.

SUNDAY MORNING SESSION

10 to 12 o'clock Sectional Conferences

The following sectional conferences were held. Miners, Metal Workers, Transport Workers, Builders, Women, Co-operators and Miscellaneous.

The Reports as printed below were submitted to the respective Sectional Conferences—Miners, Metal Workers and Transport Workers—and endorsed

(9) REPORT OF THE NATIONAL MINERS' MINORITY MOVEMENT The Miners' Lock-Out

The last Annual Conference of the Minority Movement took place during the eighteenth week of the lock-out, at the time when the demand was being made for an embargo on coal and a compulsory levy.

The failure of the T U C to act in either of these matters is well known. It was mainly because of this pitiful failure that the struggle continued for a further twelve weeks, terminating in November of 1926.

During the later, as in the earlier, stages of the conflict the Miners' Minority Movement worked strenuously to get adopted a scientific and more active organisation of the struggle. Even in the earliest stages, through the agency of the Minority Movement, proposals had been advanced at the National M. F. G. B. conference for centralising the Machinery and mobilising all the forces under the control of a central committee in the endeavour to divest the district organisations and leaders of all power to make any local agreements.

The failure of the M. F. G. B. to adopt this course had the effect of encouraging the owners to continue the lock-out in the hope that soon one or other of the districts would capitulate.

That the policy of the Minority Movement was correct and practicable was shown when in October the so-called South Wales Proposals were adopted (though not all put into effect), and the Executive resolved itself into a council of War with movable headquarters. It was then, however, too late, for the very contingencies that the proposals were designed to prevent had already taken place, and in Notts, for instance, Spencer was well on the road to the district settlement.

During this period Minority Movement propagandists were sent into the Midlands and Notts with the result that much was done to arrest the break aways that were being covertly encouraged by the local leaders.

N. M. M. Activities

The rush to work in these black areas, magnified and presented by scare headlines in the Press, especially among the papers circulating in the mining areas, resulted in weakening the morale of the men in many of the districts. This demanded of the Miners' Minority Movement intensified activity. In every district where Minority Movement organisation was in any way established, the propaganda of word and deed was powerfully intensified. Leaflets and circulars were distributed, and in many localities the South Wales Proposals concerning safety men were operated independently of the M. F. G. B. Executive.

Throughout those last few weeks almost every member of the M. M. M. was drawn into active participation in the struggle, and a big adhesion of membership was gained.

These were the months of the Assize Court of mass trials and mass imprisonments. At the atrocious sentences imposed in every mining district great resentment prevailed, and more and more were massed to the standard of the M. M.

Then came the end, an end not clear-cut but quite certain. The M F G B delegates decided to return to the districts and report to the later conference. This meant district agreements—and defeat.

Effects of the Settlements

Following the M. F. G. B. collapse came the need for ensuring the best possible terms in the districts. To this the M. M. lent all possible energies, the two chief planks in the platform being no victimisation and reinstatement on the seniority principle.

Such was the panic among the district officials, however, that in no case did they prolong negotiations to secure these important safeguards. In some of the lodges M. M. influence was sufficiently strong to maintain seniority principles where previously they had been in operation, but in the most places the men were reinstated according to the needs of the employers.

Then came victimisation, unemployment, and everywhere petty tyranny in the pits. The forces of the Federation were disorganised, support for the M. M. remained but was quiescent.

Until well into the new year small local disputes occupied the field, all disconnected and unassociated, seniority disputes, victimisation conflicts and fights over local customs. But generally as men became absorbed to the capacity of the various pits material needs began to press heavily—back rents, provision debts, repayment of Poor Law Relief, the needs of the family wardrobe, etc.

One after another, and for varying periods, the district agreements were signed. Reaction set in.

Here and there, due to unusual pressure from the companies in an endeavour to snatch what profits the starved market could offer, and where the M. M. was well established, interest was kept alive and resistance still offered, but by February almost everywhere distinct signs of weariness and apathy were evident.

Resultant Problems.

It was now that the grip and influence of the M. M. revealed itself, an influence as positive in substance as any force yet experienced in the working-class movement.

Immediate problems had to be faced, the natural and bitter resentment of a defeated and poverty-stricken body of men had to be directed, even if to organise it were impossible. Blind resentment might easily have obliterated all the gains of a generation of trade unionism.

A lead at once courageous and far-sighted was essential. The official leaders were all enveloped in the urgent details of trade

union procedure. One body stood out and gave the necessary lead—the Minority Movement.

The Federation was not smashed, nor was it split up into numerous warring factions. Only a right wing section has broken off, the leadership of which is maintained solely by the power of the coal-owners in a period of despondence and defeat. The right wing organisation is practically confined to Notts; wherever else it exists its strength is negligible, and taken altogether the non-political union represents but an insignificant fraction of the industry, and even so, reports do not show it to be making any headway.

Pure company unionism is limited to one or two isolated spots.

No "left wing" organisations have been formed. A suggestion of their development was recently defeated by the power of the M.M.M.

Unemployment, short time, low wages, long hours, victimisation, prosecution and tyranny—these on the one side; calumny, lies, vindictiveness, condemnations of the M. F. G. B. in official Labour circles, a fierce press barrage, renegade leaders, impoverished members, bankrupt organisation, a Fascist government—these are on the other side, and yet the M. F. G. B. remains 65 per cent. organised!

True, the other 35 per cent are unorganised (except for the few thousand non-politicals), but this is no matter for amazement. It would not be surprising were the figures reversed. The only wonder is that the Federation lives at all. But that it does live, and that it is growing, is accounted for very largely by the fact that the M.M.M., before, during and since the struggle, has advanced the view and pushed the policy that the men more and more are coming to accept.

The great struggle provided much material for consideration, and out of this it has been the duty of the M. M. to formulate a definite and concrete policy.

Re-organisation Proposals

Chief among the matters stressed since the end of the dispute have been the need for re-organisation into One National Mineworkers' Union, the demand for closer international organisation via the Anglo-Russian Miners' Committee, and the need for a big change in local, district and national leadership.

On all points it is possible to register considerable success. First, in numerous lodges the direct influence of the M. M. has been increased, many official positions being gained, and in no instance has the M. M. lost control where previously it was held. In some lodges control has passed from the reactionaries right over to the M. M.

Second, notable changes have been made in district leadership and representation. Third, on the National Executive of the M. F. G. B. the M. M. has secured a reliable footing.

Though the leadership has not yet been captured it is certainly being changed.

The agitation for re-organising the M. F. G. B. was commenced at the end of December, 1926, when "The Miners' Next Task" appeared. In February followed "British Mineworkers' Union—a constitution—and in July "One Mineworkers Union—Why?" All these publications have secured a ready sale—the "British Mineworkers' Union" particularly,—in spite of the obvious lack of cash in all the districts.

The One Union campaign was from the commencement linked up with the demand for consolidating the Anglo-Russian Miners' Committee, and in every district conferences have been held with these two items occupying prominent places on the agenda. Many circulars have been issued urging the importance of these questions, and from the lodges numerous resolutions calling for One Union and the Anglo-Russian Miners' Committee have been sent to District Headquarters and the M. F. G. B.

Everywhere among the men the M. M. policy on these questions has received enthusiastic support, and from Notts, Forest of Dean and Durham resolutions were placed on the agenda for the M. F. G. B. Annual Conference.

M. F. G. B. CONFERENCE.

By virtue of the panel method of electing delegates to the National Conference, and because district officials always constitute the larger proportion of the delegates, the M. M. was not strongly represented at Southport. Good work had, however, been done in the districts beforehand in consequence of which the proposal for reviewing the position of the organisation nationally was not rejected, but referred to the E. C., and a report is to be submitted to a further conference.

The decision is not all that could be desired, but to transform the biggest trade union in the country without first having the whole matter reviewed was an expectation that none could have entertained. What the M. M. has accomplished in this connection cannot now be minimised.

A fundamentally constructive issue has been raised and carried to the proper quarters. Certain it is that without the M. M. the question would not have reached this stage. The next step is to prepare the districts for the Executive report, a report, which since the E. C. members are fundamentally district officials, with the natural

desire to preserve the autonomy of their own organisations, is not likely to contain any far-reaching suggestions.

The agitation for a new leadership for the one union and the Anglo-Russian Miners' Committee has been combined during the last few months with the work of the consolidating the gains in the districts. Not all the members enrolled during the struggle have continued their allegiance, but a 100 per cent. continuation was not to be expected.

Consolidation of the M. M. M.

Due to the impoverished state of the lodges affiliations have not increased. The associate membership, however, is steadily advancing. Consolidation of old groups, the reviving of some and the establishment of others constitutes the work now in hand.

The M. M. M. has undoubtedly gained tremendous influence during the past twelve months, and it has become a force to be reckoned with inside the Federation. That the old leadership is becoming alarmed at the progress of the M. M. is revealed at every district and national conference and by frequent utterances on the platform and in the press.

The M. M. M. programme is the only alternative to the old policy, which during recent years has revealed itself as effete and useless. The hopeless prospects of the industry, with every district on the minimum, and intensified depression, must continually challenge the leaders to point a way out. So far as they attempt to do so they are forced to the position now occupied by the M. M. M., a position which the rank and file more and more every day see to be correct, and which must rapidly become the standpoint of the majority.

NAT WATKINS,

Secretary

(10) REPORT OF NATIONAL METALWORKERS' MINORITY MOVEMENT.

The following is a brief outline of the main points in the work of the Metal Section since the last conference:

Amalgamation

In conformity with our programme we have conducted a continuous agitation in the unions for amalgamation.

The internal crises in the Boilermakers', Foundry Workers', Blacksmiths' and Shipwrights Unions, made it necessary for our members in these unions to emphasise that the real step towards a solution of these difficulties was to be found in amalgamation on the

basis of One Union for the Metal Industry, and accordingly we have conducted campaigns inside these unions towards that end.

The Executive Committee of the National Union of Foundry Workers indicated to the General Council of the Trades Union Congress its willingness to amalgamate with others unions, and the Organisation Committee of the General Council, in conformity with the decisions on Industrial Unionism at the Trades Union Congresses, 1924 and 1926, wrote to all unions in the metal industry inviting them to indicate their readiness to participate in a Conference for amalgamation.

Unfortunately only seven of the unions replied favourably, with the result that on July 13th the Organisation Committee considered the replies and decided that they did not justify a special conference being called, but that the whole question would have to be considered at the Edinburgh T. U. C.

Prior to this the General Council of the Trades Union Congress has, in furtherance of the decisions of the Hull and Bournemouth Congresses on organisation by industry, been in negotiation with the E. T. U. The branches of this union were accordingly invited to express their opinions as to what policy the union should pursue towards operating these decisions.

The Sub-Executive Committee of our Section decided upon a definite lead to be given on the policy to be pursued, and every branch of this union, in addition to all E. T. U. associate members, were circularised. From reports received there is very indication that our policy has strong support in the branches throughout the country.

Whilst there has been no big amalgamation between engineering unions since 1920, we can at least claim that we have forced the question to the front, and it is only the conservativeness and obstinacy of many of the union officials that now stands in the way of consummation.

The Wages Question

On the wages question, we have agitated in the unions for standing by the original 20 s. claim. It is not possible to repeat here the history of the negotiations with the employers, but after the surrender of the union executives to the terms of the employers, we issued 50,000 special leaflets explaining the meaning of the terms and urging a solid vote against acceptance.

The result of the ballot was.

For acceptance of the proposals . . . 81,575

Against the proposals 41,527

Number of ballot papers issued . . . 326,963

Number of votes cast 123,102

Votes not used 203,861

We can very definitely claim, as the only left wing organised force in the trade unions, that the 41,527 votes cast against the employers' proposals were due to our agitation and propaganda, because the way in which the negotiations had been conducted for three years had created such a frame of mind that the men where they were prepared to say "as bad as the offer is, we had better accept this or we shall get nothing.

The dissatisfaction regarding the offer can be seen by the enormous number of votes that were not used, apparently the offer did not interest them enough to make them attend the branch and vote. To abstain from voting, of course, is a mistaken policy.

Shipyard Agreement

The agreement for shipyard workers, which would bind the unions to a long process of negotiations was proposed by the employers and recommended by some of the union executives, called forth from us a special campaign.

In the Boilermakers' Union when the ballot on this question was heavily against acceptance, the union Executive forced a second ballot upon the members. We intensified our campaign and again the agreement was defeated.

Iron and Steel Industry

The National Sub-Executive Committee decided that special efforts should be made to build up the Minority Movement amongst the workers engaged in the heavy iron and steel and tinplate industry. To do this it was found necessary to issue a special programme that would be particularly applicable to these workers.

The following is the programme which has been accepted at a recent conference in Swansea, where a District Committee has now been established.—

- (1) An increase in wages of 20s per week on all existing rates to all adult grades with a minimum of 16s. per shift.
- (2) The establishment of a 44-hour working week, and the abolition of overtime
- (3) The abolition of the sliding scale and merging of all existing bonuses into the standard rate. Where it applies, the abolition of the grouping of bar-mills according to output for the purpose of wages ascertainment.

- (4) Introduction of third hands on all melting furnaces of 40 tons capacity and over, where this does not already apply, the employers to be wholly responsible for payment
- (5) Wage rates for youths to be one-third of full adult rate up to the age of 18. Two-thirds between 18 and 20 years of age, full rate there after. These rates to be based upon the above minimum demand
- (6) The establishment of workers' committee representing all grades of workers employed
- (7) The amalgamation of all unions in the industry into One Union for Metalworkers
- (8) The establishment of 100 per cent trade unionism

The General Purpose Fund in the A. E. U.

In the revision of the rules of A. E. U. in 1926 a clause was added to Rule 3 to protect the Local General Purposes Funds of the branches from interference by the Executive of the union. The Executive, however, placed an interpretation upon this clause which forbids the raising of the levy for this fund as hitherto, and consequently, deprives the branches of any fund for affiliation to local Trade Councils or any progressive movement such as the Minority Movement

We have conducted a campaign on this question throughout the branches of the A. E. U. and many branches refused to operate the ruling of the union Executive. Some branch secretaries have ever been suspended from office for this. It is not possible to give any complete statement on the number of branches that refuse to operate the Executive's ruling, owing to the lack of reports from the districts, but from Manchester we have authoritative information to the effect that at least 25 branches under the Manchester District are refusing. This alone, is an indication of the strong feeling that exists in the branches on this question, but it is no use shutting our eyes to the fact that this decision of the A. E. U. Executive has made our task of securing branch affiliations a much more difficult one. In spite of this, there has been a steady inflow of new affiliations

However, the Final Appeal Court of the A. E. U. at their meeting at Fleetwood, have just given a decision against the interpretation of the Executive, and declared in favour of raising the levy as hitherto

The volume of protest from the branches against the interpretation of the Executive no doubt helped considerably towards the decision of the Final Appeal Court.

In connection with the development of the Metalworkers' Section, the following districts have been visited.

Aberdeen, Dundee, Brechin, Portsmouth, Coventry, Barrow-in-Furness, Leeds, Manchester, Sheffield, Swansea, Bedford, Oxford, Birmingham, Liverpool, Hull, Birkenhead, Tyneside.

General Conclusions.

The present condition of the engineering workers in general and also the weak state of the unions, shows more and more clearly the need for the Minority Movement and the correctness of our policy and programme

Whilst there has been a considerable improvement in the organised efforts of our members and sympathisers inside the unions, there is still plenty of room for more efficient operations of our National Sub-Executive decisions and leads from Headquarters. Our associate members must realise that the chief value in membership of the Minority Movement is the carrying out, in a well organised fashion, of systematic work inside the unions in conformity with the Minority Movement policy.

The creation of a militant leadership for the unions, means a continual concentrated effort upon the union problems, and by so doing gathering ever broader masses of trade unionists around the standard of the Minority Movement in order to make our policy the official policy of the unions.

The work of the Minority Movement lies particularly in the unions and this applies to Metalworkers no less than any other section.

W. HANNINGTON,

Hon. Organising Secretary.

(11) REPORT OF TRANSPORT WORKERS' MINORITY MOVEMENT RAIL SECTION REPORT

Following the 1926 Annual Conference, a national agitation was concentrated on for the restoration of the guaranteed week and full time for shopmen. The support given to this campaign compelled the leaders to approach the companies on this question.

At the meeting held on December 21st, 1926 the companies suggested a conditional restoration which would have abrogated the National Agreement and introduced a seven day working week.

The leader's intention to keep the rank and file ignorant of the position was thwarted by the exposure of the companies' terms

in the "Sunday Worker" Had it not been for our organised activities in the rail unions, the leaders would have capitulated to the demands of the railway companies. When the "gradual" restoration was agreed to, we warned rail workers of the dangers of its application.

The "splitters" agreement, whereby new entrants into a grade receive "basic rate." created a dangerous situation. Our propaganda in the branches was responsible for a campaign to force an application for revision to the National Wages Board, which subsequently rejected the application.

Our work had its reflection on the agendas of the N. U. R. Annual Conference, held at Carlisle, where a definite move towards amalgamation was made.

The attempt at the N. U. R. Conference to rush the delegates into a decision (without mandate) to adapt the rules of the union to the anti-Trade Union Act, met with a strong opposition from militant delegates. This proposal was referred back to the members prior to the Special General Meeting, which will make a decision.

The following is the programme of demands formulated by the rail sections :

Programme

- (1) 42-hour week for all railway workers.
- (2) £3 10s. national minimum wage.
- (3) Twelve working day's holiday with full pay, and free passes on all railways.
- (4) Abolition of the "New Entrants" Agreement.
- (5) Adult age to commence at 20 years.
- (6) 100 per cent. trade unionism.
- (7) Departmental Committees, local and national, with right of holding Annual Conferences.
- (8) One union for all railway workers
- (9) One International Transport Workers' Federation.

TRANSPORT SECTION REPORT

The attempts to secure a progressive policy within the Transport and General Workers' Union by the rank and file have been restricted by lack of organisation and checked by the official bureaucracy occupying positions for which in many cases they have been selected, instead of being elected by the rank and file of the union.

It is generally recognised that the leading officials have supported the policy of "peace in industry," and have ignored important issues raised by the rank and file, such as "decasualisation" and "increase on the wage scale," etc. Our policy for a more effective organisation was strongly supported at the Swansea Biennial Conference, although forcibly opposed by the officials.

The Transport Section of our movement has been pressing forward a programme of immediate demands.

Programme of Demands

- (1) Continuation of the principle of National Policy and National Agreements.
- (2) Return to the Lord Shaw Award of 16s. per day.
- (3) Decasualisation and maintenance scheme to embrace all dockers at present registered.
- (4) Abolition of overtime.
- (5) 44-hour week.
- (6) Working day not to commence before 8 a. m.
- (7) 100 per cent. trade unionism.
- (8) Docks Committee in each dock.
- (9) One National Union for all transport workers.
- (10) One International Transport Workers' Federation.

CAB SECTION REPORT

Since our last Annual Conference the Cab Trade has been confronted with a demand from the Government for two-seater cabs and reduction of fares.

Subsequent to many conferences of proprietors and Union representatives with the Government, the Union officials submitted to a reduction of fares to avoid the introduction of the two-seater cabs threatened by the Government.

In spite of strong opposition by the militant representatives, officials of the Union and Owner-driver Societies, supported by the Proprietors, agreed to a reduction of fares, which has meant a reduction of earnings approximating £1 per week for all journeymen, while many owner-drivers have been compelled to return their cabs under the hire-purchase system with consequent loss of all monies paid.

This frontal attack by the Government, assisted by the reactionary leadership, has stimulated the agitation for all workers in

the trade becoming members of the T and G. W. U. in order to create a united front against further attacks by the employers and Government.

Tram, Omnibus and tube in the London Area.

BUSES

Since our last Annual Conference workers in the employ of these companies have experienced rationalisation in the industry, with its consequent effect upon the conditions of employment.

Owing to the bus workers' agreement terminating next year our efforts will be concentrated on the complete revision of working hours and the abolition of the "spread-over" system now in force.

TRAMS

The tramway companies have introduced more powerful motors, with consequent increased strain on the workers' mental and physical capacities, without compensating them by reduction of hours or increased wages.

The future task of our comrades is to organise for the standardisation of conditions of employment.

TUBES

The introduction of a new type of train has resulted in a reduction in the number of workers required, and our members have carried on an agitation for the retention of all staff and for increased wages.

After extended negotiations the companies have offered the workers a bonus system, which aimed at placating those engaged on the different railways under the control of the combine.

Our members have continuously pointed out the dangers of accepting the bonus system as a substitute for a reduction of working hours, but the workers' representatives have accepted this form of compensation, which is to the disadvantage of the workers engaged.

Between now and our next Annual Conference better and more efficient organisation must be our task in order to bring about the standardisation of conditions of employment for all tube railway workers.

SEAMEN'S SECTION REPORT.

Following our last Annual Conference it was decided to extend our work in the different ports of the world by making contacts with the International Seamen's Clubs visited by seamen.

At the Biennial Conference of the T. and G.W.U., held at Swansea last July, our resolution demanding the admission of

British seamen into this Union was defeated by a small majority. This was due to the efforts of the leading officials, who feared the inevitable struggle over the P.C. 5.

The recent crisis within the N.S.U. has had the effect of increasing the opposition to Havelock Wilson's policy of collaboration with the employers and the decision to loan £10,000 to the Non-Political Miners' Union.

We have distributed amongst British seamen in various ports 3,000 pamphlets entitled "Struggle to British Seamen," 3,000 pamphlets entitled "Havelock Wilson Exposed" and thousands of copies of the "International Seafarer."

The success of this propaganda among Seamen can be measured by the increase in M.M. membership, the waning power of Havelock Wilson, and the growing demand among Seamen for admission into the T. and G.W.U.

In view of Wilson's treacherous policy during the General Strike, and his subsequent injunction against officials using the funds of the union for strike pay to the hundreds of seamen who answered the call of the General Council, we must insist upon the Trades Union Congress expelling this Blackleg Union from the Congress, and instructing the T. and G.W.U. immediately to form a Marine Section, thereby linking up all transport workers on land and sea.

PROGRAMME OF DEMANDS.

- (1) 48-hour week at sea, 44-hour week in port.
- (2) Wages Firemen, £14; sailors, £12; stewards, £10, per 28-day month.
- (3) Abolition of the P.C. 5.
- (4) Wages to be paid from day of signing on until day of signing off
- (5) Weekly allotment notes to be allowed to dependents up to 75 per cent. of wages paid, seamen to have option of drawing balance of 25 per cent. in any port up to any amount due to them.
- (6) The right to form Ship Committees, with recognition of union officials and ship officers.
- (7) Abolition of the present Board of Trade scale of provisions.
- (8) Free passage to home ports for all seamen left in foreign ports due to sickness. Wages to be paid in full up to the time of arrival in home port.
- (9) Internationalisation of wage scale for all ratings.
- (10) Standardisation of working hours--48 hours to constitute

a maximum working week, with 44 hours in port and 36 hours for trimmers and firemen and engine-room staff

(11) Internationalisation of Manning Scales.

(12) Standardisation of working conditions.

(13) Abolition of all penalties for leaving ship in foreign ports.

T. R. STRUDWICK,

Org Secretary.

(12) BUILDERS

A draft "Constitution for One Union for Building Workers" was submitted to the Building Workers' sectional conference and endorsed. This will be printed in pamphlet form, and on sale at an early date.

(13) WOMEN

A report was given on the definite formation of a Women's Section of the National Minority Movement, and the following items were discussed: Industrial organisation of women, Trades Councils Women's Sections, and Women's Trade Union Guilds.

(14) CO-OPERATORS

Arrangements were made for giving the necessary increased attention to work in Co-operative Guilds in the coming year, and a committee elected to direct the work of the Section.

(15) MISCELLANEOUS

Meetings were held of the various trade union sections to discuss the various union problems. Policy was formulated and committees elected.

The Conference resumed full session at 12 o' clock.

(16) FRATERNAL MESSAGES

The Secretary read telegrams of greetings to the Conference from the following.

S. Saklatvala, M. P., Jack Williams, Forest of Dean Miners, International Propaganda Committee of Revolutionary Metal Workers, Earl Browder; I. L. P. Guild of Youth, Preston, Eden and Cedar Paul, George Hardy, Red International of Labour Unions, N. S. Lian, representative of the C. E. C. of the Kuomintang to the World League Against Imperialism, French Furnishing Trade Workers, International Propaganda Committee of Revolutionary Transport Workers.

(17) RESOLUTION ON INTERNATIONAL TRADE
UNION UNITY

Moved by Harry Pollitt, General Secretary National Minority Movement, and seconded by Sam Elsbury, London Organiser Tailors' and Germent Workers' Union

"This Conference declares that the Paris Conference of the Amsterdam International has again shown that international unity will never be achieved by the leadership associated with that International.

"It regrets that the General Council of the Trades Union Congress did not make a decisive stand for an unconditional world conference between the International Federation of Trade Unions (Amsterdam International) and the Red International of Labour Unions, and those other Trade Union organisations outside either of these internationals.

"This Conference believes that the resolution on the need for wider international federation which the General Council placed on the Agenda of the I. F. T. U. Conference in Paris, was a violation of the spirit and letter of the agreement with the Russian Trade Union leaders as to how international trade unity could be achieved, and that by reason of this resolution they have played into the hands of the Amsterdam leaders, who are only concerned with sabotaging any attempt at creating one united international.

"This conference calls upon the coming Edinburgh Trades Union Congress to insist upon such a World Conference being held. If, as a result of the report of the General Council, it is found to be impossible to organise such a Conference on account of the opposition of the Amsterdam International, we urge Congress to instruct the general council to take the following steps to achieve international unity.—

1. Arrange for a Conference between the British and Russian unions, so that these two sections, one the strongest in the I. F. T. U., the other the strongest in the R. I. L. U., shall themselves take the initiative in convening a World Conference to create a united Trade Union International.

2. In view of the growing importance of the international trade secretariats inside the Trade Union Movements of the two countries, the General Council should encourage the formation of Anglo-Russian Unity Committees between the various Trade Unions, such as miners, engineers etc., and ensure a real drive for world unity throughout all sections of the International Trade Union Movement."

3. In any campaign to secure international trade union unity the Anglo-Russian Committee should seek the co-operation of all national and international trade union leaders who accept the

platform of one united International in order that their association with this movement may get the widest response to the calling of a world conference to create a united trade union international."

The resolution was carried unanimously.

The Conference adjourned at 1 p. m

SUNDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

(18) RESOLUTION ON THE POSITION OF BRITISH SEAMEN
(placed on the agenda by the 1/224 Branch
T. and G W. U.)

Moved by Dick Beech (T, and G. W. U.), Advisory Council,
National Minority Movement, and seconded by
Comrade MacMillan, Glasgow, No. 9
Branch, N U R.

"The chaotic state of disorganisation that exists amongst British seamen to-day is of such a character that it becomes a source of real danger to the organised workers ashore.

"The direct responsibility of this lies with the leaders of the National Union of Seamen. For years past these professed Trade Union officials have violated every Trade Union principle.

"Their action during the Seamen's Strike of 1925, the treachery shown during the General Strike and the Miners' Lock-out, calls for the strongest condemnation.

"This Conference believes that the time has now arrived for the Trades Union Congress to take drastic action with the National Union of Seamen

"Therefore we call upon the next T. U. C to expel this 'company union,' and at the same time to give full powers and backing to the T. and G. W. U. to organise a Seamen's Section, this being the only method of preventing a complete disorganisation of British Seamen."

The resolution was carried unanimously.

(19) THE CHINESE REVOLUTION AND THE TRADE MOVEMENT

***Moved by Tom Mann, Chairman National Minority
Movement and member of the International
Workers' Delegation to China Delegate to
Pan-Pacific Conference; seconded
by M. Birch (W. U.)***

The Revolution in China first came vividly before the eyes of the workers of the west after the Shanghai events of 1925. The

shootings at Shanghai and Shameen by the British Imperialists and the General Strikes which followed, changed the whole character of the movement by bringing in the working class as an organised revolutionary force for the first time. At the same time the conditions of exploitation of the Chinese workers revealed by the strikes acted as a powerful shock on the western workers.

The fact of the Baldwin Government's struggle against the British miners, lasting for seven months, gave the Chinese revolution an opportunity to advance. The end of the Lock-out saw the beginning of British armed intervention in China and of the imperialists' attempt to split off the Chinese bourgeoisie from the revolutionary workers and peasants. At the same time, the British workers recognising their common interest with the Chinese workers in the struggle against imperialism, by the "Hands off China" Movement gave expression to that interest. The movement was sabotaged by the reformist leaders, who took sides with the imperialist government against the revolutionary workers and peasants of China, expressing their "sympathy" with the bourgeois nationalism of such murders of the workers as Chiang Kai Shek.

The Revolution to-day has reached its most critical period. The generals, from Chang-Tso-Lin to Feng-Yu-Hsien, have formed a united front of feudal militarists and capitalist bourgeoisie against the working class and peasants' revolution. The Trade Unions are being suppressed or weakened, the peasants shot down and their Unions smashed. Nevertheless, the social character of the Chinese revolution has gained such force, the agrarian revolution gathered such impetus, that we can now say that class issues are uppermost in the Chinese situation to-day. The masses are opposed to a united front of generals, "radical" revolutionaries, and imperialist troops and warships.

It is the duty of the British workers in these circumstances to support to the uttermost the struggle of the Chinese masses by a fight against British imperialism. If the British troops and warships are withdrawn from China, then the Chinese militarists and capitalists cannot resist the onward surge of the masses.

With the breaking-off of relationships with the U. S. S. R. by the Baldwin Government, the growing antagonism between Britain and U. S. A, the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance by a fresh "naval understanding," the danger of an imperialist war in the Pacific grows each day.

The Pan-Pacific Labour Conference at Hankow in June decided that capitalist exploitation and capitalist militarism in the Pacific could only be fought successfully by a united front of the Pacific labour movements, *in spite of the differences in race and culture at present dividing them.*

The interests of the British Trade Union Movement in the Far East and Pacific are immense. India, China, the Malay States, are all sources of cheap labour exploited by the British imperialists to the disadvantage of British labour at home. Australia and New Zealand are white countries whose policy and conditions directly affect the standard of white labour throughout the world, and because of the emigration question especially affect British labour.

The only solution for the problems of the Pacific Labour Movement is a united front against imperialism, which at present keeps them divided, culturally and racially, using the position of the Chinese and Indians to threaten that of the Australians, etc.

It is equally essential that the Trade Union Movement of this country should fight for world Trade Union unity. The Chinese workers are leading the struggle in the Pacific against war and imperialism. The British unions must support them in that fight, which is the fight of the workers of the whole world.

RESOLUTION

“This Conference of the Minority Movement, therefore, pledges itself to get the British Labour Movement to fight unceasingly for the recall of all British troops and warships from China, and calls on the General Council to call at once upon the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Committee to discuss ways and means of supporting the Chinese workers and peasants in their struggle against militarism and imperialism.

“This Conference reciprocates the greetings brought by comrade Tom Mann from the Chinese Trade Unionists and calls on the General Council to follow the lead of the Minority Movement and send a fraternal greeting to China.”

The resolution was carried unanimously.

(The speech of Tom Mann in moving the resolution is printed in a 32-page pamphlet, “What I Saw in China,” price 2d., obtainable from the National Minority Movement, 38, Great Ormond Street, W. C.)

(20) RESOLUTION ON INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION

Moved by delegate from the Ilford Men's Co-operative Guild.

“This Conference calls upon the International Co-operative Alliance to abandon its present futile policy of neutrality in international working-class affairs, and to take steps to link up with all existing working-class international organisations for the purpose

of maintaining and improving workingclass conditions, and to form a united front against international fascism and war."

The resolution was carried unanimously.

(21) RESOLUTION ON PUBLIC AUDIT BILL

Moved by R. H. Edwards (N.U.V.B.), Southwark Trades Council.

"This Conference regards the Public Audit Bill as another instrument of the Baldwin Government for furthering its attack upon the working class. Following upon the Trade Union Act, which prohibits the affiliation of Civil Service employees to the T. U. C., and having for its specific object the lowering of local government employee's wages, by relegating their determination to the verbal ruling of the Public Auditor, it challenges the very existence of negotiating trade union agreements. This Conference therefore calls upon the T.U.C. to take immediate steps to safeguard the principle of collective agreements between local governing bodies and their employees by instructing the unions catering for such workers to recognise only the wage schedules established by the union concerned."

The resolution was carried unanimously.

(22) ELECTION OF NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The following comrades were nominated by the Industrial sections and elected unanimously by the full Conference :

Miners—W. Allan, E. Collins, A. Horner, T. Nally, N. Watkins. *Metal*—W. Hannington, N. Shields, W. Stokes, J. Tanner, W. Ward. *Transport*—R. Cavanagh, G. Hardy, I. P. Hughes, G. T. McMillan, T. Strudwick. *Builders*—J. Capp, Alex. Gossip, A. Jackson, W. Rowlands. *Women*—Marjorie Pollitt. *Miscellaneous*—J. Baker, S. Elsbury, C. J. Moody, T. Quelch.

(23) FINAL REPORT OF CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE

The Committee Reported that credentials had been collected from 718 delegates. The following is an analysis of the composition of the Conference.

Organisation	Branches represented	Delegates present
M.F.G.B.	20	22
N.U.R.	13	23
A.S.L.E.F.	5	12
R.C.A.	3	4
T. and G.W.U. ..	29	51
A.E.U.	61	91

E.T.U.	..	..	..	22	..	52
Boilermakers	..	..	..	3	..	4
N.U.F.W. ...	..	..	..	2	..	5
Blacksmiths	..	...	...	2	..	4
N.U.V.B. ...	...	..	...	2	...	3
N.A.F.T.A.	...	..	..	22	...	41
A.S.W. ...	...	...	...	22	...	35
N.S.P. ...	...	...	...	16	...	22
A.U.B.T.W.	...	...	...	7	...	16
A.B.L.C.W.	..	...	...	2	...	6
Casemakers	...	...	..	2	..	4
Upholsterers	...	...	...	2	..	2
N.U.D.A.W.	...	...	..	7	...	14
N.A.U.S.A.W. and C.	...	...	...	4	...	7
Tailors and Garment Workers	...	...	...	4	...	13
N.U.C. ...	...	...	...	4	...	9
N.U.A.W.	...	..	...	3	...	3
Textile Workers	...	..	...	5	...	2
W.U.	....	...	...	18	...	31
Other trade unions	...	...	...	19	...	27
Co-operative Guilds	...	...	...	26	...	41
Trades Councils	...	...	...	20	...	37
N.U.W.C.M.	...	...	...	28	...	40
M.M. Groups	...	...	...	61	...	101
				<u>434</u>		<u>718</u>

The number of delegates present from the provinces was 217.

In addition there were present 45 visitors from the N.U.G.M.W. attending at the request of their branches, which are debarred by their E.C.'s decision from sending delegates.

CONCLUSION

After comrade Tom Mann's closing remarks the Conference closed with the singing of the "Red Flag."

Printed by The Dorrit Press, Ltd. (T.U. throughout), 68-70, Lant Street,
Borough, S E I, for the National Minority Movement,
38, Great Ormond Street, London W C I.

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WHAT WE STAND FOR

1. To fight against the capitalist offensive with its wage reducing and lengthening of hours policy, and its attempts to destroy trade union rights and practices.
2. To fight any tendency to leave or split the unions, and to wage an energetic campaign for a 100 per cent. trade union movement.
3. To show clearly to all workers the real role of the capitalist State in their struggles.

4 To fight for the unification of workers in factories, in trade union branches, trades councils, district committees, and to agitate for one union for each industry, a centralised General Council and a single Trade Union International.

5. To build up Minority Movement groups in every industry in the country in order that as a result of organised activity the policy, direction, and ideals of the Minority Movement shall be made the policy of the Movement as a whole.

Read "THE WORKER." Price 1d.

THE MINORITY MOVEMENT itself is not a trade union ; it consists of militant members of existing trade unions, who aim at making the trade unions real militant organs in the class struggle.

Membership.

The membership of the National Minority Movement consists of individuals and affiliated organisations. Trade union branches, district and national committees, co-operative guilds, works committees, and unemployed organisations are eligible for affiliation.

The individual membership consists of trade unionists who agree with the aims, objects and principles of the Minority Movement as laid down by the National Conferences. On being accepted, members shall pay the prescribed fee of 1s. per annum. Unemployed workers desirous of joining the Minority Movement shall be accepted as members on payment of an instalment of the fee (1d. to 3d) on condition that they agree to pay the balance upon resumption of work.

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Read "The Worker" Id.

The Minority Movement is not itself a Union but consists of militant members of the existing Trade Unions, associating together in this Movement to make the Unions real militant organisations for the class struggle.

All Trade Unionists are eligible to join the National Minority Movement if they accept the above.

Individual membership consists of taking an Associate Member's Card at a minimum payment of one shilling per annum.

Trade Union Branches or Lodges and Co-operative Guilds pay an affiliation fee of 2d. per member, per annum

Workshop, Factory and Pit Committees, Ship Committees and Unemployed Workers' Committees, Trade Union District Committees or Councils and Trades Councils pay an affiliation fee of One Shilling per thousand members per annum

Structure and Functions

INTRODUCTION.

What the M. M. is.

The Minority Movement itself is not a trade union. It consists of militant members of existing trade unions, who aim at making the trade unions real militant organisations for the class struggle.

MEMBERSHIP.

The membership of the National Minority Movement shall consist of individuals and affiliated organisations.

Individual Membership.

The Individual membership shall consist of trade unionists who agree with the aims, objects and principles of the Minority Movement as laid down by the National Conferences. On being accepted, members shall pay the prescribed fee. Unemployed workers desirous of joining the Minority Movement shall be accepted as members on payment of an instalment of the fee (1d to 3d) on condition that they agree to pay the balance upon resumption of work.

Conditions of Membership.

A condition of membership in the above Movement shall be (in all cases where applicants are eligible) membership of a bona fide trade union, or, in the case of unemployed workers, membership in the National Unemployed Workers' Committee Movement. The National Minority Movement does not recognise house or company unions as bona fide trade unions.

Affiliated Organisations.

National trade unions, branches and district committees, Trades Councils, Shop Stewards' Councils, Co-operative Guilds, and N.U.W.C.M. Committees in agreement with the aims, objects and principles of the National Minority Movement are eligible for affiliation on payment of the fees agreed and endorsed by the National Conferences. Each affiliated organisation should endeavour at all times to build up the individual membership of the Minority Movement within its particular local, district and national organisations.

AFFILIATION FEES

Individual Members' Fee.

The individual members' fee is a minimum payment of one shilling per annum.

Organisations' Fee.

The affiliation fee for trade union branches or lodges and Co-operative Guilds is two-pence per member per annum, and for workshop, factory, pit, shop, unemployed workers' and trade union districts committees or councils, Trades Councils and national trade unions, one shilling per thousand members per annum.

FORMATION OF GROUPS

General.

When five or more trade unionists in a given locality are prepared to become individual members, they shall constitute a Group.

Industrial .

When the applicants for membership are drawn from several industries they shall constitute a General Group. As soon as the General Group contains five or more members working in or belonging to one given industry, an Industrial Group shall be organised, e.g., Mining, Transport, Metal (Engineering), etc. If, in the first place, the applicants for membership are all workers from the same industry, they shall form an Industrial Group and be responsible for extending the Movement by enrolling members from other industries for the purpose of organising a General Group.

INAUGURAL MEETING.

Inaugural Meeting Election of Officers

The individual members shall come together for the purpose of forming a definite Group

At such inaugural meeting a Working Committee and Group Secretary shall be elected to carry on the work of the Group between meetings. A Literature Secretary shall also be elected to take charge of the sale and distribution of literature and to act as Sales Agent for the official national organ "The Worker."

Working Committee

The Working Committee shall, as far as possible, be representative of each important industry, and shall be responsible for carrying out the policy and leads given by the District Councils or national headquarters of the Movement.

Secretary's Duties.

This Committee shall see that proper accounts are kept by the Secretary, who must also be responsible for issuing membership cards to new members and for keeping a complete register of the Group. He shall be responsible for informing members when their fees fall due, and in the absence of a District Council shall forward all fees direct to the General Secretary at national headquarters in addition he shall report all work done, at least monthly, to the District Council, or, in its absence, national headquarters.

TRADE UNION AND FACTORY GROUPS, ETC.

Trade Union and Co-op. Groups.

As soon as there are three or more individual members of the Movement in a trade union branch, Co-op Guild or local organisation, they shall constitute a group in their respective organisations and endeavour to get all Minority Movement proposals adopted.

Workshop Organisation.

Where five or more individual members work in a given shop, factory, pit or concern, they shall as soon as possible form a Factory Group and consistently work for the establishment of a Shop Committee in accordance with the official decision of the Trades Union Congress at Scarborough 1925, which reads as follows :—

“ Congress considers that well-organised Shop Committees are indispensable weapons in the struggle to force the Capitalists to relinquish their grip on industry, and, therefore, pledges itself to do all in its power to develop and strengthen Workshop Organisation.”

Group Secretary.

All factory, trade union branch groups, etc., shall elect a Group Secretary, who shall maintain close working contact with and receive instructions from the Industrial Committee of the local Group and shall keep his Group informed regarding the application of all leads given by district headquarters to the Industrial Group.

MEETINGS OF GENERAL AND INDUSTRIAL GROUPS.

General Group Meetings.

Aggregate meetings of the General Group, which includes all Industrial Groups, shall be called at least once a month. These shall be called together by the Working Committee to deal with all general matters needing urgent attention.

Industrial Group Meetings.

Meetings of the industrial groups shall be held at least fortnightly to deal with the application of the Minority Movement

policy to the particular industries and unions; and shall receive reports from the Working Committee of the General Group and the district Industrial Committee. Industrial group secretaries shall be responsible for reporting to and maintaining contact with the District or (in its absence) national headquarters of the Industrial Section.

Delegates from Affiliated Organisations.

Affiliated organisation shall be invited to appoint delegates to the general aggregate meetings and meetings of the Industrial Group.

DISTRICT COUNCILS AND INDUSTRIAL COMMITTEES.

District Councils.

When the membership is sufficiently developed a District Council shall be established to co-ordinate all activities. A General District Council shall not be established without consultation with national headquarters.

Representatives.

The number of representatives on the District Council shall vary in accordance with the membership numbers: its structure shall vary according to the industrial character of the area. The chief aim shall be to obtain a Council as representative of all important industries as possible.

Election of Local Delegates.

The District Council shall consist of delegates from all Minority Movement groups and affiliated organisations in the neighbourhood. The groups shall be asked to choose their delegates, not merely with regard to local representation, but also with a view to obtaining representation of the main local industries. When the Minority Movement has sufficiently developed in any district to be organised in strong industrial groups, the District Councils shall be elected on a two-fold basis:—

- (a) Delegates from District general groups.
- (b) Delegates from district industrial groups.

District Industrial Committees.

District Industrial committees for co-ordinating the work of their Industrial Groups in a district shall be formed when and where the membership of the groups has sufficiently developed to warrant it. District Industrial committees shall confine themselves to coordinating the work of their members in the respective unions and industry.

What bodies may function in the absence of a District Industrial Committee.

In the absence of a district council, and until such is formed, the industrial Committee, or alternatively, according to local circumstances the Working Committee of the General Group, shall, in addition, perform the functions of the district council. Every effort must be made to extend the Movement in every area with a view to the creation of district councils. Immediately a district committee is formed the working or industrial committee will resume its normal functions.

Functions.

The function of the General District Council shall be to give direction to all the work in the district. It shall see that the national policy is applied by the general membership, the industrial groups and working or industrial committees, and that proper co-ordination of all Minority movement propaganda work is maintained.

General district councils shall have charge of co-ordinating all propaganda in trade union branches, the assignment of speakers or their transference from one locality to another, according to the requirements of trade union branches, etc.

It shall be the duty of general district councils to see that all groups systematically distribute leaflets, sell Minority Movement literature (with special attention to the official organ, "The Worker"), at all meetings, including trade union branch meetings, etc.

General and industrial groups or their Committees may not under any circumstances undertake campaigns without first informing the district council, where such is in existence, in order to eliminate the possibility of overlapping.

The district council, or in every instance the body functioning in its absence, shall control and issue supplies of application forms and membership cards to group secretaries. It shall be responsible for collecting all membership and affiliation fees from the general and industrial groups. Where a district council is not in existence, the working committee of the general group, or failing that, the industrial committee, shall function as a district council and forward all group fees and application forms, to the General Secretary at national headquarters. However, persistent efforts should be made towards extending and developing the Movement until the establishment of a general district council is achieved, in which case the working or industrial committee will resume its normal functions. In each case, before fees and forms are handed over, a complete register

of all members shall be taken from the application forms for the use of the groups, committees and district council.

District councils shall be responsible for the methodical supervision of accounts in the groups under their jurisdiction, and for the maintenance of complete registers of all members by the local group secretaries and the secretaries of the industrial committee and district council respectively.

District councils shall receive reports of work done from all local groups and com- national headquarters a report, at least mittees, and shall be responsible for rendering monthly, of all work done in the district.

Where Labour Party Left-Wing organisations exist, the Minority Movement district council shall endeavour to enter into relationship with it in order to ensure co operation of the members of each organisation on such bodies as Trades and Labour Councils where they meet in common, and in order, also, to render mutual assistance. Where desirable and possible a delegate from the Minority Movement shall sit on the Left-Wing District Committee and viceversa.

Election of Trade Union Bodies.

Industrial groups or committees and district councils shall jointly consider all elections of district committees of the unions and other official trade union bodies, and arrangements shall be made to secure support for Minority Movement members.

Local Trade Union Conference.

District councils shall control the holding of Minority trade union conferences in the district. Such conferences, general or industrial, shall only be held as circumstances necessitate. An annual district conference, however, shall be held as soon as possible after the National Annual Conference.

Local and District Elections.

The election of Group and District officials and representatives to the District Industrial Committees and District Council, shall take place annually at the first meeting in January.

NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL SECTIONS.

National Executive Committee

Each national industrial section shall be governed by a national executive committee elected annually at the Sectional Conferences which shall take place at a convenient time during the week-end when the Annual Conference of the National Minority Movement is in progress.

Election of National Executive Committee

The National Sectional Executive Committees shall be elected by organisations and Minority groups represented at the Annual Conference.

Function of National Executive Committee.

The National Sectional Executive Committee shall supervise and direct the co-ordination of all the work of the particular industrial section. It shall receive reports from district industrial committees and report regularly to the National Executive Committees on the activities of the Section nationally.

Sub-Committees.

The National Executive Committee of each industrial section, shall, wherever possible, appoint a sub-committee composed of members within easy access of national headquarters, such sub-committee to meet regularly and make decisions on all current problems and give direction to the whole of the work of its industrial section. The sub-committee shall keep all Executive members informed of all decisions and give periodical report of all important work carried out.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Election.

The National Executive Committee shall be elected annually at the Annual Conference. It shall be representative of all the important industries and sections. Nominations shall be made by the sections at their meetings and the National Executive shall recommend the number to be selected from each section. The recommendations will be based on the size and importance of the industry concerned.

The voting for the election of the National Executive Committee shall be confined to those organisations and Minority groups represented at the Annual Conference.

The National Executive Committee shall be the governing body between the annual conferences and shall supervise the activities of all subordinate bodies. The National Executive shall be responsible to the National Annual Conference and shall report on the work carried out during the year.

ANNUAL CONFERENCE.

When to be held.

The Annual Conference shall be held during the last week in August and all affiliated organisations shall receive two months' notice prior to the conference asking them to send in suggestions and resolutions for the preliminary agenda the Executive Commit-

tee to be responsible for issuing the final agenda on the basis of the demands sent in by the affiliated organisations.

Ample notice to be given.

Adequate time shall be allowed at the Annual Conference for the national sections to hold their sectional conferences and carry out the important work of their respective sections.

WORKING BUREAU.

Appointment of Members.

At the first full meeting of the National Executive after the annual Conference a working bureau shall be appointed, such bureau to consist of national officials, secretaries or national industrial sections working at headquarters, and such other Executive members living adjacent to headquarters as may be appointed by the National Executive Committee.

Functions.

The Working Bureau shall meet at least weekly, make decisions on all current problems and direct the work of the Movement as a whole. The Bureau shall be responsible solely to the National Executive Committee for conducting the work of the National Minority Movement between the National E. C. meetings. The Bureau shall see that the National E. C. is informed of all important decisions, the character of the work done, and the leads given by the national officials and Working Bureau.

NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL.

How Composed.

The National Advisory Council shall consist of influential trade unionists and trade union officials nominated from the districts and appointed by the National E. C.

When the appointment of Advisory Councillors is being considered it is desirable that consideration should be given to important strategical industrial centres, and they should be drawn from the important unions and industries in such areas.

How it shall work and when it shall meet

It shall at all times work in conjunction with and in an advisory capacity to the National E. C. The Advisory Council shall meet jointly with the National Executive in the event of national crises and when circumstances permit.

Members to sit on local District Councils.

Members of the National Advisory Council shall be invited to sit on the district Councils in their respective areas.

FINANCE.

Proportion retained by Districts.

The District Council shall retain 25 per cent. of all membership and affiliation fees to aid them in defraying the expenses of District Council and group work in the localities. All money due to headquarters shall be forwarded at least weekly and made payable to the General Secretary in every case.

Local Finance.

District Councils shall make recommendations to the general and industrial groups on the methods to be employed for raising local finance.

IMMEDIATE TASKS.

Getting its Policy Adopted.

The main function of the Minority Movement is to work within the existing trade union organisations for the purpose of getting its policy adopted as the official policy of the trade unions.

Work inside T. U. branches.

Every group shall not only press for the adoption of the programme of immediate demands, but shall also pay considerable attention to the revision of trade union rules and constitutions, the alteration of trade union structure, the election of Minority Movement members to official positions in the Trade Union branches, district committees, national executive committees, Trades Union Congress and Labour Party Conference, and as delegates to the various international trade union conferences.

How they can be achieved.

This can only be achieved by constant and unremitting work in the districts, by popularising the Minority Movement policy in all the trade union branches, etc.

Holdings of Meeting.

Groups under the supervision of a district council or industrial district committee shall organise mass meetings and demonstrations in support of the Minority Movement policy with a bearing on all popular issues in the trade union and Labour movements.

Attitude towards interested organisations.

Once an official decision is made in support of the Minority Movement policy the organisation concerned shall be invited to participate officially in popularising its decision by organising or at least participating in all mass meetings and demonstrations.

Build Up a Powerful Press

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National Minority Movement

Mineworkers' Section

Secretary — — NAT WATKINS

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For Year 1925—1926

Hon. President : TOM MANN
Gen. Secretary : HARRY POLLITT
Gen. Org. Sec. ; GEORGE HARDY
Nat. Treasurer : GEO. FLETCHER

Issued Oct. 1925

38 Gt. Ormond Street, London, W.C.1.

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Workshop, Factory and Pit Committees, Ship Committees and Unemployed Workers' Committees, Trade Union District Committees or Councils and Trades Councils pay an affiliation fee of One Shilling per thousand members per annum.

Name
Address
Occupation
Amount Paid
Date 192...

Minimum annual payment: One Shilling—Members of the Minority Movement are earnestly requested to make it a matter of honour to

take an active part in the work of the Union, sharing in the hum-drum detail work and demonstrating fitness for the more responsible official positions.

Read "THE WORKER"

One Penny Weekly.

IN EXPLANATION

The National Minority Movement hopes to become the Majority Movement by the conversion of the Unions, from being supporters of an industrial system controlled by Capitalists for PROFIT, to becoming supporters of a system controlled by the Workers for USE.

It is optional whether a member of an affiliated Branch should become an Associate Member, but it is very desirable he or she should do so, as our Workers in the Movement are drawn chiefly from these as the most devoted and energetic comrades.

It is our aim to enrol the workers as a whole for militant action, to raise the standard of life, to abolish poverty and to solve the social problem.

Read "THE MINeworker"

Centropress Ltd., T. U. 68-70 Lant Street, S.E.1.

P. 2140- (E)

An envelope with the following address on it :—

Postal Se
London W. C. 10 Nov. 27.

Muzaffar Ahmad

The Peasants & Workers' Party of Bengal

37 Harrison Road,

Calcutta.

INDIA.

P. 2141. (C)

A letter D/17-10-27 from S. A. Dange to Muzaffar Ahmed,
37 Harrison Road, Calcutta.

My Dear Muzaffar,

Your letter to hand. My manuscript of Jail affairs is ready.
Can you try it with some publisher there in Calcutta? Now Mirajkar
cannot go into it.

Usmani is still ill-rather getting worse.

Are you going to the All India Trade Union Congress to
Cawnpore? I wish to put in Jhabwala for next years' Presidentship
of the All India Trade Union with myself as Secretary, jointly to
N. M. Joshi. If you are agreeable, work out a group to go there.
I may come if money permits.

Sd. S. A. Dange

17-10-27.

P. S.

Can any group of yours go to Cawnpore for the All India
Trade Union Congress? Try if you can to shift the Secretaryship
to me, jointly with N. M. Joshi.

Nothing more.

Yours—

Sd. S. A. Dange

17-10-27

Wadekar Building
Girgaon, BOMBAY.

P. 2142.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF Gt. BRITAIN

(British Section of the Communist International).

Read 16 KING STREET, COVENT CENTRAL
WORKERS' GARDEN, LONDON..W.C.2 EXECUTIVE

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All Communi-
cations to be
addressed to the
Secretariat and not
to individuals

COLONIAL, DEPARTMENT

The Editor,
"Gana Vari"
37, Harrison Road,
Calcutta,
India.

17th November 1927.

Dear Sir,

Please find enclosed a copy of the message sent by the Communist Party of Great Britain to the Eighth Session of the All-Indian Trade Union Congress at Cawnpore. We shall be glad if you are able to give it publicity in your columns.

Yours fraternally,

A. Inkipin.

For the SECRETARIAT.

Seal.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

P. 2142 (1)

November 16, 1927.

The Secretary,
Reception Committee,
All-India Trade Union Congress,
Cawnpore,
INDIA.

Dear Comrade,

The Communist Party of Great Britain sends heartiest fraternal greetings to the representatives of the Indian trade unions

assembled at the Eighth session of the All-India Trade Union Congress. It has followed with close attention and deep sympathy the class struggle of the Indian workers against capitalist and Imperialist exploitation

It notes with joy the signs of growing strength and class-consciousness on the part of the Indian working class. British workers are filled with admiration for the heroic determination, courage in the face of suffering and steadfast endurance exhibited by the Indian workers in their struggle against inhumanly oppressive conditions. First and foremost, the communist Party of Great Britain desires to express its appreciation of the brave fight of the workers of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway and those who have stood by them in one of the most dastardly attacks that Indian trade unionism has ever experienced. The struggle of the victimized workers of the Bengal Nagpur Railway is a struggle against the deliberate attempt to destroy the Bengal Nagpur Railway union. The Communist Party of Great Britain considers that it is a blow aimed at the very existence of Indian trade unionism, and for that reason calls for condemnation and resistance on the part of organised Workers in all parts of the world.

The struggles that have been conducted by the workers in Madras and in Bombay this year have further demonstrated not only the growing strength of Indian Labour, but also the fine spirit of class solidarity that animates the Indian working class. The Communist party of Great Britain recalls with admiration that both in Madras and in Bombay strikers have been victorious owing to the firm stand taken by their fellowworkers not immediately affected, going to the length of readiness to call a general strike in sympathy with their comrades. These events have demonstrated that Indian trade unionism is no longer to be regarded as in its "infancy", and they afford the best possible augury of success in the greater struggles that lie in front.

During the present period of capitalist decay, the workers of both India and Great Britain are faced with the certainty of heavy attacks on the parts of British Imperialism, which hopes there by to stabilise its position and ward off the dangers threatening it. Already, in the General strike, and in the subsequent onslaught of Tory reaction, the British working class has had experience of the policy that is being consciously pursued by British imperialism. This experience proves that the masses of workers and peasants, whose exploitation forms the basis of the wealth and power of the British imperialist rulers, are faced with an implacable and ruthless enemy, and that they can only succeed in winning even the smallest concessions by a vigorous policy of class struggle. In order to achieve the goal of trade union organisation, the emancipation of the working masses capitalist exploitation it is necessary to secure

united action by the working class on an 'international scale. It has become abundantly clear that unity between Indian and British workers is a pre-condition for success in the struggle against British Imperialism. Accordingly, the Communist Party of Great Britain heartily welcomes the resolution of the seventh session of the All-India Trade Union Congress which declares that the latter desires the greatest possible solidarity and co-ordination 'on the part of the trade unions throughout the British Empire in opposition to the ruthless exploitation of British Imperialism. 'All 'class-conscious workers in Great Britain hope that such solidarity in action will be achieved in the near future.

The common bond that binds the workers of all countries is the class-struggle against capitalist exploitation, and only on that basis can the slogan of international trade union unity be successfully realised. The Communist Party of Great Britain warns the Indian trade unionists not to accept, as representative of the real desires and feelings of the working masses of Great Britain, the expressions of the 'reactionary' official leadership of the British Labour Movement, a leadership which was responsible for the defeat of the General strike and the rupture of relations between the British T.U.C and the workers of the U.S.S.R. In spite of these leaders, the masses of workers in Great Britain are steadily moving on the path towards more intense class struggle and more affective class solidarity. On that path they welcome as their closest allies and comrades the workers and peasants of India who are faced with the same oppressors as themselves.

The experience of revolution in both Russia and China emphasizes the vital role played by the trade union organisation in the struggle against Imperialism. The Russian workers and peasants have given the world a colossal, world-inspiration example of how it is possible, even in an industrially 'backward country; to overthrow the rule of Imperialism and to build the firm foundation for socialism. The Russian trade union movement was built on the rock of class struggle and its activities were a co-ordinated part of the whole political class struggle of the workers, and peasants for their emancipation. On these lines also the workers of India and Great Britain can be victorious. The Communist Party of Great Britain hopes that the present session of the All-India T.U.C. will result in uniting all sections of the Indian trade union movement in support of a fighting policy leading to greater strength of organisation and the registration of more successes and further advance in the near future.

Yours fraternally,
For the Central Committee of the
Communist Party of Great Britain.

P. 2142 E.

Address on the envelope:—

The Editor

"Gana Vani".

37, Harrison Road,

CALCUTTA, India.

Postal Seal

LONDON

17-Nov '27.

P 2144 (P)

A cover containing a piece of photo paper on which are printed the photographs of 13 persons in two rows as follows:—

Central Committee K. L. (B) U.

Chosen at the 2nd sitting of the (Joffri) 1918.

TOP ROW.

LEFT TO RIGHT.

(1) Zaks (Glad noff). (2) Kviring E.I. (3) Pyata Koff S.L.
(4) Stalin I.V. (5) Arten (Sergieff F.A.) (6) Yacobleff. Y.

BOTTOM ROW.

LEFT TO RIGHT.

(1) Slinko Petro. (2) Bazchetvertni (Michael)
(3) Schwartzs. (4) Zartonski B. P. (5) Drobnis S.
(6) Rent M. (7) Tarski.

P. 2144. (E)

Envelope with the following address:—

To

Postal Seal

The Editor of the

“GANA VANA”

MOCKBA.

37 Harrison Road,

3/12/28

CALCUTTA.

Saraswati Machine Printing Press, MEERUT, U. P., INDIA.

P. 2123.

No. 83/27

Change of address

Old No. 141/26

Vide New No. 119/28.

I, Muzaffar Ahmad son of Late Munshi Mansur Ali of village Musapur P. S. Sandvip District Noakhali at present residing at No. 37 Harrison Road, Calcutta and aged 33 & Muhammadan by caste declare that I am the Printer and Publisher of the Periodical work entitled the Ganvani, printed at Sree Saraswati Press at I Ramanath Mujumdur Street and published at No. 37, Harrison Road, in the town of Calcutta.

Sd. Muzaffar Ahmad.

Acknowledged before me
at the Calcutta Police
Court, this 11th day of
April 1927.

Sd. Illegible.
Chief Presidency Magistrate
and Justice of the peace.

Identified by me

(Sd) Illegible

Pleader

Seal. Chief Presy. Magistrate

11 April 1927.

Chief Presy. Magistrate Calcutta, 12.

S.—67. 1925

P. 2123 [1].

To

The Chief Presidency Magistrate,

Calcutta.

Sir

With due respect and humble submission I beg leave to state

that weekly Bengali GANAVANI of which I am the printer and publisher and which used to be printed at the Cosmopolitan Printing Works at 7, Maulavi Lane, Calcutta, will henceforth be printed at Sree Saraswati Press at 1, Ramanath Majumdar Street, Calcutta. It will be published as usual at 37, Harrison Road, Calcutta.

Pray that you will be graciously pleased to accord your sanction to the above change.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant

Sd. Muzaffar Ahmad.

CALCUTTA.

The 9th April,

1927.

SREE SARASWATY PRESS.

and General Printers & Publishers.

1, RAMANATH MUZUMDER STREET.

Calcutta..... .. 1927 .

I do hereby authorise Mr. Muzaffar Ahmad to be the Printer of Ganbani " " a Bengali Weekly to be printed at Sree Saraswati Press, 1, Ramanath Mazumder St. of which I am the Keeper.

Sd. SAILENDR NATH GUHA ROY.

Keeper, Sree Saraswati Press

1, Ramanath Mazumder St.

CALCUTTA.

8/4/27.

Ref No. 8/25

old 25/23.

Caste - Muslim

Age 33 yrs.

No. 141/26

I, Muzaffar Ahmad, son of Munshi Mansur Ali of village Musapur P. S. Sandvip Dist. Noakhali at present residing at No 37, Harrison Road, Calcutta declare that I am the Printer and Publisher of the Periodical work entitled the "Gana-Vani" printed at the

Cosmopolitan Printing Works at 7, Maulvi Lane at No. 37, Harrison Road in the town of Calcutta.

I do undertake to publish the name of the Editor in the column of the Periodical.

} Sd. Muzaffar Ahmad.

Acknowledge before me
at the Calcutta Police
Court, this 2nd day of
August, 1926.

Sd. Muzaffar Ahmad

Identified by me

Sd. Illegible. Pleader.

Sd. Illegible.

Chief Presidency Magistrate

and Justice of the Peace.

Seal. Chief Presy Magistrate.

2 August. 1926.

P. 2124.

The Change of place of publication oldno. 83/27.

No. 119/28

I, Muzaffar Ahmad aged 34 years son of Late Munshi Mansur Ali of village Musapur P.S. Sandvip District Noakhali at present residing at No. 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta declare that I am the Publisher of the Periodical work entitled the "Ganavani" and published at No. 2/1 European Asylum Lane & printed at the Sree Saraswaty Press 1, Ramnath Majumdar street in the Town of Calcutta. I do undertake to print the name of editor in cover of the paper. Muzaffar Ahmad

Acknowledged before me
at the Calcutta, Police Court,
this 13th day of June 1928.

Sd/- Muzaffar Ahmad

Identified by

Sd/ Illegible Pleader.

Sd/- Illegible.

Chief Presidency Magistrate
and Justice of the peace.

Seal. 13 June 1928.

P. 2124 (1).

In the court of the Chief Presidency Magistrate.

The humble petition of

Muzaffar Ahmad

of 2/1 European Asylum

Most Respectfully sheweth,

That your petitioner is the printer and publisher of the periodical named Ganavani formerly published at 37 Harrison Road, Calcutta and printed at the Sree Saraswati Press or 1 Ramnath Mozumdar Street, Calcutta.

That your petitioner now desires to publish the said paper at 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta and print the said paper where it was printed before.

Under the aforesaid circumstances your petitioner prays permission & order to file fresh declaration as the printer and publisher of the said paper.

Sd/- Muzaffar Ahmad.

11-6-28.

P. 2125 (C)

A letter in Bengali dated 15-12-26 from Muzaffar Ahmed c/o Mr. Abdul Majid, Dhal Mohalla, Mochi gate, Lahore, to Abdul Halim, 37 Harrison Road, Calcutta.

P. 2126-P.

To

The Chief Editor of "Langal"

37, Harrison Road.

CALCUTTA.

Dear Comrade,

We have duly received your letter dated April 15th 1926 in which you informed us about sending all issues of the "Langal" published till now. But we are sorry to inform you that none of them have been received here up to present day. We should be very obliged if you would investigate this matter in local post office.

We take note of your communication regarding change of name of Labor Swaraj Party.

On receipt of your letter we started immediately sending you our papers, bulletins, etc. as usual for your information. We also suggested to other scientific and agrarian organisation to furnish you with materials, pictures, books which could be of interest for you. You can ask us for any information, etc, at your convenience.

In the hope that present exchange of letters will develop into permanent correspondence and collaboration for our mutual benefit.

We remain,

With fraternal peasant greetings

Sd/- Voznecienski

Sd/- ORLOFF.

P 2126 [P] [E].

Superscription on the envelope:—

To

The Chief Editor of "Langal"

37, Harrison Road

Calcutta

Postal seal of:—

Paris 89

R. De V DUILLE.

17-6-36.

P. 2130-P.

A letter in Bengali dated 14-6-27 from S. N. Tagore, Berlin to Muzaffar Ahmad, Ganavani office, 37 Harrison Road, Calcutta.

P. 2130 [P] [E].

Address on the envelope:—

MUZAFFAR AHMAD Esqr.

Gana—Vani Office

37 Harrison Road

Postal seal of

Calcutta,

Berlin W.

India.

14-6-27.

P. 2131-(P)

Letter in Bengali dated 13-7-27 from Soumyendra Nath Tagore, Berlin, to Muzaffar Ahmad.

P. 2143 (P)

A letter in Bengali dated 27-12-27 from Soumyendranath Tagore, Berlin, to Muzaffar Ahmed, 37 Harrison Road, Ganavani Office, Calcutta, India.

P. 2143 (P) (E).

Superscription on the envelope :—

MUZAFFAR AHMAD Esqr.

Postal seal of:

37 Harrison Road.

Berlin S W.

Ganavani Office,

28-12-27.

Calcutta,

India.

P. 2145

THE CHENGAIL JUTE WORKS' UNION.

Head Office :—Chengail, P.O. Uluberia, Dt. Howrah.

President :

Secretary :

Mahabahul Hnq, M.A.B.L.

Bankim Chandra Mukerji, B.Sc.

Vice-President:

Latafat Hosain, M.L.C.

Organising Secretary:

Radha Raman Mitra, B.A.

Kishorilal Ghose, M.A.B.L.

Date: 8th, May, 1928.

The Post Master

Park Street Post Office.

Dear Sir,

I learn that a money order is now with you, value Rs. 50, destined for me. I cannot be present at 2/1 European Asylum Lane for some time. I shall be pleased therefore if you will make payment to Mr. Muzaffar Ahmed of 2/1 European Asylum Lane, instead of to me.

Yours Faithfully

Sd/- P. Spratt.

P. 2146.

Report d/- 8-10-28 submitted by P.N. Banerjee, S.I. D.I.B. 24 Parganas, regarding the proceedings of a meeting held at Metiaburz on 7-10-28.

(Printed Separately—Bengal Speeches).

P. 2147.

2/1 European Asylum Lane

Calcutta

23/11/28.

Dear Comrade

Muzafar reminds me that I promised again and again to write an article for "Kirti". I am afraid I have no time, and probably shall have none for some weeks. I am therefore sending a copy of a thing I wrote as a pamphlet for the U. P. comrades, which they propose to issue in Hindi. I am doubtful if it is

suitable for "Kirti", but still I am sending it. Then I am also endorsing a copy of an article I sent you some months ago, but what never reached you. Again I don't know if you will care for it. But my conscience will be a little relieved for a time. Even if I have not written an article I have sent something :

Yours fraternally

P. Spratt.

P. S.

The Reception Committee decided last night to ask you (Sohan Singh "Josh") to preside at the Calcutta Conference. You will of course be informed officially. Muzaffar is extremely busy of course, and cannot write any article now, he says.

P. S.

P. 2147 (1)

A typed copy of an article on "Russia and India".

(Vide Exh. P.)

P. 2147 (2)

A typed copy of an article on "The Power of Labour."

(Vide Exh. P.)

P. 2147 [B]

A cover having the following superscription on it :—

R 951
Asylum Lane
Calcutta.

The EDITOR,
"KIRTI" OFFICE
AMRITSAR
Punjab.

P. 2148 [P]

Weekly organ "KRANTI KARI" (Hindi) (Jhansi).

U. P. and Delhi Workers' and Peasants' Party, Allahabad.

President — Dr. Bishwanath Mukherji, Zafrabazar, Gorakhpur

Vice-President — Dharam Vir Singh, M.A., M.L.C., Taga Boarding House, Meerut.

General Secretary :—Puran Chandra Joshi M.A., 34 Holland Hall, Allahabad.

Dear Comrade,

Thanks for your kind letter. I will be glad to have the memoirs. You have written to me nothing about Basak's Books. Could you not send me some from them I sent you a list. Please do procure me some. I will pay the money immediately. Do send me another parcel of books.

A blooming friend of mine wants all the 13 volumes (except women) of the Vanguard Press, Soviet Russia Series, and Palme Dutta's Modern India. Could you ask the book-seller to procure them immediately and send them to me direct by V. P. P. Please do look into it.

Yes I have read all the papers carefully I got the impression thesis and discussions on International situation and Colonial Problem it is so rich and complete

You will write to me when you go to the Punjab. My examinations begin from 25 April I have not yet read anything I would like the meeting of the N. E. C (?) to be held early But Nimkar is absolutely dumb. I have not received a single letter from the Bombayists.

"KRANTI KARI" is improving in the note but the articles are hopeless. They will gradually improve, I hope. The safety valve is that they are well intentioned, though halting and ill developed. Persuasion! Dr. Mukherji wanted a programme, I got the Peasants thesis published in the "Krantı Kari" and the several issue gave plan of action. I have not heard from him as to what he thinks about it. Please do write to "KRANTI KARI",—about the Bauria Strike and ask Com. Hemanta Kumar Sarkar to write about the constitution etc. of the Bengal Peasants' League. Com Kadam had started a municipal Employees' Union and Com. Mukherji has been holding some meetings of the Peasantry.

I have got Spratt's former paper translated. A friend of mine is willing to get it published in May. It is a quite costly affair. He is a Land Lord young friend of mine, sympathetic—his estate is yet under court of wards. He wants me to start a Communist monthly—on ideological for Young Comrades and is willing to pay for it. I believe the time is quite ripe for the under-taking and if we are late the Social Democrats may carry the plan (?). You heard Chamanlal "I am a socialist but not a communist"—they are showing their hand and heading towards the crisis. We would talk about this monthly business. I believe I could undertake it, if promised help by you - if we do it at all, it must be very well done. The one great problem will be getting suitable articles from abroad. It will be invaluable since books are unprocurable and will become more so. Please think seriously about it.

On hearing from you and on having received the next parcel, I will send you the money for the 3 vols:— I badly need them.

With fraternal greetings,

P. C. Joshi.

P. S.

I read the other day a paper on the role of the Congress in the local Youth League. Jawahar Lal was there and a very interesting discussion! He afterwards told me that the Berlin Comrades had told him that some prominent Indian Communists were C. I. D. men! He says he has come (?) to know, in India that there are many more so than we suspect!! You may look to it and if you write to me early enough when going to Punjab and drop here for a day I should arrange a talk with Jawahar Lal. It will surely be paying.

P 2148 [P] [1]

KRANTI KARI OFFICE, JHANSI.

Dated 25/2/29.

Dear Mr. Joshi .

Yours to hand through Mr. Kadam some 10 days ago and in reply to your accusation I have to say that I do not understand in what way we have violated the party's policy in the "KRANTIKARI" whatever literature concerning parties principles and programme, we have, we strictly act thereupon - but we must remember that the masses have still a blind faith in the bourgeoisie and in their hollow policy - if we start attacking them virulently, the illiterate and ignorant masses will hoot us. So as a matter of policy we are gradually unfolding our programme in order to restrain their sympathy and to make them our subscribers as they are the only men who have become our subscribers up to now.

Please do send articles in Hindi as it takes time in translating your horrible writing, also guide us from time to time where we mistake. Also please send me the amount of printing bill as the man is badly pressing for early payment.

Yours sincerely,

Sd. Lakshmi Narayan.

P. 2148 [P] [E]

An envelope with the following Superscription on it:—

MUZAFFAR AHMED Esq.,

2/1 European Asylum Lane

CALCUTTA.

P. 2149 (P). Rajeev

2/1 European Asylum Lane,
Calcutta,

27-2-1929.

Dear Kishori,

I am sorry I did not keep my previous appointment with you. It was a rather vague one, if I remember. I am afraid now that I am engaged on Friday evening, but Thursday or Saturday will do for me. Huda told me this morning to go to see you on Thursday. Will that be satisfactory now? If not, you might phone some time during the day to Calcutta 3270, otherwise, I shall come about 8.

Meanwhile, Shall try to collect the material which I gathered previously on the Unions. I fear though, that you will be disappointed in its quality and quantity. I have not looked at it since the T. U. C. if I remember having been extremely busy in doing, as usual, nothing in particular.

Yours

Sd/- P. Spratt.

Superscription on the envelope

Mr. Kishori Lal Ghosh,

1 Kantapukur Lane,

Bagh bazar

Calcutta.

P. 2150.

TRANSPORT WORKERS UNION OF BENGAL INDIA.

Shanghai,

14th March 1929.

Dear Comrade.

We have followed the gallant struggles of the Indian workers ever since the foundation of the Pan Pacific Trade Union Secretariat

Several times we attempted to get into direct contact with the Indian Trade Union Congress, but without success. Because of this we decided to send Comrade J. Ryan, an Executive Council member of the Australian Council of Trade Unions as our representative to India, who attended the last Indian T. U. C. We thought his presence at the Congress may result in definite affiliation of the Indian Trade Union Congress with the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat or at least a decision to send delegates to our next Conference. The former was not achieved, although his attendance, we feel certain, will result in a better understanding by Indian workers of the aims and objects of the PPTUS, and we hope will also result in the Indian T. U. C. becoming directly affiliated, as we understand this question will be decided at the next Congress. Meantime we have set ourselves the task of creating and maintaining the closest relations with the various trade unions, and acquainting them with our movement.

In order that you may understand the PPTUS we cite the following:—

The Australian Trade Union Movement, sensing the danger of war, etc., was the first to move for the formation of a Pan-Pacific Trade Union movement in 1922. The Australians called a Conference in Sydney. but owing to expense, distance, and probably a lack of understanding of its aims and objects, the Conference was very poorly attended. However, the provisional meeting resolved to call a second Conference in Canton China, which was finally held in Hankow in May 1927. This was a real successful Conference with delegates attending from Japan, Java, China, Korea, U. S. S. R., U. S. A., England and France. Delegates from the last two countries attended because of the large interests the British and French capitalists have in the Pacific. The Australian delegates were prevented from attending by the interference of the Australian Government. Delegates from other countries arrived too late to be in attendance.

Since the Hankow Conference, the Australian Council of Trade Unions, the Philippine Labour Congress, the All-China Federation of Labour, the Japanese Council of Trade Unions (Hyogikai) and the Japanese Trade Union Unity League, the Korean Federation of Labour, the Central Council of Trade Unions (U. S. S. R.) the Trade Union League (U. S. A.) the British Minority Movement and the United Confederation of Trade Unions (France), have all become affiliated to the PPTUS. These organisations have a combined membership of fourteen million workers and the PPTUS is now the only body which is a formidable force, co-ordinating the efforts of the trade unions in the Pacific area.

Needless to say our policy has excited the hostility of the imperialists, especially the British, who still maintain the greatest slave Empire, and who aim to continue their domination in the Orient and Pacific area. It is in the Pacific that the economic and political antagonisms between the imperialist countries are greatest, and every indication points to the immediate danger of another world war centered in the Pacific. Every imperialist country struggles for control of raw materials, cheap labour and an extension of its markets. In this struggle England and the United States of America are becoming bitter rivals.

Many events prove the fore-going statements failure of the Geneva Armament Conference, exposure of the secret naval and military pacts of France and England, the passing of the U. S. A., Cruiser Bill, the strengthening of Pacific Naval fleets by both the U. S., and Britain the fortification and construction of the huge naval and air base at Singapore, the strengthening of U. S., fortifications in the Panama and at Pearl Harbour. These definite preparations for world war and many other symptoms prove the correctness of the Hankow Conference in its decision to mobilise the workers in opposition to imperialist war. They also pointed out the permanent danger of imperialist war on the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The Hankow Conference also set the PPTUS the task of 1) aiding to strengthen existing trade unions in every country around the Pacific, and organising unions where none existed, 2) to utilise the full force of our movement to raise the existing low standards of living in colonial and semi-colonial countries, 3) to fight against the horrible exploitation of women and child labour, 4) to assist the Chinese to strengthen their fight against imperialism, 5) to insist that the workers of imperialist countries assist the struggling colonial workers, etc. These tasks we have endeavoured to carry out to the fullest extent. This is the reason why the officials of the I F T, U. (Amsterdam), the International Labour Office and the British Government are anxious to organise an "Asiatic" Conference in opposition to the PPTUS. And we are sorry to note that the Indian TUC made the mistake of falling into the trap set for them by Albert Thomas, the Secretary of the I L. O.

However we are certain our enemies will not succeed, as already we have every reason to believe that every country in the Pacific will be represented at our Conference. The latin American Republics will be represented, and we are almost certain that every country in the Far East will have delegates present. It would be a great gap in the Pan-Pacific Conference if delegates did not arrive from India. Therefore, our Secretariat has decided to invite

the different trade unions of India to send delegates. We therefore extend a hearty invitation to your organisation to send

delegates to the II Pan-Pacific Trade Union Conference which will open at Vladivostock next August 1st. If it is impossible for you to send delegates due to lack of finance you could probably arrange with some other union or unions to be jointly represented by a delegation. This should be possible. To have delegates at our next Conference will be a fitting reply to the exploiters of the Indian workers and peasants who have finally decided to cut off Indian trade unionists from their fellow-workers abroad by passing the "Public Safety Bill", which, with the aid of the Anti-Trade Union Act., is intended to smash the Indian Trade unions.

At our February meeting last year, the Secretariat at the request of the representative of the Australian Council of Trade Unions decided to hold this II Conference in Australia. However, Premier Bruce's Government gave us notice by a public statement from the Premier, that Asiatic delegates would not be allowed to land in Australia, even though they were trade union representatives. We had no sooner commenced a campaign against the exclusion of Asiatic delegates when the latter banned our Conference completely. Therefore in order to meet in security we applied to the first Government of the Workers and Peasants, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and they granted permission to meet in Vladivostock, the Pacific port of the U. S. S. R., as we requested.

We feel sure you will endeavour to do your utmost to be represented and will overcome all obstacles that may be in the way of sending as large a delegation as possible. When your delegates arrive in Shanghai they can drop a note, announcing their arrival, to Mr. J. Davis, General Post Office Box 1501, telling where and how he can meet you, when further instructions as to the route to proceed will be given. Delegates should arrive in Shanghai about the first week in July. If you should send your delegates direct without reporting to Shanghai, you may go by boat to Dairen and by train to Vladivostock via Harbin, or by boat from Shanghai. Trusting you will immediately elect your delegates and carefully prepare their departure so as to arrive in time for the opening of the Conference.

Fraternally yours,

FOR THE PAN-PACIFIC TRADE UNION SECRETARIAT.

Sd/- M. Apleton.

Secretary.

P. 2150 (E).

Addresses on envelopes —

1 Mr. S. M. Shamsul Huda

2/1, European Asylum Lane,

Calcutta, India.

P. 2151 (P)

Telegram:—"KIRTI."

Telephone, No 714.

"KIRTI"

The only Labour Organ in Punjab.

The best medium for advertisement.

Commands widest circulation.

Amritsar India,

10-12-28.

Dear Comrade,

I have received all your letters, and am preparing my address. Hope to start for Calcutta on the 18th Bhag Singh will not make any objection for his name being used on the leaflet.

Feroz is here and has joined the "Kirti". Feroz's attending the Conference is uncertain on account of financial trouble. We hope to come in larger numbers and hope to collect some money which we will bring along with us.

Moreover, I will bring the report along with me and wire before start from here.

With best wishes,

Yours fraternally,

Sd. Sohan Singh.

P. S.

I have received the Punjabi leaflets etc.

P. 2151 (C)

Rejected

Copy of an intercepted letter from Sohan Singh Amritsar Dt/10/12/28 "Kirti" to Mr. Muzaffar Ahmed of 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta with Post Marks (1) Amritsar Dt/ 10-12-28. (II) Park

Street Dt/ 12-12-28. (4 P. M.) (intercepted by S. I. G. B. Roy.)

Telegram "KIRTI"

Telephone No. 714.

KIRTI.

The only labour organ in Punjabi.

The best medium for advertisement

Commands widest circulation.

Amritsar India,

10-12-28.

Dear Comrade,

I have received all your letters and am preparing my address. Hope to start for Calcutta on the 18th.

Bhag Singh will not take any objection of his name being used in the leaflet.

Feroz is here and has joined the "Kirti". Feroz's attending the Conference is uncertain on account of financial troubles. We hope to come in large numbers and hope to collect some money which we will bring along with us.

Moreover I will bring the report along with me and wire before start from here, with best wishes.

Yours fraternally,

Sohan Singh,

P. S.

I have received the Punjabi leaflets etc.

P. 1151 (P) (E).

Superscription on the envelope :—

Mr. Muzffar Ahmed,

2/1 European Asylum Lane,

Calcutta.

P. 2152 [C].

Re: Interception at Park St. P. O.

A cover addressed to Muzaffar Ahmad of 2/1 European Asylum Lane Calcutta with post marks (1) Sha Alm Gate Dt/- 18-2-29 (7-25 A. M.) and (2) Park St. Dt/- 20-2-29 (9-30 A. M.) contained 3 invitation cards (printed) issued to Muzaffar Ahmed, Abdul Halim and Mr. Spratt. A copy of these cards is given below:

The undersigned requests Comrade..... to attend the second session of the Punjab Naujawan Bharat Sava Conference to be held under the Presidentship of Comrade Sohan Singh Josh on the 22nd., 23rd and 24th February 1929 at Bradlaugh Hall Lahore.

Ishan Illahie

G. Secretary R. Committee

Punjab Naujawan Bharat

Sava Conference Lahore.

The cover has been intercepted today at Park St. P. O. at 9-30 A. M.

Illegible

20/2/29.

P. 2153-[P]

M. A. Mazid & Co.,

Import & Export

Commission Agents,

Mochi Gate, Lahore,

28-1-29.

Dear Comrade,

I am much pleased to read your letter of the 24th instant

and wonder that you still remember me. my arrest was effected without a warrant under Section 302 Indian Penal Code. I am still on bail and am not certain what will be the result. I am still in the dark whether the Government is going to make a trial or have me in the same suspicion. Ram Chandra and Kadernath Sehgal, and other Comrades are being tried under Section 124A INDIAN PENAL CODE, and the result you can easily know from the daily papers of Lahore. I myself, greatly regret that I could not attend the Conference for which I had made complete preparation, but unfortunately I was arrested the night previous to my departure. Comrade Gauhar Rahaman Khan is still in his native place. I often receive news from him and he is quite well.

With Comradely greeting—

Yours,

Sd/- M. A. Majid.

—:—

P. 2153 (P) (E)

Envelope having the following address on it :—

To

MUZAFFAR AHMAD Esqr.

2/1 European Asylum Lane,

Calcutta.

—

*Rejected and
D.P. work.*

P. 2154 (P)

3 Firozsha Road,

New Delhi 16-2-29.

Dear Mr. Muzaffar Ahmad,

I am informed in a letter I received yesterday that neither

Bankim Babu nor Radharaman Babu who were acting under your instructions has seen Kshitish Babu, and as a result, though bail order has been given to the appellants they could not be bailed out because the little money I could spare and have with me before I came here, is exhausted. I had also written to you a letter before I came here stating the situation as it stood. I am really unable to understand what this interference alternated with aloofness, means. When there is actual need for your assistance your party does not seem to be unanimous for help, while certain men are allowed to talk big in your party's name and with its apparent approval. Excuse me if I use strong language, but really it is time that your party came out with a definite policy. In regard to this particular matter, I must tell you that you take upon yourself serious responsibility, if with the money lying in your hands you allow these poor people to be in jail a day longer than is unavoidable.

Yours truly,

Sd/-K. Ghose.

Address on the Post-Card:—

Mr. Muzaffar Ahmad.

c/o Bengal Peasants & Workers' Party

2/1 European Asylum Lane

CALCUTTA.

P. 2155 (P).

WEEKLY ORGAN "KRANTI KARI" (HINDI)

JHANSI, UNITED PROVINCES AND DELHI

Workers' and Peasants' Party, Allahabad

(on the margin) .

President: Dr. Biswanath Mukherji, Zafra Bazar, Gorakhpur.

Vice-President: Dharamvir Singh, M. A. M. L. C. Taga Boarding House, Meerut.

General Secretary: Puranchandra Joshi, M. A., 34, Holland Hall, Allahabad.

My dear Muzaffar,

I duly read the papers but not the letter to the Independence League. Please do send it to me. I regret Com. Halim is not coming here. I am sure it would have done him immense good. It is a pity you too are so unwell. Why should you not come here for a Change and a rest. The Bengal Comrades must somehow manage to keep the party going—It does not speak well of our party that it cannot spare a member. I do know it a nearer friend than of a Comrade and I would welcome you with all its warmth. Please seriously think of it.

What has Com Spratt done for the tracts and pamphlets? Has he finished the ones entrusted to him Damn the Public Safety Bill, How treacherous and empty was the debate, Is there any way to detain Com. Spratt?

You can buy me books worth Rs 60/- from Com. Basak's stock there. I have got some 6 of his books. I will now keep them all and not return them and use them as mine. I will send you the price for them too. Get me all the stuff on China as much as possible on ideology and strategy, all Lenin and Trotsky. The book Coy. has not sent me the stuff. I selected them, ask them to complete my vanguard series and send me some on youth work. Is it not possible to get the annual reports of the Third International and the C. P. of G. B., as also of the young Com. International. When will you get me the monthly and weeklies and fortnightlies. They will train me in tactics. Will you please ask Com. Spratt to write to them so that they may send it on to me straight. I will pay the money whenever wherever they want. When I receive Basak's stock, I will send you the money. Please get it heavily insured.

You will please write to me what you think of the plan of action appended to the Peasants. This is to be published in the KRANTI KARI. I do not know what to do with the KRANTI KARI. I have been sending them notes, but he still indulges in meaningless interpretations. I will send him still more copious notes in the future. You too write to them. Have you not been receiving the "KRANTI KARI" regularly? Why not write something to them, the only way to correct him is to write for him. None but myself among the party members write for the paper. How can it be substantial. I am again writing very frankly to Lakshmi Narayan, let me see what he writes back. It is not yet time to leave "KRANTI KARI," We must stick to it.

Yes Dharamvir Singh accepted the Vice-Presidentship. He is a humanitarian, yet not very sincere. I am writing to him again today and will ask you to send him some books. In the next election he will have to be chucked out. He is however, harmless, a

silent sincere worker but weak minded—a personal friend of Dr. Mukherji. It is a significant Dr. Mukherji is silent about the thesis. I may have to run down to him shortly if he does not come here to see and know him as he is after the Conf: and especially when we have laid down a definite policy in our programme.

You did not ask the Bauria people to write to the “KRANTI KARI.”

I read Coms. Aftab and Nripendra have been arrested. Congratulate them for me. What effects will it have on the Party? What is the significance of this move? Crerar's speech was very threatening. It is a pity I have not been hearing anything from the party headquarters (sic) and am absolutely in the dark about the things being done or to be done. I also read * Desai is to edit a Weekly. Is it true? When is it to come out?

You will be glad to hear I have got 5 or 6 young boys of solid stuff interested in the work, and they are seriously reading the courses planned by me.

Please do send me Basak's books as also the magazines and periodicals. I have to educate myself systematically and thoroughly and recruit young workers for the party. we have none. Ideologically ill-developed I am a blot to the party and tactically ignorant a danger to it. My own task is so up-hill. U. P. Branch is so nebulous, loose and ignorant in short not worth its name. It has to be brought up to date as soon as possible, so that it may not be a drag on the rest—educational work, whosoever you look at us—is our first task. I would also be requiring a set worth 50 for a student here and another worth 30 to be paid to V.P.P. or advance. You will book the order with the Book Coy or ask them to order from abroad. I am herewith sending you the list. Both are sure cases and the books wont be returned, but they must get all of these. Could you not get me Roy's books on non-co-operation.

Would you like to come to Gorakhpur?

With loving greetings,

Fraternally,

Sd PURAN.

Copy of the book-list sent by Puran along with the latter addressed to Muzaffar Ahmed.

Marx Communist Manifesto.	..	...	3½d.
Engels	Soc from Utopia to Sc.	...	3½
Lenin	The great initiative	...	3½
„	The Proletarian Revo.	..	2/3

Kamenelf	The Dictatorship of the Proletariat,	2½d.
Marx	Wage Labour and Capital.	2½
Radak	Development of Soc for Sc to Pradia ...	2½d.
Philips Price	Capitalist Europe and Sov. Russia ...	5d.
Paul	Communism	7d.
Palme Dutt	Communism	
Goster	World Revo	1/1½
Buharin	Programme of the World Revo.	1/4½
Postgate	The Workers International.	2/9.
Trotsky	In defence of Terrorism. ..	3/6.
Postgate	Bolshevik Theory. .	
Marx	Fr. Revo.	3/6.
"	Revo. and Counter Revo ...	3/6.
Engls	Life and Teachings of Mark	3/6.
Hammond	The town labourer.	
"	The Village labourer.	
Starr	A worker looks at Hist.	
"	" " Econ. ...	
Bagdanor	a Short Course of Econ Sc.	
Bukharin	Lenin as Marxist.	

The Errors of Trotsyism.

M. N. Roy One year of Non Co-operation.

" Aftermath.

Stalin Leninism.

Bukharin Historical Materialism.

Russian Year Book.

Kropotkin Conquest of Bread.

" Field, Factories, and Workshop.

" Fr. Revo.

Vanguard Press Soviet Russia.

(1) Political Org:

(2) Village Life.

(3) Education.

(4) Art of Culture.

Morn Imperialism.

Purull & Hallsworth Labour conditions.

On Trade Unionism.

One copy each.

P. 2155-(P). (E).

Superscription on the envelope:

MUZAFFAR AHMAD.

2/1 European Asylum Lane

Calcutta.

Postel seal of

Katra

Allahabad

14 Feb. 29.

Park Street

Calcutta

15 Feb. 29.

P. 2156 [P].

Rejected

Letter dated 11-2-29 from Muzaffar Ahmed, Workers' and Peasants' Party of India, Bengal Provincial Branch, 2/1 European

Asylum Lane, to S. V. Ghate, 17 Dwarka Das Mansions Sandhurst
Road, Bombay No. 4.

(Vide Exh. P. 1335)

P. 2156 (P) (E).

Rejected

Superscription on the envelope:—

Mr : S. V. Ghate, B. A.

17 Dwarkadas Mansions

Sandhurst Road,

Bombay 4.

P. 2157-P.

Rejected

Letter Dated 14-2-29 from S. V. Ghate, 17 Dwarka Das
Mansions, Bombay, to Muzaffar Ahmed, 2/1 European Asylum
Lane, Calcutta.

(Vide Exh. P. 480).

P 2157 [P] [E].

Superscription on the envelope.—

Muzaffar Ahmed, Esqr.

2/1 European Asylum Lane

Calcutta.

P. 2158-P.

Rejected

1, Kāntāpūkhā Dādhē,

P. O. Bāghbazar.

28. 2. 1929.

My dear Spratt,

I returned to Calcutta last Saturday evening. I find that a letter addressed to you care of me has been lying here. I want to see you positively on certain very important matters including the matter regarding enquiry into the conditions of Trade Unions. Sometime back you fixed up an appointment with me which you failed to keep and then I had to leave suddenly for New Delhi. However, I hope you would write me back to say which day and time would suit you. I would be glad if Friday evening suits you. At any rate please let me know and oblige.

Yours sincerely,

Sd/- K. Ghosh.

Superscription on the Post Card:—

Mr. P. Spratt.

c/o Bengal Peasants' and Workers' Party

2/1 European Asylum Lane

LOCAL.

P. 2159 (P)

Dhakeswarī Cotton Mills Workers Union.

8-3-29.

Comrade Muzaffar Ahmed.

Dear Comrade,

I did not receive any further letter in reply to my letter from you since I received your last letter. I am these days busy in writing some thing and publishing some unpublished manuscript. In a few days I will have sufficient materials to give a start to the

V. L. Co. But as regards the company that Deben Babu is taking the initiative what do you think—I have sent him to you to consult with you in this matter, to secure names of—Mahomedan professor or writers of some standing and manage to start it quite in a business line. Please help him in this matter—I think you should take the charge of writing a 25 page book in “CIVIC” which will be introduced only this year in the secondary schools and is the most important of all subjects. So much of it I see in papers you had some peasants’ Conferences—if I had been fortunate in getting an invitation letter regarding this, I would have gone there. I wrote to say something of Mohiuddin. I cant understand what sort of a man he is—I arranged for him to see the Dhakeswari Workers and Scavangers—as he expressed his willingness to work in this line. When he has met them, talked to them and enquired about them, he was hopeful to make those unions cent percent unions but then he went home informing me that he would come back when he received my letter I wrote him some days afterwards when I have arranged for his food and lodging but nothing can be heard of him. It has become almost impossible to live with our family and to work among the workers—I see that both cant go together.

So I am waiting for something to turn these things over. Hope, you will know of it soon. With best greetings I am in regular receipt of “SPARK”—some dardies are enquiring of it whether they can get in exchange.

Yours fraternally.

Sd. Gopal Chandra Basak.

Please arrange to clear the accounts with our farm “Albert Library”.

P. 2159 (1) (P)

Dhakeswari Cotton Mills Workers Union,
HEAD OFFICE 61, NAWABPUR DACCA.

dated 8-3-29.

(1) Comrade Goswami.

Dear Comrade,

Not in touch for a long time (it seems to me so).

Sorry you did not write to say anything more of the unions have sent Deben Babu to you all for some works (starting bookselling and publishing company etc.) Has he spoken to you of it.— Please help him in this matter.

I hope to see you soon and arrange some business in some important subjects.

You did not say anything of Nerode—where is he now—I dont know why he promised to come to Dacca. Now I dont hear anything of him. Hoping to hear from you soon. With greetings.

Yours fraternally,
Sd. Gopal Ch. Basak.

P. 2159 (P) (E).

Superscription on the envelope:—

Comrade

MUZAFFAR AHMAD

Workers' and Peasants' Party of India

Bengal Provincial Branch

2/1 European Asylum Lane

CALCUTTA.

P. 2160.

February 14 1929.

Dear Friend,

Next March will be the tenth anniversary of the foundation of the International, and an exhibition is being prepared on this

occasion of which details are given in the enclosed letter which I have received and of which I am sending you a copy.

Will you please make special effort to assist in this by yourself and friends sending material. It could be sent to the W.W.L., marked specimen or something like that. You will note the statement re costs. When material is sent a bill can be sent with it and will be immediately attended to. Material should be so marked if its return is desired.

Yours fraternally,

'C'

P. 2160 (1)

January 24th 1929.

COPY OF LETTER

Dear Sirs,

We beg to inform you that on the occasion of the 10th anniversary an exhibition will be organised in *March 1929* illustrating the Revolutionary and Emancipation movements of the last 10 years in all countries.

The object of this exhibition is to present a detailed picture of the history of these movements since the world war in documents (authentic or copied) and other material, a list of which we herewith enclose.

We desire very much also to include in this exhibition all that it is possible to illustrate the nationalist, labour and peasant movements in Asia. India being one of the most important countries in Asia, we particularly desire to obtain as comprehensive material as possible from that country.

Herewith we enclose a special list of this material and we should be extremely obliged if you will endeavour to send us as much as you possibly can.

Thanking you in anticipation, we are, Sir,

Yours faithfully,

Encl :

1 list.

P.S. If costs should be involved,
we shall be glad to remit you same.

**SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY'S
BRANCH LIBRARY
BOMBAY**

P. 2160 (2).

LIST OF MATERIALS FOR THE EXHIBITION

PART I.

Historical Exhibition of :

Pamphlets, leaflets, handbills, posters, photographs, portraits of prominent leaders, caricature, monographs, special edition of newspapers, books various documents, statistical diagrams, flags, badges etc, regarding;

(a) Nationalist movement (Congress, N.C.O. movement, Swaraj Party, Charka and Khady movement, Republican movement).

(b) Peasants movement (Akali and Gurudwara movements, peasants rising like the Hoptah revolt etc).

(c) Youth movement.

(d) Labour movement (Bombay, Madras, Ahmedabad, Nagpur, Jamshedpur strikes, strike committees, trade union statistics, statistics on cost of living wages, conditions of labour and housing, worker's welfare, children mortalities, prosecution of the political organisations of the working class.)

(e) Various political campaigns (boycott of Simon Commission, boycott of foreign goods, campaign against Hindoo Moslem strike, amnesty for political prisoners, the story of the Jallian Wallah Bagh demonstrations.)

PART II

Press Exhibition of :

(a) Periodicals, dailies, weeklies, fortnightlies and monthlies, containing articles or notes in connection with any of the points mentioned in Part one. History of the periodicals, their circulation, political line, their role in the social and political life in the country.

(b) Placards illustrations, manifestoes, caricatures, posters, handbills, and other prints means of agitation and propaganda.

(c) *books and pamphlets* published in the following subjects: nationalist movement in India, labour movement India and the political movement in the West, India and Russian Revolution.

PART III

Art Exhibition of :

Reproduction of portraits, paintings, drawings, carpets etc showing events connected with the history of the Indian Nationalist and Labour movement and the everyday life of the Indian people.

P. 2160 (E).

Address on the envelope :

Mr. Muzaffar Ahmad,
2/1 European Asylum Lane,
Calcutta,
INDIA.

Post mark : LONDON W.C.

Feb. 14
6-15 P.M.
1929. B.

P. 2161 [P]

A letter in Bengali D/ 11-3-29 from Gopal, 61 Nawabpur, Dacca, to Abdul Quader C/o Workers' & Peasants' Party, 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

P. 2161. (1) [P]

Dhakeswari Cotton Mill's Workers Union.

Head office—61 Nawabpur,

Dacca

Comrade Spratt.

Dated — 11-3-29.

Dear Comrade,

I think I can speak to you as a comrade who can understand the grave situation that will be created by a break up in our party in Bengal.

There is something wrong in understanding among our comrades of both the groups. Please don't make a fool of yourself by being led by a false idea, and imagination of a grave danger of social democracy as analysed in the 6th World Congress of the Comintern, to be present among us.

Both the groups are *no doubt sincere* to the cause of communism and *proletarian revolution*, with of course exceptions of a very few who are real opportunists. Difficulty is that at the stage you cannot get rid of these opportunists who are working this split, but in a few months the struggle that will confront the party will clear them out. It may be ambition or something else that has blinded my comrades to know the real opportunists, if they had been conscious, they would have played with them tactfully, but not led away by their designs. So much of it, please take the initiative to do away with these wrong understandings. Because if it goes on, the party loses the best sacrificing element who can stand the several sufferings, and who can make a militant stand.

Besides, this group that will leave the party when left to themselves, will be an easy prey of both the bureaucracy and the bourgeoisie and the opportunist. So much today. Anxiously waiting for your actions-

With greetings-

Yours-Sd/Gopal

P. 2161. (2) [P]

Dhakeswari Cotton Mills'

Workers' Union.

Head Office:—61, Nawabpur, Dacca

10 th March 1929.

Comrade Muzaffar Ahmed.

Dear Comrade,

I am pained to learn about some disciplinary measures taken by you on Comrade Chakravarty. I cannot understand what is the matter with you all at Calcutta. Did we not call ourselves comrades? Then why these uncomradely actions?

Quader has started for Calcutta. You can know from him how we quarrelled on different matters but not of this sort. I know that you have no liking for Comrade Chakravarty, and if I am not mistaken I remember you expressed before me more than once your suspicion regarding his capacity, and then a few days back you wrote me about him, wondering at his behaviour in submitting some 60, 000 membership list of just workers (which you were sure that it was not so); from all these I deduced that there was some fatal misunderstanding which wouldn't be healthy to the growth of our party, and so I was thinking and trying to analyse the situation.

Here at Dacca I have sent some men to Dakeswari. I am also trying to re-organise the party, and now this blow? I am at a loss where these will lead to. What are all these misunderstandings for social-democratic mania or personal ambition. If you have taken Chakravarty as your comrade, you should have considered how he can pay the subscription as he is not earning anything for himself or if you thought he could have managed to get it from anywhere as on principle, he should pay then you could have informed me at best, and at any cost I would have managed it.

However, I think that there is yet time that we do not split. No doubt there are opportunists and social democrat elements in our party, but they are not comrades, Chakravarty and Goswami, and neither Kali Das Bhatt. As regards me I can say I have come to know some of them and we will manage to clear them out when we have made the party stand on a strong footing.

With greetings—

Yours fraternally,

Sd/- Gopal Basak

P. S.,

There is no denying that personal feeling is playing rampant, for if it had been a question of discipline, many other comrades

would have been taken to task-as many have not paid their
subscription (so I understand).

P. 2161, (P) (E).

Address on the envelope which contained the above three letters
marked P 2161 (1) (P), & P 2161 (2) (P) :—

Sj. Abdul Quader

C/o Workers' & Peasants' Party

2/1 European Asylum Lane

Calcutta.

Postal Seals of

Nawabpur, Dacca

11 Mar. 28,

Park Street, Calcutta

12 Mar. 28.

P. 2162.

An issue of "The Pan-Pacific Monthly" for the month of
April 1929.

P. 2162-(E).

A wrapper with the following address on it:—

Sec. Shamsul Huda

Bengal Transport Workers' Union

2/1 European Asylum Lane

Calcutta,

India.

P. 2163-(P)

The Workers & Peasants' Party of India.

17 Dwarkadas Mansions

Sandhurst Road

Bombay 4.

15-3-29.

Dear Comrade,

Your letter of January 14, 24, February 18th, to hand. Lenin day was celebrated by the Bombay Party. You might have read a report in the Press about it. An application has been sent to the League about affiliation.

Your party's (local) resolutions have been noted.

I was going to call the National Executive at Amritsar during Easter. But the Oil and the Textile situation demands our presence here by that time. Besides, there is the general meeting of the G.I.P. Jhabvala is out for mischief. Joglekar ought to be here. For all these difficulties I am proposing to call it during the middle of April. Do you and other comrades agree to this?

Please to prepare a report of your activities there since we left, and please send it to me.

I have written to Punjab and U.P., about the change in N.E.C., meeting.

I am leaving for Ajmere today, and will return in a week. Karachi wants to organise a branch.

I am reluctant to write here my excuse for not writing to you so long. But will fully explain the cause when we personally meet.

Greetings to Spratt and others.

Yours comradely,

Sd/- R. S. Nimbkar, General Secretary.

P. 2163 [P] [E].

Superscription on the envelope:—

Muzaffar Ahmad Esqr.

2/1 European Asylum Lane.

Calcutta.

P. 2164 [P].

Rejected

Letter dated 7th March 1929 from Sohan Singh Josh, General Secretary, The Punjab Workers' and Peasants' Party, to Muzaffar Ahmed 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

(Vide Exh. P. 485)

Received

P. 2164 (P) (E)

An envelope with the following address on it:—

To

Muzaffar Ahmad.

2/1 European Asylum Lane

Calcutta.

Postal seal of:—

Park Street

9 Mar. 29

Calcutta

P. 2165[P]

Bengal Textile Workers' Union, Dhamgaur Branch, Head
Office—61, Nababpur, Dacca.

Dated 16-3-1929.

Comrade Muzaffar Ahmed,

Thanks for your kind note. Yes, I have authorised Comrade Goswami to take any step as regards our party work on my behalf. I did so before I started for Dacca, as I found the existence of two groups in the party.

So much of it. I am of course 'perplexed' regarding the situation as you have defined. I am shortly coming to meet you all.

With greetings and good wishes—

Yours fraternally,

Sd/-Gopal Basak.

P. 2165 [P] [E].

Superscription on envelope.

Com. Muzaffar Ahmed.

Workers' and Peasants' Party

2/1 European Asylum Lane

Calcutta.

P. 2166 (C).

10 Croftdown Road,

London N. W. S. England

1st March 1929.

Workers' and Peasants' Party,

2/1 European Asylum Lane,

Calcutta.

Dear Comrades,

My organisation, the young Communist League, is anxious to obtain all possible information regarding the youth Nationalist Movement in India. We understand that a paper called the "Young Socialist" is published in Calcutta. Could you give us any information regarding the sponsors of this journal, and if possible obtain for us copies of past or current issues?

Yours fraternally,

Sd/- F. C. Mellonie.

Address on envelope—

Workers' and Peasants' Party

2/1 European Asylum Lane,

Calcutta, India.

Rejected

P. 2167 [P] 4T

A letter in Hindi dated 4-2-29 from Azad, Hindusthan Office, Andherdev, Jubbulpore, to Abdul Hamid alias Abul Hafiz.

P. 2167 (P) (E)

Superscription on the envelope:—

To

Muzaffar Ahmad Esqr.

The Secretary, Workers' and Peasants'

Party Bengal.

2/1 European Asylum Lane

Calcutta.

P. 2168 (P)

A letter in Bengali dated 29-11-27 from Soumyendra Nath Tagore, Berlin to Muzaffar Ahmed, 37 Harrison Road, Ganavani Office, Calcutta.

P. 2169 (P).

31-5-26.

My dear Com.,

Since my return from you, I did not hear from you. How are you and our dear chap A. P. getting on.

Com. Bag writes to say that the Central office was shifted to Delhi for some reasons and asks me to remit my quota to him there. I do not know why it was taken to Delhi. Anyhow I have remitted 50 Rs to him. Herewith a copy of a letter from elder brother abroad to Bag.

I forwarded Bag's letter to elder brother & hope it will open his eyes.

I am also seriously thinking of taking a trip to—and shall inform you when settled definitely.

Ask please A. P. to write to me about his welfare. Expecting your early reply.

I am

Yours fraternally.

P. 2169 (1) (P).

March 20.

My dear Com. Begerhotta,

Yours dated Jan. 3 reached me only a week ago; therefore it could not be answered any earlier. Pending this letter from me a provitional reply, has, however, been sent to you by the comrade who received your letter first. I believe that letter has reached you by this time. It contains a reply to the points raised in your letter. Besides, as soon as the news about the developments subsequent to the Cawnpur Conference reached me I wrote you a long letter dealing with political questions.

Let me begin with ratifying reply that Com. Mohamed Ali has already given to the question you raised. You can take that reply as reflecting also the attitude of the Communist International towards the C. P. of India in the process of formations. In the

near future some financial aid for carrying of the work will reach you. The literature will also be sent as soon as you will indicate some address. I should suggest that you open a book shop which place an order direct to the Communist Book-shop, 16 King Street, Covent Garden, London. It is a pity that you do not receive the Masses regularly. The circulation of the Masses is essential for the development of the C. P. Please get in touch with the comrn. in Madras and Pondicherry on this matter. The party must pay particular attention to this question. As regards educative small leaflets, it would be much more convenient if you could arrange for their publication in India. Just now I have a small book (about 100 pages) dealing with the actual political problems of India, it is exactly the kind of literature you need at this moment. If it is published abroad its circulation will be necessarily limited in India. Therefore I would request you to arrange for its publication in India. The manuscript will be sent by the next mail? It will be also useful to translate in one or two Indian languages: All informations for publication can be sent to the following papers which will obligatorily publish everything you send: the Workers Weekly, 16, King Street, Covent Garden, London. The Sunday Worker, 74 Swinton Street, Gray's Inn Road, London, W. C. 1, and the Daily Herald, 2 Carmelite Street, London. Articles are to be sent to the Labour Monthly, 162 Buckingham Palace Road, London, W. C. 1 and the Communist Review, 16 King Street. Constitution of the C. I. and other materials are being sent to you? In this connection I must draw your attention to the suggestion of Com. Mahomed Ali about the relation with the C. I. The Statements made repeatedly by Satyabakta as well as by Mohan and Singaravelu at Cawnpur made very bad impression here. In one of the articles sent to you along with my last letter the political side of the question has been publicly dealt with. I hope this question will be taken in the next meeting of the Central Committee and a resolution will be passed repudiating the previous statements. The same meeting would also resolve to affiliate the C. P. of India with the C. I. and officially communicate the latter the resolution. The formal affiliation cannot be effected until the next World Congress to which a delegation of the party must be sent. There will be plenty of time for it. Meanwhile it will be very useful if at least one comrade can come out with full reports. This will give us the opportunity of organising connections and political questions.

Now I pass on to our political task. You have defined our task very correctly. It is to organise Com factions inside the A. I. C. C. and the T. U. C. The advance made in this direction is indeed satisfactory. But you would not have any illusions. It will not be possible for the communists to be a majority in the Congress Committee. If it were possible, the Congress would not be a nationalist organisation. It will be the party of the workers and peasant. The

nationalist movement is composed of classes which will never be represented by the communists. Our relation with those classes (engaged in struggle against the foreign rule) will be that of united front in common fight. The suitable way to penetrate into the Congress will be the organisation of a republican wing of the nationalist movement.

According to your letter, a republican wing inside the Congress is in the process of formation. The communists must be the most active and if possible leading members of this wing which will endeavour to capture the leadership of the entire national movement. The ultimate success in this work is guaranteed by history: The growth of communist influence over the T. U. C. will be conditional upon the work that the communists will do in the trade unions among the rank and file of the working class. Every communist must be an active trade union worker, and will endeavour to liberate the labour movement from the harmful influence of nationalist politicians like Lajpat Rai, Motilal Nehru etc. and reactionary reformers like Andrews. The advanced section of the workers should be held to assume the leadership of the unions and the T. U. C. as against humanitarian intellectuals like Joshi, Jhabvala etc. and careerists like Chaman Lal.

You write "we have captured 40 seats on the A. I. C. C." Who are the people? Are they all communists and belong to the C. P. C. or are they members of the Republican wing? Then you write that the Central Committee of the C. P. is composed of members of the A. I. C. C. and of the T. U. C. Executive: I would be very glad to know who are these comrades: I need not remind you that the C. P. is the party of the proletariat. It is not an organisation which stands over and above the working class and endeavours to help it. Therefore, the majority of the members of the C. P. must be recruited from the working class. I venture to sound another warning: While the communists will be members of the republican party and try to be on its leading organs, republicans with communists sympathy should not be on its leading organs, republicans with communists sympathy should not be allowed in the C. P. much less to be members of the Communist Executive. Judging from their pronouncement I am inclined to count Hazarat and Azaad Sobhani as republicans with communists sympathies. If it is so it will be a great harm to the working class to have such men as leader of the C. P. I will await further information in these matters.

The draft programme and constitution you mention did not reach me? I am afraid you forgot to attach them. I would recommend that the adoption of the maximum programme of the C. P. be postponed for the time being. The following are my suggestions as regards the minimum programme, 1—Complete National Independence. (It is not necessary to stipulate anything about the means),

2—Federated Democratic Republic; 3—Universal Suffrage; 4—Guarantee for National minorities (solution of the Communal question on the basis of democratic rights), Abolition of Landlordism, 6—Nationalisation of Land; land will be owned only by those cultivating it; 7 Minimum wages and 8 hour day for the workers, 8—Progressive Social Legislation, 9—Free and Compulsory Primary education; 10—Freedom of Press, Speech and Assembly; 11—Equal Political and Civic rights for women; Nationalisation of the public Utilities. The minimum programme will be so framed as may assure its acceptance by the Republican nationalists. The programme outlined above is an advanced republican programme. The C. P. shall make a united front with the nationalist movement on this basis.

As regards the constitution of the C. P. my suggestions are: the C. P. is the party of the proletariat, only those fully subscribing to the programme of the Social Revolution are eligible to the membership of the C. P., people belonging to the possessing classes will not be admitted to the C. P.; each member of the party will devote a part of this time every day for party work; the members of the party are obliged to acquire knowledge of the theories and principles of Communism—they must study the work of Marx, Engels and Lenin, the qualification of non-proletarian elements for admission into the party will be their knowledge of Marxism, Revolutionary character testified by practical work and complete repudiation (ideological and practical) of all connection with their class of origin, members will pay a monthly due of—, three month's default will cause lapse of membership, the Central Committee will be elected on the principle of centralisation not territoriality, it will be elected from the floor of the Congress and will be the highest organ of the party until the next Congress. The party will maintain the Foreign Bureau as the ideological centre composed of the comrades who are not in a position to work inside the country. the Foreign Bureau will be representative of the Central Committee and will act as the organ through which the international relations of the party will be maintained, the C. P. of India will be a section of the Communist International.

It is needless to say that these suggestions as regards the programme and constitution of the party are hastily made and are not to be taken literally. Besides, for the time being our programme and constitution should be necessarily provisional. They will be crystallised as the party grows.

I find it necessary to draw your attention to another very important question concerning the life of the party. It is only in consequence of accidental combination of events that attempts to organise a legal C.P. are tolerated by our rulers. We must not have any illusion on this score. We must be prepared for attack any moment and organise the party in such a way that an attack on

legality will not destroy the party. In other words an illegal organisation should be built up side by side with the legal apparatus. Membership list and names of the members of the Central Committee should not be published, nor should they be kept in the open office of party. Apart from the office-bearers and members of the C.C. who will work legally, there must be another set of leading workers whose names will be kept strictly secret. These are only a few suggestions. Will write more on this question later on.

An organ is the most important thing? With the press at Madras it will be possible to start a small weekly. The articles in the Masses can be used as the material for the legal organ. We will also send in stuff from here. Leaflets and small pamphlets dealing with the burning question of the workers' life (wages, hours of work, working and living conditions, bad treatment, indebtedness etc. etc.) in simple vernacular should be printed and circulated in the large industrial centres. This will lay the foundation of our work. Members of the C.P. must be largely recruited from the industrial workers.

The boys, who are educated in Moscow, will be very useful for such propaganda and agitation. We will need many more such workers and much better educated in communist theories and acquainted with the experience of the international labour movement. As you know Moscow provides unlimited possibilities for such training. One of the immediate tasks of the C.P. should be sent out a new batch of students. They should carefully be selected. That is not necessary that they are communists. Young men with general revolutionary trend will be the best material. Please consult with the comrade at Pondicherry about the particulars of the matter. We can accommodate 20 or more students. Try to send a batch as soon as possible. If they can come legally, that is with passport, say to Germany or England, the money for third class passage will be sent. They will be fully taken care of when here.

I must finish now. Let me wish you all success in the very difficult task you have undertaken and let me assure you of the fullest help and cooperation from my part.

With fraternal greetings,

(Sd) R.C.L. Sharma.

for his elder.

(Note) The idea of forming a people's party was criticized by me in my previous letters to some of my friends. Now I am asking my words back.

(Sd) R.C.L.

P. 2169 [PE].

REGISTERED LETTER

The address must be written on this side.

Muzaffar Ahmad,
c/o Langal,
37, Harrison Road,
Bow Bazar P O.,
Calcutta.

R. 933 Flower Bazar

P. 2170.

THE YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE		
OF		
GREAT BRITAIN		
(British Section of the Young Communist International)		
38, GREAT ORMOND STREET,		
OFFICIAL ORGAN "THE YOUNG WORKER" Fortnightly One Penny. Children's Paper : "THE YOUNG COMRADE" Monthly Halfpenny	LONDON, W. C. 1. <i>Telephone—Museum 5354.</i>	All communications to be addressed to the League and not to individuals. EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE WILLIAM RUST Secretary

April 23rd 1926.

The Editor,

“Langlal”

37 Harrison Road,

CALCUTTA.

Dear Comrade,

We learn from the current issue of the Indian Communist Party organ “Masses” of the publication of your paper “Langlal” and the activity which you are endeavouring to carry on among the peasants of India.

The question of the struggle of the mass of Indian peasantry is of vital importance to the British working class in its struggle to overthrow capitalism.

We are very keen on effecting a closer relationship with the Indian young peasants conditions and struggle, this is important in carrying on the fight against British Imperialism, working for a closer unity between British and Indian workers.

We shall be pleased therefore to exchange our paper “The Young Worker” regularly for a copy of your paper “Langlal”. Furthermore we shall be greatly obliged if you will supply us with first hand information of the conditions, wages etc. of the young peasants.

On our side we shall be pleased to render any assistance which you desire.

Please find copy of “The Young Worker” enclosed.

(Sd.) A. PEARCE.

Asst. Secretary.

Fraternal Greetings,

in your efforts among the Indian peasants.

(Impression of Rubber Stamp):—

YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE

OF GREAT BRITAIN

Executive

Committee.

—o—

P.2170 (D).

An issue of "YOUNG WORKER" Vol. 3, No. 26, dated
April 17, 1926.

P. 2170 (E).

An envelope having the following address:—

The Editor,

"LANGLAL"

37 Harrison Road,

CALCUTTA.

P. 2171

No. 406

20/v. 26. TO THE EDITOR OF "LANGAL"

37. HARRISON ROAD

CALCUTTA (INDIA).

Dear Sir.

We send you herewith enclosed a copy of the open letter of the Presidium of Farmers and Peasants International (Krestintern) to the Member of our Presidium and Member of Executive Committee of Kuomintang Party Hu—Han, Min-kindly requesting you to give bright publicity of this letter in your paper.

We remain, Dear Sir,

your obedient servants.

CHIEF OF EASTERN AND

COLONIES SECTION OF
KRESTINTERN (VOZNECIENSKY)
ORGANISING SECRETARY (ORLOFF)

P. 2171 (1)

OPEN LETTER TO MEMBER OF PRESIDIUM OF THE
FARMERS PEASANTS INTERNATIONAL AND MEM-
BER OF THE C. C. OF THE KUOMINTANG PARTY,
COMRADE HU-HAN-MIN.

Dear Comrade,

During your sojourn in Moscow we frequently discussed at length the tasks of the Kuomintang Party and the significance of the Chinese peasantry in the Chinese national-revolutionary movement. We reached agreement in our views on the main problem of estimating general conditions in China and on the very important role which the Chinese farmers-peasants must play in the struggle for the national emancipation of China, for the establishment of a national government supported by the wide strata of the toiling population.

The experience of the revolutionary movement teaches us that an under-estimation of the farmers peasants in the struggle for power, particularly in agrarian countries, is one of the greatest mistakes. On the contrary, however, to understand the farmers peasants, to be able to sense their vital demands and to formulate simply and clearly these demands and put them into force, means bringing over the farmers-peasants to our side; and an active participation of the Chinese farmers-peasants in the struggle for freedom and the land in alliance with the workers, petty and middle urban strata and the advanced intellectuals, is a guarantee of the success of the revolutionary movement. China is above all a farmers-peasants country. The farmers peasants in China have still greater need of the land than the farmers-peasants in any other country. The land problem is the most acute and sorest problem of Chinese life. The Chinese farmer-peasant suffers not only from a shortage of land and is exploited by his landowners, gentry and land monopolists, but he is strangled by the Chinese military cliques who rob

and impose taxes on him for the maintenance of armies of more than two millions which for scores of years have been destroying the peasantry by internecine warfare. He is suffocated by foreign imperialism squeezing out of the population through mercenary, bribe, devouring dubans and officials, all kinds of intolerable taxes of the payment of loans and contributions to the foreign robbers, the last sap is being sucked out of him by all possible monopolies (salt, etc) the profits from which go into the pockets of the imperialists, while the country is flooded with foreign goods, strangling its economic development, ruining the small handicraft industry which is an auxiliary source of existence for a tremendous section of the impoverished rural population; he is also robbed by the provincial dubans, who restrict the exchange of the products by customs barriers, he is suffocated by the foreign capitalists who with the assistance of the militarists are establishing through the compradores, the lowest prices for products of the Chinese countryside. This alliance of the foreign and local robbers rests with its entire weight particularly on the farmers-peasants.

Your task is to explain to the farmers-peasants the connection between the comprador, the local exploiter, the local military cliques and foreign imperialism. The explanation of this radical evil of Chinese life, the organisation of the farmers-peasants and increase of work for the formation of mass farmers-peasants organisations in all provinces of China on the basis of a platform, comprehensible for the farmers-peasants masses, including all the basic demands put forward by the farmers-peasants themselves—that is what we consider the immediate and most important task of the national-revolutionary party, Kuomintang, in its struggle for the emancipation of the Chinese people. Support of the farmers-peasants demands on the part of the working class, intellectuals, petty and middle strata of the urban population, will lead to a rapid rising of the activity of the wide farmers-peasants masses and the formation of a united front of the toilers of all China for the struggle against military cliques and imperialists.

The national-revolutionary movement in China, supported by the national government of toilers in Canton, has found an ally in the Peoples' Armies in Central and Northern China. Fighting for the national liberation of China against the reactionary dubans, puppets of the imperialists, they have played an important role and have more and more attracted the sympathy of the population on to their side. However, their leaders did not make determined attempts to express the interests of the farmers-peasants masses and strengthen thereby their condition. The Peoples' Armies facilitated considerably the difficult position of the masses of the people. If their leaders had gone further and backed the farmers-peasants, i. e. if they had endeavoured to have the farmers-peasants free from intolerable taxes, given them the land or at least lower rents, if they had abolished

the hereditary exaction of debts and arrears abolished the *likin* in their district & commenced a decisive struggle against arbitrary measures with respect to the peasants, taking the peasants under their protection—if they had done all these things, there would not have been any force in China which could have opposed them. The many millions of peasant masses the whole of peasants China would have been with the People's Armies.

To a certain degree one should take a lesson out of the conduct of the workers' and farmers-peasants' Red Army in Russia during the time of the civil war. Then the Red Army, hungry and ragged, and badly armed, drove out the better armed armies of the imperialists and smashed the reactionary generals. This happened because the red army won the confidence of the farmers-peasants. The farmers-peasants followed it because they saw in it primarily a defender of their vital interests. The red army defended the farmers-peasants from the landowners, whose lands had been seized by the farmers-peasants without compensation and had been made the property of the entire people. It defended them from the burden of foreign debts and fought for the power of the farmers-peasants and workers not in words but in deeds. From this a lesson also arises for the Chinese revolutionary movement: by defending the interests of the farmers-peasants masses in deeds, you will be able to draw them into the revolutionary struggle. Thus you will attract to your side innumerable farmers-peasants self-defence detachments, detachments of innumerable farmers-peasants, secret societies, and attain all-round the support of the farmers peasants masses.

The fact that in different parts of China, in Honang Hunan, Shangai, Shantung, first here then there spontaneously, even behind the lines of Wu-Pei-Fu and even in Manchuria, in provinces where the expression of the national will is bloodily suppressed by the Imperialists, farmers-peasants risings are breaking out, proves that the farmers-peasants are not reconciled to oppression and are themselves entering the struggle.

The People's Armies and surrounded by the sympathy of all conscious elements of revolutionary Chinese society, but not disposing of mass action and preliminary organised support of the many millions of the farmers-peasants masses, were compelled to yield to the technical superiority of the united forces of the reactionaries, the vassals of Japanese, American and British imperialists.

Peking is seized by the Mukden clique. Negotiations are proceeding between Chang-Tse-lin and Wu-Pei Fu to distribute the loot of China. Their troops are behaving in the most putrageous manner. The people's Armies although not conquered, no longer play the former role in the revolutionary movement of China.

In such a situation the tremendous significance of Canton and the Kuomintang Party, already of such importance apart from

these things, grown still more and united and organises all the revolutionary forces against the onslaught of the reactionaries and imperialists.

In Canton the Kuomintang Party has been able to win the confidence of the farmers-peasants and by forming a close alliance of all toiling strata of town and villages, the Kuomintang Party has converted Canton into the massable citadel of the Chinese Revolution.

The subsequent strengthening of the Canton Government lies in extending and intensifying the alliance of workers, petty and middle strata of the urban population with the farmers-peasants. A guarantee for the realisation of this alliance is the most rapid realization of the most important demands of the farmers-peasants.

It is clear that reaction will not be reconciled with the existing revolutionary base in Canton. The Chinese national revolutionary movement is entering on to a more complicated stage of its development. One cannot close one's eyes to the dangers now confronting it.

But it would be the greatest of errors to exaggerate this danger, to lose faith in the strength of the Chinese Revolution, to fall into a panic in face of the temporary successes of reaction.

The various temporary successes of reaction and of imperialism on which they are sustained contain themselves, deep contradictions which herald in advance the inevitable collapse of the reactionary and imperialists forces. Profound contradictions are consuming the foreign imperialists. Whereas American capital in its aspirations for its economic enslavement of China is endeavouring to form a central reactionary government in China, supported by the big Chinese bourgeoisie, the British and Japanese capitalists can compete with the Americans and amongst themselves only by means of cutting up China into "spheres of influence" under the control of their hirelings, the Chinese militarists. From this the dissension amongst the imperialists themselves, which weakens them, is inevitable. The contradictions between the various reactionary factors of China. Wu-Pei-Fu and Chan-Tse-Lin and their supporters are no less marked.

These contradictions will undoubtedly break the united front of the reactionary forces.

On the other hand we see a definite consolidation of the national-revolutionary government of Canton and the desire to rally to it, on the part of a number of Provinces to the South of Yanzu. Canton and its allies, in the struggle for the emancipation of China, against imperialism and reaction is assured the support of the toilers of the whole world.

Under such conditions, Kuomintang, as the biggest and strongest revolutionary Party in China, should respond to the partial and temporary strengthening of reaction and to the lack of faith of the hesitators, by drawing new masses of toilers into the revolutionary movement.

The Chinese national revolutionary movement has not yet reached the tremendous masses of the people.

The main social support of the revolutionary elements of China, the main representatives, the farmers-peasants have not yet been drawn into the struggle.

They are themselves beginning to rise up spontaneously.

However, the guarantee of the success of this movement is the formation of a united organised centre. Only a large political party realising the demands and expectations of the farmers-peasants can become such an organisational centre. The organisational centre. The organisation of the farmers-peasants in Shantung and its adherence to the farmers-peasants International is a new step forward in this direction.

In such a situation the task of the Kuomintang Party is to strengthen and extend the organizational basis of the farmers-peasants buk up the farmers peasants movement with the movement of the working class, the toiling strata in towns and the intellectuals. Otherwise just as the farmers-peasants risings (under the dynasty of the Mings and the Tai-Ping movement) the present growing farmers-peasants' movement will also sweep by like a hurricane without achieving any definite ends, **IF IT WILL NOT BE ORGANISED, IF THE WORKING CLASS AND ADVANCED INTELLECTUALS (AND IN PARTICULAR THEIR MOST REVOLUTIONARY SECTION—THE YOUTH AND STUDENTS) WILL NOT HELP THEM TO ORGANISE.**

Therefore the primary task of the Chinese revolutionaries of the working class and of the Kuomintang Party is to win the confidence of the farmers-peasants, to form mass farmers-peasants organisations throughout the whole country to defend the everyday interests of the farmers-peasants and to direct the invincible farmers-peasants stream into the channel of the national-revolutionary movement. At the same time it is necessary, to explain to the farmers-peasants masses that just as it is impossible to liberate China without the participation of the farmers-peasants, so it is impossible for the farmers-peasants to obtain the satisfaction of their vital demands without a true ally in the towns.

All existing possibilities should be utilised for the formation of farmers-peasants organisations such as unions, farmers-peasants cooperatives, on the basis of struggle against the compradores, and for the organisation of the youth, of women, cultural-educational societies, etc.

The Kuomintang Party has already stepped on to this path. Therein lies its tremendous strength. It must be proved to the farmers peasants that you, who are their party, are fighting hand in hand with them for land and freedom, for abolition of the tax burden, for extermination of exploitation of the farmers-peasants, for reduction of land rents, for the abolition of hereditary debts and arrears, for participation of the farmers-peasants, both in local self-government and in the government of the country, against all kinds of violence and arbitrary action, and for a better future for its growing generation.

Meanwhile the enemy is not asleep. Victory will be with that side which has not only stepped on to the correct path, but which is rapidly taking this path.

If you really unite the widest farmers-peasant masses of all China under your banners, if you are able to lead the farmers-peasants into the struggle in alliance with the working class and national-revolutionary elements of Chinese society, the Kuomintang Party will not only ward off the blow of the imperialists and counter-revolutionary forces directed against the emancipation of China, but will also be able to attach a powerful mass to the movement, which like a whirlwind will sweep away the enemies of the Chinese people beginning now to show their heads.

Your main support and guarantee of your success are the wide farmer-peasants masses.

The toilers of the whole world are with you.

All nationalities of Asia, oppressed by the imperialists, are looking to Kuomintang with hope.

Your success acts as an appeal, calling them into the struggle.

We are convinced of your success and victory.

On behalf of the International Farmers-Peasants, present hearty greetings to our Chinese brothers—farmers-peasants and all their friends.

With fraternal farmers' greetings,

ON BEHALF OF THE PRESIDUM OF THE INTERNATIONAL FARMERS' COUNCIL — FARMERS—PEASANTS INTERNATIONAL.

MEMBER OF PRESIDUM AND ACTING
GENERAL SECRETARY : (DOMBAL)
P. P. ORGANISING SECRETARY, MEMBER
OF PRESIDUM : (GOROV)

CHIEF OF EASTERN AND COLONIAL
DEPARTMENT : (VOZNECIENSKY)

P. 2171 (E).

(Address on the envelope :)

TO THE EDITOR OF

"Langal"

37, Harrison Road

CALCUTTA.

INDIA.

Conseil Russian International Moscou Dojarski Dwor 5/8 No : 406.
--

P. 2172

A report dated 2-5-28 submitted by Inspector S. C. Ghosh of the Calcutta Police, regarding the May Day Celebrations held at Calcutta on 1st. May 1928.

(Printed Separately—Bengal Speeches).

P. 2173

A report dated 19-5-28 submitted by Inspector S. C. Ghosh of the Calcutta Police, regarding the proceedings of a Strike meeting of the Jute Press Coolies in the Chitpore & Cossipore areas.

(Printed Separately—Bengal Speeches).

P. 2174.

A report dated 20-5-28 submitted by Inspector S. C. Ghosh of the Calcutta Police, regarding a meeting of the Scavenger's Union of Bengal held at the Maidan near the Ochterlony movement on 20-5-28.

(Printed Separately—Bengal Speeches).

P. 2175 .

Report dated 4-4-28 submitted by Inspector S. C. Ghosh of the Calcutta Police, regarding a meeting of the Howrah & Lillooah Strikers at the Mirzapur Park, Calcutta on 4-4-28.

(Printed Separately—Bengal Speeches).

P. 2176.

Report dated 28-5-28 submitted by Mr. F. H. Chaudhry
Police Station officer, Ondal, regarding the strike situation at the
Ondal Waggon repairing Shop.

(Printed Separately—Bengal Speeches).

P. 2177.

Telegram No. 227.

Date. 3rd August 1928.

3-55 P. M.

TERGBI

L815 London 24 1 1700

Dlt Barucha 63 Pedar Road Bombay Please Hand South
Indian Railway Strike Committee Forty Pounds Collected By
Workers Welfare League Bank Draft Following.

SAKLATVALA

P. 2178.

THE EASTERN TELEGRAPH COMPANY, CALCUTTA STATION.

- DAK C 4

06842/380

BERLIN

Calcutta

4th Dec. 1928

G.P.O.

Words 36. Day 4. Time 1 P. M.

VIA EASTERN.

To

Lcd Johnstone Coupon

Calcutta

Greetings Cabled And League Statutes Posted Joshi Stop
Attend Also National Congress And Conference Independence
League As Our Delegate Stop Mandates Posted Calcutta Stop
Wish You Success Stop Cable Result.

ANCOLINA BERLIN

P. 2179.

Telegram no. 06861/321 Dated 11- Dec. 1928.
DAKC 6 BERLIN.

Lcd Johnstone Care Coupon Calcutta. Attend Also Workers
Peasants Conference As Our Delegate Mandate Posted.

P. 2180

Copy of telegram No: Do177, dated Dec. 10, 28 from J. W.
Johnstone- Cooks & Son, Calcutta, addressed to Ancolina, Berlin.

Defered Cable Jawaharlal Nehru Allahabad To Help Me
Get Trade Congress Affiliation.

JOHNSTONE

P. 2181.

Copy of telegram No. 106 dated July 20, 1928 from B. F. Bradley C/o Mr. E. de Burgh, Apollo Chambers, Fort, Bombay.

L. C. Bradley

4 Elmsdale Road,

Walthamstow, London

Len forward My Money Urgent.

BEN

P. 2182.

No. 0-767/658

Date 17th Nov. 1928

L. Bradley 4 Elmsdale Road,

Walthamstow, London.

Advance on Salary Urgent wire Reply.

BEN

P. 2183

Telegram No. 10 Dated 18 December 1928.

S. M. S.

L. 1339 Leicester 29 16 2100.

Dlt workers and peasants party Asylum Lane Calcutta Greetings to first Congress workers Welfare League hopes unity of workers peasants Masses will be achieved for future struggles.

Potter Wilson.

P. 2184

No. 00129

Date 2nd Sept. 1928

Sohan Singh Kirti Office

Amritsar.

Postpone Starting others Not Coming.

Muzaffar Ahmad.

P 2185.

No. 00130

Date, 2nd. Sept. 1928.

Ghate: 17 Dwarkadas Mansions

Girgaon Bombay.

Difficult for either leave Calcutta wire if Essential.

Muzaffar Ahmad.

P. 2186.

Copy of telegram No: 626 dated July 7, 28 from S. V. Ghate
97 Girgaon Rd., Bombay 4.

Dutt,

162 Buckingham Palace Road,

London.

Inquiries show University Gives No Powers.

GHATE

P. 2187.

Copy of telegram No: 2, dated Ambevadi, 22 Jan 29 Bombay
from B. F. Bradley, Apollo Chambers, Bombay I.

L. Bradley,

4 Elmsdale Road

London,

Money not Received Urgent Cable Reply.

BEN

P. 2188.

Copy of telegram No: 085 dated Mar 4, 28, from B. F. Bradley,
Apollo Hotel, Bombay.

L. C. BRADLEY

4 ELMSDALE ROAD

WALTHAMSTOW, LONDON.

SALARY NOT RECEIVED TO DATE PLEASE WIRE
SAME URGENT.

BEN

P. 2189.

Telegram no. 54 Dated 5 August 1928.

G. S. A.

L 1192 LONDON 23 3 1443.

Dlt Spratt care of Ghosh I Kantapukur Lane Calcutta.

Send Urgently Preferably Wire Information Confidence Placed
Orm Massel two others in Manchester.

John.

P. 2190.

No. 00373/00417.

Date. 10th Aug. 1928.

Secretary Labour Research Department 162 Buckingham
Palace Road London.

Telegram Unintelligible no Confidence Suggest Wire Bombay.

Spratt.

P. 2191.

No. 00594

Date 23rd Jan. 1929.

Secretary: Labour Research Department 162 Buckingham
Palace Road London.

Please send money through cooks care 2/1 European Asylum
lane

Spratt.

P. 2192.

No. 60345

Date 9th Oct. 1928.

Secretary

Labour Research Department 162 Buckingham Palace Road
London.

Please wire money through cooks 2/1 European Asylum lane
Spratt

P. 2193.

No. 0280

Date 21st Nov 1928.

Saklatvala house of commons London

18000 fort Gloster Jute Workers locked out since July 16
Arrange help immediately.

Radharaman Spratt.

P. 2194.

Copy of telegram No: Mo279, dated Nov 21, 28 from Kalidas
Bhattacharjee. The Bengal Jute Workers' Association, Bhatpara,
24-Parganas.

TAGORE

CARE SMEDLEY

HOLSTEINISCHESTRASSE 36

BERLIN..WILMERSDORF, GERMANY.

Arrange help 18000 Bauria Jute Workers locked out since
July 16

KALIDAS

P. 2195.

Telegram No. 06082

Date:

Dack 42 Berlin 78 22 Sv =

LCD Workers Peasants Conference 2

European Asylum Lane Ctta =

In name Executive Committee League Against Imperialism
we send heartiest fraternal Greetings your first All India Conference
stop hope your deliberations will result establishing strong orga-
nisation Indias Working masses struggle against Imperialism and
attainment national social Liberty stop Workers call upon you
protest expulsion Johnstone American Trade Unionist sent attend
your Conference as our fraternal Delegate Long Live Indian
Workers Peasants Long Live Independent India

Signed

International Secretariat Muenzenberg Chattopadhyaya

P. 2196.

Copy of telegram No: 62 dated 12th Oct 28 from Muzaffar
Ahmad 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

Sohan Singh

KIRTI Office

AMRITSAR

Spratt myself attending Workers Conference Meerut forteenth
fifteenth come there if can

MUZAFFARAHMAD

P. 2197

Telegram no. 33 Dated 10 Oct. 28.

Muzaffar Ahmad

2/1 European Asylum Lane

CALCUTTA.

Please come with Spratt 14th. 15th. Oct. Meerut Majdoor
Conference wire Expenses.

GOURISHANKER

ANANDMATH

Not to be
telegraphed

Gourishankar Sharma,
Secretary Mazdoor & Kisan Sangh
MEERUT.

P. 2198 .

Search the warrant issued under Sec. 96 C. P. C. by the District Magistrate, Meerut, for searching the house, office, or other place belonging to or under Control of Abdul Ghani, Editor of "Hindustan," Jubbulpore.

Executed by the Jubbulpore Police on 20-3-29.

P. 2199.

List of papers seized at the residence of Mohd. Abdul Ghani, Ex-Editor "Hindustan" s/o Wali Mohammed Musalman, including Hindustan Press situated in Jamnadas building, near City Kotwali.

Nos. 7, 10, 22 and 27 in down storey (Press room) and the rest of the articles in the upper storey used as office and residence.

- (1) A printed letter "The First All-India Workers and Peasants, Party Conference Calcutta", with signatures of D. K. Goswami, Secy. Reception Committee, addressed to the Editor, Hindustan.

- (2) A printed letter dated 17th November 1928, signed by D K. Goswami to the Editor, Hindustan, Jubbulpur, intimating the date (21-23 Dec. 1928) on which the All-India Workers and Peasants' Party Conference is to be held at Calcutta.
- (3) Invitation card of the 22nd U. P. Provincial Political Conference (at Jhansi).
- (4) Invitation card by the Reception Committee of 2nd Press Workers Conference.
- (5) A sheet of foolscap paper containing a letter from 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta, dated 15. 11. 28, without signature beginning with I feel and ending in with Conference.
- (6) A telegram from Sprates of Calcutta to the Editor Hindusthan, dated 7. 11. 28.
- (7) A letter dated 30. 1. 1929 from Tejmal Mantri of Sasta Sahitya Mandal Ajmer "Tiyagbhumi" With two specimen forms for getting books on credit, to be signed by the Editor. This was in a red cover of "Krantikari Office" Jhansi. (Also here with) and addressed to Abdul Gani.
- (8) A letter with envelope from Secretary, Swagat Karini Samiti Karyalaya Jhansi, dated Nil, cover bearing the Post office seals dated 16-17 March 1929, to the Editor, Samalochak Saugar (which is directed to Jubbulpur).
- (9) A letter from Sunderial, of 193 Chak - Allahabad to Gani, dated 25 9. 1928, asking the notice of his book to be published.
- (10) A letter from The Principal, Homeopathic Training College, Meerut, dated 23. 11. 28 to the Manager "Hindusthan", bearing No. 3429.
- (11) A letter in Hindi to the Editor of Hindusthan asking for a book on "Kisan and Majdoori" etc. from Manoharpant of Moscow (69 U. S. S. R. along with a letter from the Secretary, the Works' Welfare League of India, asking copies of "Hindusthan". Both these were in a cover bearing seal (postal) of London S.W 1 and E. S 13, 1928.
- (12) A letter from Jawaharlal Nehru to Abdul Gani, dated 6 12 28, replying that he can't help the latter. (In Hindi).
- (13) A letter from Krashna Gopal Sharma, Editor, Kranti Karl Office, Jhansi, dated 30. 1. 29, to Priya Bandhu, asking the latter to send the book for publication. (In Hindi).

- (14) A pamphlet of speeches and documents "Sixth Conference of the Communist Party of Great Britain", dated May 17th 18th and 19th. 1914, containing 79 pages.
- (15) A letter from Durga Prasad, Editor, "Vridhhi" to the Editor, Hindusthan Jubbulpur, asking for the interchange of their Magazines, with envelope bearing Sura-Fizi, dated 9-Nov. 1928.
- (16) A letter from Ramji of Rewa Fiji to the Manager "Hindusthan" with envelope bearing postal seal of Fiji, dated 13 July 1928, asking for contribution of "Hindusthan".
- (17) A post card from Jewaharlal Nehru to Abdul Ghani, dated 8.10.28, asking for copy of "Hindusthan (in-English)".
- (18) A letter with envelope from the Hindusthan Press to the Secretary, The Workers Welfare League of India, 162, Buckingham Palace Road, London S. W. 1. The writer has not given his name.
- (19) An invitation in writing of the Reception Committee of the C. P. Press Workers' Conference, signed by Abdul Ghani and G. B. Awarthy.
- (20) A letter with envelope from Gopal Sharma Rewa Fiji Islands to Abdul Gani asking for a copy of the weekly Magazine (dated 6 9 28 of the letter).
- (21) A letter from Nahuram Visharao of "Navyuvak Parishad" Banda, with a "Privesh Pattra" dated 9 8 28 to Abdul Ghani.
- (22) A letter from Jawaharlal Nehru to Abdul Gani, dated 22 11 28, saying that he would talk in Calcutta (in Hindi)
- (23) Photos of Rajendra Lahiri Maharaja Nabha Gurcharan Sinha, and Ashfaq Ullahkhan (kept in an envelope).
- (24) A card from Gupta to Ghani Bhai, dated 3 10 28.
- (25) A telegram from "Spratt" dated 15th Nov. 1928, to Editor, Hindusthan.
- (26) A p.c. from Raj Bahadur to Abdul Gani, dated 27 8 28.
- (27) A m. o. receipt from Panchratan of Khurai, for Rs. 25/-.
- (28) A letter p. c. from Karamat Hussain of Tahsil Baibar (C. P.), to Abdul Gani.
- (29) A pamphlet of Independence for India League (in 5 leaves).
- (30) Eight leaves of letter, paper written in Hindi, about the changing of times, these days, etc.

- (31) A leaf written in Hindi with heading "Bharat se Angrezi Raj-Hata Dena Chahte Hain".
- (32) A paper scribbled with an article "Swadhin Sangh ki Awashyakta" (in Hindi).
- (33) An information of the holding of "The Press Workers, Conference" to the City Supdt. from Abdul Gani, with envelope.
- (34) A copy of the "Krantikari" with title page dated 5 1 29 with pages from 1 to 24, without pages 3, 4, 5 & 6, addressed to Editor, Hindusthan.
- (35) A copy of "Swatantra Bharat" dated 25/2/1929, with title page, addressed to Editor Saptahik Hindu Samalochak Saugar, (directed to Jubbulpore) with 1 to 14 pages.
- (36) A copy of the "Railwayman", dated 9 3 1929 from 1 to 8 page.

Sd/- Illegible.

20/3/29.

Sd/- Brijmohan Nath.

D. S. P. City.

20/3/29.

Sd/- Illegible.

Supdt.

Sd/- Illegible

Sd/- Illegible

P. 2200.

THE RECEPTION COMMITTEE OF THE

2nd Press Workers Conference.

Presents Compliments to and requests the pleasure of the company of Syt. MANGAL PRASAD VISHWAKARMA, on the occasion of the 2nd Annual Session to be held under the

distinguished Presidentship of Comrade PHILIP SPRATT at JUBBULPUR (old Town Hall) at 6 P. M. on the 18th & 19th November 1928.

Abdul Ghani, Editor "HINDUSTAN"

Chairman Reception Committee.

G. B. Awasti, Vice President,

Press Workers' Union.

P. 2201.

2/1 European Asylum Lane,

Calcutta.

15-11-28.

Dear Comrade,

I feel that I owe you and the Conference a most humble apology for letting you down at the last moment in this way. I believe Muzaffar explained my situation roughly. The fact is that I have not received my allowance from home for several months, and am in consequence in extremely low water financially. I was therefore at first inclined to refuse your offer, but accepted it on being assured by comrades here that it is the usual thing in India for the travelling expenses for the President etc. to be paid. On receiving your wire, I cast about a bit, with the object of borrowing the 30 or 35 rupees required for the journey, but have not been able to get it yet. I therefore wired this morning saying that I could not come. I should add that I agree entirely with your action, as I think it would be unjustifiable to cast such a burden unnecessarily on an infant organisation.

I hope I shall be able to meet you at some other time. Meanwhile please accept my apologies and best wishes for the success of the conference and

(Incomplete).

P. 2202 [C].

Copy of a letter intercepted from the Dacca Post Office on
16-3-29.

No.....

THE
ANGUS ENGINEERING WORKERS' UNION,
East:—1928.

Secretary:

Bhatpara

G. Chakrabarty.

Dated, the 15th March 1929.

My dear Gopal,

I wrote a letter to you a few days ago but sorry you did not care to reply even. I and Kali Dass Babu are starting for Chandpur most probably on Sunday next the 17th instant and we will be waiting for you there. Will you kindly come there to our house and accompany us to the places of your activities? We will be much obliged and glad if you do so. This time we have got no spare time because we are to return to Calcutta on or before 27th instant as we are to attend the Provincial Conference with some definite resolutions. So please arrange everything very quickly.

Most probably you are aware that all of us have come out of "the Workers' and Peasant Party" which is an autocratic regime of Muzaffar Ahmed. More when we will meet. How are you, your wife and child, my love to you all.

Extremely sincerely,

Fraternally yours

Gopen Chakarabarty.

N. B.: We will be anxiously waiting for you at Chandpur. Be quick to meet us.

Superscription:

LONG LIVE THE JUTE WORKERS.

Gopal Chandra Bysak, Esqr.,

Albert Library

Nawabpur,

Dacca.

The
Bengal Jute Workers Association
Central Office, Bhatpara
24-Parganas.

Bhatpara	Dacca
15 March 29.	16 March 29.
	4 P. M.

Copied by me.

(Sd.) Moti Lal De. S. I.

16-3-29.

P. 2203 (C).

Copy of a letter intercepted from the Dacca Post Office on
20. 9. 28.

Telegraphic address

"Ganavani" Calcutta.

The Workers and Peasants Party of Bengal.

Organ 2/1 European Asylum Lane,

Goni Voni Calcutta 18. 9. 28

Bengalee Weekly

Comrade Gopal Chandra Basak, Secretary, Dhakeswary Cotton
Mill Workers, Union, 61 Nawabpur Road Dacca.

Dear Comrade,

Your letter of 12. 9. 28 along with an application to the
B.T.U.F., asking for affiliation is to hand. As regards the affiliation
of the Dhakeswary Cotton Mill Workers' Union to B.T.U.F., and
A.T.U.C., it has been decided in a meeting of the Labour group of
the party, held on 17. 9. 29, that a Central body of the Bengal
Textile Workers' Union shall be organised forthwith with a nucleus
at the Dhakeswari Union and representation from Matia Bruze
Union, which has already been recognised, as its branch, and then

the Central Executive body thus formed will apply for affiliation, simultaneously both in Bengal Trade Union Federation and All India Trade Union Congress.

The Union thus formed, will then be able to send its representatives to the ensuing Congress, where we intend to concentrate our maximum strength this year.

The above proposal is a very sound one and I hope that you will have no hesitation to give us your consent to act accordingly. A prompt answer to this is earnestly requested.

Please inform us of the details regarding the strike.

Thanking you in anticipation.

Yours fraternally

Sd/- D. K. Goswami.

Labour Secretary.

Rejected

P. 2204 (1) (C)

New Books on Russia and Egypt.

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By Maurice Dobb, Lecturer in Economics at Cambridge University and a member of the L.R.D. Executive. This is the only existing record in English of the whole Economic History of Russia from 1917 to 1928. Special Trade Union Edition, available through the L.R.D., at 3s. 6d, Postage 4d.

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..... British Imperialism in Egypt at 1s.

..... " " " at 6d.

Postage.....

Cash enclosed.....

Name.....

Address.....

Twentieth Century Press (1912) Ltd; T.U. all Depts 103
Southwark street S.E.118429.

Labour Research Department.

162, Buckingham Palace Road, Westminster, London, S.W. 1
Terms of affiliation and List of Publications.

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39. The Attack on the Cotton Workers (1928).
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MISCELLANEOUS.

The Labour International Hand Book (1921) 6/- No. of order £ s d

The Labour International Year Book (1923) 2/6 The General Strike :—

Vol. I. Its origin and History By R. Page Arnot 2/- paper.

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The Workers' Register of Labour and Capital (covering 1918—1923) 5/- cloth 3/6 paper.

The Workers' Passport by W. T. Colyer (1928)

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Memorandum on the Cotton Industry, prepared by L. R. D.

FOR UNITED Textile Factory Workers Association
(1928) 6d.

Published for the Friends of Soviet Russia :

Soviet Russia To-day. (1928) 6d.

Ten Years of Soviet Rule (1928) 6d.

Friends of Soviet Russia Congress Report (1928) 1/6.

Copied by me

Bibhuti Bhusan Chatterji

26-3-29.

Rejected

P. 2204 [P] [E].

Superscription on the envelope:—

MR. BASAK,

Bengal Textile Workers' Union,

61, Nawabpur

Dacca,

Bengal,

India.

P. 2205.

A report in Urdu dated 2-6-27 submitted by Ram Surat, S. I. of Police Gorakhpur, in connection with a speech made by Dr. Biswanath Mukerjee, advising the Workers of Loco' Workshop Gorakhpur, to settle their differences amongst themselves instead of going to court. •

P. 2206.

Report on the Speech delivered by Mr. Spratt at G. Town meeting on 27-9-28.

(Printed Separately Bihar Speeches)

P. 2207.

summary of the Speech of Shamsul Huda delivered by him at Jamshedpur on 27th September 1928.

(Printed Separately—Bihar Speeches).

P. 2208.

Report regarding a Speech delivered by Sohan Singh Josh at Jamshedpur and G. Town Maidan on 3rd January 1929.

(Printed Separately—Bihar Speeches).

P. 2209

A copy of Sohan Singh Josh's Presidential address in Urdu delivered at the first All India Workers' and Peasants' Conference Calcutta in December 1928.

P. 2210.

Jamshédpur Dak Bungalów Visitor's Book for 1926 and onwards, wherein an entry is seen regarding the halt of P. Spratt and Shamsul Huda from 27-9-28 to 29-9-28.

P. 2210 [A]

The following entry from the Jamshédpur Dak Bungalów Visitor's Book appears to be important :—

Name: P. Spratt

S. M. Shamsul Huda

Date and time	}	27-9-28.
of arrival		7 A. M.
Date of	}	29-9-28.
Departure		10 A. M.

Amount paid: 27/- Rupees paid.

P. 2211.
LEAGUE AGAINST IMPERIALISM.

and for national independence.

International Secretariat

24, Friedrichstrasse, Berlin SW 48

Berlin, November 7th. 1928.

Dear Comrade Jhabvala,

We were very happy to receive your letter of October 19th. and to note that a number of your unions have affiliated to the League. We are having some material posted you today to Jharia where you will probably remain till the 6th. inst. The material is meant for distribution among the delegates to the T. U. C. We shall in future send all our letters and printed matters registered to your Khar address and we hope that you will do us the favour of acknowledging the receipt each time.

The question of placing the necessary funds at your disposal for running an office is being considered and I hope to be able to give you reply in a week or two.

I hope you and other comrades will work energetically this year to overcome all the objections to the affiliation of the Indian TUC to our League. Please ask Dange, Ghate, and other comrades to devote special attention to this question and to canvas personally in order to ensure a majority of votes in favour of affiliation. You will be glad to know that the National Amalgamated Furnishing Trades Association of Great Britain, the South African Federation of Non European Trade Unions and above all the All Russian Federation of Trade Unions have declared their formal affiliation to the League Against Imperialism.

Wishing you complete success at the Congress,

I remain,

Yours fraternally

Sd/-Y. Chattopadhyaya.

P 2211 [E]

The following superscription on the an envelope:—

Postal seals.

Berlin S.W.

7. 11. 28

S. H. Jhabvala Esq.

c/o All India Trade Union Congress

JHARIA.

INDIEN.

—:—

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

P. 2212.

24 copies of a printed English Pamphlet entitled "The Colonial Policy of the Labour and socialist International" by Clemen Dutt. Published by the League Against Imperialism, International Secretariat, 24, Friedrich-Strasse, Berlin S.W. 48.

P. 2212 (E).

A cover with the following address on it:-

S. H. Jhabwala Esqr.

c/o All India Trade Union Congress.

Jharia.

Postal seal of:

Berlin S.W.

2-11-28.

P. 2213.

24 copies of a printed English Pamphlet entitled "The Colonial Policy of the Labour & Socialist International" by Clemens Dutt.

P. 2213 (E).

A cover with the following superscription: --

S. Dange Esq.

c/o All India Trade Union Congress.

Jharia.

Postal seal of:

Berlin S.W.

2-11-28.

P. 2214

22 copies of a printed English Pamphlet entitled "The Colonial Policy of the Labour & Socialist International by Clemens Dutt.

P. 2214 (E).

A cover with the following Superscription:—

S. Jhabwalla Esqr.

c/o All India Trade Union Congress.

Jharia.

Postal seal of

Berlin S.W.

7-11-28.

Dear Comrades,

The resolution on the Indian TU movement adopted by the 4th congress of the RILU outlines the task of the revolutionary element in the Indian TU movement. These tasks may be briefly summarised as follows:

(1) To expose the treacherous character of the reformist leadership and to replace it by a Left wing workers' leadership by drawing workers into the leading organs of the trade unions, factory committees, strike committees, etc.

(2) To organise the unorganised workers, particularly the lowerpaid and unskilled sections, and the youth.

(3) To form factory committees and Trades Councils and generally to put the Unions on a proper working basis by the issue of membership cards, democratic election of officials, regular meetings, etc.

(4) To publish TU papers in the several vernaculars and establish night schools and study circles for the TU membership.

(5) To draft a programme of immediate demands consisting of such items as:

The 8—hour day;

Minimum Living Wage, with equal pay for equal work;

Abolition of Child Labour;

Improvement of Workshop Conditions and Laws relating to Compensation.

Introduction of protective legislation for women workers.

During the past six months there have been many indications of a growth of the revolutionary spirit in the Indian TU movement. The continuation of the strike wave has served to further expose the treacherous role of the petty-bourgeois leadership, and the introduction of reactionary legislation—the Public Safety Bill and the Trades Dispute Act—are further examples of imperialist oppression.

Despite the activities of these enemies against the Indian working class movement there are obvious signs of the growth in the influence of the Left wing and through it of the RILU. Several unions are even now under the ideological leadership of the RILU and in many other unions there are active groups. It must be noted, however, that the strength of our forces is lessened by

the absence of a centralised organisation leading and coordinating the revolutionary struggle in all sections of the trade union movement and on a national scale.

The RILU therefore suggests that immediate steps should be taken to form an All-Indian Trade Union Left Wing Movement along the lines indicated in the attached Resolution.

In structure the All-Indian Trade Union Left Wing Movement must aim at centralising all the militant trade union forces by the formation of Left Wing groups in the unions under Reformist leadership and by direct affiliation of militant Trades Councils, and Trade Unions. When properly constituted the All-Indian Trade Union Left Wing shall unite all these forces on a national scale and shall in addition establish provincial organisations on which all affiliated bodies shall be represented.

While it may be impossible at the present time for the Left Wing to establish National Industrial Sections it should be kept in mind that such Sections are vitally necessary in the most important industries, e. g. textile, railways and metal.

The initial steps for the formation of the Left wing should be carried out as speedily and effectively as possible and this can be accomplished by establishing provisional committees in each of the large cities, e. g. Calcutta, Bombay, Lahore, Cawnpore, and Madras. These Committees when formed should outline the policy of the Left Wing and prepare a comprehensive programme of organisational and political demands on the basis of the Resolution of the 4th Congress of the RILU, and by interchange of reports and regular correspondence insure that the movement develops along similar lines in every city. Thereafter elaborate preparations should be made to convene a conference of the Left Wing trade unions, groups and individuals in each city, where the policy and programme would be finally ratified and the Left wing definitely constituted on trade union affiliation and group membership. This done, it will then be possible to prepare for the inaugural conference on a national scale.

Immediate propaganda must be conducted in the trade union press and in the existing revolutionary periodicals. Meantime, the Left Wing Committees in the various cities are to prepare for the publication of their own papers, pamphlets, etc., in the appropriate vernaculars. In all our propaganda it should be made clear, that the All-Indian Trade Union Left Wing Movement exists to consolidate and coordinate the struggle of the broad masses of the working class. While setting out to organise the unorganised workers the Left Wing should make it clear that it is in no way conducting a campaign to recruit members from the existing reformist unions into the new unions.

Special attention should be paid to the organisation of the mining metal and textile industries, the unskilled workers and the youth. Where the Left Wing takes the initiative in organising new unions, those should be affiliated to the All-Indian Trade Union Left Wing Movement.

The Left Wing must also take upon itself the task of organising factory committees and trades councils and securing the amalgamation of kindred and overlapping unions.

One of the basic weaknesses of the Indian TU movement is the lack of leaders drawn from the ranks of the workers. To overcome this difficulty the RILU proposes to forward a training class syllabus for trade union students and recommends that preparation be made for the early establishment of training classes under the auspices of the Left Wing in Calcutta, Bombay, Lahore, Cawnpore, and Madras.

With regard to the *International relations* the Left wing must maintain contact with the RILU direct and also through the medium of the workers' welfare League of India and of the Pan-Pacific TU Secretariat. Regarding the All-Indian TU Congress, we learn from press information that the question of affiliation to the Amsterdam International will appear on the agenda of the A. I. T. U. C. In the event of this proposal being agreed to, it simply means that the AITUC will come more and more under the influence of the British and International agents of imperialism. A virile opposition must be rallied against the bourgeois leaders of the Indian trade Union movement that seek to pilot the working class into the harmless channels of class collaboration. Affiliation to Amsterdam must be hotly opposed; the Left Wing to counteract this move should demand the affiliation of the All-Indian Congress to the RILU.

Finally, the Left wing must raise the question of the *workers welfare League of India* at the Congress, condemning the Executive for exceeding its authority in taking away the right of the League to represent the AITUC in England as granted to it by decisions of several congresses of the Indian Unions. Every effort must be made to reinstate the Workers' Welfare League of India as the official representative of the AITUC in England. The Left wing must continue and intensify the campaign for close contact with the workers in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, and in the furtherance of this policy must make every endeavour to have a resolution for affiliation to the Pan—Pacific Trade Union Secretariat placed on the agenda of the AITUC and adopted at the coming session of the Congress.

Yours fraternally,

I. Jusefowitsch

For the General Secretary of the Red International of
Labour Unions Moscow, October 20 1928

P. 2215 (1)

All India Trade Union Congress.

An Appeal from the Red International of Labour Unions.

The following letter has been addressed to the 9th All-India Trade Union Congress at Jharia by A. Losovsky, General Secretary of the Red International of Labour Unions.

Dear Comrades,

The Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labour Unions sends through your Congress heartiest greetings to the brave Indian proletariat struggling in such onerous conditions against native capital and imperialist violence and oppression.

Your Congress meets at a time of exceptional importance for the Indian working class. After the lull of the last few years the Indian proletariat is awakening to new life and increasingly realising that it is a class opposing another class.

Just at a time when the living and labour conditions of the Indian workers have gone from bad to worse, the foreign and the Indian capitalists are conducting an offensive against the beggarly wages of the Indian workers and through methods of rationalisation are endeavouring to increase still more the exploitation of the workers and women-workers who are living in semi-starvation.

The answer to the growing exploitation and worsening position of the broad masses was the strike movement caught up by hundreds of thousands of workers and women-workers. The strikes of the textile workers, railwaymen, and municipal workers of Bombay, Lilloah and other industrial centres are of stupendous significance both for the Indian workers and for the working class throughout the world. In point of fact, what have the strikes during the last year shown They have demonstrated (1) that the Indian capitalists unitedly with the British imperialists have taken the most brutal measures to suppress the strike movement, (2) that the British Government in India have not only employed armed forces to suppress the workers but they are introducing special legislation (The Trades Disputes

Bill) to cripple the working-class movement; (3) that a section of the trade union leaders with the assistance of prominent nationalist politicians held back the movement and continually sought to compromise with the capitalists putting more hope on the goodwill of the exploiters than on the forces of the working class (4) that despite their weak organisation, the broad masses of workers and women workers chose the right road when they came out on a wide front setting up strike organs in the process of the struggle; and lastly, (5) that, for victory over the capitalists, strong mass trade unions are necessary, imbued with the implacable spirit of the class struggle, trade unions that will struggle resolutely against the capitalists and against the adherents of class collaboration in the ranks of the workers themselves. These lessons must surely be noted. The practical experience gained by the masses during the last few months of struggle when class confronted class, is the most important acquisition of the Indian proletariat since its existence. All the weak and strong points of the movement must be studied and conclusions drawn for the impending class struggles. The experience of the last strikes makes it imperative that every class-conscious worker should answer the question: What road has the TU movement of India to follow? *Is it to be the road of class struggle or that of class collaboration?* In other words, will the trade union movement of India be subservient to and follow the lead of its capitalists and the foreign capitalists, or will it organise the masses and lead them in the struggle against capitalism and Imperialism.

This question is raised for the Indian workers not merely by the position at home but by the external position of India. Being the richest colony of Great Britain, India is subject to constant "concern" on the part of British imperialism. With the growth of consciousness on the part of the wide masses of toilers in India, the British imperialists are confronted with the question of new ways and means of consolidating their domination. While, on the one hand, the conservative Government is suppressing with fire and sword the emancipatory movement in India, on the other hand, it is endeavouring to influence India through its democratic and socialist agents. During the last few years the workers of India have been in a position to convince themselves that the only aim of the representatives of the Labour Party (e.g., Graham Pole & Co.) and the Trade Union General Council (Purcell, Tomshaw, etc.) was to dissuade the masses from taking up the revolutionary struggle against British imperialism. If there were any doubts on this score, it would be sufficient to remember the attitude of the Anglo-Indian authorities to these "Labour" representatives and to contrast it with their treatment of the representatives of the real class-conscious workers of England (e.g. Allison, Spratt).

The imperialist character of the British Labour Party and

the General Council of the British Trade Union Congress is so obvious that it is remarked on not only by such leaders of the Labour movement as Chaman Lal, but also by such moderate leaders of the Nationalist movement as Motilal Nehru and others. Still, when Purcell and Hallsworth, these commercial travellers of British imperialism, arrived in India, there were leaders in the Indian trade union movement who not only welcomed them in their destructive tasks, but concluded an agreement with them to destroy the workers' welfare League, which directly connected the Indian trade union movement with the British working class, and chose instead as their agents the very men who are trying to stifle the Indian struggle for independence and who are supporting British imperialism in its exploitations of the Indian proletariat. Is it possible that Congress can fail to condemn this shameful business? The working class and its leaders must definitely reject any and every attempt at compromise with the imperialist agents, who have shipped in their imperialist goods under the flag of Amsterdam.

Messrs. Purcell, Hallsworth & Co, these agents of British imperialism and of the Amsterdam International aspired to take advantage of the paramount need of the working class of India to end this isolation, they sought to make use of its lack of connections with the world labour movement. They urged the labour organisations of India to affiliate to the Amsterdam International, as if such affiliation would put an end to the isolation and estrangement of the Indian labour movement. This would not at all be the case. An International built up on the basis of national egoism and of support of imperialist designs, far from giving anything real to the labour movement of the colonies, can only prove exceedingly harmful. Why? Because the fundamental task of the Amsterdam International is to *weaken* and to disorganise the struggle against imperialism, and to surrender the toiling masses to imperialist exploitation. Look at the decisions of all its congresses and you will find no resolution on independence for the colonies, but instead you will see scores of decisions taken directed against those who are struggling resolutely against imperialism. You will not find there any single decision for the unity of the world trade union movement, for the Amsterdam International is engaged systematically from day to day in disrupting the ranks of the workers in order to facilitate the attack of the capitalists. The Amsterdam International represents the greatest obstacle in the way of the creation of a united world trade union International. *Whoever is striving for unity cannot support Amsterdam.*

The All India Trade Union Congress endeavoured to put an end to the isolation of the Indian Labour movement by setting up connections with the Pan Pacific Secretariat, but thanks to the ban of the British Government this effort was frustrated. It is hardly

likely that the Indian trade union movement can continue to remain isolated from the labour movement throughout the world. The question naturally arises whither and with whom? With the reformist or the revolutionary wing of the TU movement? With the Amsterdam International or with the Red International of Labour Unions? We are fully aware that the same two tendencies, the reformist and the revolutionary that are struggling in the world labour movement are likewise struggling in the TU movement of India. The experience of the recent strikes in India has shown clearly how dangerous is reformism for the labour movement, which has to struggle against the native bourgeoisie and the foreign imperialists. The working class, striving for victory, must extricate itself from reformist ideology and reformist policy, it must put forward new leaders to take the place of those who fail to carry out their class duty, in a word, for each one who surrenders, it must put forward hundreds of new fighters and scores of new leaders.

But this is not all. In order that the struggle shall give the maximum results, it is imperative to maintain organic connections with a militant International, the greatest unity possible being set up in the workers' ranks in each country and on an international scale. The militant Red International of Labour Unions fighting for the unity of the international trade union movement appeals to you, workers of India: Consolidate your ranks. Draw the millions of workers and women workers into the TU organisations. From out of the rank and file, from the masses themselves, put forward new leaders. Pay no heed to the exhortations of the agents of Baldwin & Co. Have nothing to do with the social-imperialists of the Amsterdam International. Set up connections with the fighting Red International of Labour Unions and jointly with it struggle for international trade union unity, for unity in the struggle against Capitalism and Imperialism.

Long Live the Militant Working Class of India!

Long Live Independent India Liberated from Imperialism!

Long Live a Single Class International, Embracing the
Unions of all Countries, Races and Continents!

EXECUTIVE BUREAU

RED INTERNATIONAL OF LABOUR UNIONS

Signed: A. Losovsky

MOSCOW, October 23, 1928

General Secretary

P. 2215 (E)

Einschreiben

Registered Express

S. A. Dange, Esq.

c/o All-India Trade Union Congress

Jharia, India



Indien

P. 2216,

A letter dated 20-10-28 from I. Jusefourtsch of the Red International of Labour Unions, Moscow; to V. S. Ghate C/o All India Trade Union Congress Jharia.

(Vide Exh. P. 2215)

P. 2216 (1.)

A copy of an "appeal from the Red International of Labour Unions" signed by A. Losovsky General Secretary, enclosed with the above letter.

(Vide Exh. P. 2215 (1))

P: 2216 (E).

An envelope with the following Superscription.

V. S. Ghate Esqr.

C/o All India Trade Union Congress

Jharia

India.

Postal seal of:

Berlin S. W.

7- 11- 28.

P. 2217.

A letter dated 20- 10- 28 from I. Jusefourtsch of the Red International of Labour Unions, Moscow, to D. R. Thengdi Esqr. C/o All India Trade Union Congress, Jharia.

(Vide Exh. P. 2215)

P. 2217 (1).

A copy of an "appeal from the Red International of Labour Unions" of 23-10-28 signed by A. Losovsky, General Secretary. enclosed with the above letter.

(Vide Exh. P. 2215 (1))

P. 2217 E .

An envelope with the following superscription:

D. R. Thengdi Esqr.

C/o All India Trade Union Congress.

Jharia.

India

Postal seal of:

Berlin S. W.

7- 11- 28

P. 2218.

A letter dated 20- 10- 28 from I. Jusefourtsch of the Red International of Labour Unions, Moscow, to S. H. Jhabwalla Esqr. C/o All India Trade Union Congress, Jharia, India.

(Vide Exh. P. 2215)

P. 2218. (1).

A copy of "An appeal from the Red International of Labour Unions" dated 23- 10- 28 signed by A. Losovsky, General secretary enclosed with the above letter.

(Vide Exh. P. 2215 (1))

P. 2218 E .

An envelope with the following superscription:—

S. H. Jhabwala Esqr.

C/o All-India Trade Union Congress.

Jharía

India.

Postal seal of:

Berlin S. W.

7- 11- 28.

P. 2219.

St Xavier's Hostel

Bombay

6/ 3/ 29.

To

The Secretary

C. P. Y.

Comrade,

My final exam is approaching and I have to work very hard so as to get through. I cannot find the time to attend the meetings of the Circle. Seeing this is the case I wish to resign my membership. I hope the other members will accept it.

Yours sincerely

(Sd) Mir Liaquat Hussain.

P. 2219 (E).

Address on the envelope:

The Secretary

C. P. Y.

P. 2220.

A leaflet in Urdu issued by the Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal, asking the Workers of the oppressed of the World to Unite, and to remember the 21st. January, the 5th Anniversary of Lenin's death.

P. 2221.

Report dated 23/6/28 submitted by S. I. Harendra Bijoy Bose in connection with a strike meeting at Bauria where Philip Spratt and others spoke.

(Printed Separately— Bengal speeches)

P. 2222.

Report D/- 9- 7- 28 submitted by S. I. Harendra Bijoy Bose in connection with a strike meeting of the Chengal Jute Workers Union, at Santosh Pur. P. S. Bauria, on 8- 7- 28

(Printed separately—Bengal speeches)

P. 2223.

Report dated 16- 7- 28 submitted by S. I. Harendra Bijoy Bose regarding a strike meeting of the fort Gloucester Jute Mill Workers, at the Karbala Maidan, Bauria, on 15- 7- 28, where Kishorilal Ghosh and others spoke.

(Separately Printed— Bengal speeches).

P. 2224.

Report dated 3- 12- 28 submitted by S. I. Harendra Bijoy Bose regarding a strike meeting of the Bauria Jute Workers Union held at the Karbala Maidan, Bauria on 2- 12- 28, where Goshustone and others spoke.

(Separately Printed — Bengal speeches)

P. 2225.

Report dated 30-12-28 submitted by S. I. Harendra Bijoy Bose regarding a meeting organised by the Bauria Jute Workers' Union at Karbala Maidan Bauria, on 29-12-28 where Radha Raman Mitra and others spoke.

(Separately printed—Bengal speeches)

P. 2226.

Report dated 5-1-29 submitted by S. I. Harendra Bijoy Bose regarding a meeting organised by the Bauria Jute Workers' Union on 4-1-29 at the Karbala Maidan, Bauria where Bradley and others spoke.

(Printed separately—Bengal speeches)

P. 2227.

Report dated 7-1-29 submitted by S. I. Harendra Bijoy Bose regarding a meeting of the Bauria Jute Workers' Union held at Karbala Maidan, Bauria, on 6-1-29, wherein Sibnath Banerjee and others spoke.

(Printed separately — Bengal speeches)

P. 2228.

Report dated 24-4-28 submitted by S I Harendra Bijoy Bose regarding a meeting of the Ludlow Jute Mill Workers at Chengail on 24-4-28 wherein Spratt and others spoke.

(Printed separately—Bengal speeches)

P. 2229.

A copy of the photograph of Abdul Hamid with his registered number of 14513 when he signed on for S. S. Elysia on 9-3-27.

P. 2230.

A register containing the articles of agreement signed by the crew and also by the authorities concerned. The following entry appears to be important.

S. No, 113.

Name of crew: Abdool Hameed Abdul Curreem.

Ship's name: 1st. ship,

Date-9 3-27.

In what capacity engaged: Coal Trimmer.

Date on which to be on board	}	12-3-27.
Registered No, of certificate of service		

Date of Discharge 27-5-27.

Place ... Bombay.

Signature of crew : Thumb Impression

P. 2230, (1).

Thumb Impression of Abdul Hamid.

P. 2231.

Official Log Book showing the list of crew and report of their character &c. in respect of S. S. Elysia which sailed from Bombay on 12-3-27. & returned on 27-5-27. The following entry is important

S. No. 113.

Name: Abool Hameed Abdul Currim.

Ability: Very good.

Conduct: Very good.

P. 2232.

A register containing the articles of agreement signed by the crew. The following entry appears to be important:—

S. No. 117.

Name of crew: Abdul Hamid.

Ship's name: 1st. ship.

Date: ... 5-6-27.

Capacity: .. Coal Trimmer.

Date on which to be
on board, } 8-6-27.

Registered No. of
certificate of service. } 14513.

Date of discharge ... 20-8-27.

Place. ... Bombay.

P. 2232 (1).

Thumb Impression of Abdul Hamid.

P. 2233 (1).

Official Log book showing the list of crew &c. in respect of S. S. Elysia which sailed from Bombay on 8-6-27 & returned on 20-8-27. The following entry is important:—

S. No: 117.

Name: Abdool Hamid.

Ability: Very good.

Conduct: Very good.

P. 2233 (2).

Page 21 of the Log book showing "Load line and Free Board and Draught of water." The following entry is important:—

Date of clearance: 23rd July,

Hour: ... 8-30 a. m.

Port: ... Manchester.

P. 2234.

A register containing the articles of agreement signed by the crew on S. S. Elysia. The following entry appears to be important.

S. No. 104.

Name of crew : Abdool Hamid Abdul Currim :

Ship's name : 1st. Ship.

Date: 31-8-27.

Capacity : Coal Trimmer.

Register No. of
cert. of service. } 14513.

Date of discharge: } 25th 27

Place .. Marseilles.

Cause .. Deserted.

P. 2235 [1].

Official Log Book showing the list of crew &c. in respect of S. S. Elysia which sailed from Bombay on 5-9.27 & returned on 3-12-27. The following entry is important:—

S. No. .. 104.

Name: ... Abdool Hamid Abdul Currim.

Ability }
Conduct } Deserted.

P. 2235 (2).

Page 32 of the Log Book in respect of the S. S. Elysia which sailed from Bombay on 5-9-27 & returned on 3-12-27. The following entry is important:—

Date of the occurrence: 25th. September 1927.

Place of Occurrence: Marseilles.

Entries required by Act: Abdool Hamid Abdool Currim (104) went on shore and up till time of Sailing failed to rejoin Ship. He has left on board 1 wooden Box (locked).

P. 2235 (3).

CERTIFICATE OF RELEASE.

Name: Abdul Hamid Abdul Karim.

Date of release: 29-3-28

From what jail released: H. M's. House of Correction
Byculla.

Native Place: Gwalior.

How Proceeding: Road.

Sd/- Illegible.

3-4-28.

H. Ms' House of Correction

Byculla.

:0

P. 2235 (4).

Page 21 of the Log Book in respect of the S. S Elysia which sailed from Bombay on 5-9-27 & returned on 3-12-27. The following entry is important:—

Date of clearance: 5th. September 1927.

Hour: 4. 30 a. m.

Port: Bombay

P. 2236 (C).

A copy of the order for the conveyance of distressed British Seamen, from Marseilles to Bombay relating to Abdul Hamid. Abdul Karim- Abdul Hamid left Marseilles by the S. S. Morea on 2-3-28 & was transferred to S.S. Razmak at Aden on 11-3-28. Which arrived at Bombay on 16-3-28.

P. 2237 TO 2246.

(Bombay Speeches—Separately Printed).

P. 2247 TO 2250.

Speeches delivered by Messrs. Johnstone, Ryan, Bradley & Spratt on 18-12-28 at the All India Trade Union Congress, Jharia

(Printed Separately—Behar speeches).

P. 2251

10, Croftdown Road

London N. W. 5.

England, 1st March 1929.

Secretary,

All-India Youth Conference

116, Bow Bazar Street,

Calcutta.

Dear Comrade,

I should very much like to get into contact with the Indian Youth Socialist Organisation. Unfortunately, however, I am unable to discover the address of any of the sponsors of this body. As I believe that their Conference in Calcutta recently, was held side by side the Conference of the All-India Youth, perhaps you will know at what address I can communicate with them. I should be very grateful if you could assist me in this matter. If you do know of the address of the Socialist Organisation, would you be good enough to forward to them the enclosed letter?

I do not know whether your organisation publishes any journal. If so would you entertain the suggestion that you should exchange copies of it with the English anti-Imperialist Youth organ, the "Young Worker".

We are always glad to have any news of Indian Nationalist Youth Movements, with which we are in the strongest sympathy.

Yours fraternally,

Sd/- F. C. Mellonie B. A.

P. 2251 [E].

Address on envelope :—

SECRETARY,

All-India Youth Conference

, 116, Bowbazar Street,

Calcutta, (India).

P. 2251 (I)

10, Croftdown Road

London, N. W. 5, England

1st March 1929.

INDIAN YOUTH SOCIALIST ORGANISATION,
CALCUTTA.

Dear Comrades,

We of the Young Communist League of Great Britain, welcome the resolutions passed at your recent conference in Calcutta, your rejection of the Nehru Report, your demand for complete independence for India as an interim step only on the path to a Revolutionary Workers' Government and to Communist Society. Should you succeed in your venture of publishing a journal for the Youth in which your programme is advocated, we should be glad to exchange copies with our own journal, the "Young Worker" (38, Great Ormond Street, London W. C. 1). If you will let me know your address I shall be pleased to arrange for this paper, the organ of the Communist Youth in this country, to be sent to you regularly. We think it would be good to maintain communications with your organisation. We struggle against the same enemy, British Imperialism, and frequently must carry on campaigns about the same events. Hence we should be acquainted with the movements that each is taking. Any news you could send us re: the conditions of the working youth in India would be most useful to us in the work of rallying the young workers of Great Britain to assist the Indian workers in their day to day struggles.

Awaiting your reply,

Yours fraternally,

Sd./- F. C. Mellonie B. A.

P. 2251 (D)(E).

Address on envelope

Indian Youth Socialist Organisation.

P. 2252.

10 Croftdown Road,

London N. W. 5.

England

1st March 1929.

Young India Society of Calcutta,

5, Samblur, Chatterjee Street,

Calcutta.

Dear Comrade,

We send herewith a copy of the current issue of the "Young Worker". As you will see the paper is the organ of the Young Communist League of Great Britain. We are in sympathy with all Nationalist Revolutionary bodies in India, and seek to mobilise the British Young Workers to assist you in your struggle against the Imperialists.

If this we should be greatly assisted by any information you could send us from time to time regarding events and conditions in India, particularly with regard to the Youth. If you publish any journals in English we should be pleased to receive them. In return we will, if you desire it, also communicate with you re conditions of the Youth here; and send to you copies of our own paper.

Awaiting your early reply.

Yours fraternally,

P. 2252 [1].

An issue of "YOUNG WORKER," No. 88 (New Volume)
dated Saturday, March 2nd, 1929.

P. 2252 [E]

Superscription on the envelope :—

Young India Society of Calcutta,

5, Samblur Chatterjee Street,

Calcutta.

P. 2253.

A typed copy of an article "Independence of India League
of Bengal, Calcutta" by M. N. Roy.

(Vide Exh. P. 1348 (37)).

P. 2253 [B].

An envelope with the following Superscription on it:—

Mr. Hari Kumer, Chakravery, Secy.

Independence of India League,

116 Bow bazar St.

Postal seal of :

Berlin—Leipzig.

Bahnpost.

14-11-28.

Calcutta

India.

P. 2254.

A typed copy of an article "Independence of India League of Bengal, Calcutta" by M. N. Roy.

(Vide Exh. P. 1348 (37))

P. 2254 [E].

An envelope with the following superscription on it.

Mr. Bhupati Muzumdar, Secy-

Reception Com. All India Youngmen's Conf.

Postal seal of:

116 Bowbazar St.

Berlin—Leipzig

Calcutta

Bahnpost

India.

14-11-28.

P. 2255 (P).

Labour Research Department.

162 Buckingham Palace Road,

Westminster, London, S. W. 1.

To Mr. K. L. Ghosh, Bengal T. U. Federation,

34 Bow Bazar St., Calcutta, India.

6-11-28

To affiliation fee for

£ 1-0-0

the year August

1928—29.

Superscription on the envelope :—

Mr. K. L. Ghosh.

Bengal T. U. Federation.

Postal seal of:

34 Bow Bazar Street,

London S. W. 1

Calcutta

Nov. 6, 1928,

India.

P. 2256.

A letter in Bengali of 19-7-28 from Muzaffar Ahmed, The Workers' & Peasants Party of Bengal, 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta, to S. Tagore. c/o Miss Agnes Smedley, Holstemischestrasse, 36, II, Berlin—Wilmersdorf, Germany.

P. 2257 (C).

Tel: Address:—

Workers & Peasants

“Ganavani”, Calcutta.

Party of Bengal,

2/1 European

Organ—“Ganavani”

Asylum Lane

(Bengali Weekly).

Calcutta—19-7-28

Max Zeise,

Berlin S.W. 48, Wilhelmstrasse, Nr. 131/32.

Dear friend,

I received your letter of the 5th May in time. I have also received your two letters of the 19th June. Please note that no

money has been received by me, nor could it be traced in the Post Office. Money should have been sent through Bank. Please write the name of our Party correctly in future. Our telegraphic address is "Ganavani", Calcutta. With greetings.

Yours fraternally,

Sd/- Muzaffar Ahmed,

General Secretary,

Workers' & Peasants' Party of

Bengal.

P. 2258-C.

Copy of a letter in English from P. Spratt, 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta, Dated 18/7 addressed to Mr. S. Saklatwala, M.P., House of Commons, London, England. (Intercepted at then Howrah Station Railway Mail Service Post Box on 19/7/28.

Dear Comrade,

I hope you will be able to make some use of the enclosed which is a copy of an article I am sending to the "SUNDAY WORKER". So far as I am aware, all statements made in it are accurate, but I shall send you further accounts from time to time if I can get more material. I intend to go there shortly if I possibly can.

Yours Fraternally

Sd/. P. Spratt.

Enclosure:—A typed article in 4½ pages, entitled "SUFFERINGS OF THE PEASANTS OF ATIA".

P. 2259-C.

Copy of a letter d/ 18-7-28 written by P. Spratt 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta in a cover addressed to the Editor, The "Sunday Worker", 254 Gray's Inn Road London, W. C. 1, enclosing a typewritten article under heading "Sufferings of the Peasants of Atia".

Intercepted at Howrah, R.M.S. on 19-7-28.

2/1 European Asylum

Lane, Calcutta.

18/7/28.

Dear Comrade,

I hope you can manage to publish the whole or an abstract of this. It is accurate, so far as I can make out. To save you the trouble of looking it up, I may as well say that Mymensing is a large district (about 5,000,000 inhabitants) in the North-Eastern part of Bengal, about 300 miles from Calcutta. There is no industry, no town of any size, and communication both within the district and outside it, is not very good. So little is heard about its internal affairs. Atia is one of the subdivisions in the more inaccessible parts. I hear that to get there you have, after leaving the train, to go by boat and on horseback. I intend to go as soon as I can, but at present Strikes keep me very busy.

I am sorry, by the way, that I have sent you nothing about strikes here yet. I have began articles for you several times, but have been unable to finish them. I shall certainly do so as soon as I possibly can.

Yours fraternally

(Sd.) P. Spratt.

P. 2260.

An issue of the Pan-Pacific Monthly for the month of April 1929.

P. 2260 [E].

Superscription on the wrapper:—

R. Mitra
Bengal Jute Workers Union.
97 Cornwallis St.,
Calcutta, India.

P. 2261 [E]

An envelope with the following entries:—

Shri Gouranga Press.
71/1 Mirzapur Street.
College Square East, Calcutta.
Md. Muzaffar Ahmad.....Dr.
2/1 European Asylum Lane
Bill No. with Vouchers: N. P.

177²

Date: 7-8-28.

Amount: 182/8/.

Remarks. Less paid 51/8/-
 Paid 50/-

3-1-29. 10/-

1-2-29. 5/-

If bills are kept kindly sign this cover and state when payment will be made.

Signature: Sd- Muzaffar Ahmad,

Date 9-8-28.

Call for payment on: 16-10-28.

1-2-29.

P. 2262.

Verbatim extract of a portion of the speech of Spratt at Mirzapur Park (Shraddhanand Park) on 4-4-28.

(Printed separately—Bengal speeches).

P. 2263.

Report submitted by Mr. N. C. Dutt, Government Reporter, Calcutta, regarding the Resolutions moved and carried at a scavengers' meeting near the Ochterlany monument on 5-3-28.

(Printed separately. Bengal speeches).

P. 2264 (1 & 2)

Speech of Kishori Lal Ghosh at Desh bandhu Park on 8-5-28 in Bengali. P. 2264 (1) was taken down by N. C. Dutt, while P 2264 (2) was taken Down by Nitaibari De

Printed separately—Bengal speeches).

P. 2265.

Speech of Kishori Lal Ghosh in Bengali, at the Desh bandhu Park on 11-5-28.

(Printed separately—Bengal speeches).

P. 2266.

An issue of the Hindi Newspaper "Aj" dated 12th June 1926. The article headed "Allegations against the Votaries of Communism" is important.

P. 2267.

An issue of the Hindi Newspaper "Aj" dated 18th June 1926. The article headed "Indian Karl Marx" by Ayodhya Prasad is important.

P. 2268. [P]

A letter dated 27-3-29 from Spratt to Abdul Halim. For proving the hand writing and Signature of Spratt.

P. 2269. (P),

Rejected

A post card dated 25-3-29 from Muzaffar Ahmed to Abdul Halim. For proving the handwriting and signature of Muzaffar Ahmed.

P. 2270 (P).

A post card dated 26-3-29 from Dharani Goswami to Babu Ashutosh Roy. For proving the handwriting and signature of Dharani Goswami.

P. 2271 (P).

Rejected

A post card dated 26-3-29 from Kishori Lal Gosh to Sj. Hara Lal Gosh. For proving the handwriting and signature of Kishori Lal Ghosh.

P. 2272 (P)

Rejected

A letter D/- 1-4-29 from Kishori Lal Ghosh to Sj. Hara Lal Gosh. For proving the handwriting and signature of Kishori Lal Ghosh.

P. 2273 [P].

Letter dated 1-4-29 from Gopal Basak to Sailen Mittra. For proving the handwriting and signature of Gopal Basak.

P. 2274. [P]

Post card dated 27-3-29 written partly in Bengali and partly in English by Gopal Basak to Brindaben Basak. For proving the Bengali handwriting of Gopal Basak.

P. 2275 (P).

Rejected

Post card dated 19-4-29 from Gopen Chakravarty to Nripendra Krishna Chakravarty. For proving the English handwriting and signature of Gopen Chakaravarty.

P. 2276 (P).

Post card dated 20-4-29 from Shibnath Banerji to I. B. Sen. For proving the English handwriting and signature of Shib Nath Benerji.

P. 2277 (P)

Rejected

Post card dated 20-4-29 from Shib Nath Banerji to Dwarka Nath Vendanta Ratna. For proving the English handwriting and signature of Shib Nath Banerji.

P. 2278 [P].

Rejected

A post card dated 26/3/29 from Radharaman Mitra to Bankim Ghandra Mukherji. For proving the handwriting and signature in English of Radha Raman Mitra.

P. 2279 (P).

A letter dated 31/3/29, from B. F. Bradley to Mr. Sandwell of Bombay. For proving the handwriting and signature of Bradley in English.

P. 2280 (P).

A post card dated 1/4/29 from S. V. Ghate to I. Appajirao, Bombay. For proving the English handwriting and signature of S. V. Ghate.

P. 2281 [P].

A post card dated 26/3/29, from S. V. Ghate, to C. G. Shah, Bombay. For proving the English Handwriting and signature of S. V. Ghate.

P. 2282 [P].

A post card dated 25/3/29 from S.H. Jhabwala, to Zulmiram R. Choudhary, Bombay. For proving the English handwriting and signature of S.H. Jhabwala.

P. 2283 [P].

Rejected

A letter dated 8/4/29, from D.R. Thengdi, to L. B. Bhopatkar, Poona. For proving the handwriting and signature in English of D.R. Thengdi.

SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY'S
BRANCH LIBRARY
BOMBAY

P. 2284 [P].

A letter dated 1/4/29, written in English, by K.N. Joglekar and signed in Marathi by A.A. Alwe, to Ganu Sagun Satam of BOMBAY. For proving the English handwriting of Joglekar.

P. 2285 (F).

A post card dated 24/3/29, from S. S. Mirajkar, to S. V. Deshpande of Bombay. For proving the English handwriting and signature of S.S. Mirajkar.

P. 2286 (P).

A letter dated 24/3/29, from R.S. Nimbkar, to D.M. Pangarkar, Bombay. For proving the English handwriting and signature of R.S. Nimbkar.

P. 2287 (P).

A post card dated 22/3/29, from Shaukat Usmani to B. T. Randive of Bombay. For proving the English hand-writing and signature of Shaukat Usmani.

P. 2288 (P).

An undated post card from Gangadhar Adhikari to J. M. Adhikari, Bombay. For proving the English hand-writing and signature of G. M. Adhikari.

P. 2289 (P).

A letter dated 29/3/29, from Gangadhar Adhikari, to Bhalchandra T. Randive of Bombay. For proving the English handwriting and signature of G. M. Adhikari.

P. 2290 (P).

A letter dated 8/4/29, from M. G. Desai, to Dr. Jamnabai Desai of Bombay. For proving the English hand-writing and Signature of M. G. Desai.

P. 2291 (P).

Rejected

A letter dated 1/4/29, from G.R. Kasle to his son Bhaskar G. Kasle, Bombay. For proving the Marathi hand writing of G. R. Kasle.

P. 2292-(P).

Rejected

A letter dated 27/3/29, from Dharamvir Singh, to Nawab Sir Ahmed Said Khan Sahid, Nainital. For proving the English hand-writing and signature of Dharamvir Singh.

P. 2293 (P).

Rejected

A post card dated 27/3/29, from Dharamvir Singh to Bhopal Singh of Bijnor. For proving the Urdu hand-writing of Dharamvir Singh.

P. 2294 [P].

A post card dated 24/3/29, from P.C. Joshi, to Manohar Lal, Allahabad. For proving the English hand-writing and signature of P. C Joshi.

P. 2295 [P].

An undated post card from P. C Joshi to Purnanand Upadhyaya. Meerut. For proving the English hand-writing and signature of P. C. Joshi.

P. 2296 [P].

Rejected

A post card dated 1/4/29, from Biswanath Mukerji to Pt. Sitaram Sukla, Bastr. For proving the English hand-writing and signature of Dr. Biswanath Mukerji.

P. 2297 [P].

Rejected

A post card without date from Gouri Shankar Sharma in Hindi. For proving the Hindi hand-writing of Gourishankar Sharma.

P. 2298 (P). *Rejected*

A post card dated 1/4/29, from Laxmanrao Kadam to B. Parbatrao Kadam, Jhansi. For proving the Hindi hand-writing and signature of Laxmanrao Kadam.

P. 2299 (P).

A post card dated 24/3/29, from M.A. Majid to M. Mahomed Husain, Lahore. The contents are in Urdu while the address is in English. For proving the Urdu and English hand-writing and signature of M. A. Majid.

P. 2300 (P).

A letter without date from Sohan Singh Josh, to Pro. Naranjan Singh, Amritsar. For proving the English hand-writing and signature of Sohan Singh Josh.

P. 2301 P).

A post card dated 26/3/29, in Urdu from Sohan Singh. Josh to Gyani Gurmukh Singh. Amritsar. For proving the Urdu hand-writing and signature of Sohan Singh Josh.

P. 2302 [P].

Rejected

An undated post card from Kedar Nath Sehgal, to Girdhari Lall Delhi. For proving the English hand-writing and signature of Kedar Nath Sehgal.

P. 2303 (S).

An application to the Additional District Magistrate, Meerut, signed by some of the accused. For proving the Signatures of the ring:—

B. F. Bradley.

Gauri Shankar.

K. N. Joglekar.

Dharani Goswami.

P. Spratt.

S. A. Dange.

Gopendra Chakravarty.

Kedar Nath. Saigal

R. S. Nimbkar

P. C. Joshi.

Laxmanrao Kadam.

G. Adhi Kari.

Shaukat Usmani.

A. Prasad.

Sohan Singh Josh.

R. Mitra.

M. G. Desai

Gopal Basak.

Kishori Lal Ghosh,

M. A. Majid.

Muzaffar Ahmad.

P. 2304 (S).

A petition to the Additional District Magistrate Meerut, signed by most of the accused. For proving the signatures of the following:—

R. S. Nimbkar	Gopal Basak	B. Mukerji
K. N. Joglekar	R. Mitra	M. A. Majid
B. F. Bradley	S. S. Mirajkar	Ajdhia Prasad Kedar Nath Saigal
H. Lester Hutchinson.	Sohan Singh Josh	Muzaffar Ahmad
S. N. Barerji	Lakshman Rao Kadam	
S. Huda	Dharani Goswami	G. R. Kasle (Marathi)
G. Chakraborty	Shaukat Usmani	
G. Adhikari	M. G. Desai	S. H. Jhabwala
S. A. Dange	P. Spratt	K. L. Ghosh
Gouri Shankar	S. V. Ghate	D. R. Thengdi.
P. C. Joshi	A. A. Alwe (in Marathi)	

P. 2305.

A photograph of Mirza Mohamed Ali Shah Sipassi. On the book of the photograph there is the following endorsement:—

As a token of remembrance and Trust of friendship to Seth Ali Mohamed Sahib.

Sd. M. C. SIPASSI

Pondicherry.

20-2-24

P. 2306 (S)

Register of declaration regarding the place of residence of strangers, kept by the chief of Police, Pondicherry. No. 1849 refers to Mirza Abdul Mahomed Khan Sepassi and he has signed the declaration in Urdu. For proving the Urdu Signature of Sepassi.

P. 2307 [A].

An application D/ 12-2-24 written by Sepassi in the presence of P. W. 289 Mr. S. C. Mani Pillai at the Dictation of R. C. L. Sharma.

P. 2307 (B).

This is the signature of R. C. L. Sharma below the petition mentioned at P. 2307 (a) At the end of the petition there is a Certificate written and signed by Sharma in the presence of P. W. 289 Mr. S. C. Mani Pillai.

P. 2308.

A Chit with the hand writing and Signature of Sepassi.

P. 2309

A Chit of paper having three Signatures of R. C. L. Sharma on it. These were recorded in presence of P. W. 289 Mr. S. C. Mani Pillai and the Chief of Police, Pondicherry.

P. 2310

A photograph of R. C. L. Sharma.

P. 2311.

Bombay 29th August 1927.

Sir,

Under the auspices of the Workers and Peasants Party, Bombay, a public meeting was held yesterday at the Marwadi MEETING TO PROTEST Vidayalaya Hall to protest against AGAINST ELECTROCUTION OF SACCÒ & VAN- Vanzetti. S. H. Jhabwalla was ZETTI. voted to the chair as B.G. Horniman who was to preside over this meeting did not turn up. About 300 persons were present.

S. H. Jhabwalla explaining the progress of the Workers Movement in India said that inspite of adverse forces and political and economical obstacles nearly half a lakh of labourers were organised under different Trade Unions at present. He regretted that the Indians were not taking interest in the International Labour Movement, and appealed to those present to become members of the P. & Workers' party.

He emphasised upon the necessity of international brotherhood of workers and pointed out that it was that sentiment of brotherhood that compelled them to convene that meeting, raise their voice of protest against the injustice done to two Italians who had settled as labourers in America. He divided the Population of the whole

P. 2306 (S)

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P. 2307 [A].

An application D/ 12-2-24 written by Sepassi in the presence of P. W. 289 Mr. S. C. Mani Pillai at the Dictation of R. C. L. Sharma.

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S. H. Jhabwalla explaining the progress of the Workers' Movement in India, said that in spite of adverse forces and political and economical obstacles nearly half a lakh of labourers were organised under different Trade Unions at present. He regretted that the Indians were not taking interest in the International Labour Movement, and appealed to those present to become members of the P. & Workers' party.

He emphasised upon the necessity of international brotherhood of workers and pointed out that it was that sentiment of brotherhood that compelled them to convene that meeting, raise their voice of protest against the injustice done to two Italians who had settled as labourers in America. He divided the Population of the whole

world into two sections i. e. the rich and the poor and said that the latter were being crushed and exploited by the former. In his opinion the exploitation and oppression to which the poor were subjected by the Capitalists and Imperialistic Governments, could only be stopped by a mass revolt. Unless such a mass-movement was set a-foot in India, said the speaker, no freedom could be expected for her. His experience of the past 10 years' work amongst the workers show that the Capitalists and Government were adamant to even accede to the genuine demands of the labourers. As soon as all the workers were organised, mass revolution could be declared but by revolution, he said, he did not mean bloodshed, aeroplanes hovering over head, and cannon blowing because when workers and labourers were united, freedom could be had within 5 minutes without shedding a drop of blood.

~~7.2.2022~~ S.A. Dange who spoke next differed from the President's advocating beforehand fixed up policy of non-violence, or violence, because no body could exactly gauge the psychology of the masses 5 years hence when they were fully organised. He advised the leaders not to comit themselves by laying out a fixed policy to create another Bardauli. He could not say whether the revolution when the time came would take the form of Parliamentary constitution, or Russian Revolution or Fascism as in Italy.

He scathingly criticeised both the Congress and the Assembly and said they were useless to render any service to the masses. He pointed out their failure to raise their voice against that sort of tyranny of American Imperialism inspite of the fact that they are fully cognisant of all the facts of Sacco-Vanzetti-case.

Continuing S.A. Dange declared that class struggle against Imperialism and capitalism was becoming stronger and stronger and contradicted Reuter's news that Communism was cooling down in England. Diverging from the subject, the speaker referred to the Gujrat Flood Relief Fund and opined that it was also a stunt of the Capitalist and loan-mongers like Sir Purshotam and others, who were contributing to that fund not out of mercy or compassion but for their own benefit because if the Gujrat peasants are not producing enough, they would not derive full profits out of their earning. It was therefore in the interests of the Capitalists that the peasants of Gujrats should be accommodated. He further referred to the hint of Mr. V. J. Patel regarding one Crore which he would try in the Assembly to be voted for relief work in Gujrat and surcastically remarked that it would be advanced at a low rate of interest but—if the crops fail, utensils and ornaments of these poor people would be attached to enhance their miseries.

R.S Nimkar then read out excerpts from the statements of Sacco and Varzetti to the Court and said that they were sentenced to death because they were radicals. S S. Mirajkar also spoke in

Marathi explaining why that meeting was convened under the auspices of his Party.

The following resolution was then put to vote from the chair and passed —

RESOLUTION.

“That this meeting of the citizens of Bombay condemns the action of the American Imperialists in condemning to death two innocent labourers Sacco & Vanzetti in spite of the protests of the world Proletariat but again thanks the American Imperialists for exposing the barbarism and ruthlessness of Capitalism and thereby giving more impetus to the oppressed Proletariat of the world to unite against Imperialism in every country.”

The pamphlet entitled Sacco and Vanzetti, from which Nimbkar read out pages 3 to 8 and 10 was on sale for one anna per copy at the meeting and is put up herewith. The following books were also exhibited for sale outside the Hall:—

1. Communism. 2. Science & Socialism.
3. Appeal to the Young. 4. Wage, Capital & Labour.
5. Social Revolution. 6. Hundred Percent Indian.

(Sd.) A.K. Chaudhari.

Sub-Inspector of Police,

B. Branch. 29/8/27.

P. 2312 [P]

My dear friend,

23-3-27

Your letter and Ry. receipt posted on Monday I got alright yesterday. It would have been much better, if you had time of seeing me, before you went. There were some more important points and my personal requests were even more urgent than any other matter. I think you have to go out soon for the sake of those things. Please come to me as soon as you can.

This week, I have received a letter for Calcutta and it is being sent herewith. Please send it soon. I think, it is for our newly returned comrade who has preferred my post box. M. A. must be knowing him and you can use his address, with a small note.

Next month I intend to change the house and there the water is to be fetched from the road pipe. Therefore a big brass pot is required badly and you must bring it whether new or old.

Please don't use the 1st address for few days more. It is simply my precaution and nothing else.

With respects to you all

P. 2312 [P] [1].

1/12 1/11 6/15 9/F 10/1 9/19 18/5 5/15 8/15
 6/4 9/21 5/5 3/9 11/24 7/9 6/4 20/6 1/2 3/1F
 1/11 13/9 2/6 3/3 2/1 1/16 3/9 13/10 3/8 7/12
 7/9 5/21 18/5 13/10 7/10 1/8 1/1F 18/6 15/13
 18/8 16/2 12/13 13/F 13/1 13/9 1/2 2/1 7/9 5/21
 20/1 16/2 10/1 15/1F 8/15 3/1F 6/5 13/1 15/F
 2/6. 1F/6 18/5 20/6 3/1F 11/10 22/4 9/1F 12/3
 15/4 3/1F 15/1 7/24 3/3 6/15 7/12 1/9 1/12 1/4
 8/21 3/5 2/6 1/1F 16/2 5/4 7/12 1/10 3F/16
 19/16 14/19 1/6 15/F 5/3 1/9 3/1 5/15 13/9 20/1
 2/6. 9/1F 13/1 14/19 1/19 2/1 16/2 3/5 13/10
 2/1 6/15 7/2 1/1F 16/2 1/4. 13/9 1/11 16/12 8/21
 12/6 24/23 13/1 1F/6 13/9 1/6 5/3 9/F 3/1F
 13/1 1/9 3/5 9/F 3/1F 5/6 18/8 1/9 3/1F 15/5
 1/11 9/1F 20/6. 1/2 5/6 3/5 24/23 1/10 13/9
 15/1 15/13 9/F 2/6 11/1 F/12 1F/21 18/6 8/21
 1/19 2/1 13/10 7/12 J 19/16 22/4 12/3 16/2 3/1
 7/24 5/21 1/12 9/F 22/4 13/1 1/12 13/10 5/6
 10/1 1/9. 2/6 3/5 2/1 3/8 15/4 13/1 J 1/4 15/F
 7/1 13/1 16/2 2/1 3/8 7/1 13/1 9/19 10/1 18/5
 15/4 20/6 1F/6 5/4 1/4 2/6 11/10 14/19. 11/10
 1/11 1/16 5/15 8/21 20/6 6/4 18/5 1/19 12/3

3/1F 3/5 2/6 13/10 7/12 22/4 8/15 1/16 22/4.
 20/1 24/23 1/1F 10/18 18/8 18/20 3/15 13/1 16/2
 1F/12 20/6 1/12 1/11 15/F 3/15 9/F 15/4 2/0
 5/4 3/5 15/5 18/5 18/6 8/21 1/11 15/F 3/15
 20/1 16/2 15/4 2/1 1/19 18/8 7/24 1/9 12/3
 14/19.

P. 2312 [1] [T].

Translation of the Cypher.

Received all your letters. Do not forget building port organisations. Meet Spratt and comrades in Bombay and Madras. Roy gone to China. Reand (send) a comrade to meet him there. The Comrade (sic) should go to Japan and (sic) report himself to Janson of Soviet Embassy. Send delegates to Pan Pacific Conference to be held in Canton in May.

P. 2313 [P].

Jhansi

31-5-26.

My dear Brother,

After waiting long time for the reply of Elder I left Calcutta and reached here in last week.

Others have decided to open the Central office in Delhi instead of Calcutta. Mr. Bagerhotta has opened the said office in Delhi and he will continue his work from there. You might have received our manifesto and also a pamphlet of Mr. Satyabhakta. In reply to that pamphlet I had sent a contradiction to "Pratap" and they have published it. I am sending the cutting here with of the above contradiction. Unfortunately it was not published full.

They have cut off a most important paragraph in which I tried to prove that he is propagating to receive money from Masco.

If you have received any reply of my letter please send on the address which I had given to you. I am sending herewith a letter to Elder. Please send both (cutting and letter) to Elder.

I met with some emergency. So I am in need of some money. If you are in position to send me 30/-. Please send this money on Chirgoon address as soon as possible. I will return this money but cannot promise for the time. I am asking this from your person and also post a letter on town school address. I hope you wont fail to send this some on receiving my letter. I am expecting to receive before or on 10th of next month, and also send me a new address.

Here is address for Mr. t.

Inside "Tagore"

ADDRESS—

MAÑIK DEVI

c/o R. M. DAS Esq.,

PLOT 72B SAHIB BAGAN

P. O. KALIGHAT

CALCUTTA

Yours

(Sd). Alakh Prokash

You can use town school address for many also.

I am very sorry write you that I lost my grandfather while I was in Calcutta.

P. 2313 (P. E).

N. Swamy

18 Nilviraswamy Chetty Street

TRIPPLICANE

MADRAS.

P. 2314.

A post card dated 10-3-24 in Urdu from Sepassi to Ali Mohamed Sait Proves the Urdu handwriting of Sepassi.

Address on the post card :—

Mr. Ali Mohamad Sait,

11, Rue Rangapillai

Pondicherry,

Inde-Francaise

P. 2315 [P].

29 Sep. 1926

Dear Friends,

Yours letters were all received. While waiting for sending a detailed reply to them, I am writing this note for your and B's perusal. Please note the following :—

(1) All of you complain for not receiving communications papers and money from us, but have you ever thought that you have never taken care sending us adequate addresses where things should be sent? One installment of money was sent to J. P's address which he gave sometime ago. I hope you have received that. About further installments a letter was sent to his address. Please give us addresses for letters, papers, money etc.

(2) The dirty remarks mentioned in our letter and denied in your last letter came from Calcutta. Our letter was a circular one and therefore it had to cover all the points.

(3) I hope you have received a "Word" from Sh. In addition to that if a "Herald" comes from us please receive him. Take care that it is used by the right person, because if this letter does not reach you safely then it may be abused.

(4) A friend "Campbell" would address your coming Conference. Please give him all facilities to address the meeting and disappear safely. Of course you will verify as to his identity. He will be instructed to come in contact with you not you personally but any of you.

(5) Please send the Urdu letter to Nasim

(6) Is J. P. receiving all our letters sent to Rewari, and paper sent to Hamilton Road? Give us more addresses

(7) Telegrams from abroad will be sent to your Conference.

(8) Something must be done at Bombay to receive and distribute literature.

(9) It is advisable and good for the cause if Sh and you discontinue recriminating campaign against each other and work together like comrades.

(10) My letter which J. P. reports not to have received was sent to Sh. may be he did not forward it.

(11) You have got a telegraphic address from us. The date and such small things can be wired there, if necessary.

I have already written to you not to come. Wait till you get explanation. Please dont be impatient.

Greetings

Sd. M. A.

P. 2315 (P) (1).

T. of this rejected

A letter in Urdu dated 29-12-26 from Sepassi to Nasim, Majid etc.

P. 2315. (P)(E) (1)

Superscription on the envelope:

Mr. N. Sawamy

19 Nilivirasami Chetty St.

Triplicane,

Madras

India.

P. 2315 (P) (F) (2).

Superscription on another envelope :—

Iyengar.

P. 2316.

An Urdu letter dated 7-10-25 from Sepassi to Mr. H. M. Cassime. Proves the Urdu handwriting of Sepassi.

P. 2316 [E] [1].

Superscription on the envelope :—

Mr. H. M. Cassime,

5F Rue du Cazi, 5F.

Pondichery

Indo-Francaises.

P. 2316 [E] [2].

Another envelope with the following name :
"Lala".

P. 2317

2 Photographs of Soumyendra Nath Tagore.

P. 2318

An issue of a weekly newspaper "Pratap" in Hindi dated 30-5-26. The article headed "Mr. Satyabhakta and Communism", by Ayodhyaprasad is important.

P. 2319.

I Ajudhia Prasad S/o Ram Prasad Kayasth of Jhansi, do declare that I am the Keeper and Printer of a Printing press situated in house No. 138, Parwaran Jhansi. Formerly known as "Sahas Press" now to be named as "Labour Press."

Sd/- Ajudhia Prasad.

Declared before me

Sd/- Illegible.

Joint Magistrate

30/6/26. Jhansi.

P. 2320 (P).

Jan. 23, 1926.

My dear Friend

Your letter dated 7/11/25 reached where I have been staying for several months. It gave me great satisfaction that you are making so much progress in spite of the tremendous difficulties. The situation is very favourable and we are sure to go ahead. I am so distressed by my inability to come to your aid more actively.

Your speech at the Postal Employees Conference was very good. What is necessary now is to follow it up in deeds. Your suggestions have reached me through the comrade who visited you lately. I generally agree with the plan with some exceptions. The friend writes that the proposition is to form a Social Democratic Party. I am against it. The party will be judged by the Government not by its name, but by its programme. If the party adopts a communist programme, a different name would not save it. If it adopts a Social Democratic Programme, it would fail to meet the situation. I am not aware on what programme you propose to form the party, therefore my reflections must be confined to generalities.

The friend writes that he had met a number of people who are in favour of a new party organisation and says that as soon as there will be a party, large numbers from the Swarajist and Gandhist ranks will join. This is very good perspective. Our line should be a dual organisation: a legal nationalist party with a radical republican programme (Peoples' Party) and an illegal Communist Party inside it. The latter should be first formed in a conference of our own comrades. Central Committee, names and number of membership, and any other particulars will remain secret. In its manifesto the C. P. will declare that its first task is to help the reorganisation of the nationalist movement on a revolutionary basis. The next step will be to call a conference of the radical elements inside and outside the existing nationalist parties to discuss the plan and programme of the Peoples' Party. The Communist will take the initiative in calling this Conference not as Communists, but as nationalists. The programme we published before the Gaya Congress will be presented to the Conference as the basis of discussion and the Peoples' Party should be formed on the vital points of that programme.

The C. P. must be properly organised, a Central Committee of 5 or 7 should be elected, and members enrolled on the basis of monthly dues. Every Communist will be given the charge of definite agitation, propaganda and organisation work either in the Peoples' Party or Trade Union or the Peasant movement, as may be suitable for him.

The Peoples' Party will publish a legal organ, may be weekly to begin with. Practical matters concerning this will be attended to on receipt of the news that definite steps have been taken in the direction of organisation.

✓ Now I must draw your attention to the so-called C. P. of Cawnpur. We are somewhat bewildered by it. There is no doubt about it that the hands of the police are behind it. But it appears that some good elements have been drawn into the trap. Attempts should be made to save these people and expose the whole show, or am I altogether mistaken?—the party is an honest venture? Please inform us more fully about it. Singaravelu of Madras is a humbug, and his behaviour during the Cawnpur Trial is open to grave suspicion; but Hazrat, Arjun Lal Sethia of Ajmere, Azad Sobhani etc. cannot be neglected. It will be useful to talk to these men seriously..

On the other hand, the newly formed Labour-Swaraj Party of Bengal seems to be moving in our direction. Relations must be established with them. There are other similar ventures. A conference of all these bodies should be called as a preliminary action. By the way, who is this M. Krishna, who wrote in the Forward (18/12/25) on the formation of Labour Party. Some months ago he wrote in the same paper supporting the Cawnpur C. P. He seems to have some knowledge of Marxism. It will be advisable to look him up.

The Union formed in Bombay under the leadership of Atma-ram will serve as the basis of our Trade Union work in Bombay. Did Thengdi make a show in the Trade Union Congress at Madras A Left wing should be formed inside the Trade Union Congress with him at the head. It should be demanded why he was pushed out of the Presidency of the Trade U. C. Executive. Obviously it was because he spoke from the working class point of view. This action of the T. U. C. bosses should be exposed before the workers. It will strengthen the position of the Left Wing demanding a change in the programme and constitution of the T. U. C.

The last thing I will suggest, and it is very important, is that one or two comrades should be sent out as soon as possible to discuss our political and organisational programme and to make satisfactory arrangements about material questions. Can you not find another pretext to come out? That will be very fortunate.

Please send me all the publications regarding the labour activities. It is very difficult for me to subscribe to the small, often short-lived papers I will be very thankful if you will keep me supplied with all these materials.

This is all for the present. Soon I will write in more detail as regards organisation, etc. A copy of this is also sent to the

Madrasi friend for information. With very best wishes and greetings to you both, the above is a typed letter & the below is hand-written:—

It is a copy of the letter addressed to our Patna friend
P. S.

Please send it to him in case he does not receive the original.

P. 2320 (P. E. 1).

Superscription on the envelope:—

Post mark,
TRIPPLICANE

21 Feb. 26.

Mr. N. Sawamy

19, Nilivirasamichetty st.

Triplicane,

MADRAS.

India.

2320 [P E 2]

Superscription on another envelope:—

Iyengar.

P. 2320 (P. E. 1)

17-2-26.

My dear Comrade,

Received your letter of 12-1-26. You did not try to write an exhaustive report on the Cawnpore Conference as we were expecting. Still the information contained in your letter is very valuable. In future please send a regular report of what is going on—don't omit details. You write "Satybhakta's party does not seem to be real one". What facts have you got to form such an opinion, you did not tell us what other people thought of him and his party.

Two weeks ago I sent you a letter from our "Big Friend" It was a typewritten copy of a letter from the same Friend to our Putna Friend Did you receive it? Fh. receives papers, please get all the numbers from him and read them all. If every comrade does the same, it is not necessary to write instructions in letters.

It is absolutely necessary that there should be somebody to replace N. G. in Col. You know those boats do not go to Madras it is only Col. which they touch on their way to the far east. Please see that N. G. is replaced at once by another friend otherwise all the organisation on this end will be ruined and the work will suffer. To form a new party and conduct the movement on right lines it is necessary to read and have the literature. You can not do anything so far in the interior, so we must depend on publications from abroad. Please don't tell me that there is nobody to take the place of N. G.

You will soon get Financial help. Please let us know how much (minimum) do you want? Is there any possibility of bringing in the Com. party of Cawnpore on the lines of our program and policy? That should be your and other comrade's work in there. Why don't you send us regularly Singaravelu's organ. Can you not find a better man to edit a new party organ? That Signaravelu's journal was a tame affair as far as I know. To keep in touch with our ideas and policy our paper must be read and digested.

The manifesto of Sharma is a queer document. Extracts from our paper are huddled together without any idea of coherent composition. Wherever he tries to make original remarks (i e. the product of his own pen) he has made stupid mistakes. I have written to him about it. Why a joint manifesto on behalf of the party was not issued? That would have been much better than the personal opinion of a single individual. Leaving aside the excerpts from our

paper the writer shows himself a nationalist of a Tilak school—far far from being a communist.

In March you should try to give a clear definite shape to the organisation. It is no use repeating the old formulas of the defunct Labour and Kisan party. A definite programme and definite practical tasks should be formulated the resolution about organising the the workers and peasants has also been adopted, several times by the national Congress. But nothing was done in the practical field. The new organisation which is essentially an organisation of workers and peasants should lay down definite steps in the way of organising the masses such an organisation should have no place for nationalist Jingoism, it must have relations with the outside world. You will be supplied with full criticism either in our organ or in a separate letter.

Please write to us as often as you can. If you cannot write once a week, write every fortnight. It is necessary to be in close touch. Do you think you will be able to come out in the end of March? So far nobody has come here, in spite of all our demands. Write that Devil of Mit—to send his reports so that we may know if he is doing anything. Send us those addresses (some safe ones) where papers can be sent safely. How should the money be sent to you. Write as soon as you can.

Best wishes and greetings

Yours

Dr. Nair.

I request you again to read our Paper up to date before going in March to take part in the party conference.

P. 2321 [P.E. 1]

Superscription on the envelope.

Mr. N. Swamy

19 Nilivirasamichetty st.

Triplicane

Madras

India

P. 2321 (P.E. 2).

Another envelope with superscription on it:—

Iyengar

P. 2322 (1).

My dear Com.

31-5-26

Got your letter alright. What made you shift the office to Delhi? Herewith you will find my promised quota of 50 Rs. Is Com Ghate to be with you there. Poor chap please have him.

So sorry to note the mischief of that fellow Satyabaktha. Have you contradicted it. If so please send a copy of your article and also his.

Herewith you will find a letter from elder brother abroad to you and I believe you will send a fitting reply to it. I forwarded your former letter to him which you gave me at Calcutta and I hope it will open his eyes a little. I am seriously thinking a trip to—and shall let you know if settled.

Expecting your reply soon.

I am

Yours fraternally

(Sd) C

P. 2322 (2)

Letter dated March 20, 1926 from R to Begerhotta

(Vide Exh P 2169)

P. 2321 (E).

Registered cover addressed to:—

J. P. Begerhotta,

Room No 9

Maharaja Hotel

Delhi.

Postal seal of:—

Flower Bazar

21 Mar. 26.

P. 2322 (A).

POST OFFICE.

No. P. 277

From

The Manager,

Dead Letter Office, Madras.

To

R. W. Hanson Esquire, Bar-at-Law,

Postmaster General, Madras.

Dated Madras the 22nd June 1926,

Sir,

I beg to report that Registered Letter No: 934 dated the 31st May 26 of Flower Bazar P. O. addressed to J. P. Begerhotta, Room No. 9. Maharajah Hotel, Delhi was received in this office on the 16th June 26, through the D. L. O. Lahore, with the remark "Left". As the cover contained no particulars of the sender on the outside, it was opened here in the usual course and found to contain one communication in English with another typewritten communication as enclosure to it and five currency notes for Rs. 10/- each.

2. The two communications found are not signed nor is any address of the senders given therein and it is not known therefore who the writers are but it is evident from a perusal of the contents that the authors of the two communications are communists one of whom is in this Presidency and the other in Europe very probably in Russia and that the addressee is apparently the head of the gang in India engaged in the organization of communal activities in this country. It seems to me, therefore, that the matter is one which ought to be placed in the hands of the C. I. D. and I therefore submit herewith the two communications referred to above with the cover of the registered letter for such further action as may be considered necessary. The rest of the contents viz. the five currency notes for Rs. 10 each have been secured here for disposal, in the usual course, accordidg to rules after the expiry of one year.

3. If any enquiry is received from the sender, which is very unlikely. I shall forthwith submit a further report.

I beg to remain,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant

(Sd) Illegible.

Manager, D. L. O. Madras.

P, 2322 (B),

Office of the Postmaster-General

Secret

Madras

Coonoor, 24th June/26.

My dear Mullaly,

I send herewith a letter No: P-277 D/- 22nd June from the Manager D. L. O. Madras, and its enclosure, for such action as you may think necessary.

Kindly acknowledge receipt,

Yours sincerely,

(Sd) R. W. Hanson.

Berlin, Oct. 13.

Central Committee

Communist Party of India.

Dear Comrades.

According to the letter of Com. Begerhotta, the party conference will meet in the middle of Nov. It has been suggested in a previous letter (personally addressed to Com. B) that the conference be postponed in order that sufficient preparatory work could be done. But it might be too late. You might have gone too far ahead. It might be inconvenient to postpone the conference now. This being the case, it becomes impossible for us to render as much as we should and would. Anyhow we will do our best.

Some suggestions as regards the agenda of the conference have already been made in the letter of Com. B. Our point of view on all those question, namely, organisation of a left opposition inside the Nat. Con, Building up of our party, party press, trade union work, international affiliation etc will be submitted to the conference in the form of a joint memorandum. We are of the opinion that the party should issue a manifesto in the occasion of the conference. Herewith enclosed is a draft of the manifesto that we propose should be published. We believe it will reach you in time to be printed and circulated before the party conference.

You will notice that the term Communist Party has been purposely kept out of the document. This has been done because of our opinion (supported by leading international comrades) that it would be wiser *not to* call our Party a Communist Party. Apart from tactical reason, there are political reasons for this. There are honest people sharing our views, in general, who do not dare join the Communist Party. We may call these people cowards; but the fact is we have still got to build the Party. And this cannot be done unless we are able to gather around us all the available materials from which the party can grow. The most important reason, however is that to be able to accomplish the gigantic task, the Communist must have a broad basis. We must have a mass party which can operate legally. A small conspirative group will be of no use. But the name of the party should be changed, provided you agree to it, not mechanically. It must be through a orgnizational process. Groups and individuals, that may enter a revolutionary working class party (communist except in name) must be approached, preliminary conversations should be carried on as regards programme and organization, then a conference should be called jointly to launch a broad working class party, say the workers' and

peasants' party. But let us repeat there is no hurry. It might be just as good, perhaps, to consolidate our own forces before starting out to draw in others. One thing, however, should be made clear; This proposition is not the same as that for the formation of a Peoples' Party. They are two entirely different things. One is a veiled Communist Party while the other is a revolutionary nationalist party. In our memorandum to the Conference we will revert to the subject.

We hope the 50 pounds sent a month ago to Com. B's private address have been received. We are awaiting the acknowledgement to remit further instalments. But it will be very necessary that you indicate some better method of transmitting money.

With fraternal greetings,

Foreign Bureau.

N.B.—The manifesto should be of course, issued in the name of the C. P. since the C. P. still formally exists.

P. 2323 (P) (1)

HOW TO ORGANISE A WORKING CLASS PARTY?

When, in 1920, the first voice was raised to declare the necessity of organising in India a political party of the working class, it almost sounded like a voice in the wilderness. Generally the idea was considered to be fantastic—unrealizable dream of some exiles looking at India through glasses stained with the knowledge of European countries. The *bhadralok* politicians could not conceive of the common people having any say or significance in the movement to shape the destinies of the country. Curiously enough, this indifference to the importance of the masses and failure to admit that they could possibly have any political significance prevailed even among the revolutionary nationalists when the country was in the throes of a revolution caused by the fact that for the first time the masses participated actively in the nationalist movement. The British rulers, however, know India and the relative potentiality of the social forces that underlie the nationalist movement much better than the nationalists themselves. While the latter indulge in dreams about an India that never existed and will

never exist, the imperialists are guided by a thorough knowledge of realities. Without this superior knowledge it would have been impossible for them to hold their position against such apparently overwhelming odds. The post-war discontent caused the imperialists many a sleepless night. They were mortally afraid of that revolutionary ferment of popular energy. It might have resulted into something very ugly. As a matter of fact, it dangerously tended to that direction. What was lacking; fortunately for the imperialists, was a bold, consciously revolutionary leadership. And it was but a question of time. Such a gigantic fermentation of mass energy was sure to throw up a conscious vanguard—the revolutionary party of the working class. The ripening of objective conditions was bound to create the corresponding subjective reflex. Indian working class had become the backbone of a great political movement. It must develop its own political organ. Imperialism was quite alive to these possibilities of the situation. Therefore it was not indifferent to the voice which called for the organization of a working class party. The imperialists knew that voice was not foreign to India; on the contrary, it was organically connected, the subjective reflex, of the conditions in India. A working class party would determinedly fight the compromise politics of the bourgeois nationalists. It would boldly mobilize the fermented popular energy and direct it for the conquest of concrete objects, the first of them being national freedom and democratization of the country. Consequently all the forces of imperialism were put into action in order to prevent the growth of a working class party. Every thing was done to choke and cripple the vanguard of the Indian proletariat. The nationalist movement as a whole remained indifferent to that struggle between two apparently unequal forces—the pioneer of the Indian proletariat and agencies of imperialist repression. Worse than that: in critical moments leading sections of the nationalist movement joined in the imperialist cry against “Bolshevist menace” as the call for the organization of the working class party was depicted to be. Still steeped in class prejudice, the middle classes looked askance at the activities of the proletarian vanguard, although they themselves were proletarianized as the result of imperialist exploitation. The masses themselves, misled and betrayed by the reactionary nationalist leaders (like Gandhi) whom they had so wholeheartedly trusted, were not yet conscious enough to recognize in the call the voice of their own class. Victims of age long exploitation, they were still too ignorant, too backward to be conscious of their class interests.

The small proletarian vanguard, however, survived all vicissitudes. Imperialist oppression could not kill it. Nationalist indifference did not make it any less an important factor in the political life of the country. The pioneers have blazed the trail. The question is no longer whether India needs an independent working class party or not: whether her “special genius” permits such an outlandish

innovation. It is much more practical *How to organize a working class party?* This is the question.

The obstruction to the organization of a working class party comes from many directions. The frontal attack of the enemy—ierce repression of the vanguard—is now supplemented by clever stratagems of flank attack. Now that it is no longer possible to prevent the rise of a working class party, the stratagey of imperialism and its native allies is to mislead the working class—to divert its growing class consciousness into harmless reformist channels. Instead of being opposed, as before, the idea of forming a class party receives patronage from unexpected quarters, and in many instances the sinister hand of imperialism is perceptible behind the scene. Under these conditions goes on the process of political crystalization of the proletarian forces.

Politically awake middle class intellectuals, who are opposed to compromise with imperialism and advocate a militant continuation of the nationalist struggle, talk of organising the masses. But very few of them seem to know how to go about the work they propose to undertake. They still labour under class prejudice. When they do talk of the masses, they assume a charitable attitude. They do not act as the ideological spokesmen of the working class. They do not identify themselves with the class they would lead to salvation. As a matter of fact, they do not recognise class interests and class antagonism. They want to uplift the down-trodden, but not to lead the expropriated and exploited in the revolt against class domination. They have no faith in the masses. They do not admit that the working class is the back-bone of society—that the future of human society lies in the hollow of the rough hand of the “ignorant” toiler. Betrayed by the bourgeois nationalist leaders, these intellectuals have only been forced to see that the movement for national freedom will never succeed without active participation of the masses. Hence their wish to capture the masses, in other words to use the masses as so many pawns in the struggle

This is not the way to a working class party. People, who do not stand on the ground of class struggle, cannot constitute the vanguard of the proletariat. Those, who propose to “harmonise the interests of the masses and the classes” would organise the working class only to betray them. The slogan of a real working class party must be. *Not the masses for the revolution, but revolution for the masses.*

Then there are others who do not even want to capture the masses in order to force a political change that will put them in power. They propose to capture the masses for counter-revolution. These saviours of the working class are actuated with the motive to prevent the growth of a real revolutionary proletarian party—at

least to see that the evil day is put off as far as possible. There are too many of these "champions of labour"—on the field.

Even as we write there comes the news that the repeatedly abortive attempt to form a "Labour Party" has once more been revived, this time under the leadership of Bepin Pal! Those acquainted with the antecedents and ideas of Bepin Pal cannot have any illusion about this "labour Party." Making due allowance for his notorious erraticism, Bepin Pal is amazingly class conscious. On this one question at least he has always been very constant. Under his editorship the *Bengalee* became the most clear-sighted organ of the Indian bourgeoisie. Only two years ago, in the columns of that capitalist organ Bepin Pal expounded his theory that "poverty was a mental state" and popularized the slogan: "Work for love, wages are but bye-product." Only the other day Pal startled the country by declaring that if he were the viceroy he would also sternly suppress all efforts to disturb the regime of law and order. Bepin Pal, like Lajpat Rai, another champion of "Labour Party", is a pillar of the reactionary Hindu nationalism. In nationalist politics both advocate "responsive cooperation" which means compromise with imperialism in the interests of steady and orderly developement of native capitalism. Agreement between the imperialist and native bourgeoisie can be only at the expense of the masses who will all the more be bled so that the greed of both the rivals is satisfied. The role of a "Labour Party" formed under such auspices is evident. It is to betray the working class. If they would follow such questionable champions.

Of course, there is no reason to believe that this attempt would be any more successful than the previous one. Very likely nothing more will be heard of the "Labour Party" in a few months, if not in a few weeks. These attempts fail invariably because of the atmosphere of unreality in which they are made. A few ambitious intellectuals together with one or two politicians with their particular axe to grind take it in their head to form a "Labour Party." Usually these gentlemen possess little understanding of the problems confronting the working class. The working class is left alone, the membership of the party being limited to a string of office-bearers. Having declared the birth of a "Labour Party" the office-bearers go home evidently expecting the working class to seek their champions there. Never any propaganda or agitation is made in behalf of the party. No effort is ever made to recruit members from the working class. This being the case, one could ignore these attempts to form pseudo-Labour Parties as harmless, if they did not show *how the working class should not be organized.*

Therefore let us examine briefly the latest instance. The programme of the newly formed "Labour Party" is illuminating.

It shows very clearly the dangerous tendency these unexpected champions of labour represent. The proletarian vanguard engaged in the difficult task of building a revolutionary working class party must beware of these unexpected flank attacks. The backwardness of the labour movement, youthfulness of the proletariat as a class and ideological immaturity of the leaders are likely to contribute to the success of these efforts to corrupt the young party with opportunism. We have seen well-meaning but inexperienced and theoretically unsound leaders of the labour movement connected with every one of these treacherous attempts. These mistakes should be avoided.

The objects of Bepin Pal's "Labour Party" are 1. to propagate the ideals of trade unionism; 2. to secure the workers freedom with regard to their natural rights, 3. to educate public opinion in favour of these rights, 4 to promote and protect the interests of workers in British India by all legal means.

Judging from this programme, it is not a political party which will be formed. There is no mention of any organized political activity of the working class. Obviously this curious body would have the working class to leave politics alone just when the working class is called upon by history to play a dominating political role in the movement for national freedom. To be able to discharge this role and to prepare for still greater ones the working class must have its own independent political party. So, here is an attempt to organize a Labour Party which begins by ruling out of its programme the very *raison d'être* of a working class party.

Then, the party would secure freedom for the workers with regard to their natural rights, and by all Legitimate means. All depends upon what is considered to be the "natural rights" of the workers. The programme fails to enlighten us on this very vital point. But we have Mr. Pal's well-known philosophy to go by. (Poverty is a relative term- a mental state. "Work for love . . .") Guided by this eminently capitalist philosophy, the party would secure freedom for the workers to serve the community (that is the employing classes) out of love. Further, if freedom for the exploited class and oppressed peoples is to be secured by "all legal means", it will never be secured. The object of the law is to maintain a given system of social relationship and political institutions under which it is promulgated. Any attempt to change the given system, therefore, is a challenge to the law is illegal from the point of view of the dominating class or power. Freedom for the exploited class cannot be secured without disturbing the system based upon the right of exploitation; nor can a subject people be free without breaking the power of the foreign conqueror. Therefore the movement

for the freedom of the exploited class is a challenge to the capitalist law and the movement for the national independence of an oppressed people is bound to violate imperialist legality. The principle and programme of the political party of the Indian working class must inevitably entail the commission of two sets of illegal acts- violation of imperialist laws, for the party must stand for national independence and violation of capitalist law, for a working class must stand on the ground of relentless class struggle until class-ridden society is replaced by socialist commonwealth. Within the frame work of the capitalist and imperialist law now in force the only freedom that the Indian working class can have, is the freedom to serve the British imperialists and the natives upper classes (capitalists, landlords and feudal princes) as cheaply as possible.

Another point in the programme deserves some attention. It is stipulated that the party will "protect and promote the interests of the workers in British India". The Native States- one third of the country in population and area- are not to be touched. Obviously the organizers of the "Labour Party" are of the opinion that the interests of the workers are well protected and liberally promoted by the feudal potentates what about the brutal suppression of the peasant movement in a number of States? Perhaps for tactical reasons the party does not wish to undertake the fight against feudal autocracy in the Native States while engaged in the struggle against foreign, imperialism. But there is no ground for this supposition, since the party does not propose any struggle whatsoever against British domination. It even does not propose to lead the proletariat, in the initial stages of class struggle. the fight for higher wages, shorter hours, better working conditions, freedom of association, right to strike etc. As a matter of fact, it is a labour party in name only. It has no class character. It would not organize the working class even for the conquest and defence of the most elementary economic and civic rights. It would persuade the public (in which is included the employing class) by educative efforts to recognise the natural rights of workers.

The object of forming such "labour parties" under highly questionable patronage of bourgeois politicians is evident. It is to "take the working class in hand" as C. R. Das advised already at the Gaya Congress. The bourgeois politicians are prompted to patronize these safe and sane, ineffective, often non-existing, super-class, legal "labour parties" as set off against the rise of a revolutionary working class party. Under the leadership of this party the working class will soon play an independent role in the nationalist movement and is sure to spoil the plans of the native bourgeoisie to betray the people for the interests of their class.

While counter-revolutionary bourgeois politicians and agents of imperialism, in so many deceptive garbs, are seeking to divert the

growing class consciousness of the young Indian proletariat into wrong channels, the revolutionary vanguard of the working class must know how to accomplish its task—how to organise the working class party. One essential thing to be kept always in mind is that the party is the vanguard of the class and that the strength of the vanguard lies in its close and constant contact with the army it leads. The vanguard should be careful not to go too fast and too far ahead of the entire working class. The party as the political organ of the class must grow out of the class. It should not be formed, as the so-called labour parties are sought to be formed, far away from the working class to be imposed upon it, or even to ignore it. Ideological pioneers of the working class party may come from the declassed intellectuals (it is bound to be so particularly in India where the middle class intellectuals are proletarianized and the proletariat culturally backward), but the bulk of the membership should be recruited from the proletariat.

There is no party without a programme. The programme of the party reflects the demands of the class it represents. The programme of a working class party, therefore, is the programme of Socialism. Objectively the working class throughout the world stands for the abolition of capitalist system and the establishment of socialist society. The wage-slave is destined by history to revolt against and abolish the system of wage-slavery. But the road to Socialism passes through successive stages of social development

The working class in countries, which have had these stages of social development, is engaged in the final stage of class-struggle—struggle for the realization of Socialism. The situation in India is different. India today is engaged in the revolutionary struggle for democratic freedom. This will be realized through the overthrow of foreign domination and liquidation of the medieval socio-economic institutions. The working class must actively participate and lead this struggle for democratic freedom. The working class party, therefore, must fight under two programme—minimum programme to be realized in the immediate future and maximum programme the realization of which will depend upon the carrying out of the minimum programme. The minimum programme will contain immediate demands of the working class and will be broad enough to rally around the working class all the other social elements whose interests demand national independence and complete democratization of the country. Democratic republic, universal suffrage, protection for minorities, educational facilities, agrarian revolution, removal of obstructions to the forces of production, fulfilment of the immediate demands of the proletariat (wage, hours, conditions of labour etc)—these will be main features of the minimum programme. Although the realization of the maximum programme

is a comparatively remote issue in the present conditions of India, its formulation is essential for the growth and guidance of the working class party. The maximum programme of the working class party is the programme of victorious class-struggle of Social Revolution, of Socialism. The minimum programme should be fitted into the frame work of the maximum programme. It is but means to the end. The working class must participate in and lead if necessary (as it is in India) the fight for the conquest of democratic freedom as an advance towards the realization of Socialism. Unless the maximum programme of social revolution is constantly and clearly kept before the party, there is the danger of opportunist deviation.

Under normal conditions of social evolution the rising bourgeoisie in possession of higher means production fights for democratic freedom which releases the forces of production from feudal fetters. A series of foreign invasions disturbed the normal course of social development in India. Bourgeois revolution, in so far as it deprives feudalism of political power and establishes a centralized capitalist State, took place in India in the shape of British conquest. After more than a century of forced stagnation native capitalism grew, potentially antagonistic to imperialist monopoly. The native bourgeoisie, which aspire for political power are, however, not ready to fight for it. The British domination cannot be overthrown without a revolutionary fight. This depends upon the mobilization of the mass energy. The native bourgeoisie are afraid of a revolution. They would rather share power with imperialist overlords and grow economically under their protection. Thus, the struggle for national freedom under bourgeois leadership and with a capitalist programme has ended in compromise. The nationalist bourgeoisie would be satisfied with self-government within the Empire. This means the bourgeoisie have abandoned the fight for the complete democratization of the country. The task of carrying through the bourgeois revolution, which began with the British conquest, therefore, devolves upon the working class and other exploited sections of the society. The working class must carry on a determined fight against compromise with imperialism, because this compromise will intensify capitalist exploitation of India. Greed of native Capitalism will be satisfied not by diminishing imperialist plunder, but by intensifying the exploitation of the Indian working class.

Even if the bourgeoisie had not abandoned the fight for democratic freedom, the working class should have still participated in it as an advance towards the fight for Socialism. Under given conditions the hegemony of the struggle devolves upon the proletariat. Consequently, the minimum programme of the working class party comes very close to the maximum. So much so that the

fight for the realization of one directly leads up to the fight for the other. This situation must tell upon the organization and activities of the party.

On the sound basis of this revolutionary programme the party will be built by untiring, detailed, every-day work of the vanguard. It is clear that economic freedom for the working class cannot be secured except through the capture of political power. This is one of the cardinal principles of working class politics. Any improvement of the conditions of the Indian working class depends upon the cessation of imperialist robbery and the liquidation of antiquated social relations that still cramp the economic life of the country. In other words, the future of the working class is inseparably bound up with the political struggle for democratic national freedom. Social emancipation of the working class is a still remoter issue-conditional upon the fierce struggle for State-power. But the great majority of the Indian working class are still politically too backward to see so far ahead and fight for such a distant goal. They are overwhelmed by the immediate surroundings. The working class party will develop in the midst of the struggle against the immediate surroundings of the average working man. In course of this every day fight the party will show, by practical experience, how the immediate issue of wages, hours, labour conditions etc. are connected with the larger and apparently remoter political issues.

Agitation and propaganda among the proletarian masses are vitally necessary for the building up of the working class party. The programme of the party must be popularized. The class consciousness of the masses must be awakened. This will be done through the party press, public meetings, workmen's clubs, proclamations, leaflets etc. The vanguard must be in the midst of the unconscious and partially conscious masses agitating, organizing, educating, leading. In a country like ours where the masses are so lamentably backward, the danger is great for the vanguard to be isolated from the class. Nothing could be more disastrous for the party. Every member of the party must be attached to a group of workers with the task of winning them for the party.

Trade unions, peasant organizations and cooperative societies are the field of operation of the working class party. Side by side with its activities in these organizations the party must also reach the working class on the places of work-factories etc. The major portion of the Indian proletariat are still unorganized. It is for the party to organize them into trade unions. Propaganda in favour of revolutionary labour organization of class struggle, must be carried on. Party members must penetrate the existing trade unions and peasant organizations in order to transform them into fighting working class organs. Agitation should be

made in favour of socialist and proletarian leadership of the unions and other working class bodies.

Press is an essential instrument to build up the party. Through its organs the party keeps constant contact with the working class by giving expression to the grievances and demands of the latter. Through its theoretical organs the party educates its own members as regards the programme and tasks of the party, and wins new adherents. There cannot be any party without a party press. To extend the circulation of the party organs and other publications is the duty of each party member.

Lastly, ideological clarity on the part of the vanguard is indispensable for the organization of a real working class party. Otherwise we may repeat the story of the blind leading the blind. Only a clear-sighted revolutionary vanguard with faith in the masses, fully conversant with the role the proletariat is destined to play, closely connected with the entire working class will organize the working class party in India. In short, there cannot be a real working class party without a Marxian leadership.

P. 2323 (P. E. 1)

Superscription on envelope—

Mr. N. Sawamy,

19 Nilivirasambetty St.

Triplicane

MADRAS

INDIEN.

P. 2323. [P. E. 2.]

Superscription on another envelope:—

Iyengar.

P. 2234 (P)

1 Dec. 1926.

My dear comrade,

Received your letters with enclosures, also a letter from Beg. It is a pity that money fell into the hands of Dogs. It was sent in a letter to Rewari address, anyhow what is lost cannot be regained. You will receive more soon. A permanent arrangement is going to be made soon.

By last mail another manifesto was sent. It was rather bulky. Please let us know if you received that. Send us as many addresses as possible. Some money has been sent direct to "Ganawanr." Please let us know, if M. A. has received it, I believe he is the editor of the paper.

You know the words. It is all right. Someone will meet you. He needs a person to help him in the work. Please don't refuse his offer.

By the way who writes from Calcutta and gives an address?

I am in a hurry and have not read all the letters you have sent. Will write to you in details later on.

Greetings to Beg, Ghate and other Comrades. Communicate the contents of the letter to all.

Yours

M. M. S.

Please note that 2 addresses which I gave to you are no longer good. They are (1) 6F rue Dulot (2) 123 rue Broca. Don't use them please. Instead these is another one as follows :—

(1) M. Andrieux

43 rue Timplon

(Simplon)

Paris 18e inside the same as usual.

In a week or so you will be sent more addresses.

The colombo work has to be stopped for some time as the man Rousset is not trustworthy. The Dogs know everything about it. The address in Colombo should be changed and more addresses should be had in Bombay, Calcutta and Karach.

£ 50 were sent to the Editor "*Gana-Wani*."

P. 2324 [P. E. 1].

Superscription on the envelope.—

Post mark.

PARIS

A. ROSQUET.

Mr. Kannan

Commission Agent

No. 9, Cottage III

Raja Hanumanta Lala Str.
Triplicane.

Madras

India.

P. 2324 [P. E. 2].

Superscription on another envelope:—

Iyengar.

P. 2325 [P]

10-2-27.

My dear Friend,

Received news. It seems there is some confusion about the "man with the word". It is not one it is two as I wrote to you in a way. The one telegraphed to you in your absence the other offers you an employment. Meet them both. Tell the one who telegraphed that I received his letters which I will answer perhaps next week. He should also change the address on the inner cover as I requested you to.

More instruction about C. will be sent later on. In the meantime do as you have been requested previously.

Please arrange the Colombo affair as soon as possible, and also others you know.

Your last letter was over weight. The letters may be lost for not having enough stamps. Please instruct the friend there to be careful in future.

Greetings.

Sd. M. M. S.

P. 2325 (P.E.1.)

Superscription on the envelope:—

Mr. Kannan, Commission Agent.

No 9 Cottage III

Postal seal of: Raja Hanumanta Lala St.

Paris

Triplicane

Saint Rock

10-12-27

India

Madras

P. 2325 (P.E.2.)

Superscription on another envelope:

Iyengar.

P. 2326 (P).

received your circular also.

Bombay.

Dear Comrade,

Your letters were all received in time. I am sending you a letter, for elder brother, in the course of a few days.

We have started the workers and peasants party, with D. R. Thengdi as President. The details will be in papers by Monday.

You must be knowing that C. was released on Bail, no trial comes off on the 26th inst. The other Comrade is here, and he is taking part in Trade union activities. His speeches are reported by all the papers.

I have not heard from Lahore Comrades, inspite of my writing to them. It looks as if the Conference cannot be held. I really can't know make out what to do. Please write to me as to what to do in the affair.

I think we ought to push on with the work of starting peasants and workers organisations all over the country and with this view immediately all the existing organisations in a conference to be held at Bombay or Calcutta, with a view to forming a central organisation for the country. We can't hope for any assistance from Sak who pins his faith in the old organisations. I should like to know your view in this affair.

J. B. has written to me, but doesn't say anything particular. It is his usual way.

The boy is quite alright. He may write to you separately. The arrangements are being completed on his behalf.

The police are very much after us, and rumours are afloat that the new W. and P. party. Executive is coming into trouble. We have to wait and so.

I don't know who can go to Canton Conference. The pecuniary circumstances are in the way.

Our group is active in the B.P.C.C. And so far has had a satisfactory progress.

My work in this paper trade is not remunerative. And I don't know what to do. I am in hopeless straits financially.

Write to me in detail re-starting of an All India W & P. Party

Bombay

19/2/27.

Yours

Sd/ M. A.

P. 2326 (P.E.)

Superscription on the envelope .—

Kannan, Esq ,

Commission Agent,

No. 9, Raja Hanumanta lala Lane,

Cottage III,

Triplicane,

Madras.

P. 2327 (P) .

Dear Friend,

2-6-27.

I believe I got all your letters, and that you also have received mine.

The long hired fellow is interesting. Great pity for the

Indian H. What about the English H. Does he provide you with anything or not?

Please note that the Colombo affair is to postponed for some time, the two addresses I gave are no more good—I mean the addresses of those on board the boats. Ask Edward to send you some copies.

Greetings.

Yours,

Sd. M. A.

P. 2227 (PE).

Superscription on the envelope:—

Postal marks,

PARIS-XIV

AV. D'ORLIANS.

Mr. KANNAN, Commission agent,

No. 6, Raja Hanumanta Lala st.

Triplicane,

Madras

India.

P. 2328 [P] [1].

Bombay, 16th June 27.

Dear comrade,

I am enclosing herein a letter which our Eng. Friend wants to be

forwarded, and which he could not give you at the time of your departure from here.

M. A. is coming over to Bombay in a couple of days as I have to discuss with him on the matter that J. P. was furiously angry about. I mean, the problem of publicly exposing Sak and his relations with Jogl. You know J. P. was furious while he was here and he told us while going that he was going to sift the matter to the very bottom. If ever J. P. writes to you, about publicly exposing Joglekars folly, I hope you will deny him your support. I am discussing this very point with M. A. and shall let you know the result.

Write to me about Singeravelu case. I think you ought seriously to work for a W. P. party over there. It is essential at this stage.

It is essential that we should not allow J. P. to create any unnecessary mischief.

Yours

GEORGE.

P. 2328 [P2]

June 14.

Dear Douglas,

It is long since I last wrote to you, and I fear that the breakdown of communications is a serious matter. Even the last report you adopted collapsed partly at this end, but we may be able to reestablish it. You got my long letter, I gather. Two were sent after that, but I suspected that both failed. The precautions taken are very formidable.

Baker has written criticising the Methodist policy, as published, and saying that we should not antagonise the old upper sections, but try to get both sides in. Such an attempt seems to me to be obviously hopeless, both in theory and in practice. Perhaps you will talk with him and let us know your views.

Could you communicate authoritatively to Zagar, asking him not in any circumstances to rush the press over his differences with Baker. We had a considerable row over it recently, and there is

still some danger that he will do it. Such a thing would be very bad, as it would damn B. as a fool or us as rogues in the eyes of the whole country. Z. by the way is very furious as he seems to have been deprived of the solace of communication with your sweet self. Personally I think it is wrong to condemn him as unreliable, but he is certainly careless and foolish, and so should not be treated too confidentially. The last Y. M. proceedings which you have no doubt heard of, illustrate well his character. In order to make a flourish, and exaggerate his own activity, he has it seems to me, seriously endangered our real work. Will you, by the way, make clear the real policy you want us to pursue in connection with the Y. M. I am doubtful, now. All the objections to its retention remain, but Z and others are unalterably opposed to its abolition.

Our Church work is not proceeding very happily. It was to have been done largely by Hig (we have still to depend upon two or three individuals), and our relations with him have become more and more unsatisfactory. He is undoubtedly a scoundrel. I try to speak as objectively as possible and his rascality is becoming so widely recognised that I think he will soon cease to be of any use. Unfortunately there is no one else with the necessary ability, knowledge and leisure. A rupture with him is inevitable at some stage and I shall not regret if it occurs in the next day or two, as now seems likely. It will necessitate considerable change in our plans.

University affairs are better. Huz. is improving. Organisation is going on better, and our contact is growing, mainly because of the good work of Ler. Shance is doing nothing, I am afraid.

You should receive some sort of MS by the end of August. Ask Baker about it. It should not be sent directly by me or Amb.

Ambrose has been extremely busy, though apparently not achieving very much. The Hig affair has kept him here, and other considerations. He thought of going to Madras, where things are taking a nasty turn, but he probably will not. He would like to know when exactly he is expected to finish, so that his plans may be laid accordingly.

Cunfa has been disappointing, but this may be due to Hig, who has jealously guarded him all the time: I have hardly exchanged a word with him, but as he also is now becoming disillusioned we may hope for better things.

What has happened to Nell?

I think I explained what had happened in connection with the Welsh Church affair. Ewan was last put on the job, but I am afraid his success will be no greater. You may remember I said I had not seen the Bible since I had been here. I have now

remedied that fault, of course, but the lack is still felt, and is in the last few weeks worse than ever.

I think the sw scheme is all right, though there was some little difficulty with the authorities. Nothing more

Des.

P. 2328 (P.E.)

Superscription on the envelope:

Chakravarty, Esqr ,
28, Sunkuvar Street.
Triplicane, Madras.

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

P. 2329[P. 1]

15 August

Dear Brother,

I have just received your letter of May 25. I wrote about two months ago a letter which I hope you received, but since then I have not sent any for obvious reasons. I am asking Fhusa to tell you about his affairs, as I have been out of touch with them for some time. I hope you saw Amb's letter of a week or two ago, but in case you did not, I had better tell you something about it. He gave an account of a mem. Recently issued by the University Convention on the training of University men in England, indirectly under the auspices of E.K.N. It is obviously a move to promote the influence of Oxford among the Indian Universities, and is complementary to a serious attempt which is being made by Kujpus to establish himself as supreme in the next Convocation. It was first brought forward by a curious society recently formed in London mainly of E.K.N. mem. Bhum is inclined to be neutral about it. He thinks it is bound to go through, and may be of some use, even if of disadvantage also. But he is alive to the dangers of Oxford, and more particularly of Kujpus.

I am still with him, and though much of my time is necessarily wasted, I am doing something. I hope he will be of use in departmental work on which he is very keen, but you know what an inconsistent and forgetful sort of person he is. Lozzie, I fear is angry with me as I have not been to see him yet.

Lujec and co. here are rather inexperienced, but sound. They are getting among the local University men, and have especially established good relations with Lal, who supports their paper. Unfortunately their best man has just been spirited away, probably for a year or two. There is no Methodist organisation here, though a Young Christian Association with very similar ideals was established a year or so ago. It had branches in several places, and was active for a time, though like everything else it is now dead. L. is trying in what spare time he has to revive it, and that is obviously a good policy. The contents of their organ is still too theological and not practical enough, but they know their weakness and are improving it. The revival of University activity here is giving them material to use.

You saw I suppose what was the result of Victor's escapade. He wants to advise Maslim and the others not to follow his example. He is right to an extent. They cannot hope to escape for more than a month or two, or to do anything valuable in that time. The longer the period of absence the worse it is for them.

Re the Bible, which nobody has seen here for years. It is safe to say that we do not know half a dozen men who would read it. Nevertheless half a dozen copies would be valuable, and L. is arranging with Fh about getting them if they arrive. Similarly for the Bulletin and the C. Times. The latter particularly would be useful, as its form is more attractive. I should like to see Lall getting it regularly. He is not the intellectual child that he is made out to be, and though he is not accustomed to reading I think he would read it if it were given to him, and profit greatly. I have a high opinion of him, though his views are of course hazy in the extreme. For the rest, apart from Jhum who has a good knowledge of English but is a scoundrel there are none who could profit much. Even L is greatly handicapped by poor English, but he could do something to spread the gospel of light.

Jerse seems to be an independent sort, and though friendly is suspicious. Perhaps L has been tactless with him.

On the subject of books I have not heard from Fhus lately, but unless there has been an unexpected development things will by now have almost reached a crisis. I gave him full particulars of how to send etc. If a message has not arrived it should do so via Baker, or of course if you prefer, I will send it as before. I want to increase the space allowed from here by say a third, as I am convinced that it is impossible to get in the information required with the present word space.

I have not yet heard from Musa Love etc. Des.

P. 2329 (P)

26th August.

Dear friend,

I am sending this enclosed packet for which please send to elder brother.

I have not heard from you for some time past and I hope you will not fail to write me a few lines by return of post.

The boy has returned quite in good spirits.

I have not heard from Bag as yet. I had asked him to get sak elected from his quarter, but he seems to be indifferent. Ed.

wrote to me to say that in case Bag has resigned we must accept his resignation. You will let me know your view in the matter.

I read about Sacco and Vanzetti demonstration on your side. It was well done.

GEORGE.

P. 2329. (P)(E) (1)

Prescription of the envelope.

CHAKRAVARTY, Esq.,

28, Sunkuvar Street,

Triplicane

M A D R A S .

P. 2329 (PE2)

Superscription on the envelope.

For Swamy

P. 2330

A petition D/ 11-g 29 from H. L. Hutchinson to the Additional District Magistrate, Meerut, requesting for the return of certain books, papers etc.

Below this, Hutchinson has passed a receipt in his own handwriting which runs as follows:—

Received all items mentioned on reverse except; photo of item 33 and items 7,8,32.

Sd/- H.L. Hutchinson.

27-9-28.

P. 2331.

Received the following:—

39 Letters.

Letter dated 1-30-28.

„ „ 28-1-28.

„ „ 8 Sept. 28.

A small file cont. letters (Marathi)

Be Triebs Rate Gesetz.

DAS VOLKSLIED.

MICHAEL ANGELO.

DURER.

LEHRBUCH DER RUSSISCHEN SPRACHE.

ENGELS-FEUERBACH.

THALHEIMER-DIALEKTISCHER

MATERIALISMUS.

Sd/- G. ADHIKARI.

24-9-29.

P. 2332.

To the Central Committee of the
Communist Party of Great Britain,
LONDON.

Moscow
10/X/-

Dear Comrades:

Herewith a copy of the instructions adopted by the Executive today which have already been sent you by cable. We are also sending you the speeches of Comrades Zinoviev and Bukharin at today's session of the Presidium. The instructions given in these speeches should also be considered as instructions from the Executive to your Party.

We expect that you will energetically carry through the election campaign already begun. In particular we want to emphasise the importance of immediately issuing your weekly paper as a daily newspaper. It is the opinion of the Secretariat that your party should take advantage of the election campaign in order to transform the workers' "weekly" into a permanent daily. We know that this demands the greatest efforts on the part of the British Communist Party and great self-sacrifice on the part of the sympathetic working class masses; but it is not impossible.

Conscious of the great historical importance of your fight we wish you every luck and for our part will of course give you our help.

With communist greetings,

O. W. Kunsinen

The Secretariat of the

E. C. C. I.

P.S. Comrade MacManus leaves here for London in a few days.

TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST
PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

The Executive sends the following instructions for the election.

Sharp criticism in principle of the conduct of the MacDonald Government.

The imperialist character of the government should be unmasked.

A bitter fight should be carried on against MacDonalds policy in China, India, and Egypt.

Against the League of Nations.

Against the danger of war and naval policy.

Against the economic exploitation and national oppression of the Irish working class by the English bourgeoisie.

A sharp fight should be conducted for the acceptance of the Communist Party of Great Britain into the Labour Party.

The adoption of bourgeois politicians as labour candidates and the rejection of old working class leaders should be criticised.

Active agitation should be conducted against the I. L. P.

In general, we support labour candidates.

Certain candidates should be put forward where this will not help the bourgeois candidates.

The appeals for support of the labour candidates should contain a sharp fundamental criticism.

Slogans for the election campaign —

For the Anglo-Russian Treaty.

Not his Majesty's Labour Government but a real workers' government.

Down with the Dawes' Report.

Put the workers' charter into effect.

Four pounds per week for every unemployed worker.

A six hour-day.

For international trade union unity.

The fraternisation of soldiers and workers,

Soldiers should not shoot upon workers on strike.

Votes for soldiers and sailors.

Instructions for conducting the campaign: —

Every candidate should distribute and sign Campbell's appeal,

Campbell should issue another manifesto to the soldiers and sailors,

Roy should be put forward as candidate.

If possible, he should be brought into the election campaign.

Send him a telegram.

During the elections the "Workers' Weekly" should come out daily.

Further instructions follow. Representatives of the German French and Chinese workers will take part in the election campaign. Invitations have been sent from here. The Georgian trade unions will send an appeal to the British trade unions. A manifesto from the German, French, and British parties to the British proletariat follows by the next post.

O. W. Kunsinen.

FROM THE SESSION OF OCTOBER 10, 1924

OF THE PRESIDUM OF THE E. C. C. I.

Zinoviev

When the MacDonald Government came into power, I outlined in an article four possible prospects.

The first possibility was that the MacDonald Government would be but a very brief episode and that it would perhaps disappear from the path of history in a few weeks

The second possibility was that the MacDonald Government would remain somewhat longer at the helm, would be well utilised by the bourgeoisie, that it would be compromised in the eyes of the working class and the colonies, perhaps would be also to some extent demoralised and then would be swept away.

A third possibility was that a certain differentiation would take place within the Labour Party itself, that a section of the British working class would be radicalised and a struggle take place within the Labour Party.

And the fourth possibility I said was that under the pressure of the working class the MacDonald Government would really attempt to conduct something of a revolutionary policy and thereby come into conflict with the bourgeoisie.

At that time I believed that the first and the fourth possibilities were most improbable, and that the path would lie somewhere between the second and the third possibilities. It now appears that this has to some extent been the case.

Especially important is the fact that the Labour Government has compromised itself in the eyes of the populations of Egypt and India. It has proved to the colonial peoples that the Labour Party acts exactly the same as the former governments of England. This is no unimportant fact. If Curzon and Lloyd George can prove that the colonial peoples have nothing better to expect from a Labour government, it will be a very useful lesson. In this sense, MacDonald's Government has compromised the Labour Party.

In the eyes of the working masses of Britain I believe that the Government has not compromised itself. Not for the time being. The period was too brief. The Anglo-Russian Treaty helped the Government to throw a little sand into the eyes of the workers. In his respect the Labour Party has perhaps for the time being gained in authority.

As regards the prophecy that a certain differentiation would take place within the Labour Party, this I think has been confirmed. A left-wing has sprung up which even wants to attempt to publish its own paper. A process of radicalisation has begun in the trade unions. That is a fact. We therefore see a certain differentiation taking place within the Labour Party. So much has been achieved; that is the first fact.

I think that in the main MacManus is right. He is also right in expecting what he does of the elections. For otherwise the bourgeoisie did not need to dissolve Parliament, is that not true? If it only wanted to frighten the MacDonald Government a little a new general election was not necessary, since firstly MacDonald was quite ready to allow himself to be frightened and secondly, the bourgeoisie could have used many other means to this end, a general election was not necessary. This is therefore a sign that the bourgeoisie wants a new government.

What kind of Government, a purely Conservative Government or a Conservative-Liberal Government? It is even possible that MacDonald will take part in the Government as Foreign Secretary. Even that is not impossible.

The objective result of the whole thing will in the main be advantageous to the British working class and to the British Party.

For, although the communists will not win a direct victory this time, they will gain from the propaganda point of view. It is indeed a remarkable thing that the British Parliament is being dissolved because of a communist, Campbell, and because of a treaty with Russia.

I think that both these facts indicate that we are marching forward rather rapidly. It is often said that we are marching very slowly, but it certainly cannot be called slow when within nine months an attempt of such world historical importance is made and the immediate result is already so clear to the working class. It cannot be said after all that the pace of history is slow. Certain opportunists have said that the revolution will not come so quickly and therefore we must run away from the Communist Party. I think that even if it were true that the proletarian revolution is not marching as rapidly as we might wish, it does not follow that the tactics of Mr Newbold, for instance, in running away from the party, are right. But the situation in Britain shows that history is not moving as slowly as many imagine. It could go a bit faster, but such an historic attempt with such results within nine months is after all not so bad. The idea of communism is being driven deep into the masses. The working class is being revolutionised, that is clear. Appetite comes with eating. I think that the British worker will now have a greater appetite for power. If the Labour Government is defeated and a Conservative or a Conservative-Liberal Government is formed, the British worker will be dissatisfied and will demand more; he will attempt to achieve a real workers' government.

As regards international prospects and the "pacifist-democratic era", it should be said that if Mac Donald goes, very little is to be expected of the "pacifist-democratic era". If Curzon comes back he will also crawl before Baldwin and all the small countries will at once begin to set their hopes upon Baldwin. Well then, what will become of the "democratic-pacifist era" in the sense of an era of peaceful development, and the toning down of the class war? Therefore on this point too, the diagnosis of the Communist International has been more confirmed than refuted.

On the whole, therefore, we have only to gain. We do not in the least object if the king of England has to prescribe two general elections in one year and the bourgeoisie have to go through all the bother. With us there are elections to the soviets twice a year. It is said that this is not democracy. Well, let them have elections twice a year, it will be more "democratic".

What Comrade Marty has told us today about the situation in France is also very interesting the disillusionment not only of the small people but also of the members of the middle classes who are demanding the 800,000 francs additional salary which Herriot promised.

Things are not so well, therefore, with the "democratic era" in the opportunist sense of the word. If a Conservative or a Liberal-Conservative Government comes into power in England, it will have its reverberations throughout the whole of Europe and in the first place throughout the vassal states of the Entente.

Even if Mac Donald wins—I do not believe he will, but it is possible—the appetites of the workers will also grow. They will demand that the Labour Government should be a real workers' government. A member of our trade union delegation told me that when he was in London he was seriously asked by the Chairman at a session of the Executive Committee of the British Engineers' union, whether, if the British working class took power into their hands, the Russians would send them grain. I do not think that such a question would have been asked five years ago. The British trade union leaders are to a certain extent solid fellows. If they ask such a question it means that the prospect is within the realm of possibility.

Therefore, taking all in all, I believe that things are beginning to move in England. The stolid British working class has begun to move. And this creates the conditions necessary for the existence of a communist mass party in Britain.

Now, what should be the tactics of our Party in the narrow sense of the word? Are the tactics of the united front necessary or not? I believe they are. Over what has the break come? It has come over the Anglo-Russian Treaty and the support of the communists. The ordinary worker sees the question thus. They wanted to imprison Campbell and the Mac Donald Government wouldn't allow it. What did Campbell say? He said that in the event of a strike the troops should not fire on the workers. That is to say the situation is not as acute as it is in Germany. In Germany the social democratic leaders are quite clear that the workers must be fired upon and that the social democrats must say so openly. In Britain, however, they cannot yet show their colours so openly. In the eyes of the workers the whole thing has come about over the Anglo-Russian Treaty and over the question as to whether a communist, who says "don't shoot on the workers", should be imprisoned.

I believe that in such a situation the tactic of the united front is appropriate. The ordinary worker must be told: "We must close the ranks, we must fight in spite of all the weaknesses and errors of the Labour Government." This does not mean that we must conceal the face of the Communist Party. I don't know how it happened, but I consider it a great mistake that our comrades at the Labour Party Conference voted for a resolution which in fact was a vote of confidence in Mac Donald's policy. In this sense the united front is impermissible. The united front must be applied from below, i. e.,

we must go hand in hand with the ordinary worker in the factories and at meetings. We must say to him. "we are going to fight the Liberals and the Conservatives, we are for the Anglo-Russian Treaty and Campbell.

I shall now attempt to make a resume of certain points:

(1) Since the campaign is in fact on behalf of the Russian Treaty and of Campbell, we shall not put forward independent candidates where it might lead to the defeat of the labour candidates. In certain districts we could cause the defeat of a labour candidate. Shall we do that? I think not, since it would result in the campaign against the Congress being conducted for another five years on the pretext that the communists would be to blame for the victory of the conservatives.

(2) Wherever we do not put forward independent candidates we should vote for the labour candidates.

(3) We should attempt within the Labour Party to influence the *personal* candidatures of the Labour party. At a conference one of our comrades made a good speech in which he said; "They won't support Tom Mann, but they will support the son-in-law of Curzon, who is a member of the Labour Party" We should say, yes, we are for the Labour Party, we will vote for Labour Party people, but they must be workers who are bound with the Masses. This is of some importance, although we must not overrate it.

(4) In our agitation we must, of course, sharply criticise the policy of Mac Donald and his servility, especially on the question of his imperialism, i. e., the question of China, Egypt, etc.

(5) In the general election we should consistently demand the rescindment of the Conference resolution excluding communists. I think the moment is appropriate.

(6) What should be the main slogans of our campaign and our election manifesto? I think they should be (a) for Soviet Russia, for that is the central point of the whole fight, and (b) long live a real workers' government, and not His majesty's labour government.

(7) Our whole agitation should be associated with the slogan of the unity of the international trade union movement. This demand must be carried into the election campaign.

(8) This is the moment for making another appeal to the soldiers. We should come out during the election campaign with another manifesto addressed to the soldiers which will repeat and emphasise what Campbell said.

(9) If it is at all possible, a daily paper should be brought out at least for the period of the election.

(10) It is perhaps necessary for Mac Mauns to go home.

Bukharin

I should like to emphasise another side of the question. We must not underestimate the fact that our Communist Party voted for the general resolution of the Labour Party. This is very important and I think absolutely nothing can be done if this is the attitude of the party. Our representative, if there will be one in England, should therefore give a severe rebuke to the Executive Committee for this vote. Here we have an instance in which the dangers of the united front tactic is most clearly evident. And I think we must make it clear in the whole attitude of our party that in any case, whether we vote for Labour candidates or not, the true character of the party must be clearly expressed.

I think that a great educational work can be done during the propaganda and agitation. For instance, it is now being said that there are two ways to socialism; the Leninist, Bolshevik, destructive method, and the new phase of socialism by peaceful methods, etc. In other words, socialism without the conditions for socialism, without the seizure of power. At every election meeting we must educate the workers on this subject, and use the particular example to prove to the Mac Donald Government that this method is a complete illusion since it is not a real method for the seizure of power by the working class.

Then as to the question of our own candidatures. I do not know whether there are such cases, but perhaps there are, in which for instance in certain districts where we are certain in advance that a labour candidate will either win or be defeated, we can put up our own candidates. Let us take a district for instance, where only workers live and where the Labour Party has an absolute majority-why can't we put forward our own candidates in such places? I think in such cases we ought to do it. And where the Conservatives are in the majority, where the Conservative candidate will certainly win and the Labour candidate be defeated, we can also put forward our own candidates. In such cases we would criticise the labour candidates quite sharply. But in the districts where we do not put forward our candidates, we must distinguish between two things, between our agitation and the election demands. We should therefore be very critical towards the Government but when it comes to Parliamentary action, we should of course tell the people that they should vote for the Labour candidates as the lesser evil.

One word more regarding the proposal of Comrade Zinoviev. Perhaps it would be useful to put forward certain other slogans of an economic nature, for instance nationalisation or a slogan regarding the unemployed. It would be perhaps a good thing to combine

sharp political issues with economic issues, at least such important ones as the question of unemployment or the nationalisation of certain branches of production.

Zinoviev

I think that Bukharin is certainly right regarding the programme, namely, that we should add a cardinal economic slogan.

As regard the candidatures, there are very great technical difficulties. That must be decided on the spot.

Also what has been said about the Georgian trade unions is quite true. The Georgian unions invited an English trade union delegation over, but in view of the election this delegation will be able to come neither to Moscow nor to Georgia. It is therefore important that the Georgian trade unions should send a long telegramme in which they should say. "We wanted you to see with your own eyes. You cannot come now but the question will play an important part in the elections."

Chief points of Speech of Comrade Macmanus to the Presidium.

OCTOBER 10TH, 1924.

The following is a brief picture of the present political situation in Great Britain. I believe that the Presidium was quite right when it said that creation of a Labour Government was simply a great experiment by British imperialism. What were the circumstances under which this government was elected. The position of British imperialism last year was very precarious indeed. Despite having come out victorious from the war, the bourgeois statesmen had completely failed to win the Peace for British imperialism. In Europe the crushing of Britain's greatest rival, Germany, had only been effected to pass the balance of power into the hands of French imperialism. By the occupation of the Ruhr and the uniting of the Ruhr coal fields with the iron mines of Alsace, France held the master card. British imperialism also experienced a great shock, by the emergence from the war of two formidable competitors in American and Japanese imperialism. These constituted a challenge to her power in the East. Native bourgeoisies had sprung up in the colonies and, as in the case of India and Australia, were now competing with British capital. Canada and South Africa were drifting away from the Commonwealth. The working class movement at home in Britain had now become a formidable political force. Thus a year ago the position of British Imperialism was precarious indeed. The presence of America and Japan in China prevented any progress being made in the exploitation of this vast territory. In the colonies not only was Britain faced with a competing native bourgeoisie, but nationalist and liberation movements

had grown up and violence had to be resorted to keep the colonies in check as witness the Amritsar Massacre and the Black and Ten in Ireland. It was because of these difficulties that imperialism decided upon the great experiment of a Labour Government. The success of this experiment surpasses the greatest expectations of the British bourgeoisie. In six short months the MacDonald Administration has accomplished what Lloyd George, Baldwin, and Curzon failed to achieve in four years. What are the results ?

The Dawes Plan has been safely piloted through its difficulties and the German working class had now been completely subjugated to the colonisation of Anglo-American capital. The French are leaving the Ruhr and thus the balance of European power has been returned in favour of British imperialism. The aggressive nationalist movements, which had become a menace, and which had built great hopes upon the advent of a labour government, had now been taught to expect nothing in this direction. The bombing of Iraq and Sudan gave proof of the imperialist character of this labour government and was an assurance to the British bourgeoisie that its colonial interests were in good hands. In the East advantage had been taken of the weakness of Japanese imperialism due to the earthquake, and another pact had been established between Anglo-American capital for the colonisation of China. The experiment of a labour government was certainly a success to British imperialism. This gives rise, however, to the question. Why then should the British bourgeoisie dispense with the government in the face of these successes ?

The Labour Government relied for its strength upon the working class of Britain. When, during the Anglo-Russian negotiations, the Mac Donald Government attempted to retreat, the sympathy of the masses compelled this Government to sign the treaty. This was a signal to the bourgeoisie of a growing danger and menace. Imperialism decided that it could now safely dispense with this labour government and take the reins into its own hands. It was now only a question of the convenience of the bourgeoisie parties. The Conservative Party was prepared for an election at any moment. The Liberals, however, were not prepared. Their ranks were divided and they were without any clear policy. The attack on the Russian Treaty was to be the preliminary skirmish in the preparation for the overthrow of the Government. That it was only intended as a skirmish, at least so far as the Liberal Party is concerned, is evidenced by the last minute inclusion of the Campbell issue. The Liberal Party did not believe that Mac Donald would force an election upon such an issue. The "Manchester Guardian" for October 2nd had completely reasoned out the situation in this way, the Government would accept the defeat as a vote of censure. It was well known that the king did not desire two elections in one

year. Therefore, reasoned the "Manchester Guardian", MacDonald will ask the king to send for Baldwin and ask him to form a Government. Baldwin cannot form a government just now in view of the very delicate atmosphere existing over the Irish boundary question. Baldwin in turn will then urge the king to send for Asquith and a Liberal Government will be formed. This is how the "Manchester Guardian" had the situation worked out, But MacDonald and the Labour Party were also alive to what was happening. They realised that their work was finished, imperialism had no further use for them. It was only a question of time. If any indication had been required to prove that the Labour party intended to force an election, and to spoil the liberal plans, the attack on the Communist Party at the Labour Party Conference would have given sufficient proof. The concentrated campaign against our Party, which the Labour Party has been conducting during the last two weeks, was in essentials a vote-catching campaign. The speeches of the leaders at the Labour Party Conference against the Communist Party were all calculated to assure the middle class voters and also to attract the conservative minded working class. Such is the stage setting for this election.

And now a word about the balance of parties. I believe that both the Conservatives and the Labour Party will increase their strength at the expense of the Liberal Party. The Conservative Party will get a majority, possibly big enough to form a Conservative Government. Should they fail in this, then I believe there will be a coalition between the Tories and Liberals.

The Communist Party is not too well prepared for the election. The decisions of the Labour Party Conference this week somewhat disorganises our party arrangements. The Labour Party Conference decided not only against our affiliation but also to definitely refuse endorsement to any candidate who is a member of our Party. The Conference further decided that members of our party were not to be allowed to join the Labour Party. This latter decision means the achievement of what was intended by the Edinburgh Amendment of ten years ago. It will be remembered that at Edinburgh an amendment was accepted to exclude the right of communists to attend Labour Party conferences even as trade union delegates. This raised such a storm of protest that last year they were compelled to withdraw it. This year they have achieved their object by an indirect method. Our candidates will probably run on the same basis as last year—with local Labour Party adoption. We shall have eight or ten candidates in the field. From a working class point of view the election is good in that the two outstanding issues will be the Anglo-Russian Treaty and the trial of Campbell, the editor of the "Workers' Weekly". My opinion is that the Presidium should send directives to the British party on the following points.

The united front campaign must under no circumstances be changed. There will be some possibility of a reaction from the Labour Party Conference and may be a tendency among some of our members to come out and to open opposition to the Labour Party candidates. This would be a mistake as it will hand a seat over to the bourgeois nominees. The party should be instructed to carry on a vigorous campaign of sharp criticism against the actions of the Labour Government and expose its imperialist character. We shall have to act quickly as the date of the election has been set down for October 29. This gives us only 19 days for the whole election campaign.

P. 2333 [1]

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF Gt. BRITAIN

(British Section of the Communist International)

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CENTRAL
EXECUTIVE
COMMITTEE
Albert Inkpin,
General Secretary

All communications to
be addressed to the
Secretariat and not to
individuals



S. L. Saklatvala.

23rd June 1925.

Dear Comrade,

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

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

We would be glad if you would arrange this.

Yours fraternally,

Thomas Bell

Colonial Department.

P. 2333 [2].

MEMO. FROM P. R. STEPHENSEN & I. G. THOMAS

Subject:—COMPOSITION OF INDIAN MAJLIS AT OXFORD.

The sixty-six Indians composing the Majlis at Oxford may be divided into political categories as follows.—

Moderates	18
Swarajists	11
Socialists	5
I. C. S. & I. F. S.	20 (Pledged to support Govt.)
Unclassified	12

The Moderates. These may be said to reflect the opinions of the native bourgeoisie. The desire for "Dominion Status" is a typical demand. Some few are openly Empire Sycophants.

Swarajists Names as follows: Ahmad, Dhanda, Dongre, Husain, Rajepakse, Khan, Thapar, Bharucha, Dutt Ghose, Phanse. We may regard any of these people as possibilities for our party, but systematic and careful propaganda is necessary.

Socialists: Names as follows. Gopalswami
Sarkar
Manjunath
Krishna
Mirza

These are undoubtedly our best immediate possibilities. Further details below.

(We have distributed "Vanguard" literature amongst the

Socialists and Swarajists named above.)

I. C. S & I. F. S There are thirteen studying for the Indian Civil Service and seven for the Indian Forest Service. These are all pledged to support the Government, and it is therefore almost impossible to get much support from them. We can make the attempt later on to get their sympathy, or at least to find out where they stand individually.

Unclassified: There are twelve of the Majlis of whose political opinions we know nothing. Most of these may be considered as having no political interest, but here again we must investigate further at the earliest opportunity.

Re Interviews with Com. Saklatvala:—The following are leaving for India shortly, having completed their course at Oxford:

Manjunath (Soc.)

Sarkar (Soc. with communist sympathies)

Barucha (Swar)

Dutt (Swar)

Ghose (Swar)

Phanse (Swar)

Dongre (Nationalist)

It is important that Com. Saklatvala should interview these men before they depart. Naturally they would not come all together to interview him, and a tete-a-tete conversation would produce best results. We append our opinion of each of these men, and also a list of the dates on which they could call on Sak. in London. To the above list we may add the following, who are remaining in Britain for a year longer.

Gopalswami (Communist)

Mirza (Socialist)

The following are the dates when the Indians concerned will be in London and prepared to see Com. Saklatvala.

P. R. Stephensen will call at King Street on Tuesday next (23rd) to receive details from Com Saklatvala or to find out when he can arrange interviews.

DONGRE Any day, at once.

MIRZA Any day. (after 4 45 p m

SARKAR Last week in June.
 BARUCHA First week in July.
 GOPALSWAMI June 26th. to 28th.
 PHANSE July 13th to 15th.
 GHOSE After 15th. July.
 MANJUNATH }
 DUTT } To be arranged later.

Personal details regarding the men who are to meet Comrade Saklatvala:

- Dongre* Barrister (Middle Temple). Brothers are wealthy Bombay merchants. Proud, independent character. Candid and resolute. Bitterly nationalist in feeling, No political affiliations.
- MIRZA:* Socialist. Appears to be a very able man, and quite prepared to discuss the Communist position.
- Sarkar:* Socialist-Communist. Graduated at top of First-Class Honours list at Calcutta University. Intends to enter Indian Educational Service. Is of a timid nature, and says he is interested in political theory only, having no inclination to "be a politician."
- Barucha:* Of Bombay Parsee community. Succeeds in reconciling to his own satisfaction nationalism with socialist sympathies and an idealisation of a "purified" caste system.
- Gopalswami* Communist before leaving India (but no party credentials). Has joined C. P. G. B. and gives us every assistance here.
- Phanse:* Ex-president of Majlis, and at present Editor of "Bharat". Extreme Swarajist. No disinclination to interview Sak. Interested in "Vanguard" literature.
- Ghose:* President of Majlis. Swarajist. Believes in non-violence as an ideal, but thinks that 'India will be compelled to free herself by violence because of English use of brute force.'
- Dutt* Swarajist. Very timid. Not proud of being a cousin

of Palme Dutt. Reluctant to meet Sak. but has nevertheless consented.

Manjunath: Gopalswami says he is a Socialist, but we have not had the opportunity of talking with him.

P. 2334.

2. St. ALBANS VILLAS.
HIGHGATE ROAD.
LONDON. N. W. 5

November 3/25.

To The Commissioner of Police
Scotland Yard
S. W.

Dear Sir,

My secretary Mr. Bishop had kept all my Parliamentary correspondence and stationery in Mr. Wintringham's flat at 1 Dr. Johnsons Bldgs. E. C., from where they have been collected and taken away by your officers along with papers etc. belonging to the Communist Party.

As my correspondence and papers have no special bearing on the C. P. activities, I shall thank you to instruct your officers for their return to me.

Yours faithfully

Sd/. Shapurji Saklatvala.

P. 2335.

November 6th. 1925.

Received of the Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police:

One box-file containing documents, papers etc.

One box-file Do.....Do.....

Two brown paper parcels containing documents etc.

One paper parcel containing papers etc.

Sd/. Shapurji Saklatwala.

Nov. 6/25—

Witness. A. G. Foster. Sgt.

P. 2336.

Passport application dated 30-7-23 submitted by Shapurji Saklatwala. Certain portions of the declaration and description are in the handwriting of Saklatwala and these are signed by him. A photo of Saklatwala is also attached with the application.

P. 2337.

Passport application dated 7-2-21 submitted by Thomas Bell. The entries and signature are in the handwriting of Bell. A photo of Thomas Bell is also attached with the application.

P. 2338.

Passport application dated 3-6-21 submitted by Harry pollitt. The entries in the declaration and description and the signature are in the hand writing of Harry pollitt. A photo of Harry pollitt is attached with the application.

P. 2339

A booklet in English entitled " Programme of the Communist International ' .

P. 2340

Passport application dated 7-7-24 submitted by Arthur Glyn Evans. The entries in the declaration and description as well as the signature are in the handwriting of Glyn Evans. A photo of Glyn Evans is attached with the application.

P. 2341

Passport application of 26-1-28 submitted by Arthur George Field. A photo of Arthur George Field is attached with the application.

P. 2342.

An issue of the " Sunday Worker " dated 21-10-28.

P. 2343.

Page 558 of the Modern Review for May 1927. on which is printed the photo of V, Chattopadhyaya,

P. 2344

V. CHATTOPADHYAYA

Berlin—Charlottenburg

Goethestr. 61.

September 5th., 1928

To the

Editor of

" Forward "

Calcutta.

Dear Sir,

I enclose herewith for publication in your journal the manuscript of an article by Comrade N. M. Roy, which he has sent me for the Indian press. It deals with a subject of considerable importance and I hope that there will be no difficulty in finding room for it in your columns.

I should also feel very much obliged to you if you could send a copy of your paper *gratis* to M. A, Farruqui, 16, Hektors-

trasse, BerlinHalensee. I may say that good use will be made of it

Yours truly,

V. Chattopadhyaya.

P. 2344

SOCIALISM.

AND NATIONALISATION OF LAND.

Jawaharlal Nehru's advocacy of Socialism as applied to the land" in his speech at the Kerala Provincial Conference provoked a protest from a number of Punjab landowners. Replying to the statement of the Punjab landowners Mr. Nehru, in an article in the "*Forward*" (July 22), has made it clear what he means by "Socialism as applied to land". According to this article, what he advocates is *not socialism, but nationalisation of land*, although he mixes up the two things which are very distinct from each other. The *land reform* advocated by him is something very progressive in the given social conditions of India though it provokes the indignation of the landowning class it is sure to win the approbation of other social elements interested in raising our national economy to a higher level of development. But these social elements, in spite of their relative progressiveness as far as landownership is concerned, do not necessarily sympathize with Socialism. As a matter of fact, they are hostile to Socialism, even "as applied to the land". If with all of them this hostility to socialism is not conscious or expressed to-day, it will be so as soon as the issues involved become clear. Therefore, by associating his propaganda for *land reform* with something (Socialism) it is not, Mr. Nehru will unnecessarily scare away many who, otherwise, would be affected by his propaganda. Why should he harm his cause by erroneously associating it with Socialism which it is not and in which he himself, judged from his article does not believe? On the other hand, such mistaken or distorted interpretation of Socialism is likely to mislead those grouping towards Socialism. So by confusing distinct issues Mr. Nehru's propaganda will, on the one hand, fail to drive sufficiently home the cause of land reform while, on the other hand, it will hinder the correct understanding of and honest striving for Socialism by the more advanced elements of the exploited classes.

Let us first establish our contention that Socialism and nationalisation of land are not identical. In order to do it, it is necessary to begin with a general enunciation of Socialism. The essence of Socialism is the abolition of private property in the means of production, distribution and exchange. Socialism will abolish private ownership of land, not as something distinct, but as an integral part of the aggregate means of social production.

Now nationalisation of land does not necessarily imply the abolition of private property in land. It simply represents the creation of a new form of property. The concrete result of the nationalisation of land is determined by the character of the state which nationalises the land. If the nationalisation takes place under the bourgeois state, the private property in the land remains, notwithstanding any formal juridical change that might occur on the surface. The function of the bourgeois state is to defend the institution of private property. It will never abolish private property in any one department of the productive system. But nationalisation is identical with socialisation when it takes place after the overthrow of the bourgeois state. Then it takes place not as an isolated fact, but inside the general process of the abolition of the entire system of private property. In the latter case, the state that nationalises the land is the organ of political power of the expropriated class (proletariat) whose historic mission is to abolish private property. So nationalisation cannot be considered as something abstract. Its effect upon and usefulness for the society will vary according to the conditions under which it will happen.

While Socialism embraces nationalisation of land, nationalisation of land, nevertheless, necessarily is not identical to Socialism. As a matter of fact, the *land reform* theory the culminating point of which is nationalisation, counts among its original propounders such bourgeois economists, philosophers and moralists as Ricardo, Locke, Spence Ogilvie etc. Even such a pillar of the bourgeois society as Herbert Spencer, who was rabidly anti-socialist in a period when all the bourgeois radicals dallied with vague formulas of Socialism, sympathised with the land reform movement. The theoretical foundation of the doctrines of land reform and nationalisation was laid down by the apostle of private property John Stuart Mill.

“No man made the land’ it is the original inheritance of the whole species..... Suppose there is a kind of income which constantly tends to increase, without any exertion or sacrifice on the part of the owner; those owners constituting a class in the community, whom the natural course of things progressively enriches, consistently with complete passiveness on their part. In such case it would be no violation of the principles on which private property is grounded, if the state should appropriate this increase of wealth— This would not properly be taking anything from anybody; it would merely be applying an accession of wealth, created by circumstances, to the benefit of the society, instead of allowing it to become an unearned appendage to the riches of a particular class. This is actually the case with rent. The ordinary progress of a society which increases in wealth, is at all times tending to augment the incomes of landlords. They grow richer, as it were, in their sleep. What claim do they have on the general principle of social justice,

to the accession of riches?

(Principles of Political Economy by J. S. Mill).

According to Mill, the private property in land is not so "sacred" as other forms of property. Mill was the economist of capitalism; and as such, he postulated a theory justifying attack upon feudal landownership which handicapped capitalist production. His doctrine of land reform, which tended logically towards nationalization, however, did not in the least challenge the right of private property as the basis of social economy. This proves what a wide gulf lays between nationalisation of land by the capitalist state and Socialism.

This theory of Mill was given more definite shape by Patrick Dove in his book called "Science of Politics". What Dove proposed was practically the expropriation of landed property in the interests of the bourgeoisie. Dove argued that "common ownership of land is the right principle", but at the same time he asserted that "the events of 1848 have demonstrated that communism was unattainable". Here we see that nationalisation of land far from being identical with Socialism was advocated by one who considered Socialism to be an unrealisable goal. Dove advocated a sweeping attack not only upon large landed properties, but upon private property in land in general (he was against division of land) clearly and admittedly to promote the interests of capitalism. His theory did not take into consideration the interests of the exploited peasant cultivating the land. He justified expropriation of land by the following argument. There are two main sources of taxation, namely land and industry. If the entire burden of taxation were shifted upon the former, the latter would be in much more favourable situation. By nationalising the entire land rent the state will be able to abolish all other taxes. "The taxes on industry or labour the true source of property, is robbery pure and simple. ... Trade and industry, liberated from the incubus of taxation, will be able freely to develop to the advantage of the whole nation". (P. E. Dove-Science of Politics).

The "whole nation" for whose benefit Dove advocated nationalisation of land was obviously the capitalist class owning and controlling trade and industry. His objection to the taxes on labour was in conformity with the liberal doctrines of social reform that replaced that of unrestricted *laissez faire*. A comparatively higher standard of living for the working class is, under ordinary conditions, desirable, even essential, for the development of capitalism. It enlarges the home market for capitalist commodities. Should the workers be relieved of exorbitant taxation, they could spend the money thus saved in purchasing goods. The concern expressed by the bourgeois social reformers for the working class,

was dictated by capitalist interests. In different stages of social evolution the "nation" or the state is identified with one particular class the class occupying the dominating position in the given period. The interest of the dominating class is glorified as the interest of the "whole nation".

The Land Tenure Reform Association founded by J. S. Mill in 1870 claimed "the unearned increase of the land and the produce thereof" for the society as a whole. It proposed that the state should take control of the land. (J. S. Mill Programme of the Land Tenure Reform Association)

Nevertheless, practically all the liberal theorists, politicians and social reformers of the epoch joined the Association. This again proves that abolition of feudal (or any other form of unproductive) landownership is far from Socialism, being a measure advantageous to capitalist development. As a matter of fact all from J. S. Mill to Henry George and Alfred Russel Wallace who advocated *land reform* (in various ways, namely, nationalisation of the land tax, single-tax, nationalisation of the land etc.) were either tacitly or expressly opposed to Socialism. Even the American, Henry George, who in his book "*Progress and Poverty*" presented a complete scheme of land reform supported by a synthesis of Bentham's philosophy of "natural right", Ricardo's and Mill's theory of rent, and Dove's proposal for the nationalisation of rent, disassociated him-self clearly from Socialism. The actual application of the remedy of "the Single-tax" prescribed by Henry George for the "old countries" would be nationalisation of the land, although he did not make such a "radical" proposition. Yet, he opposed Socialism as something "incompatible with personal freedom". The doctrine of personal freedom (individualism, is the corollary to the capitalist economic theory of competition. A believer in the capitalist doctrine of competition, Henry George demanded the abolition of the monopoly in the form of landownership. The hypocritical verbage about the suffering of the working class, contained in the book of Henry George was meant to deceive the working class and incipient Socialists. Henry George's quackery of Single-tax considerably retarded the clarification of Socialist thought in England, because most of the incipient Socialists of that time fell under the influence of his propaganda. The British Socialist movement was not liberated from the harmful influence of Henry George until the followers of Karl Marx, headed by H. M. Hyndman, exposed the capitalist character of his remedy.

Now we come to deal with the theories of Alfred Russel Wallace in whose hand the previous schemes of land reform definitely took the form of nationalisation. Wallace's book "Land Nationalisation" appeared at the same time as Henry George came.

to Englad with his theory of Single tax. As his American contemporary Wallace took the teachings of the leading bourgeois philosophers and economists as his hypothesis and reached the conclusion that "the old idea, so prevalent still among workmen, that capital and labour are antagonistic, is a mistake. Both alike suffer from the common enemy the landlord and rent absorbs the profits which the steady increase of productive power in all civilised countries should give to labour and capital".

Thus, what Wallace proposed was not Socialism; on the contrary, as a premises for his theory of land nationalisation he negatives the existence of the very fact which inevitably makes for Socialism. The foundation of the socialist movement is the recognition of the fact that the interests of labour and capital are antagonistic. This class antagonism is the consequence of private property. The object of Socialism is to abolish private property so that human society will be rescued from the vicious circle of class antagonism and become a commonwealth of free individuals. Wallace, like his predecessors and contemporaries in the land reform movement, justifies and defends the more advanced (capitalist) form of private property while demanding the disruption of an older form for the benefit of the newer. He writes:

"The law which makes land private property is wrong; and this being so, we can understand why it is that the very principle of free contract, buying cheap and selling dear, supply and demand as the regulator of price—principles which work good for mankind in every other case, work evil here".

Nationalisation of land proposed by Wallace does even abolish private property in land. Private property cannot be abolished piece-meal. The whole system is an integral whole, and must be attacked as such. The essential effect of land nationalisation, as advocated by Wallace and other non-socialists, would be to change the character of the property in land—to transform it from feudal property to bourgeois property. What really is wanted by them is to free the land from the monopolist ownership of the landlords and bring it within the orbit of capitalist market. In spite of his assertion that the "principles of free contract work evil" in the case of land, Wallace made the following suggestions as the practical application of his theory of nationalisation.

1. That landlordism must be replaced by occupying ownership;
2. That the tenure of the holder must be secure with the right of its free use;
3. That the holder must have the freedom to sell or transfer his interests in the land.

The application of these principles would lead to the creation of peasants-proprietors, freed from the absolutism of feudal landlords, but drawn into the system of capitalist national economy. Firstly, the final ownership of the land is transferred to the bourgeoisie through the capitalist state. Secondly, by the system of occupying ownership the peasants' labour is brought directly under capitalist exploitation. Thirdly, landlords share (rent) is transferred into capitalist' profit. Fourthly the cultivators' freedom to sell or transfer their interests in land creates new condition for the monopoly of land—but a monopoly of the capitalists.

So, nationalisation of land as such neither theoretically, nor by implication has anything to do with Socialism. It is a measure, which promotes the interests of capitalism, unless it is introduced by the working class after the overthrow of the capitalism state.

Now, in the light of this knowledge of the theories of land reform let us examine the propositions of Jawaharlal Nehru as regards the nationalisation of land. At the very outset of this examination one thing attracts our attention. Mr. Nehru's proposals are essentially similar to those of the bourgeois advocates of land reform, referred to above, particularly to the scheme of Wallace. But at the same time, he advances them as socialist measures. It is "Socialism as applied to land," as he puts it. Two inferences may be made from this: 1. either Mr. Nehru finds Socialism in the measures of land reform advocated by Wallace, Henry George and their predecessors; 2 or he proposes something new which bears an apparent resemblance to measures advocated by bourgeois reformers in other countries, but which is essentially different from them. Should the first be the case, Mr. Nehru has obviously made a mistake. He has discovered Socialism in the camp of its subtle enemies. Or is he trying to do what other land reformers tried and failed to accomplish in other countries? This question will be answered by the examination of what he actually proposes. Let us take it for granted that the latter is the correct conclusion to be drawn from his propositions—that he proposes something new in the realm of land reform, although appearing to say the same thing as others said in the past.

What is it that Mr Nehru actually advocates? His propositions as stated in his article reassuring the Punjab landholders that "they have little to fear from nationalisation of land," can be summarised as follows. 1. Big Zemindars must go (where and how he does not explain), 2. The ownership of the land should be vested in the nation or in society as a whole, 3. Big Zemindaris should be broken up, and large number of peasant holders created all over the country.

Mr. Nehru puts forward these measures of land reform as "Socialism applied to land." But will their application fulfill the

basic condition of Socialism? Will it abolish private property—even in land. Obviously not. Mr. Nehru himself, admittedly, does not suggest the abolition of private ownership of land, notwithstanding his use of the term ‘socialisation’ as synonymous to nationalisation. What he proposes is the creation of peasant—holders practically owning the land they cultivate, while the juridical ownership of the land is finally vested in the state. In other words, he advocates the extension of the present *ryotwari* system of tenure throughout the country. In allaying the apprehension of the indignant landlords Mr. Nehru asks them if they would “prefer that the ownership of land should rest with an irresponsible British government or with a responsible Indian government.” That is, the nationalisation of land as advocated by Mr. Nehru is the generalisation of the *ryotwari* system under a national Indian government. If this is Socialism, then the system of land tenure obtaining in the imperialist French Republic and some other smaller European countries is socialist. Jawaharlal Nehru has indeed a peculiar understanding of Socialism. No wonder that the astute, anti-socialist bourgeois politician Lala Lajpat Rai applauded his “practical Socialism” while ridiculing Saklatwala’s propaganda of “too much heat, but not enough light” and disdainfully referring to the writer of this article as “a vendor of patent medicine.” When his scheme of “Socialism as applied to land”, not only on examination, but on the face of it, is a repetition (conscious or unconscious?) of those previously advocated in other countries by frank and ardent defenders of capitalist society, and wins the approbation of the representatives of the Indian bourgeoisie, Jawaharlal Nehru should know that nationalisation of land as proposed by him is something entirely different from Socialism. Perhaps he also hates patent medicine like the well informed Lalli, and pretends to invent a new remedy for a social disease, not peculiarly Indian, which has been scientifically examined by competent authorities. Those sincerely anxious to cure Indian society of this disease must accept the valuable findings of the expert authorities and arm themselves with the remedy the prescribed. It is safer to place oneself under the scientific guidance of a Karl Marx than in the hands of quacks like Henry George or Wallace. Radical Indian intellectuals should know that the doctrines of Bentham, Mill and other old masters, on whose altar they worship, provided the ideological foundation of British imperialism. So, social quackery founded on those bourgeois doctrines of class domination, cannot cure India’s social disease which has been extremely complicated by the intervention of British imperialism.

That Jawaharlal Nehru labourers under an entirely false understanding of Socialism is evident from more than one statements he makes in his article. For example, he says that the fear of the Punjab landholders, who protested against his Kerala

speech, is "due to ignorance of what Socialism is." It seems that, according to Mr. Nehru, the success of Socialism depends on our power of persuasion. To prove the harmlessness of Socialism he refers to the fact that even capitalist governments are forced by stress of circumstances to socialise a host of undertakings." The state ownership of the Indian railways, post office etc. is considered by him as socialist measures. He thinks that the Conservative government of England is getting converted to Socialism, because it proposes the public ownership of electricity. After citing such instances of "socialisation of undertakings" he asks why should not land also follow suit. So his proposition practically amounts to applying as much Socialism to land as it has been applied to the Indian railways by the imperialist foreign government, and to the British electric power industry by the capitalist state. The fallacy of Mr. Nehru's proposition is his postulation that Socialism and Capitalism can go hand in hand. He appears to believe that Socialism can be applied to certain branches of production, while in the others Capitalism remains in force. In his scheme of social reform the state does not seem to have any importance. Still, the value and effect of nationalisation of land or the public undertakings are determined by the class composition of state by which it is enforced. The British government had railways built in India as public undertakings not out of the conviction that public ownership is better than private. It did so, because railways, so essential for the extension of trade, could not be built rapidly unless the government took the matter in its hand. Now the situation has changed and the policy of the British government is to "de-nationalise", so to say, the railways. Practically all the basic industries in a number of countries were placed under state control during the war. Soon after the war they were decontrolled. The plan to nationalise this or that industry in some of the leading capitalist countries are advocated by far-sighted bourgeois economists as means of rationalising capitalist mode of production. This to be done not as an impetus to the progress towards Socialism; but, on the contrary, as a bulwark against Socialism. As long as the state remains capitalist the organ of political power of the bourgeoisie-nationalisation is not a socialist but a capitalist measure.

The land reform advocated by Jawaharlal Nehru as "Socialism as applied to the land", was introduced in France after the revolution by the bourgeoisie. Complete disruption of the feudal aristocracy was necessary to destroy the monarchical state. Over a century has passed since then; but the French peasantry is no nearer to Socialism than the Indian ryot. Its poorer section is the helpless victim of capitalist exploitation; whereas upper strata of peasant-proprietors are the bulwark of reaction. To advocate a similar change as "Socialism" is misleading. The change, on its own merit,

will be a forward move under the given conditions in India. As such the Socialists and the entire class objectively striving for Socialism, namely the proletariat, will support it for what it is. It need not be painted with fraudulent colours.

Then, the basic condition for Socialism is the abolition of the private ownership of the means of production. The land as an instrument of production should cease to be private property, in any form whatsoever, in Socialist society. But abolition of private property in land is not in the scheme of Jawaharlal Nehru. He writes; "Nationalisation does not necessarily mean the deprivation of the present landholders of their lands. It may mean certain restriction on the right of alienation and on speculation in land in another place of the same article he clearly defines his proposal as the creation of peasant-proprietors, instead of the present system of tenure obtaining in the Zemindari areas. The essence of his proposition might be interpreted as the abolition of *land rent* and its substitution by *tax* to be levied by the state directly from the cultivators. Various forms of tenure are included in the present *ryotwari* system. In some cases, the state is the landlord and the cultivator tenant, the latter paying *rent* to the former. In others, the cultivator is the legal owner of his holding, and, therefore, his contribution to the state is not *rent*, but *tax*. In both the cases the land is a private property. The nationalization of land advocated by Nehru is the application of one or the other of these *ryotwari* tenure forms to entire India, under a nationalist regime. Whatever other effect this proposed readjustment of agrarian relations might produce upon the national economy, it will not be Socialism. It will be a mere change in the relations of property in land.

Nor are the two conditions, on which Mr. Nehru advocates the creation of peasant-proprietors in the place of the present form of landownership, conducive to Socialism: Both of them are necessary conditions for the capitalist exploitation of agriculture. It was Lord Curzon, who more than quarter of a century ago had the Punjab Land Alienation Act passed. Lord Curzon certainly did not have any socialist deviation. Free trade in land was advocated by liberal theorists in the earlier stages of capitalist development as a means of undermining feudal landownership. This theory was also useful for the expropriation of the poor peasantry and to drive them into the industrial centres with nothing but their labour-power to sell. But free trade in land does not destroy land-monopoly. It only transfers the monopoly from one class to another. In some countries the land liberated from feudal monopoly, concentrates again in the form of large capitalist farms. Such a concentration (a new form of monopoly) is beneficial to capitalism. But in industrially backward countries like India free trade in land produce

a different effect detrimental to the interests of capitalism. There the land tends to accumulate in the hand of (the money-lenders who do not increase its productivity by investing capital in agriculture, but uses their monopolist possession for unproductive speculation. The result is that expropriation of the peasantry does not help the development of capitalism; on the contrary, it harms capitalism in the form of shrinking market. Therefore in industrially backward countries, serving primarily as the market for imported manufactured goods, free trade in land is not advantageous to capitalism. There the best policy is to enlarge the market through the creation of peasant-landholders with secure tenancy right and tied to the land not, as previously by feudal bondage, but by the laws of the capitalist state. In these conditions the peasant is essentially a wage worker employed in the capitalist agricultural industry. His right to sell the product of his land in the free market is but the reflex of the right of the capitalist to deprive him of the fruit of his labour. For there is no "free market" which is not manipulated and dominated by the capitalists.

Jawaharlal Nehru prescribes essentially capitalist remedies as Socialism, because, owing to his false understanding of Socialism, he begins at the wrong end. Socialism is not an Utopia; nor will it be realised because some people want it. It is the inevitable outcome of the capitalist mode of production. In the course of its development capitalism socialises the process of production, thus laying down the foundation of Socialism. The abolition of the private ownership of the means of socialized production transforming them into the collective property of the producing class (not the entire community) is the first decisive step towards the realisation of Socialism. Obviously this first step should be taken where it could be done most effectively; that is, Socialism should be applied first in those highly developed industries where the conditions are ripe for the purpose. In modern economy agriculture occupies a subsidiary place. It is more so in backward countries like India. Therefore, the application of Socialism to agriculture cannot precede the socialization of the industries. It can be done and will be done in a long, labourious process after the capitalist state has been overthrown, the key positions of capitalism (heavy industries, transport and banks) captured collectively by the working class and a Socialist state established.

Nationalisation of land advocated as something isolated from the fight for the conquest of the key positions essential for the realisation of Socialism, is a capitalist measure. It becomes a Socialist measure only when introduced by the working class in the possession of the political state-power.

M. N. ROY.

Superscription on the envelope.—

To the Editor of

“ FORWARD ”

CALCUTTA.

INDIEN

P. 2345.

3214 24 Feb. 1925.

L/H.

1268/3.

To the

Central Executive Committee of the C. P. Great Britain.

Agitprop Department.

LONDON.

Dear Comrades,

The following is a report on the result of our examination of your theoretical monthly organ “The Communist Review”. Number 1 to 8 incl. of 1924 of this periodical were submitted to examination. In order to be able to give a thorough criticism, we took the opportunity at the same time of gaining more insight into your other organs. “The Labour Monthly”. “The workers weekly” and the organ of the Minority Movement “The worker”. On the basis of the picture of your whole press thus obtained we are now submitting to you our opinion of the “Communist Review” and making a few suggestions with regard to its revision, which we think necessary for certain reasons and which we will explain in more detail.

The “C. R.” is the official party organ, which fact must determine its tasks. These can be approximately determined by the fact that the periodical by illuminating from a revolutionary standpoint all the immediate political and social problems, educated the British

proletariat in the revolutionary spirit and at the same time as a sort of reaction, trains the party members themselves in a deeper theoretical understanding of the strategic and tactical questions confronting the Party, as well as the essence of Leninism as the theory of the present phase of the development of capitalism.

Now let us see in how far the character of the "Communist Review" meets these two tasks. We will first discuss the good points and then the faults of the periodical, in order to arrive at a definite judgement as to the direction in which it should be revised.

The good points of the "Communist Review", in our opinion, are as follows.

1. The lively popular style in which the articles are written on the various subjects. This style was revealed especially strongly in the sphere of the polemics against the Mac Donald Government.

2. The method of investigating the manifold, complex social and political problems. The editors were right in always starting out from concrete empirical facts lying within the sphere of experiences of the average educated party member, and which the latter could easily grasp.

3. The fact that practical and dispassionate suggestions were always made for the solution of the problems discussed, which gradually accustomed the readers not to bring moral or wrangling observations into politics and economy, but rather to learn how always to judge their problems from the standpoint of the class struggle. In this manner the "C. R." represents a sharp demarcation from the petty-bourgeois sentimental press of the so-called British socialists, i. e., the "Socialist Review".

4. The constant efforts of the editors of the "C.R." to extend the horizon of its proletarian readers and Party members and to rid them of their provincial narrowness and limitations. The periodical tried to direct these efforts to the end that the most complex problems might always be discussed from the standpoint of the class policy of the proletariat and that the separation of economy from politics, which still exists as a tradition among the British workers, might be abolished. In this connection we might mention that the "C R" was especially successful in representing the following:

- (a) The petty-bourgeois character of the MacDonald Government and its inevitable fiasco;
- (b) The questions of the British Empire.
- (c) The vacillating attitude of the Left Wing of the Labour Party; and

- (d) the role of the Minority Movement as the lever for revolutionising the Trade Unions

But certain faults can be set against the good points of the periodical here mentioned, which must be improved in order that the periodical will be able to fulfil its double function i. e. the education of the whole working class and the thorough Bolshevisation of the Party itself.

These faults are approximately the following:

(1) In the detailed discussion of the manifold questions of politics and economy, the discussion of the actual questions closely connected with the development of the Party, was shoved into the background. We have in mind here especially the problems of the reorganisation of the Party on the basis of factory nuclei, the fight against the digressions of Trotskyism, liquidationism, the tactical attitude towards the "left wing" in the Labour Party etc.

2. Closely linked up with this fault is the fact that the periodical in general placed too much emphasis on agitation to influence the masses of the proletariat, rather than on the propaganda of theoretical training of its own party members. Thus the "C. R." did not sufficiently stress its peculiar character in opposition to the "Workers' Weekly" the agitational mass organ.

3. "The aversion to theory" revealed itself everywhere in the columns of the "C. R." For instance the theoretical discussion of the question of imperialism, which goes far beyond the practical problem of British imperialism was avoided. The consequence is that the present economic and political situation of Great Britain, the indispensability of the Dewes Plan to Anglo-American Imperialism, etc. were inadequately investigated.

4. Whenever any theoretical questions were touched upon their presentation & analysis were of a purely descriptive nature. No attempts were made to co-ordinate these questions systematically in conceptions and formulæ. As a consequence the officials and advanced workers could gather nothing of the theory of Leninism as the uniform method of Marxism during the present epoch.

5. The whole complexity of the educational question was completely neglected in the "C. R.". The opportunity should not have been missed which was offered by the present antagonism existing in the British Labour movement between the Labour College and the W. E. A. to develop the standpoint of the Party on the education of the proletariat.

6. In connection with the campaign for national and international trade union unity, the "C. R." failed to attempt to furnish a theoretical basis for this activity.

7. The role of the Communist Party in connection with the trade union movement and the proletarian masses in general was never explained, although this question is the main spring in the development of the C. P. of Great Britain from a tactical point of view.

Balancing these shortcomings of the "C. R." against its good points, we may come to the following conclusions in connection with its general character. Until now the periodical considered its duty not so much to be the propagandist-theoretical training of the Party members, but rather the direct agitation influence on the broad proletarian masses and also on certain circles of these intelligentsia. That explains the fact that the SPECIFIC TACTICAL questions of the Party and the general STRATEGIC tasks of winning over the majority of the British proletariat, were neglected and that the theoretical problems of bolshevisation were discussed to such a small extent from the standpoint of agitational publicity. We must not reproach the editors too much on this account, for the former numerical weakness of the Party required that as broad an agitational basis as possible be given the periodical. Now, however, the expected development of the Party into a mass organisation, the fact that the 'Workers' Weekly can now fulfil its task as an agitation organ independently, and the fact that a Sunday paper is going to be started, necessitate that the group of problems handled by the "C. R." be extended on the theoretical side from the point of view of the strict ideological bolshevisation of the party membership. Here the well-known words of Lenin "without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary PARTY", truly apply. Proceeding from this fundamental consideration of the alteration in the peculiar function of the "C. R." which is so necessary just now—the stronger emphasis of its theoretical propaganda side—we submit to the Agitprop Department of the British Party the following suggestions for the revision of its theoretical organ.

1. The POLITICAL QUESTIONS OF THE PARTY must be discussed more thoroughly than heretofore. The organisational tasks, the tactics of the Party with reference to the Left wing, the attitude of the Party toward the trade union movement, etc must be discussed and solved on a theoretical basis

2. The problem of imperialism must not be discussed within the narrow limits of the British Empire, which, might in many cases disguise its real nature, but on the basis of the general world economic and political situation (Anglo-American imperialism, encirclement of Soviet Russia, etc)

3. Leninism as Marxist theory in the present epoch and as the method of the proletarian struggle must serve to a great extent as the subject of propaganda and the training of the party mem-

bership. We must not assume in this connection that other organs, for instance the "Plebs", will accomplish this task for us. The frustrated attempt of Comrade Roebuck to propagate a discussion on Leninism outside the ranks of the party membership is just one more proof of the fact that our doctrine can take root best of all in our own Party and develop there.

4. The question of proletarian training, of the fight against petty-bourgeois ideology in all spheres of modern science and art, and principally the question of practical philosophy, must be constantly discussed in the column of the "C. R."

5. Revolutionary parliamentarism, even though the Party has only ONE representative in Parliament, must not be left out of consideration.

6. Propaganda among the agricultural labourers is becoming of greater importance just at this time when class antagonism is spreading in Great Britain.

7. We wish to remark in conclusion, in connection with the organisational question, that the editors must keep constantly in mind the necessity of recruiting a staff of co-workers among the most advanced sections of the Party members and officials.

If the editors should agree with us that the activity of their periodical should be extended now on the theoretical side, they will easily overcome the faults we have indicated and succeed in raising it to the important position it should occupy as the sharpest weapon of the communist advance guard.

In conclusion we wish to remark that from the point of view of make-up, the "C. R." is one of the best edited periodicals of our international party press.

With communist greetings.

Chief of the Agitprop Department of the ECCL.

P. 2346.

July 15, 1925.

Albert Inkpin,

General Secretary, C. P. G. R

Dear Comrade,

I am obliged to you for your letter of the 10th. inst., which I have just received on my return to London, but I regret that I am unable to understand the need either for the action taken by the organising Bureau or for the tone of your communication.

I was not aware that any arrangement in "a loose and irregular fashion" was "made with me by comrade Arnot" as I received my instructions to make the temporary change of occupation from the proper authorities of both Arcos and the Delegation.

Nor do I understand what my association with the Colonial Bureau has to do with the matter, since my time and facilities for work in that connection during the temporary change remain exactly as before. As for being "aware" of the plan for special work for me which is "under consideration", I have not received a single communication either written or oral from the British Party which would make me aware of anything of the kind.

Yours Fraternally,

Sd/., C. P. Dutt.

P. 2347 [1]

Saturday Sept. 26th.

Comintern

Moscow.

Dear Comrade,

I have been working here for a week now and am beginning to see daylight. At present I am concentrating my work on India under the instructions of Vasilieff who is in charge during Petroff's absence. I am also trying to get a general idea of the situation in North Africa, Egypt and the Near East but it is clear that I shall have to keep mainly to one country owing to the amount of material to be gone through.

In a week or two's time I will nevertheless try to send a general report covering all items of interest though I understand you may be here yourself by that time. I will also endeavour to compile the Press Gazetteer you spoke of.

Meanwhile I am carrying on working at India in conjunction with Goldberg and Roy. Vasilieff says that this is to be one of the chief problems discussed at the plenum and it is impossible to do too much on it. Let me know if you think this scheme of work satisfactory from the point of view of the Colonial Bureau in London.

I gave your letter to Michael, who has been ill recently though he seem better now.

Yours fraternally,

Sd/.Ralph Fox.

P. 2347. (2)

Oct. 3rd.

Comintern

Moscow.

Dear Comrade,

In conversation with Comrade Alexeev, in charge of Egyptian affairs here, and one or two Egyptian comrades, the importance of having an observer at the T. U. Conference on the 19th at Cairo has been impressed on me. As you know, just now information is very difficult to obtain from Egypt and we have practically no contacts there. It is not known what will be the real composition of the Unions at the Conference, though outwardly they appear to be all "yellow" or Government organisations.

If we could have reliable information as to their real composition, the various political shades represented by the delegates, and the existence or otherwise of left-wing or even purely working-class sentiment, it would be of the utmost value.

There is no reason why the observer should be a party member. Indeed on the whole it would be better if he were not.

I am sending next week a list of those Egyptian newspapers to which the Party might send telegrams. Do you circularise the Egyptian correspondents in London when anything on Egypt appears in our own Press (W. W. or Sunday Worker)?

In the matter of the trial of our Egyptian comrades, we are anxiously waiting for information from you as to the date of the trial, act of accusation, etc. Mopr ask me to urge that the W.I.R. send as soon as possible an English barrister to conduct their defence, or a Englishman resident in Cairo. If this is impossible will you ask the W. I. R. to address themselves to the French Section for the sending of a French barrister. In any case all expenses will be born by Mopr here.

With communist greetings

Sd/ Ralph Fox

P. 2348.

A certified copy of the entry of marriage between Mr. Douglas John Frederick Parsous and Miss Olive Netta Franklin on 25/7/25.

P. 2349.

A certified copy of the entry of birth of Miss Olive Netta Franklin on 14/3/1892.

P. 2350.

A copy of the supplement to the London Gazette dated 24th February 1928. On page 1400, the following entry occurs:—

NAME OF FIRM

Messrs. Samuel Montagu and Co.

Persons of whom the Company or Partnership consists.

Names: Ernest Louis Franklin J. P.

50 Porchester Terrace, Hyde Park, W.

* * * * *

Sydney Ernest Franklin,

50 Prochester Terrace, Hyde Park, W.

* * * * *

Name of Place where
business is carried on.) : 114, Old Broad Street, E-C. London.

P. 2351

City of Westminster Union.

ELECTION OF

GUARDIANS

FOR THE ABOVE UNION, IN THE YEAR 1928.

COVENT GARDEN WARD

OF THE

PARISH OF THE CITY OF WESTMINSTER.

Notice is hereby given.

1. That a Poll for the Election of Guardians for the above named Ward will be held on Monday, the 2nd day of April 1928, between the hours of Eight O'clock in the forenoon and Nine O'clock in the Evening

2. That the number of Guardians to be elected for the Ward is three.

3. That the names in alphabetical order, places of above, and description of the candidates for election, and the names of their respective Proposers and Seconders are as follows:—

Names of candidates:—

* * * * *

Parsons, Douglas John Frederick.

1 E, Carlisle Place, S. W. 1.

* * * * *

P. 2352.

An issue of Workers' Life dated 30/3/28. On page 5 there is an article headed "Where you can work for communists, Guardians".

* * * * *

Westminster:— D. J. F. Parsons. * * * *

P. 2353.

An issue of the "Sunday Worker" dated 20/2/27. On page 3 there is an article headed "By D. J. F. Parsons (Labour Research Department)".

P. 2354

An issue of the "Sunday Worker" dated 30/6/29. On page 1 there is an article headed "Readers begin to Respond" by D.J.F. Parsons who has styled himself as "General Manager, "S.W."

P. 2355

Rejected

An issue of the "Sunday Worker" dated 16/6/29. On page 1 there is an article headed "Help is needed at once" which is signed by D. J. F. Parsons (Manager).

P. 2356

Photo of C. P. Duff attached with his passport application.

P. 2357

A piece of paper containing a List of Associate Members in Cambridge" formed in the search of the National Minority Movement, office in October 1925. This list shows the name of P. Spratt Downing Street, amongst others.

P. 2358

New Scotland yard S.W.

20th October 1925.

Received this day from Inspector Norwood one split ring
containing ten keys.

Sd/ Harry Pollitt.

H. Norwood Inspector.

Witness.

P. 2359.

New Scotland Yard. S.W. »

22nd October 1925.

Received this day from Inspector Norwood the following
articles.—

1. One black leather pocket case containing private correspondence.
2. Post Office Savings Book No. 3382.
3. One large leather packet case containing postcards and private letters.
4. Copy of English Review for October 1925.

Sd/- THOMAS BELL.

Sd/- H. NORWOOD.

(witness).

P. 2360.

Passport application dated nil submitted by Thomas Bell.
The photo of Thomas Bell is attached with the passport application.

P. 2361.

New Scotland Yard, S. W.

22nd October 1925.

Received from Inspector Norwood the following article:—

One knife.

Sd/- R. Page Arnot.

Witness:—

H. Norwood,

Inspector.

P. 2362.

A booklet in English, entitled "What the Young Communist League Stands for" by William Rust. Published by the Communist Party of Great Britain.

P. 2363.

A booklet in English entitled "Resolutions of the Second National Conference, of the Young Communist League of Great Britain"

P. 2364.

A book in English entitled "Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of Gt. Britain", held at Caxton Hall, Salford, October 1927.

P. 2365.

A book in English entitled "The Communist International" published by the Communist Party of Great Britain.

Correct Title - Between Fifth & Sixth World Congress - 1924-28 Report.

P. 2366.

A book in English entitled "Communist Party Training", published by The Communist Party of Great Britain.

P. 2367.

A book entitled "The Tasks of the International Trade Union Movement, published by the National Minority Movement.

P. 2368.

A book in English entitled "National Minority Movement", Report of the Fifth Annual Conference 1928, held in the Shoreditch Town Hall London, August 25th and 26th.

P. 2369.

A book in English entitled "Report of the Fourth Congress of the R.I L,U." Published in England for the Red International of Labour Unions by the National Minority Movement.

P. 2370.

A note book containing shorthand notes attached by the Scotland Yard on 14th October 1925 during the search of 16 King

street, London Note: No. 30 in the Blue Book (Communist Documents, 1926) is a correct transcription of these notes.

P. 2370(1) Communist Papers.

P. 2371.

The Political Bureau.

7-10-25

Dear Comrades.

I feel that the extraordinary circumstances prevailing at the moment call for extraordinary measures to be taken by our Party. There is not much doubt in my mind that without drastic measures to build up our Party we shall be submerged into insignificance in Great Britain. Parliamentary customs and traditions have still a very great attraction for the masses.

In order to overcome this we must adopt merciless measures to fight the Labour Party. We will not succeed to the point of actually wiping it out but we do not require to do that. What we shall succeed in doing is to give a dangerous shaking to the Parliamentary position of all the right wingers and it would then be their turn to patch a peace with the C. P. at any price and the left wing will be forced into an open fight against the right. We must appeal to the C. C. at Moscow to let us work temporarily along the lines I am suggesting. We should adopt the attitude that the L. P. has now deserted its original function and turned itself into a Liberal reformist group like the Irish Nationalist Party and that the real political crusade for socialism has been abandoned by the L. P., therefore the C. P. must now set itself up as the only avowed anti-Capitalist Party to take such action inside and outside Parliament as will lead to the taking over of the means of production and the abolition of Imperialist exploitation and the consequent blacklegging of British and European Trade Union conditions.

We should then in an open manner invite all T. U. branches that take this view to affiliate to the C. P. for the purpose of assisting in carrying out the politico-economic struggle of the workers.

With the consent of the Central Committee at Moscow we should deliberately leave the position of those T. U. branches to be of an indefinite and temporary nature. We should not even make it a condition that they should disaffiliate from the Labour Party because the pressure of the Press will induce the L. P. itself to take

such action. This affiliation of T. U. branches would greatly weaken the position of right wing M. Ps and would increase the chances of rival candidates. Most important it will provide a new recruiting ground for Party membership.

Yours Fraternally
Shapurji Saklatvala.

P 2372. [1].

Comintern.

Moscow, April 25, 1925.

Dear Comrade Murphy,

I am requested by the Editorial Board of the "Communist International" to ask you to arrange for the following articles to be prepared at once.

These articles must deal with the various phases of the development of the Empire and its break-up, and may be prepared by yourself, Dutt, Bennet or others. In the case of the Minority Movement perhaps Comrade Pollitt could do the trick.

(a) Dominions and their fight for independence, including the economic tendencies working for separation.

(b) The economic situation in Britain and its relation to the Empire.

(c) The Working class movement in Britain and its changing tendencies and groupings, and the viewpoint of these tendencies to the Empire.

(d) The Colonial developments and their relation to the Empire the forces operating in the colonies.

The above relate to the Empire. In addition a special article on the Minority Movement is required.

In view of the wide world interests in these questions and the necessity for making some contribution to the analysis of the world situation, it is essential that these articles should be prepared and dispatched at the earliest moment.

Yours fraternally,

E. H. Brown.

P.S. I am writing this letter to the distation of an important member of the Editorial Board.

E. H. B.

P 2372. [2].

Comintern

June 12.

Dear Comrade Murphy.

I had a long consultation with the International publications Committee on the points you suggested in connection with the Communist International. Kripps is the responsible officer and he put up strenuous opposition to the proposal to print two English Language editions of the C.I. (one in America and one in England). He also thought that the translations should be done in England and that cheaper facilities could be obtained.

He also put in a number of other proposals such as the circulation of the C. I. (from England) in India, China and Japan, and the printing and publication of a Lenin Library, in England, for the whole of the English speaking countries and the East.

On the former I suggested, as it was a matter of a purely technical nature we must consult you before taking a decision. On the second I urged your suggestion of an American and English edition. (The American to supply the whole of America North and South).

The whole matter has been adjourned for further consideration and may be Kripps will be writing to you for further information.

Yours fraternally,

E. H. Brown.

P. 2373.

S L. Saklatvala.

23rd June 1925.

Dear Comrade,

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

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

We would be glad if you would arrange this.

Yours fraternally,

Colonial Department.

P. 2373 [II].

MEMO. FROM P. R. STEPHENSEN & I. G. THOMAS

Subject :—*Composition of Indian Majlis at Oxford.*

The sixty-six Indians composing the Majlis at Oxford may be divided into political categories as follows :—

Moderates	18
Swarajists	11
Socialists	5
I. C. S. & I. F. S.	20 (Pledged to support Government.)
Unclassified	12

The Moderates :—These may be said to reflect the opinions of the native bourgeoisie. The desire for 'Dominion Status', is a typical demand. Some few are openly Empire Sycophants.

Swarajists : —Names as follows. Ahmad, Dhanda, Dongre, Husain, Rajepakse, Khan, Thapar, Bharucha, Dutt, Ghose, Phanse. We may regard any of these people as possibilities for our party, but systematic and careful propaganda is necessary.

Socialists : —Names as follows : Gopalswami
Sarkar
Manjunath
Krishna
Mirza

These are undoubtedly our best immediate possibilities. Further details below.

(We have distributed "Vanguard" literature amongst the Socialists and Swarajists named above.)

I.C.S. & I.F.S.:—There are thirteen studying for the Indian Civil Service and seven for the Indian Forest Service. These are all pledged to support the Government, and it is therefore almost impossible to get much support from them. We can make the attempt later on to get their sympathy, or at least to find out where they stand individually.

Unclassified: —There are twelve of the Majlis of whose political opinions we know nothing. Most of these may be considered as having no political interest, but here again we must investigate further at the earliest opportunity.

Re-Interviews with Com. Saklatvala:—The following are leaving for India shortly, having completed their course at Oxford:

Manjunath (Soc.)

Sarkar (Soc) with communist sympathies)

Barucha (Swar.)

Dutt (")

Ghose (")

Phanse (")

Dongre (Nationalis.,

It is important that Com. Saklatvala should interview these men before they depart. Naturally they would not come all together to interview him, and a tete-a-tete conversation would produce best results. We append our opinion of each of these men, and also a list of the dates on which they could call on Sak. in London. To the above list we may add the following, who are remaining in Britain for a year longer.

Gopalswami (Communist)

Mirza (Socialist)

The following are the dates when the Indians concerned will be in London and prepared to see Com. Saklatvala.

P. R. Stephensen will call at King Street on Tuesday next (23rd) to receive details from Com. Saklatvala or to find out when he can arrange interviews.

Donger	--	Any day, at once.
Mirza	...	Any day, (after 4-45 p. m.)
Sarkar	...	Last week in June.
Barucha	--	First week in July.
Gopalswami	..	June 26th. to 28th.
Phanse	--	July 13th to 15th.
Ghose	...	After 15th, July.
Manjunath	}	.. To be arranged later.
Dutt		

Personal details regarding the men who are to meet Comrade Saklatvala :

Donger : —Barrister (Middle Temple). Brothers are wealthy Bombay merchants. Proud, independent character. Candid and resolute. Bitterly nationalist in feeling. No political affiliations.

Mirza : —Socialist. Appears to be a very able man, and quite prepared to discuss the Communist position.

Sarkar : —Socialist—communist. Graduated at top of First-Class Honours list at Calcutta University. Intends to enter Indian Educational Service. Is of a timid nature, and says he is interested in political theory only, having no inclination to "be a politician."

Barucha : —Of Bombay Parsee community. Succeeds in reconciling to his own satisfaction nationalism with socialist sympathies and an idealisation of a "purified" caste system.

Gopalswami : —Communist before leaving India (but no party credentials). Has joined C. P. G. B. and gives us every assistance here.

Phanse : —Ex-president of Majlis, and at present Editor of "Bharat"; Extreme Swarajist. No disinclination to interview Sak. Interested in "Vanguard" literature.

Ghose : — President of Majlis. Swarajist. Believes in non-violence as an ideal, but thinks that "India will be

compelled to free herself by violence because of English use of brute force.

Dutt : —Swarajist. Very timid. Not proud of being a cousin of Palme Dutt. Reluctant to meet Sak, but has nevertheless consented.

Mamunath :—Gopalswami says he is a Socialist, but we have not had the opportunity of talking with him

P. 2374.

26th June 1925.

Dear Comrade :—

The following is brief survey of the progress we have made recently in connection with the Colonial work.
Oriental Convention.

As you know, there are at present in London the following Indians: Charmon Lal—past secretary of the Trade Union Congress—member of the Legislative Assembly, and secretary of the Parliamentary Socialist Society—G. Goswami—treasurer of the Swaraj Party and close intimate friend of the late C. R. Das; also member of the Legislative Assembly and member of the Parliamentary Socialist Society—J. Joshi—secretary (I believe of the Jute Workers Union) and Government nominee to the recent Geneva Labour Convention from India.

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

- a. Oriental Congress. We have got them all to agree to attend this Congress of the East and West Circle, in September.
- b. We have got from them a list of some 25 fairly representative Indians who might be invited to attend the Conference.
- c. To-day these three, together with Horniman, Saklatvala and myself are drawing up the letter of invitation to be sent to these various Indians.

Horniman has agreed to preside at the Congress and the letters of invitation will go out under the signatures of Horniman, Saklatvala and Arthur Field.

They have also agreed to write to some influential friends who may not be able to come, asking them to financially undertake to send someone.

We have heard no further word regarding representatives from Egypt, Palestine or Syria, but we have written urging that at least one of them come from each of these places and more if possible. Our work in this connection had been rendered doubly difficult recently by the Egyptian raids and arrests, but still, I think we shall manage to have representatives.

I am informed that Suzuki from Japan is due to arrive here any day and I have arranged to meet him and will press upon him the urgency of attending the Conference.

Two African negro students who have recently come here I have spoken with, and one of them is interested in the Labour Movement and very interested in our Conference. These two, I think, will also attend.

We anticipate having MacDonald and Simpson from Canada, both of whom ought to be here very soon. I wrote a week ago to the South African Party urging that the endeavour to send a coloured representative as well as whoever may be coming for the Empire Labour Convention.

I am now also in touch with a couple of young Chinese students and we are arranging for Chinese representation, both from the students and from members of the Koumintang, who are resident in Limehouse, in the East End of London.

The Congress has now been definitely fixed for September 1st-8th and all the invitation will formally go out in the next few days.

Empire Labour Conference.

I received your communication addressed to Albert calling attention to one or two points. I learned yesterday that the Labour Party are not definite on the holding of this Conference and are seriously considering cancelling it owing to the poor response. However we have seen Swales, and will bear in mind the points you mention in the event of him presiding at the Conference. Naturally, we are continuing our work in connection with the Empire Labour Conference in just case they do decide to go on with it, so that we will not be found at a disadvantage.

The concrete points of your letter I have passed over to Arnot to attend to in the event of a Presidential address being required.

Sundry Matters.

As you know, I attended the Colonial Congress, which was held in Paris, and at which we discussed three questions: Morocco, China and the U.S.S.R.

Since then the Party has conducted a very good campaign, both on China and Morocco. This has been done through the Party press, as well as by preparation of special Speakers Notes which have been sent round to all Party propagandists with instructions to see that full prominence is given to the situation, particularly on these three points. We are arranging a representative delegate Conference from trade union branches, trades councils and Socialist bodies in the London district on these matters and from that Conference we hope to get, apart from explicit manifestos and resolutions, a deputation with demands covering China, Morocco and Russia to the General Council and, if possible, to the E.C. of the Labour Party. We are hoping also to have a Trafalgar Square demonstration on the first occasion when the Square is vacant.

I have written to our Parties in Syria, Palestine and Egypt urging them to arrange a joint Conference to consider a plan of campaign for the assistance of the Riffs. In this letter we have indicated the lines of the campaign, the formation of Committees of Action in each of these places, centralised in a Joint Committee of Action which should be linked up with the International Committee of Action in Paris.

We have sent a statement on Morocco in the name of Chaman Lal and Goswami to India, explaining the situation in Morocco and what it means to the Indian people, and urging for the organisation of direct assistance to the Riffs, both morally and financially. Both Goswami and Lal have also written letters to personal friends of theirs urging that they take the initiative in forming pro-Riff Committees.

A very successful "Hands Off China" demonstration was held on Friday last at Poplay Town Hall which was remarkable because of the huge number of Oriental and Indian seamen present.

The Political Bureau has also written to the I.L.P., the Labour Party and the General Council urging the immediate formation of a Joint Committee to undertake a great national campaign, particularly on the questions of China, Morocco and the U.S.S.R.

I should also mention that a considerable portion of our time spent with these Indians has been devoted to the preparation of a programme specifically compiled for the various groups of workers in

the big towns. This programme is now in process of preparation and will cover a coal, jute, cotton and railways, the ultimate intention being the combination of these into a "Workers Charter", with additional items covering the peasantry. This programme would be used as a rallying centre for the development of a definite Labour Movement in India.

The three Indians are now anxious to visit the U.S.S.R., and we also are very anxious that this should take place. We are arranging for the General Council to support their application for endorsement to the British Government and I have also written urging that an invitation be sent them from both the Foreign Office and the Trades Union Congress. This I think would help very much in the development of our work in India, and is particularly useful at this moment when due to lack of finance our Party is absolutely unable to send anyone to either India or Egypt to develop the connections made.

While referring to this latter item, I think you will agree in the light of the progress we were making that it is a great pity we are unable to continue having representatives in these places, particularly in Egypt, in view of the work that had already been done. However, the Political Bureau considers it to be absolutely out of the question in view of the very bad financial situation of the Colonial Department just now. If you can think of anything in this connection I shall be glad to hear of it.

This, then, is a survey of what has been happening here in the last ten days, and will serve to keep you posted at least on the progress being made.

Yours fraternally,

P. 2375.

COLONIAL CONFERENCE HELD AT AMSTERDAM,

JULY 11TH. AND 12TH. 1925.

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

*at the
of the*
On Saturday morning I met two trains arriving from Flushing, expecting to intercept Glading and others who were to be present

at the conference, but as they did not arrive I again visited the contact address and discovered that Glading, Dutt and Upadayaya were already there, having arrived by an early train and gone to the meeting place immediately.

Later Roy arrived and informed us that a meeting would take place at 4-30 p.m. A French representative was expected but nothing was certain.

**First meeting 4-30 p.m.
Saturday, July 11th.**

Comrade Sneevliet of the Dutch Party presided and it was agreed that we should first hear Glading's Report.

There were present: Sheevliet, Gertrude Hessler, Khan, (Ashcroft of the Indian Bureau in London), Roy, Glading, C.P. Dutt, Uphadayaya and myself.

Comrade Glading stated that he had not expected to be called upon to give a full report of his visit to India and then gave the names of places which he had visited and people whom he had met. He had not met any communists and had finally decided that those with whom he had come in contact were useless so far as our party work is concerned. He said that Calcutta which he visited last, is the best place. Questions were then asked as follows:—

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

Sneevliet: "Was Glading aware of any relations existing between the Indian leaders and Amsterdam?" Glading stated that he was not aware of this.

Very little discussion took place.

It was then announced that as Khan had to return to England we ought to take his report next.

Khan then reported that he was present in place of Dr. Banerghri who was unable to come and that he was to report on the position of the Indian Bureau in London. The Indian members of the Bureau had hoped to receive some training from the party but absolutely nothing had been done in this direction, and they had received no support whatever from the party in their work. Meetings had been postponed or neglected through carelessness. The Bureau was ignored because they were Indians and that Roy had received all the complaints.

I interrupted and asked that these complaints should be stated definitely and clearly point by point so that I might deal

with them and that I had not come expecting anything of this. This was agreed to. Khan then made the following points —

(1) That it had been proposed to form a Seamen's Union among Indian Seamen, but that so far nothing whatever had been done. At a recent meeting in Poplar Town Hall, arranged for this purpose, party speakers had only dealt with China

(2) The Indian Bureau had tried to send letters abroad but the party refused to accept responsibility for these and stated that they must see all letters sent, that they opened the letters entrusted to them and altered the contents.

(3) Lectures had been proposed under the auspices of the party for the Indian Bureau member. Nothing had been done, however. Only one lecture was to have taken place, this had been postponed. The Bureau was very much disappointed.

(4) The Banerghi was not allowed to visit the party office.

(5) That the Indian Bureau had suggested a demonstration against Lord Reading on his arrival in London recently, and had given three months notice of this to the Party, to allow for the preparation of plans, but that the Colonial Committee had afterwards complained that it was too late to do anything and nothing was done.

(6) That the Indian Bureau had been informed that if possible they would be helped, but that they were not either directly or indirectly connected with the Party.

Roy then put two questions to Khan :

(1) Was it true that Bell had asked Banerghi why he went to see Roy in Paris without the Party's permission, and whether Bell had asked was Roy trying to build a parallel organisation of his own ?

Replying to Roy's question first, I stated that I knew nothing whatever of this, but that the Colonial Committee was in charge of colonial work and had a right to expect to be informed of such activities. I then dealt with Khan's complaints pointing out that this work had only been going on a few months, and that Uphadaya was in charge of the activity under the auspices of the Minority Movement and that therefore he could the better deal with this complaint, but that the Party was by no means responsible for any neglect if such neglect had occurred.

With reference to the second complaint I said I knew nothing of this but I did not believe it to be true that the contents of letters had been altered at the party head office before being transmitted.

I also said that we could not be responsible in my opinion, for sending letters through party channels regarding which we knew nothing.

Roy here intervened to say that these letters were all addressed to him and that it was not a question of not trusting Banerghi but of distrusting Roy when the Party adopted this attitude.

On the third complaint I referred this matter to *Dutt* stating that he was in full charge of preparations of lectures and that a syllabus had been drawn up, that the party was in the dark as to what had followed and expected that the lectures had been carried on as per programme submitted by *Dutt*.

On the fourth complaint I stated that it was not desirable, in Banerghi's own interests or in the interests of our work among the Indians, that he should be daily visiting the party offices, but that he had not been kept away so far as I was aware. Possibly he had only been warned to be careful but some time ago doubts had been raised regarding Banerghi's trustworthiness and this also might have something to do with the matter.

In reply to the fifth complaint, I stated that Banerghi, had certainly approached the Colonial Department and suggested a demonstration but he had also pressed that the Albert Hall should be booked for this demonstration which was obviously ridiculous and fantastic. Bell had agreed entirely with Banerghi that a demonstration would be valuable and had asked him how many Indian students and Indian Seamen could be rallied to meet Reading at the station with banners demanding freedom for India e.c. Banerghi stated that he could get numbers of these and we thereafter left it to the Indian Bureau to make preparations and inform us, being fully prepared to give all assistance necessary, but we heard nothing more about the matter.

With reference to the sixth complaint I said that with two exceptions, members of the Indian Bureau were not party members, but that wherever it was possible to assist them in their work the party had done so.

Uphadayaya reported that he had received practically no support from the members of the Indian Bureau in his work among Indian Seamen, but mainly from members of the British party. He repudiated practically the whole of Khan's complaints and demanded to know what work Banerghi was doing among Indians.

C. P. Dutt stated that the question of the Indian Bureau was very involved and that Khan was not in a position to present any complaints owing to his frequent absences from the Bureau meetings. (This Khan emphatically denied). *Dutt* stated that everything possible had been done to get the Seamen's Union going

that the Indian unions had been communicated with and no reply received, and that it had been decided to consult Joshi on the position but during the last week or two the Bureau had decided to go along on their own with the work. With reference to Banerghi and the party office, Dutt stated that it was unfortunate that Banerghi's reliability had been questioned and that there was nothing in such suspicions in Dutt's opinions. He believed that it was true that not sufficient help had been received from the party in the work among the seamen. He concluded by saying that the Indian Bureau was not a proper working body.

Khan, reiterated that a special meeting called for the formation of an Indian Seamen's Union had been recently held in Poplar Town Hall and that nothing had been done in this direction. Only the Chinese situation had been dealt with and that they had failed to obtain party help.

Roy stated that he supported neither party in the discussion and that our party in Britain must understand that the Indian Bureau members were not communists and that we could not have very official dealings with people who were by no means communists. He had not heard of the suspicions against Banerghi before but believed that he was a sincere revolutionary so far as the present situation is concerned in India. Saklatvala was troubled with 'spy mania' and we need place no reliance on his suspicions of Banerghi. He proposed to deal with certain points made by me in reply:—

(1) That the Colonial Committee is in charge of colonial work. "This", said Roy, "smacks of Imperialism" and we must modify such a point of view. Among communists, we could exercise discipline over communists. It was necessary to go slowly and diplomatically in our work among the colonial peoples, and quoted Lenin to the effect that concessions would have to be made to the national prejudices of colonial peoples. There was much national prejudice existing even among the communists and there was a certain amount of truth in the Indian Bureau's complaints. The Bureau was one or the other, it was either composed of communists in which case it would co-operate with the British party or it was non-party (Here I interrupted and stated that we were placed in a ridiculous position if we were to accept responsibility which was not mutual to both sides, but Roy evaded this by stating that the letters sent by the Indian Bureau which had been opened by the British head quarters, were addressed to him and that was a communist and ought to be trustworthy). Continuing, Roy said that the Indian Bureau was not doing all it should do, but he was not satisfied about the explanation regarding no demonstration being held against Reading. The British Party should have held a demonstration, some attitude should be taken, we had known Reading was coming

for a long time, but he believed that the British Party did not like Indians coming round to the head office. If these Indians wished to do so why not? He interpreted our attitude as being due to a desire of maintaining our prestige as not being in touch with Indian revolutionaries. I then asked comrade Roy to repeat this latter statement which he did and I complained that such an expression was uncalled for, when Roy said probably the expression is not correct.

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

It was then agreed that the meeting should be continued the following day at Bussum, a few miles out of Amsterdam.

Sunday afternoon meeting at Bussum.

Having considered the preceeding business I decided that I could not deal with same as certain matters had arisen which were new to me and upon which it would be necessary for the Central Executive to express an opinion, i. e. the consultations (unknown to the Colonial Committee) between Roy and members of the Indian Bureau etc. and I merely stated therefore regarding Saturday's discussion that I had already dealt with the complaints made by Khan, that we had expected to have a fully representative conference at which many other questions beside India would be discussed and that I proposed to go on with the next item on the agenda. This was agreed to and Roy asked for a report regarding arrangements for the Oriental Conference and our relations with Goswami Chaman Lall, Deep Singh and Joshi. I therefore reported what had been done in this connection consisting mainly so far as India was concerned, in the despatch of about 20 invitations to certain people in India which invitations the four above referred to had signed as well as Horniman. Roy complained that vital information regarding this business was lacking, and that he had received no reports. He had been informed in Paris by Joshi that all four had been invited to Russia, Saklatwala being the intermediary and not, as I stated, the Colonial Committee being

the intermediary With reference to their having signed invitations to the Oriental Conference, the Party had no influence over them and it was not a party invite. It was therefore useless. The International does not consider it necessary to get in touch with these people but with the real revolutionaries.

Dutt then stated that these invitations were intended to be screen to cover our own invitations to people whom we were desirous of having present.

Roy then asked if *Sircar* was coming and I said that I understood that he had been invited. *Roy* also asked whether the party had thought of consulting him regarding these invitations and whether the party was completely aware of the record of these four people, and did we think we were justified in relying on them? He then attacked their records as did *Evelyn Roy* also. *Roy* then said that he thought we could come to no conclusion on the matter, that this was merely an exchange of views. He was completely in the dark regarding the conference and could only express an opinion.

I intervened to point out that it was unfair to judge the work of the Colonial Department on such a restricted basis as India, and that had this been a full conference we could have shown extremely good results in other directions and that we had achieved contact with real revolutionaries, party members and nationalists who had been invited, in Egypt, Syria, Palestine and Morocco as well as elsewhere. In connection with India and invitations to people there, *Glading's* visit brought absolutely no information and we had not one contact with whom we could communicate as a result, hence, the fact that we had made the best of matters by doing what was possible with *Joshi*, *C. Lall*, etc. *Roy* replied that we must not think he was rebaking the British Party. Not long ago the complaint had been that we were not doing enough colonial work, now, we were doing too much.

He thought that too much importance was attached to *Glading's* report, whose visit had been in opposition to *Roy's* opinion and much too hasty. We were challenging our former policy on a defective report and trying to defend errors by making more errors. We must not follow the line of least resistance. He knew more about India than any of those four and had not been consulted. We were following a wrong policy. He wished to be in Moscow when these four nationalists leaders were there. He had been a pessimist regarding the Conference results and had not believed we would get real revolutionaries. The people we would reach through *Chaman Lall* and the rest of them would be of no use. There was no objection to them going to Moscow but he would expect to be informed when they set off. He wished it be recorded as his opinion that the Oriental Conference would be futile, at the same time he offered all co-operation possible if the British party

considered it of any value. When Momanus was in Paris recently, he did not trouble to get into touch with comrades concerned in Indian work and now he was not here either, no E. C. member had considered it necessary to come.

Evelyn Roy stated that she had met Joshi in Paris and informed him she would like to meet Chaman Lall but that Joshi had said that Chaman Lall did not wish to meet her as he was a friend of Saklatvala's, and that Saklatvala and Lall were opposed to her or having anything to do with her. She thought that this should be gone into fully.

Roy said that he wished to have a list of the people invited to the Oriental Conference sent to him. With reference to Brikenhead's speech, who stated that he had investigated and failed to find one responsible Indian Nationalist who demanded separation from the Empire, etc. *Roy* said that some country-statement should be made and that a manifesto should be drafted, repudiating this charge and signed by Lall, Joshi, Goswami and Sing, stating that they represented a volume of opinion in favour of separation, after which our party could take the matter up and organise a demonstration. This would test whether these four were wholly with or only partly with us, and the criticism of Wedgwood and Mac Donald's speech in the House of Commons regarding Indian independence should be included in such a manifesto.

C. P. Dutt and Work in India. I stated that we only had £100 in hand for the purpose of sending Dutt to India for the work there and that this would merely suffice to cover his passage out and back, that the party could not accept financial responsibility if Dutt was sent to India.

Roy replied that this would cause no expense to be incurred by the British Party (*Dutt* intervened to say that this was the first he had heard of the matter with the exception that *Roy* had made a suggestion to him some time ago which he did not take as official.) *Roy* said that he had instructed to go ahead with the question of Dutt being sent to India in the absence of any objection from the British Party and Dutt himself. He also said that this was not a full colonial Conference and that he was coming on behalf of the Eastern Department of which he had been asked to take charge. He had not yet agreed but that he would like a general report of our work from myself.

I then gave a full report of our work in Egypt, and the Near East generally among Indian students at the universities, and Indian Seamen etc. concluding by stating that the British Party desired it to be stated that they should have the right to control work conducted in the British colonies. *Roy* asked what was meant by "control" if we meant as a result of a decision by the Comintern—yes,

if we meant to control the movement in the colonies, this must be decided by the E.C.C.I.

Evelyn Roy asked how many Indian organisations existed in England and whether the party would assist in distributing the "masses of India", whether we would send a list of these organisations to Paris so that copies could be mailed, and stated that we could have as many copies ourselves for distribution as required. To this I agreed.

Roy said that we should not look upon him as an individual. In Europe a Bureau of Indian communists had been entrusted with supervision of the communist activity in India. Close co-operation between the British Party and this bureau was essential. They published literature from time to time and he wished the Colonial Committee to take the responsibility of circulating this literature first among all Indians in England and second to find some method of sending supplies to India. Some understanding on the development of the possibilities to do work in England was necessary. They wished us to let them know how to send supplies to India. With reference to our Indian contacts in universities these would eventually come back to India and it was desirable that they should be put in contact with the European Indian Bureau.

Evelyn Roy stated that literature could be sent through sailors. *Dutt* asked what could be done with it in India and *Roy* stated that he had addresses in Bombay, Columbo and Calcutta. *Evelyn Roy* said she saw *Banerghi* and *Khan* in Paris and suggested the formation of a loose committee of Indians, Egyptians and Irish for concerted action against British imperialism. This was extra-party, and the party should push it. In her opinion sympathisers at Oxford and elsewhere among Indian students should be made to join the party openly and when they returned to India should take up the fight there if necessary in the Law Courts for propaganda purposes. It was ridiculous not to have them openly connected with the party as I had reported.

Sneevliet said that we had to use these nationalist intellectuals for work, not for trials, that there were only a few of them and they should be handled carefully. In his opinion it was best to work as the British Party were doing, secretly. *Evelyn Roy* disagreed and *Sneevliet* referred to the experience of the Dutch Party which had been unable to make use of good comrades because they were known to the authorities and said that her suggestion was all humbug.

Roy stated that he agreed with *Sneevliet* that some organisation is advisable but he insisted on organised effort in this work. These Indian students sympathisers should be prepared to join the Indian Party and contact with *Roy* was essential. We could not

control the work from Britain. Direction was not possible and even harmful. The British Party should carry on propaganda and organise as much as possible so as to supply the Indian Bureau with a number of trained workers. The direction or leadership of the British Party should go no further.

Evelyn Roy said that colonial peoples felt that the Communist parties act in an imperialist spirit. Our request regarding control of work within the British Empire was a species of imperialism.

Roy stated that agitation among the Indians was important and should be developed. When it has been developed and groups of sympathisers are established the Indian Bureau will have reason to exist and should consist of these Indian party sympathisers.

Dutt reported upon work in the Welfare League.

Evelyn Roy desired that I should return via Paris in order to see about the transport of supplies of literature for work among Indians in England.

Roy said that he wished us to write him re the movements of Chaman Lall etc, under cover of Sneevliet, and said that it was advisable that someone should go to Paris to see about literature transport. Rose Cohen was to see Gertrude Hessler next week-end; she might see to arrangements regarding transport at the same time. It would also be as well for Uphadayaya to see the comrade in charge of this work in Paris.

This concluded the meeting.

Later, Gertrude Hessler suggested that some responsible members of the party executive should have come to the conference and not myself and that Roy wanted information. Dutt was to stay two days to discuss his work in India and reach an understanding with Roy. Uphadayaya also delayed his return as Roy wished to discuss his work with him also.

P. 2376

No. 1122.

Moscow.

8th. August 1925.

To Comrade Saklatvala.

Dear Comrade,

We send you herewith enclosed a letter for the 'Central

Committee of the Swaraj Party (Calcutta) and a copy of it for your personal perusal

We shall be much obliged if you will kindly forward this letter to the due address.

Your copy could be produced in British papers.

With fraternal greetings.

ACTING GENERAL SECRETARY AND

GENERAL SECRETARY PRO TEM. (signed) DOMBAL.

ORGANISING SECRETARY PRO TEM. (signed) GOROV.

MEMBERS OF PRESIDUM

HEAD OF EASTERN SECTION

AND THE COLONIES

(signed) VOZNESENSKY.

P. 2376 [1]

10459 8th. August 1925.

To the Central Committee of the Swaraj
Party. Calcutta, India.

Allahabad.

Dear Comrades and Brothers,

The presidium of Krestintern (Peasants' International), having learned of the great loss sustained by the liberation movement of the Indian people in the demise of the Founder and Chairman of your party, C. R. Das, are tendering their profound condolence to you and to the large masses of the people in India whose wishes are voiced by you.

The Krestintern, which unites the organised peasantry of 39 countries, on behalf of millions of peasants throughout the world, declares the cause of the founder and leader of your Party for the creation of favourable conditions for the political economic and cultural development of the 100 million mass of the people of India

for which, regardless of severe bereavement, your party is continuing to struggle to be also the cause of Krestintern.

The Krestintern welcomes the decision of your Congress at Faridpur regarding the need of immediately proceeding to the organisation of the largest masses of the Indian peasants for the fight in the Swarajist cause.

Bowing our heads in sorrow over the loss of your leader, we pledge, on behalf of the organised peasantry throughout the world, our support in every way to the measures undertaken by you for the attainment of your ultimate goal.

We are convinced that the joint efforts of your party and of the world's peasantry, whose spokesmen is the Krestintern, will bring about the realisation of those tasks for which your never-to-be-forgotten leader has fought so devotedly through the whole of his lifetime.

The presidium of the Krestintern requests the Central Committee of the Swarajist party to tender to the large masses of Indian peasants the ardent fraternal greetings and the appeal to join the ranks of your party, under the banner of Krestintern, for the fight for a better future for the Indian people in alliance with the toilers throughout the world.

At the sorrowful moment through which you are passing, you may be assured of complete support on the part of Krestintern and the peasantry the world over.

ON BEHALF OF THE PRESIDUM OF THE
INTERNATIONAL PEASANTS, COUNCIL, DOMBAL
(POLAND), OTTO RYDLO (CZECHOSLOVAKIA),
MARIUS VAZEILLE, RENAUD JEAN (FRANCE)
GOROV (BULGARIA), RICHARD BUERGI (GERMANY),
ORLOV (U. S. S. R.), GERO (SWEDEN), LIANG
(NORWAY), ALONSO (SPAIN), ODINET (UKRAINE),
HUDAIKULOV (UZBEKISTAN CENTRAL ASIA),
URSULIO GALVAN (MEXICO), KNUTSON (AMERICA),
KEN-HAIASHI (JAPAN), TENG (ESTHONIA), GRIECO
(ITALY), TCHAN (CHINA), NGUEN-AI-QUACK
(INDONESIA)

P. S. To this letter joins his signature the leader of the Catholic Popular Party of Italy (Popolari), the ex-member of Parliament GUIDO MIGLIOLI, who, on becoming acquainted with the programme and activity of the Peasants' International (Krestintern) has joined its ranks.

P. 2377.

SIGNED: GUIDO MIGLIOLI, representative of the Catholic
Popular Party of Italy.

R. S.

5 Ex.

5/8/25.

The Communist Party of Great Britain.

(British section of the Communist International).

16 King Street, Covent Garden. London W. C. 2.

11th September 1925.

The Colonial Department.

Dear Comrades,

A report of party activities from the beginning of the year to
the present moment is being prepared. We should like the Colonial
Department to furnish us with a report on the following:—

Connections,

Activities abroad,

The Labour Party Imperial Conference,

Minority Commonwealth Conference.

Yours Fraternally,

A. MCMANUS

J. R. CAMPBELL.

Colonial

Agit-Prop.

P. 2377. (1)

REPORT OF COLONIAL ACTIVITIES.

- Covering: (a) Connections.
(b) Activities abroad.
(c) Labour Party Commonwealth Conference.

Connections

The Colonial Department has managed during the year to establish working connections in the following places:—

India, Egypt, Palestine, Syria, S. Africa, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and Ireland.

In each case the connections have been of a direct character covering direct communication as well as personal visits. In the order mentioned, as near as possible I will indicate the character of these connections.

India.

In the early part of the year the department concluded that in order to establish real connections of a healthy character in India, it was essential that a party representative should visit there. This was duly arranged and for four months our representative devoted his attention to moving about from place to place ascertaining facts regarding the movement in India and its possibilities, and also enquiring into the possibilities of promoting contacts. This visit was extremely useful indeed. Our representative was able to attend the All India Trade Union Congress and held many conversations with representatives there. These conversations and the Congress itself enabled him to secure a good picture of the situation. He was able to supply us with a very good report of the Congress and with copies of the most important resolutions which were otherwise not available. By discussions with some of the leaders on the resolutions he was able to give them a clear picture of the growth and development of the movement in this country and particularly of the Political Left Wing Movement and of the Minority Movement. These conversations had advantage later when the Indian Trade Union delegation visited London to attend the Labour Commonwealth Congress. The existence and character of our Party was made known for the first time to many quite sympathetic individuals and these are now kept supplied by us with our literature and also informed generally of what is taking place. Unfortunately for us the visit of our representative had to terminate much earlier than we desired so that while much may have been done as a result of the visit, yet our work is only in its infancy.

Indian Group.

To facilitate the development of our work in India, the Colonial department organised a special Indian Group composed of Indians resident in this country. The purpose of the group was to concentrate on Indian matters and by their existence as a group to be able to conduct specialised propanganda amongst the Indians. To this purpose arrangements were made for the more or less regular circulation of literature among the Indian students and also among the Indian Seamen. Special subgroups were formed amongst the University students and arrangements were made to have a special Indian section devoted to Indian matters in the University Socialist group which was formed at Oxford and Cambridge in the early part of the year. Contact with the seamen was established and maintained by a process of regular weekly meetings at the London Dock Gates where an average of 50 to 60 Indians regularly turn out. A good quantity of literature has been circulated amongst them of an educational and propaganda character and the recent seamen's strike provided an added opportunity, which we took the fullest advantage of. Special Indian Seamen's meetings were arranged in different ports and the demands of the Indian Seamen for such things as, improved accomodation and ship conditions and the question of a bonus which British seamen get, but which Indian seamen are denied.

This latter enabled us to secure good contacts with whole groups of seamen on many ships and it has developed into prominence the question of organising Indian Seamen into a Trade Union affiliated to the All India Trade Union Congress. We are now persuing a campaign for this latter.

Egypt.

Here again our department concluded that it was absolutely essential that a representative of our party should visit Egypt to assist in the work there. Accordingly a representative was sent and the results in this case more than justified the visit. Not only were we enabled through our representative to establish contacts with the various sections and movements in Egypt, but he was able to assist very considerably in the development of the Communist Party there. His activities were by no means confined to Egypt, but covered Syria and Palestine as well. In all of these places the work was very satisfactory and the results good.

Communist Party's in each of the three places were greatly stimulated and assisted and were brought together into joint arrangements for working purposes. One or two joint Conferences were held and a uniform understanding arrived arrived at, we helped the work of each considerably. Many contacts were established for the party in each of these places and through these means much literature and information was enabled to pass through. Here again, however,

the work of our representative was brought to an only to abrupt end he had to clear out and practically the week following the leading and most active members of the Egyptian party were arrested. The reign of persecution which followed made it doubly difficult for us to maintain our contacts, as in at least two instances the addresses somehow leaked out, the correspondence tapped. One again, however, we have managed to overcome this and have established regular connections. Just as in the case of India so also in the case of Egypt, Syria and Palestine we were convinced that it is absolutely necessary for a representative of our party to be in continual residence in these places.

S. Africa.

In the early part of the year here again the department was convinced of the considerable advantages which would result from the presence of a representative in that country. Circumstances however rendered this quite impossible and we have had to rest content with whatever particulars were offered by the ordinary means of communication. By means of sympathetic seamen we were able to establish direct contacts which allowed for the interchange of literature and also the establishment of secure addresses for corresponding purposes. The work here, however, is tremendously difficult and sooner or later we will be compelled to have our own representative working there, apart from the ordinary problems there are extra complicated problems which have to be contended with. There is the question of the colour bar which has its own unique significance and its teeming difficulties. Then again there is the presence of quite a population of Indians who have their peculiar problems with the direct relation to India. We have succeeded in making the problem of the Indians in South Africa a responsibility for the Indian Nationalist and Trade Union Movement. Arrangements are in hand I believe for the holding of a special Congress, however, in India or in Africa specifically devoted to the problems of the resident Indians in Africa.

CANADA.

Our contacts with Canada are now very good, we have regular and direct communication and direct party contact. The party there is now in a position to wield some influence and has its own weekly central organ, which is quite good. By means of the direct contacts we can now have direct communication with almost any section of the movement there.

AUSTRALIA.

Here again, we have our won party now more or less established on its feet, though by no means yet secure. Contact with Australia where it is good has the disadvantage of the great lapse of

time owing to the great distance and the post is by no means secure and our most reliable contacts are via the medium of seamen.

NEW ZEALAND

Connections are now established, but are not at all satisfactory they are simply composed of correspondence with individuals there. Two or three opposing groups claim to themselves the name and right of Communist Party's and the confusion and felling resulting from this makes it very difficult work.

IRELAND.

At the beginning of the year Ireland was considered a responsibility of the Colonial Department and a party representative was appointed to be resident in Dublin. Considerable good work indeed was done by our representative there and much progress was made. Disagreement between members of the Irish Party and the British party suspended this work for a time. This question has now been raised to a Central Committee issue and it is being attended to. In the meantime, however, the contacts are direct and to be used at any time.

Such is a résumé of the contacts established, maintained and utilised during the year.

ACTIVITIES ABROAD.

In the statement of contacts I have indicated something of our activities abroad. This only requires to be supplemented by mentioning the special articles prepared and sent for publication in the Native press. This was an especial to the Colonies, India, Egypt, Etc.

LABOUR PARTY COMMONWEALTH CONFERENCE.

The British Labour Party Commonwealth Conference was held in the House of Commons, Westminster, in July of this year. Delegates were present from practically every part of the Empire. Only one party member was present as a delegate. Nevertheless, we arranged several meetings and conferences with the others almost regularly during the period of the Congress we met and discussed Congress matters with the Indian delegation and comrade MacDonald the representative from Canada. Despite all our efforts however, we were unable to exercise very much influence on the Conference itself. Our agreements were far too incomplete. Yet, it would be a mistake to say that our Conference and conversations were fruitless, explanations of our movement were sympathetically listened to and will certainly be better understood in future. Our failure to influence the Conference led us to conceive of the idea of the holding of a Conference under the auspices of the Minority

Movement to discuss the Minority Agenda. Apart from representatives of sections of the British movement however only the Indian delegation attended. Nevertheless the Conference was held and copies of the report of the Conference and of the resolutions and manifestos passed by the Conference were sent to every delegate who attended the official Conference as well as being sent to the labour press of every one of the colonies and dominions. One of the decisions was that the Minority Movement should undertake to arrange the holding of a similar conference each year in the future and that adequate preparations be made to secure its success.

Supplementary Observations.

A word should be said about one or two activities of the Colonial department to complete the picture.

East-West Circle.

This was an organisation formed directly by the Colonial department with a view to arranging for the holding of a conference of representatives of the Nationalist and labour movement of the east and the west. A great deal of propaganda was done by this organisation and elaborate arrangements made for the holding of a conference in September of this year. The success of the Conference however, was greatly dependent upon the attendance of most of the delegates attending the Labour Commonwealth Congress, everyone of these however found it impossible to remain over and we were compelled to postpone the conference indefinitely. The idea however, has by no means been dropped and we shall make efforts to secure such a conference next year. Meantime, the East West circle continues to carry on the propaganda for the unity in the Nationalist and Labour movement of the East and west.

The Indian Workers Welfare League.

This organisation has a contact in Britain of the All India Trade Union Congress, the colonial department considered it was of especial importance and it was decided to strengthen and develop its influence. It is now recognised as a representative organisation in Britain of the Indian Trade Union Congress and is extremely valuable indeed. Articles, letters, etc, sent by the Secretary of this organisation can secure publication in very many of the Indian papers and this is an advantage to us. The department directly influences the Welfare League.

China.

The Chinese situation was also passed over to the Colonial department as its responsibility (although China is not quite part of the British Empire. This arose out of the Conference of the

International Council of Action which was held in Paris in July of this year. At this Conference it was agreed that special party campaigns should be conducted linking up the situations in Morocco, China and Soviet Russia. It was also agreed at this Conference to appoint an International Council of Action which was to meet at least every two months. This arrangement, however, has not been carried out owing particularly to the tense situation of our party in France created by the Moroccan war. We, on our part, immediately arranged a Conference in London representing trade unions, labour parties, co-operative guilds, trades councils, unemployed, women's section of the Labour Party, C. P. locals, Y. C. L., and Young Labour League. 134 delegates took part representing 108 branches of the above organisations, and the Conference was very successful indeed.

Following upon this, a series of "Hand's off China" demonstrations have been held in various parts of the country, each of which have been successful. This campaign is still being conducted by us, and arrangements are in hand for three more demonstrations to be held in London, Glasgow and Manchester on approximately October 17th, November 7th and November 21st.

Two special Chinese meetings were held in Limehouse—the Chinese quarter in London—and were very successful.

C. R. Das Memorial.

A memorial on the death of C. R. Das was held in the Essex Hall, at which McManus and Saklatvala spoke. This meeting enabled us to meet a number of Indians and was quite useful.

Conclusion.

The Colonial department now has a definite arrangement with the "Workers' Weekly", "Sunday Worker", "Labour Monthly" and "Communist Review", by means of which we are accorded a certain amount of space in each issue, for outstanding colonial matters. As a result, we have been able, almost regularly, to secure publicity for affairs and happenings in the various colonies.

As an indication of the scope of the work of representatives visiting the colonies, etc. I will mention the tasks submitted of our representative who visited Egypt.

(1) Re-organisation of the party in Egypt upon the basis of factory groups

(2) Systematic educational work amongst party members (party training, etc.)

(3) Recruiting campaign amongst workers and students at the various universities and secondary schools.

- (4) Work in trade unions, and efforts to re-construct Moribund or extinct syndicates.
- (5) Issuing of an illegal party periodical.
- (6) Translation and printing of A. B. C. of Communism.
- (7) Publication of a legal workers' paper.
- (8) Drawing up of a programme for a Workers' & Peasants' Party.
- (9) Establishment of a federation of the parties of Egypt, Palestine, Syria and Lebanon. (1)
- (10) Extension of party to other towns such as Port Said, Ganta, etc.
- (11) Preparation for Party Congress.
- (12) Development of "Mopra".
- (13) Campaign for release of prisoners.
- (14) Securing and establishment of contacts with revolutionary Nationalists.

On these points we were able to make considerable progress and the foundations of successful party activities were laid. Direct contact with the British party was established and the possibility of fruitful co-operation between ourselves and the parties in Egypt, Palestine and Syria is assured. The persecution and arrest of many comrades in Egypt and in Palestine makes communication difficult as I have said, but letters do come through and no effort is spared to secure publicity and support.

Arrangements are in hand for the sending of representatives to work in India, and Egypt, and we are contemplating making direct efforts to secure the sending of someone to South Africa.

P. 2378.

Copy Com. Saklatvala.

Dear Comrade Mac Manus,

We beg to inform you that in accordance with the decision of the Presidium of Krestintern, a special section has been formed for

the purpose of carrying on work among the Hindu peasants. It is understood as matter of course that all this activity among the Hindu Peasants will be carried on through you and comrade Saklatvala. We feel confident that we may count on your utmost co-operation and advice.

Our first task will be to get into touch with all the existing peasant organisations of India, even if the latter by their programmes be at variance with our views as to the general aims and methods of our work among the peasants.

We would also like to establish individual contact with leading men in the agrarian movement of the Hindu people and to get them to collaborate with the International Agrarian Institute at Moscow.

We would appreciate very much any concrete information you might furnish us on the prominent personalities in the Hindu Agrarian Movement and on the literature published.

Awaiting your early reply, and anticipating fruitful collaboration.

Yours Fraternally,

(Sd.) Dombal.

(Sd) N. Orloff.

(Sd.) A. V. (Vozneciensky.)

P. 2379.

Moscow, Sept. 16.

Dear Clemens,

Enclosed herewith is the answer to the communication dated July 6th. Please make the comrades concerned acquainted with it. A copy is sent to the C. P. G. B. for information.

In order to decide among other question that of co-operation between the Col. Com. of the C. P. G. B and the Indian Com. Group in Britain, Com. Macmanus and yourself were sent for to come here. The Party writes in reply that until the Labour Party Conference

it will not be possible for Com. M. to leave Britain and that steps taken in relation to your trip demands your presence in England. The Secretariat, however, considers Com. M's and your visit here of sufficient importance to obviate other considerations. Official communication is being sent to this effect.

From the communication of the Party I cannot quite make out what is being done about your trip. Is it possible that the rejection of your application will be rescinded? I am anxious to know the particulars. In any case, before leaving (if it will be possible) you must see me and pay a visit here. If the trip is possible, your visit here should be very carefully organised. A visit here just before the trip would prejudice the latter seriously; therefore it should be made conspirative. As far as I am concerned, I can meet you anywhere on the continent on your way out.

Did you get the MSS. of the brochure? I hope it is in the press already. Not a single copy of the appeal about Birkenhead Speech was received here. Did you send some? Please do if they were sent already.

With Greetings,

(Sd.) M. N. Roy.

P. 2379 (1).

Moscow, Sept. 15.

C. P. Dutt,

London.

Dear Comrade,

The communication dated July 6 signed by yourself together with 8 other comrades has received the due consideration of our party. We are delighted to welcome you as members of our Party. I hope you will excuse this unavoidable delay in reply.

The programme outlined in the communication is generally acceptable. According to the Statutes of the Communist International, all the Indian Communists resident in Britain should have their Party membership transferred to the C. P. G. B, during their sojourn in Britain. This rule applies to all the Communists living outside their native country.

The Indian Communist Group in Britain will, therefore carry on the programme outlined in your communication in conjunction with the Colonial Commission of the C. P. G. B. It will be politically guided by the European Bureau of the C. P. of India as well as the Colonial Commission of the C. P. G. B.

With Fraternal Greetings,

(Sd). M. N. Roy,

To Comrades

C. P. Dutt
A. C. Bannerji
M. A. Khan
J. Chowdhury
M. Brat.
D. C. Virmani
P. C. Nandi
M. A. Desai
N. G. Upadhaya

Copy to the C. P. G. B.

P. 2379 (E)

Superscription on the envelope :—

Com. C. P. Dutt.

C. P. of England.

14170* 19th Sept. 1925.

London.

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

My dear com.

Your letter dated June 11 reached me today in Switzerland where I have been staying for several days to attend to some business. Soon after my arrival in Europe, I informed you about my intention of meeting you and mentioned the place. I sent the same message in three ways expecting that it would reach you surely. I hope you have got it.

I understand that Johnson is away; therefore we will have to do without him. I will be at Amsterdam in the beginning of the next week and hope to find there some of you. There are many a thing to talk about.

In your letter you do not mention anything about Chaman Lal and Joshi who must have been in London when you wrote your letter. I am informed that there is project of there visiting moscow in the near future. It may be a good idea; but I desire to discuss with you this plan before it was executed. I hope you received my message in time, and acted according to my desire.

I have no desire to see or deal with any particular member of the party. It has been decided in Moscow to employ Dutt in a certain work. It is, therefore, natural that I should explain to him the work he will have to do. I will, of course, acquaint you of the plan when we meet. About G. and C. the Eastern Dept of the C. I. charged me to see them in order to talk to them in detail about their trip. I do not think it will in any way violate the autonomy of the Br. Party. Will C. I want particularly speak, because he visited some comrades of ours who have sent some messages for me. These messages have never been delivered to me. For all these reasons, it is necessary that all the three comrades meet me at Amsterdam. If you prefer we can arrange their visit after we have talked. I expect to see some of you Monday or Tuesday. I can be reached through the party—better through Sneevliet, 101, Nassankade

Fraternally yours,

Sd. M. N. ROY.

P. 2380 [2].

July, 26

The COLONIAL COMMISSION,

Communist Party of Great Britain.

LONDON.

Dear Comrades:

The news about the crisis in the textile industry of Bombay must have reached you. The workers are threatened with lock-out, if they do not accept a heavy wage-cut. You will remember that only a year ago 20% cut was forced upon the workers after a lock-out that lasted nearly three months. The Bombay workers received very little support moral or material in that heroic struggle. It is our duty to see that they do not again go down unaided.

The Indian workers' Welfare League should be induced and helped to begin a campaign of agitation to secure support and enlist sympathy for the Bombay workers. The presence in Britain of a few Indian Trade Unionists should be utilized for the agitation. Since a further defeat of the Indian Workers will seriously affect the interest of the Lancashire workers (already in distress,) threatened lock-out in Bombay provides the basis for a successful agitation in Britain.

With fraternal greetings,

Richard.

P. 2380 (3).

Amsterdam, July, 21, 1925

To the Communist Party of Great Britain,
Colonial Commission.

Dear Comrades,

The information about the trip of Chanan Lal, etc. to Moscow

have so far failed to reach me. Comrade Robson promised to send it on immediately on his return. I have been anxiously waiting for the news, since my movements will have to be determined according to the particulars of their movement.

I suppose Comrade Robson has reported that there is no objection on my part to the projected visit, but I consider it of great importance that I must be in Moscow when they come there. Other affairs of importance in the general colonial question demand my longer stay in Europe. I can not change my programme abruptly. Therefore it is desirable that the approximate date of the departure of Chaman Lal etc. should be communicated to me a head of time.

Letters can always reach me through the address where Comrade Robson met me. An immediate reply to this letter, whether or not you have definite news, is urgently requested.

Fraternally,

Sd. RICHARD.

P. 2381.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

British Workers & Colonial Workers

During the last three years, the Labour movement in the East has developed far more rapidly than in the previous decade. The idea of unity between British trade unions and workers and peasants unions in India is becoming a matter of practical politics.

The Trade Union Congress Committee is not only giving encouragement to the Indian Unions, but is pressing forward a policy of equal rights for Western and Oriental Labour. This is very important as the British and Oriental workers' interests are inseparably united. The International Department of the Labour Party is also recognising the need of closer co-operation.

What has the downfall of German Labour meant to the workers here. Have not the workers here had to suffer heavily with every downward slip of Labour in Germany? So must we be affected by the subjection of Colonial workers. Labour in India, Africa, China, West India—wherever the Imperialist flag is flying—

is always seriously handicapped and must have the fullest support of the British workers if it is to cease being a menace to British working class standards. *In large industries such as cotton, jute, coal, steel, shipbuilding and repairing, leather, paper, oil, etc.*, it is becoming obvious that a decent standard of living is impossible in the West in face of the competition of the degraded and oppressed labour of the East. Intensive production, accompanied with utter incapacity for additional consumption by the Oriental workers and peasants, is making unemployment an incurable economic disease in the West.

The lure of investments in countries where the Imperialist slave-drivers can exploit cheap human labour is attracting British wealth produced by, and rightly belonging to, the British workers and leaving them without adequate means for houses, pensions, nursing homes, etc. Dividends earned by industries in the East wrung by torture from sweated colonial labourers comes back to Britain in the shape of raw products in exchange for bank bills, and British manufactured goods are no longer required.

The British Empire, therefore, while it is the glory of the British imperialist exploiter is a trap for the British workers and whoever strives to maintain it, betrays the true interests of working class in the West as well as in the East.

To talk of a Socialist Commonwealth in Britain with British soldiers ready for deeds of violence and murder in the Sudan, in Egypt, Irak, Gibraltar, Malta, Aden, India, Burmah, Malacca, Southern Union, and in the West Indies is a crime against the working class. The British policy of peace at home and murder and terror abroad is one of the strongest barriers to disarmament and has been principally responsible for the race of imperialist militarism in Europe since 1858. As long as Britain retains her ruthless hold over other peoples' countries, Europe cannot and will not disarm.

Workers of Britain! Do not be fooled into believing that the enslavement of the Colonial workers can work out to your advantage. Independence all round can alone bring peace, security and an end to unemployment. The root cause of all your economic troubles is imperialist exploitation. As soon as the Imperialist is removed and the workers and peasants of the East can co-operate with the workers of the West, so soon will our general subjection be ended.

Why should you support the Empire? Your share in the Empire is to provide the men to suppress the Sundanese, the African, the Indians, and the Chinese in order that the imperialists, may grow fat on the loot.

Instead of supporting the exploiters join hands with the toiling millions of the East, help them to build up their Trade

Unions as a rampart against the ravages of Imperialism, and by so doing you will strengthen your own economic and political power.

The Labour Party in its disagreement with the Communist Party said that as Britain was an enfranchised country and not at all like Tsarist Russia, revolutionary methods were not justified. Do they then admit that for the peoples of India, South and East Africa, the Sudan, Irak, Egypt, and China, revolutionary methods are justifiable and indispensable ?

In spite of all dishonest and oppressive methods to suppress propagation of the truth, the East has learned the significant difference between the Russian Soviet policy and that of capitalist imperialism. The complete renunciation by the Soviet Republic of the robber policy of the Tsars in Persia and Turkey, their immediate spread of education amongst the peasantry, their practical method of absolute equality between European and Asiatic citizens must ultimately command the respect and veneration of all Asia and Africa.

Workers of the West! You cannot save yourselves if you leave the workers of the East at the mercy of your capitalist oppressors. Help them to struggle with you against your common enemy.

Workers of the East! The Russian Workers' Republic is the sign that when the East and West come together in Workers' International, the world will be won for the workers.

Away with Imperialism!

No more Empires—everywhere forward to the Workers' and Peasants' Republic.

Workers of the World. Unite!

Printed by Centropress Lts (T.U. throughout) 168 Camberwell Sd.
S. E. S. Published by Communist Party of Gt. Britain, 16 King St.
London. W. C. 2.

24.VI 25.

Dear Comrade,

I want to ask the Organising Bureau to release me from my present work for a limited period. I needn't go into all the details of the jobs for which I am responsible at present such as L. R. D. administration and research (both heavily understaffed), TRADE UNION UNITY (which is not so much the magazine as other work connected therewith etc. etc. These together with direct Party work. I can just balance at a normal time, with periodical adjustment. I don't suppose my case in this respect is different from the other Orgbureau members. The reason I am approaching the Orgbureau is quite different: and because of an entirely new factor.

The History of the Miner's Federation which has been sanctioned as an official history by the Miners' Conference of February and which I have undertaken to write, is obviously something of political importance, apart from any value it may have as a record. It has an additional political significance in its effect on the relations between the M.F.G.B. (and therefore the Congress) and the L.R.D., an effect which can best be gauged if we imagine the reverse effect, i.e. the history not completed within the allotted time and imperfectly compiled.

Now the present situation is that though I have been engaged on the History of about 6 weeks I am nearly 5 weeks in arrears and have not got on at anything near the necessary pace. The job comprises, in reading the M.F.G.B. and District Reports alone, some seventy volumes, most of them over 1,000 pages each. And this applies only to the volumes at present available. Much time has yet to be spent in the coalfields simply in gathering materials. Beyond that, some two or three score officials or older members of the Federation have to be interviewed, particularly in those cases where records are lost. In short this Miners' History is more than a whole time job in itself, when one considers that it has to be finished by March of Next year. In order to do it I must get a respite as best I can from most other activities. On the other hand, I think the back of it might be broken in nine to twelve weeks intensive work. I therefore want to ask that the Organising Bureau should give me an exemption from Party activities (other than the Bureau itself) for a period of twelve weeks work. I should still be at the Bureau meetings every week unless I were out of London--and when out of London in the coalfields I could regularly go to the local Comrades on behalf of the Orgbureau

Yours fraternally,
(Signed) R. Page Arnot.

P. 2382 (P) (2).

T. Bell,

20th. July, 1925.

Colonial Department.

Dear Comrade,

At a recent meeting the Orgbureau, in view of certain work which comrade Page Arnot has to undertake, decided to release him temporarily from all party work apart from that associated with his membership of the Central Committee and the Organising Bureau. This means, of course, that he must be released from work in connection with the Colonial Bureau. We shall be glad to have any suggestions you may be able to make as to the appointment of another comrade in the place of Arnot.

Yours fraternally,

General Secretary.

P. 2383 (P).

Letter dated 14-2-25

Bombay.

Next letter will be important Diff of meeting people corres.

Reply 10 March

Draw an add. 25/-

Letter D. 26-2.

Letters of intro. not much value Lall prom to come to London. Not dependable. Most reliable is Sen, very sincere and desirous of helping. Others refuse to have any dealing if know his connection. Seeing others likely.

Letter D. 25-2. Delhi

Given address of a friend while in France living in Bombay. Could not trace him and lost some days.

One promise to come to London.... prom Sak—not dependablere—for organising. He failed to attend arranged meetings in connection with the org. wk. and gave no det. inform: re.....(finance?). Other names of

S refuse to see if any suspicion except Deven. Seeking new field. Meredith and Helston at the end of their tether. Divided. Our task to prepare for next Gen. Meeting and form new org. on new lines. Masses ready for such a party. Attended No. 7 and invited to be present at E. C. meetings and assist in their work. With a new org. could control them. Thinks should return end of April and go out againthinks suitable post could be found for self About this writing later.

25/2. recd. 15-3-25

Repet, of inab, to trace friend in Bombay. Waiting to see C. I. representative before making fresh arrangements. Repetition of previous letter. Unable to get much contact with No. 6 owing to authorities (pressure).

Undated stating that by time receive this will have recd.

another letter from a Parisian friend and be no doubt arranged at contents re James Brownlie and East and West. Desired information whether to stick to E. & W. or support J.B.—wished to know at Bombay.

Undated (France)
rep. 61. 125.

Cold Met two good friends. Perceval's ideas out of date.

(Part of a letter no date)

Only one coming to London (already informed) be very cautious write him nothing outside E. W. C. necessary to come home, new schemes—students to come here and return after 3 months for work as live wires, thinks this org. can be accomp, in 12 months. Met ser (?) who would be of gr. assistance. One ...to take prom part—his name will astonish several. Excep. well known. Rumour already circulating about him. Mere and Hels (Meredith and Helston, see above) special meeting regarding postponed matter, but cannot prevent ...Our prog, has caught on—ser disc it. Ser desirous of coming. referred to Cooks—others prominent useless

or not trustworthy. Previous lot fine material. Should have op, facilities to study our prog and methods and create very diff atmos. than prevails today. After 12 months think will accomp.

Letter from Pollitt re comm, Sent a full report on sitn, to L. M. from G. dated 3-3-25 Delhi. letter from here. Starting 2000 mile j. to meet a sp. person.

Extract lett. d. 11-3-25 Seen sr. P. and thinks nec. to start new org. scr. prom, P. subscribe could start. if had.....

10-3-25

Prog. Jav. New P. to be organ. and very influ. P. has agreed to be chairmantinflu. E.C. (?) Committee obtain required money about £500.

At Col Com. M. 6. 4.25 extracts letter read by Pollitt. on 6-4-25 On 6 4-25. Mrs. G. arrived & stated she had a wire that D. was sailing on 10th April. Cabled 8th 'Imperative you...' 10th G. replied by wire that... was too late to cancel. G. arrd. Friday Apr. 24 25, First saw him 27th at 7 p. m.

P. 2384.

A photo copy of Percy Gladings Photo.

P. 2385.

THE

Vanguard of Indian Independence.

Dated Sept. 25.

Political Bureau,

COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, LONDON.

My dear Comrades:

In previous letter I have informed you of the organization of the Colonial Bureau. This step has been taken in consequence of the decision of the Fifth World Congress that our activities in the Colonies should be intensified. The Bureau has been busy in drawing out a plan of work in accordance with the direction of the Fifth Congress and the Executive. There has been some delay in communicating to you the plan of work concerning the British Colonies, owing to the failure of the British member of the Bureau to attend the first sessions. Since the work cannot be delayed any longer, I am instructed by the Bureau to make you acquainted with the Indian part of the plan, pending the arrival of the British member of the Bureau who will, on returning, report to you on the plan as a whole.

The plan of our work as regards india is generally known to you. It is the same as the resolution of the Indian Commission, specially appointed by the Presidium before the Fifth Congress. Certain additions that were made to that original resolution, by the Fifth Congress, were communicated to the British Delegation (Coms. Murphy and Stewart).

In view of the fact that the agitation in Britain cannot be properly carried on unless you have the cooperation of an Indian comrade, and owing to the absence of any other at this moment, much importance was put on the proposition of my coming over to England. There were several suggestions as to how this can be realized. The latest one was discussed in Moscow during the Fifth Congress with Coms. Stewart, Macmanus and Murphy. It was in connection with the news that the Government of India sent a warrant of arrest against me to be executed in England. As I pointed out to the British comrades in Moscow, it is an unprecedented step, an Indian court having no jurisdiction in Britain. We agreed that there was good opportunity to make a bid for legalization; and that preparations should be made for my entering England after a certain time either to be left unmolested or to be arrested and tried in Britain on the issue of whether Communist

propaganda and a Communist Party are legal in India or not. The preparations consist of legal advice on the matter, to enlist the support of some Labour M.P 'S. and left wing leaders, and to assure that sufficient opposition could be raised in time to stop my immediate extradition to India and demand the trial in Britain if trial there will be. Coms. Stewart and Murphy believed that these three things could be realized by two or three months work. Will you kindly let us know what has been done in this respect; and in case nothing has been done, the Bureau advises you take up the work without further delay.

We are of the opinion that the centre of the activities of the C. I. in the colonies should be in the respective imperialist countries. This is necessary, not only for the facility of work in the colonies, but also for developing the movement in the imperialist countries themselves. In consequence of the recent repressions and continued strict vigilance, it has become very difficult to direct our activities in India from the continent. Until we can legalize ourselves in India, the centre of our work must be England, for technical as well as political reasons. Therefore, determined efforts should be made with the purpose of enabling Indian Communists to reside and work legally in and from Britain. Powerful popular agitation can be organized on this issue. English sense of justice and fairness should come to our aid. So long as a Communist Party can exist legally in Britain, why Indian subjects of the Empire should not enjoy the same constitutional right ?

Next, we propose to find the possibility of utilizing the coming General Election. Perhaps you are aware that the I.L.P. intends to put up Sir Sankaran Nair (?) as a candidate. Such a scandalous act should not go unchallenged. In the resolution of the Indian Commission, my parliamentary candidature was suggested. Some of the difficulties, that existed at that time, have since been removed. Unless the C.I. decides that the Party should not run its own candidates, failing to have them accepted by the Labour Party, the task of finding a constituency becomes easier. We are no longer dependent on forces beyond our control, provided the money required is available. Of course, we are not in a position to visualize local difficulties and are, therefore, making only general suggestions. Parliamentary candidature of one speaking in behalf of the colonial masses, will provide the Party with the opportunity of making powerful propaganda against the "Labour" Policy as opposed to revolutionary proletarian politics.

Further, the new policy of the 'R. I. L. U. greatly simplifies the task of extending our influence on the Indian Labour Movement. Now that the controversy, "Amsterdam or Moscow", is ostensibly eliminated, we should take the initiative of bringing the Indian

Unions in the International Federation. This work can only be effectively done from England, in conjunction with the left wing of the British movement. It depends upon us to force Purcell to act according to his speech (at Hull) about the Indian workers. But here again you will find it difficult to act effectively, owing to the absence of reliable Indian collaborators. Therefore, all our efforts should be directed towards remedying this fundamental weakness of our position.

A committee composed of men like Cook should be set up with the purpose of establishing relations with the Indian labour movement. The Indian Trade Union Congress has ceased to exist for practical purposes, since the disastrous session in Calcutta last year, when C. R. Das, aided by Chamanlal, wrecked the Congress because it would not become an adjunct to the Swaraj Party. The left element, which resisted Das and Chamanlal, were too badly orientated and badly organized to fight to the finish. If we had a centre in Britain, we could have done much more to strengthen the left wing, which was to some extent under our influence. But the fear of Moscow and Communism (of the repression that any suspected relation with them would entail) did not permit the Left wing to go very far with us. The work taken up from England through the medium of such a committee as suggested above, will obviate any such fear. If we can take the initiative, the Indian labour movement will be easily brought under the leadership of the revolutionary element, whereas the Labour Party will endeavour to bolster up such careerists and imposters as Joseph Baptista and his kind. A committee in Britain, under our control, but not too openly Communist, will be able to make use of honest reformists like N.M. Joshi. A detailed programme of the committee will be worked out later on; steps towards the setting up of the committee should be immediately taken.

Another important point in the programme of the Bureau is to create in each party in the imperialist countries a cadre of workers to take up colonial work. This cadre should be trained theoretically and practically by means of work in the colonial department of the party. Some of the best members should be given to this cadre which, unfortunately, has not been the case up till now.

In conclusion, I must remark that the plan of the activities of the Colonial Bureau is made with the conviction that these activities are essential for the development of the parties in the imperialist countries themselves; therefore it should not be considered a secondary matter, which can be attended to provided that time, energy and money are spared after the main functions of the parties,

at home, are taken care of.

Expecting an early reply, I remain

Yours fraternally,

M. N. Roy.

P. 2386.

Albert Inkpin.

Dear Comrade,

I am just off to Paris for a couple of days on getting some Th. reports and books for the L. D. R. I shall probably be looking in to "L'Humanite" and the Party. So could you give me a credential to vouch for my bona fides as a member of the C.P.G.B.

I tried to get you last week. But I haven't been along since: and you were out to-day when I phoned. Comrade Budden is taking this along as my train leaves 4. 10 p/m.

Yours fr.

(Signed) R. Page Arnot.

20-3-24.

P. 2387. [P] [1].

51, York Mansions.

January 8/24.

Political Bureau,

Central Executive Committee.

Dear Comrades,

As a hitherto fairly active member of the Party who has now,

owing to work for one of the Soviet institutions in London, been ordered to cease from all Party local activity, I wish to exercise my undoubted right of direct appeal to the Central Executive Committee to ask that the question of the position of such members as myself should be investigated.

The fiat has been laid down to me that party work in the localities, it matters not of what kind, not even such unostentatious non-public work as I have been conducting is not to be countenanced. I hope the Central Executive Committee will consider whether it approves of a regulation so unnecessary and so detrimental to the interests of the Party, and if not, whether it could not take steps to obtain the release of Party members so drastically dealt with.

Yours fraternally,

Sd/- C. P. Dutt.

P. 2387 (P) (2).

14th January, 1924.

C. P. Dutt,

51, York Mansions,

S. W.

Dear Comrade,

Your letter of the 8th inst, regarding your position in respect of Party work in view of the nature of your present employment, was considered at yesterday's meeting of the Central Executive Committee.

In reply I am directed to say that the particular regulation against which you complain has been known to the Central Executive Committee for some time and was accepted by it as being unfavorable under the existing circumstances. For that reason the special provision, of which I understand you are aware, was made in respect of Party members similarly situated to yourself. The decision of the Central Executive Committee yesterday was that the existing regulations should be adhered to until a change in the political situation makes a review possible, which means that you are asked to take advantage of the special provision referred to above.

The Organising Bureau is empowered to make arrangements for utilising the services of members situated like yourself in Party work, and will always be willing to consider any circumstances in this connection that you may wish to put before it.

Yours fraternally,

For the Central Executive Committee.

Secretary.

P. 2387 (P) (3).

10th July, 1925.

C. P. Dutt.

Dear Comrade,

The Organising Bureau was concerned to learn at its meeting last night of the arrangement made with you by Comrade Arnot to relinquish your present employment in order to undertake certain other duties. This arrangement has been made without the slightest consultation with any party organisation, either at headquarters or the party group to which you are attached. The Organising Bureau takes a very strong view of the undesirability of arrangements of this character being made in this loose and irregular fashion; and expressed itself in this sense to Comrade Arnot, who admitted his culpability and expressed regret. Apart altogether from the way it was made, the Bureau considers the arrangement to be inadvisable and unsatisfactory in view of your association with the Colonial Bureau and the plan of special work for yourself in connection with that department which, as you are aware, is under consideration.

The Organising Bureau therefore decided that the arrangement made with you by Arnot should be cancelled and it was referred to Comrades Arnot and Roebuck to take the necessary steps to secure your release from the new commitments and your return to your previous employment.

Your fraternally,

General Secretary.

P. 2388 [1].

Dear Hawkins,

Here is the list of Indian addresses-

Also draft of a letter to Indian friends-

You will not draw any one by merely asking India to read a communist paper because it claims to be communist. You should appeal to them in their own way- Dutt's signature will also count for much- Keep up perseveringly for 2 or 3 weeks-

You will push 500 copies easily.

Yours fraternally,
Shapurji Saklatvala.

P. 2388 [2].

Mr. Ranganathan

The secretary

Indian Y. M. C. A. Hostel

113 Gower Street.

22 copies of 7th March

48 " " 15 " }

25 application forms

also one circular letter.

Spitama K. R. Cama Esq.,

40 Trinity Square E. C. 3.

24 copies 7th March

24 " 15 " }

25 application forms

Dear sir,

We understand you have organised a large Indian Dinner for Friday night. Will you be good enough to let your guests buy our paper and also to fill up application forms? The circular letter explains why every Indian should buy and read our paper.

P. 2388 (3).

Each one of the above represents a small Indian organisation with an approximate membership as shown in pencil figures.

You better send them on copies of Workers Weekly on speck with a circular letter jointly in the names of Dutt, myself and any one of you.

"Indian friends would notice that with the advent of a Labour Government, British Imperial policy towards their country is not likely to alter much. It may lead them to believe that no section of British working class opinion is in favour of the righteous and perfectly constitutional desire of Indians to manage India quite independently of British or any outside control, just as British citizens desire for themselves. This would be an unfair inference. Time has arrived for all nations to assume independent control locally, with mutual arrangement for a common working policy through an International. The "Workers Weekly" which is the organ in Great Britain of such policy, should be subscribed to by all Indians, and carefully read, and spread among their friends in India; Thus we can foster a spirit of real brotherhood between the masses of our two countries by spreading the doctrine that honest working classes do not believe that British Labour has a right or even the fitness to rule India or any other country but their own, and also that Imperialism even when run by a Labour ministry must prove ruinous to the cause of workers of Britain."

P. 2389 (P) (1).

Rejected

30-11-24.

Merton College,

Oxford.

Dear Comrade Garden,

Thanks for your letter. The meeting this afternoon proved a fiasco, as for some unknown reason neither March nor the men he was to notify turned up. However, I'm going to try again next week and shall make sure myself that everyone is notified. Please send 6 membership forms for student recruits: I think they ought to affil-

ate *direct to H. Q.* as they are away from Oxford more than six months of the year.

Yours fraternally,

(Sd.) Leuan Thomas.

To be answered by Com. Rule (P 176 N)

Rejected

P. 2389 [P] [2].

Merton College,

Oxford.

11-12-24

Dear Comrade,

A Meeting of the Oxford group was held in my rooms last Sunday, the railway men (on afternoon shift) and students (who had gone down) being absent. We agreed upon an L. P. C. composed of

Organiser: Comrade Hindes, Ruskin College.

Secretary: „ F. J. March Rose Bank, Boar's Hill.

Treasurer : „ Hicks, 232, Banbury Road.

All correspondence should be addressed to Comrade March at "Rose Bank", Boar's Hill, Oxford. The L. P. C. contains the senior Party members here, and Hindes and Hicks have been members of other locals before. It is meeting here on Friday, and we intend to get out our plan of action, on the lines of your recommendation.

Yours fraternally,

(Signed) Ieuan G. Thomas.

(for Oxford Group C. P.)

P. 2389 (P) (3).

Rejected

Merton College, Oxford.

June 2nd, 1925.

Dear Comrade,

I have been asked to draw up a report on the Party group here Comrade Pollard has already heard all I have to say, but it may be useful for you to have it first-hand from me.

The group has not functioned as such at any time since its formation. Though there has been no group activity work has been done by members individually the number and quality of the present membership is as follows:—

(1) There are three townsmen; March, Hicks and Bowerman. March who was at one time very active here has resigned the secretaryship of the City Labour Party since he moved to live outside the town, and asked to be relieved of the sec.-ship of the group because of "pressure of work" he works in Prof. Seddy's labs. He is not likely to be of much use for the present. Hicks carries on as sec. and treasurer and can be depended upon to put his best into the reorganisation of the group. So also can Bowerman, who has done a great deal on his own in circulating our papers; as a Socialist news agent he has the best knowledge of possible contacts for us in various industries.

(2) There are seven students nominally attached to the Party Greene (Balliol) and Sheard (Kable) are not much use and have not even paid subs to date. Dodgson, a recent recruit may become of some use after a course of Party Training. Taylor can be relied on to work for the Party. Same can be said of Stephensen. Mason (Manchester) who has just joined will not be up again after this term; the Chesterfield group will find him useful. Hindle has returned to Ruskin after a year's absence.

That is our present position. The initiation of Party activity will depend upon Hicks, Bowerman, Stephenson and myself.

Known sympathisers include the following:—

(1) The Railway group Nobes., Bowles, and Holder; the first is an incurable S. L. P.—er, but the other youngmen are active and will probably rejoin the group if there is definite work to do.

(2) At the Clarendon Press there are a dozen rebels, whose activity is limited by their fear of victimisation.

(3) There is a revolutionary, Moffat, who lives in a village outside Oxford and engages in propaganda there; he will provide contact with the agricultural workers. A man who was active in

organising the Southampton dockers has just come to Oxford; we are not yet in touch with him, but he seems likely to good material.

(4) There is an amorphous left-wing in the City Lab. Party but its members and composition are not known to us.

(Thomas's report)

(5) There is a strong but unorganised left-wing in the University Labour Club. It is only here that the C. P. has a marked influence, which not only affects resolutions and the political outlook of the Club, but is directed toward getting recruits. I have just received a request for condition of party membership from two members of the Club who want to join us; a course of Party training and a definite Party task for them will make their attachment to the Party permanent. I am on the E. C. of the Club outside the club there is one University man, Goodey of Wadhem, a friend and follower of Edo Finmen and his group, who won't join the C. P. but may be induced to help us.

(6) There is a fruitful soil for our activities at Ruskin College. Unfortunately our one Party member there has little personal influence and will not be able to do much for the Party.

The actual results after what work has so far been done are summarised hereafter:—

(1) The Labour Party is quiescent, and I. L. P. influence there almost undisturbed.

(2) The Minority here proved abortive. Our taking up this movement was in effect confession of our impotence. Feeling that it was impossible for the Party to exercise any influence as it was, we wished to create what would be at once a medium of contact with the mass of the workers, and a centre of revolutionary influence amongst them. March undertook the organisation, but dropped it suddenly and didn't even answer letters from Pollitt—they were sent to us unanswered months after March had received them. It does not seem worthwhile attempting this thing again, especially as the suggestions of Pollard point to much more effective form of Party activity.

(3) Only in the labour Club has anything been done Bowerman has a bookstall at their meetings and we have helped to push his Party literature. Taylor, Stephensen and I have continued to put forward the Party view and policy. Tho' results in the shape of pious resolutions and recruits do not seem much, we are a definite force in the Club, largely because of our cohesion and energy compared with the enemy.

(4) In what should be the real theatre of war, the position is this: no work done amongst the workers, no factory groups, no organised fractions in working-class organisations.

The proposals that Pollard has made regarding our work for the future seem to me to be acceptable. I believe that Hicks and Bowerman will join Stephensen and myself in setting to work to put the proposals into effect; that will be sufficient to transform the group.....or rather to create one.

Every member must take part in party work. This is as necessary for the preservation of the student communists from deviations and general opportunism, as it is for the group to be a success. Those who are doubtful already ought to be tried, and removed from the Party if, as is likely, they refuse to do anything.

A very essential measure is the initiation of Party Training at once. Last term the student section met three or four times and fought out the Trotsky's discussions; a certain tendency to sympathise not merely with the man but with his general theory and policy was noticeable among some members but the discussions were excellent as a method of communist education. This needs to be systematised. Hicks who has gone through a correspondence course of Party Training, is not, I think, capable of handling a Training group including the students who are better read in our own literature. Also the students can meet much more frequently if necessary, than the townspeople. It seems desirable therefore that we start *two* groups for training-one for the students only. This method has its great dangers; but I think our participation with the townsmen in Party work will discount them.

We should make a start with the organisation of fractions in the L. P. and the Univ. Labour Club. The plebs class does not now meet and is insignificant, but we should organise within that too when it begins again. It seems to me that it is not sufficient to get at the Ruskin College men through the Univ. Labour Club; we therefore propose that comrades in Ruskin should arrange that we speak there regularly,-either at their debates or by invitation give talks or lectures on topical politics or Communist theory

The main objective of the group for the present must be to get a shed group functioning at the railway depot. Having got a foothold there we can tackle the more difficult problems of the Clarendon Press and Morris's. The method to be adopted should be the issue of a factory-paper, to be distributed by our contacts on the job, the first few numbers free. While fractions work & Training must not be neglected, I think we must make this our main job in the immediate future.

We shall have to see what possibilities there are of work amongst the agricultural labourers, especially in view of the recent growth of the activity of the Workers' Union in the countryside.

The method of the "factory-paper" could be adopted to the conditions of agitations amongst the land-workers. At the moment the only active political force in the villages around Oxford is the B. F. organisation

The re-organisation of the Party group that Pollard has suggested would certainly be necessary if we are to function efficiently. The present group of five "active" members should constitute themselves as a L. P. C. and divide responsibility, giving each member some specific work to look after. The railway-group when formed should maintain its integrity and not be merged into the town-group. So with whatever other factory-groups we may get going. They should send delegates to our committee as to a D. P. C.

There are some other points affecting the group.

(1) Owing to the distance between town-members' homes, the students have been the only cohesive section of the group. This is a weakness unless the students are active amongst the workers of the town. The formation of a railway-group will help to restore a balance to the Party; for there has been a tendency for the students to regard it as only a propagandist group with a very limited field for action. In any case activity in the town amongst the workers is essential and all members must take part in it.

(2) For the present the leading part in Party work will be taken by the students, not merely because we are more in number than the townsmen but because we have more time to give to it. The activity of the group is bound to suffer therefore by the fact that the students spend half the year away from Oxford. However I intend to spend at least half the vacation here this summer so that a certain continuity will be preserved.

(3) Up to the present we have had only vague ideas as to the numbers employed on various undertakings in Oxford. We must proceed immediately to get an accurate picture of the industrial position here. The fact that 500 workers are employed at the railway depot would be enough to prevent the group ever giving up hope of doing effective work here.

The success of the group there will depend to a very great extent upon the support we get from Centre.

We require first of all that Centre appoint one or two Trainers to take charge of the Party training groups

Secondly we have no funds to launch our railway-paper on our own. We have two typewriters. Can Centre supply stencil sheets, and duplicate the stuff for us.....? I have not yet required the cost of hiring a duplicator, but we could do that if Centre thinks it preferable—and if we can find funds.

It is essential that we see some specimens of factory papers to have a definite idea of how they should be put together. Please send us some as soon as you can.

I want to emphasise that a constant "personal" interest of Centre in our group will do a great deal to encourage our activity in such a place as this, that seems to bristle with obstacles and difficulties.

Hicks is now sec. and treasurer. Correspondence relating to the subject of this letter should be sent to me. I suggest, as I am in regular touch with more of our men, and can communicate with all sooner than he.

Finally the students members of the Party are always available for translation or similar work that Centre may want done.

I am convinced that given a definite objective and having accomplished the necessary re-organisation the Oxford group can, with the support of the Centre, become a power amongst the workers of his district.

Yours fraternally

(Sd). Ieun Thomas.

Rejected

P. 2389 (P) (4).

15, Guildford Street,

W. C. I.

June 4th., 1925.

Dear Comrade,

As asked by Comrade Arnot, I visited Oxford during Whitsun week. Apparently the Oxford comrades could not arrange a meeting during the week-end; so that I had to content myself with gathering what I could from personal interviews with Comrades Stephenson, Thomas, Bowerman and Hindle and various sympathisers in the University Labour Club and In Ruskin; The position seems to be worse than when I left Oxford in June, 1924. This term the group has only met once, and then it merely licked its wounds. The sole activity seems to have been in the University,

Labour Club, and in another sphere on which I have sent in a separate report to the Colonial Department.

Not being able to meet the group as a whole, I wrote a letter of which I enclose a carbon copy making various suggestions for reorganisation and future work

(1) With regard to trainers; I am afraid Comrade Hicks who has been through the correspondence course has hardly the personality or theoretical knowledge to deal with the somewhat aggressive recruits among the students. Perhaps Hicks could train Bowerman by going through the syllabus together during the sixteen weeks of vacation which starts on June, 21st., and then Stephensen could start a training group for the students next term.

(2) Some instructions on the methods of propaganda and ways of forming factory groups might be sent to the group. Also definite specimen of factory papers. Further more - though comrades have typewriters they have no means of publicating any stencils they might cut: if this could be arranged to be done at King Street and the copies sent down to Oxford, I think, they could get a factory paper started and get quite a good group going, at any rate on the railways.

(3) Some notes on a Party programme for agricultural workers! and the way to get village groups together would certainly help the Oxford comrade in charge of that particular branch of work.

(4) The organisation of a fraction in the City Labour Party is important. The work in the University Labour Club is of importance as well because it brings recruits which though few are of technical use to the Party. It forms an important link with any revolutionary element there may be in Ruskin (it is mainly opportunist), and thirdly it is to a certain extent a means of neutralising a small portion of the bourgeoisie. This work will not, I hope, be dropped with the fresh access of important work, but it should be clearly understood that it is of secondary importance compared with training and factory group work.

In conclusion, the group has gone to pieces rather from a lack of work, because it has had no real place in the class struggle but merely been a small discussion circle

I think that a more vigorous insistence by the centre on the necessity of reports would have revealed the position of affairs before and as the comrades to whom I spoke seemed eager to take up the activities I suggested, I think there are considerable possibilities for getting a real proletarian basis for the Oxford group, which can never be a firm and steady one as long as its main

membership is composed of students whose attendance and work (through no fault of their own : term lasts only 24 weeks out of 52) must be very irregular.

Yours fraternally,

(Signed). Graham Pollard.

Notes to letter to Oxford group.

1. The railways : there are from three to four hundred men employed. Mostly in the N U. R., but some in the A. S. L. E. F. They are a left-wing crowd in sentiment. Nearly all employed at Oxford came out on the occasion of the last A. S. L. E. F. strike.

2. The clarendon Press in Watton Street employs about 400 workers. They are mostly in a union, but I could not find out which. There is considerable fear of victimisation, because whereas one comrade took a dozen copies of the weekly and distributed them in the shop, he has suddenly dropped this, and he and nine other sympathisers fetch them from Bowerman individually.

3. Morrie's Motor Works employs 600-700 men; it is situated about 2½ miles out of Oxford near Cowley. Skilled engineers get £5; even the men who sweep out the factories get £3. But the slightest hint of a man being in a union or getting anyone else to join means the sack immediately. We have no contacts there.

4. Cassington is a small agricultural village about five miles N. W. of Oxford; it lies about two miles west of the Oxford-Banbury High road. Comrade Moffat works in a small workshop making ecclesiastical decorations in Oxford itself.

5. The Plebs class is taken by Wyndham Thomas of the Labour College once every three weeks in the wintery month. The regular attendance is about 16 mostly builders and railwaymen.

(P 176 L)

P. 2390.

Rejected

28, Ilminster Gardens,

Battersea, S.W. 11.

Sept. 10th 1925.

Dear Bishop,

I am reluctantly forced to abandon the hope of sending you the writing you asked for on Das and the Besant Convention Bill. It would mean giving up the week's contribution to the Indian paper, for I have no time whatever left. I have more work than I expected from the Riff Committee, and it is impossible to switch-on more jobs.

You will of course think it is easy to reel off a side of fools-cap, but (even if I had the time to reel it off) it *cannot be written* straight off. It would be a compilation, with reply arguments, etc. You can find such stuff in back issues of the Bombay Chronicle, even my own writings on the subject; but I am quite unable to hunt up and copy. You will know the general arguments:— As Pundit Motilal Nehru shows in his wire to Sak (which you sent me) the Swaraj party never came within a hundred miles of accepting the Convention Bill.

(1) The Swarajists always approved it.

(2) They are no less antagonist to Ramsay MacDonald and Lord Olivier, than to Lord Birkenhead.

(3) The Swarajists are not alone in opposing Besant's Bill. The Convention was a farce. No matter the signatures, the facts remained, the leaders of all parties stayed away, but Mrs. B. managed in that huge land, full of notoriety-hunters, to get some *followers* and hangers-on to pose as delegates and representatives and back the bill: or draft of a bill.

Of course you will find one or two solid names (what backing have they got from their fellow-members?) but in the main a mere examination of the signatures will show that the claim that "all Indian opinion has backed the Bill" is pure bluff.

(4) Further, even if all India supported it instead of all India opposing it except for the Theosophists, and milk-and-water pro-Empire supporters of this B., we ought still to oppose it. It is the very antithesis of popular franchise. *Read its clauses and see.* The franchise gets more restricted as the higher authorities are touched,

until at the top is a circle of tin gods, about as representative of Mrs. B.

Yours fraternally,

-(Signed) Arthur Field.

P. 2391 (P) (1).

“Merton College, Oxford,

June 2nd, '25.

Dear Comrade

Comrade P. R. Stephenson and myself have been working regularly within the society of India students here the Majlis. We have put forward the Communist viewpoint at debates and in private conversation with individual Indians. The result of our activity so far amounts to this, the Indians have been confronted with the existence of M. N. ROY'S group and its definite programme of political and economic demands; they have had to recognise that the Indian people have interests that conflict with the interests of the Indian bourgeois and zemindar classes; and that Indian freedom can have another meaning than the opening of all I. C. S. positions to aspiring bureaucrats from the petty bourgeois intelligentsia. On the whole the effect of this has been to moderate the attitude of the more verbally-violent nationalists; they talk less than they used to about the “masses” and the “people”. A few of the Indians attend the meetings of the University Labour Club and a larger number welcome the formation of such an organisation as the new Indian “Labour” Party. There is a small group, quite unorganised and hardly acquainted, who are attracted to the ideas we have been putting forward. At the present moment there are three Indians who are ready to join the group of the Communist Party. One of them was in the Indian Communist movement in its early days.

The possibilities of greater success are limited, by the atmosphere of the Majlis, by the outlook that is common among its members. For the most part they are I.C.S. probationers, whose future security of income is dependent on their not coming under

suspicion. There is a general fear of espionage and it is very difficult to discover that any Indian's opinions really are. Curiously enough it is among the wealthier Indians that there is a greater possibility of radical thought, they are not so dependent upon the Government. Some of the I.C.S. people are with us nevertheless. In general the Majlis does not take politics seriously—except for violence in public debate, and even then violence of language goes always with the tamest of programmes, eked out with the vague references to the spirituality of the soul of India's people etc.

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

We do think however that we can get together a small and *secret* group of Revolutionary nationalists, we will meet privately with us to discuss the political situation and problems of the struggle for liberation. It may be best to make it a group of Asiatic Revolutionaries and so broaden the basis of our discussions; I am in touch with a Chinese revolutionary here, Ming Chak Lee, who would be prepared to join the Communist Party. The rest of the Chinese community here is hopelessly loyalist and pro-Imperialist; they come from British and French possessions in China and look down on Lee because he comes from the native Canton republic! It is possible that we may find other revolutionaries or near-revolutionaries amongst the Persians and Egyptians who are studying here. We discussed the matter with *Gopalaswami* on Sunday at the Majlis he is joining the C.P.—and though he was very pessimistic also to possibilities of success or usefulness he said he would join with us in attempting to organise such a group. We hope to establish "contacts" before the end of term. In the three weeks we have till then it will not be possible to begin the activity of the group. Next term must see it in working order.

More than anything we need *information* on the most recent development of Asiatic politics. Our work amongst the Eastern people cannot but be only moderately effective if we are not acquainted with the internal situation in India and China. Can Centre supply us *regularly* with *up-to-date* information of this sort? We could make it the subject of resolutions and notions in the Majlis and of our study and discussion in the Asiatic-Revolutionary group. It keeps me in touch with events, but Centre could help very much more if we were supplied with statistics and other data on the internal position of the British colonies, and the political and economic relations of colonies and metropolis

I have just received a booklet of M.N. Roy's from Comrade Pollard : is it now possible to receive the Vanguard publications regularly? When I last applied it appeared that the Government was holding up our supplies. If I had a guarantee of the

probability of the order coming through. I would be able to collect orders for Roy's periodical and other publications.

The most important thing in connection with our work amongst the Indians is the need for *absolute secrecy*.

The work of the Indian revolutionaries when they get back to India—If they are allowed to go—will be seriously impeded if they are known to have been connected with the C. P. in England.

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

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

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

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

(4) Instructions and communications from King Street, mentioning this part of our work, should be addressed to P.R. Stephenson and enclosed in an envelope sent to

H. Wynn Cuthbert Esq.,

18 Holywell, Oxford.

While awaiting your reply to this report and your instructions as to our further activity, we will proceed with the formation of the Asiatic-revolutionary group.

Yours fraternally,

Sd/- IEUAN THOMAS.

At the end of the letter the following endorsement appears in writing:—

There is no use comrade Thomas must make other arrangements. He will be in London on June 4th.

Sd/- H. G. Pollard.

P. 2391 (P) (2).

MEMO FROM P. R. STEPHENSEN.

Subject :—*Indian Students at Oxford.*

The Majlis :—The organisation consists of 66 members all native Indians at present studying at Oxford: Practically all the Indian students at Oxford are members of the association. Printed rules define its objects as follows :—

“The objects of the Majlis are social *as well as political*; to promote unity and comradeship among Indians at Oxford; to *quicken and stimulate a spirit of nationality*, and promote a real understanding of the ideals of Indian civilisation.”

Under Rule V which states that “any Indian of conspicuous merit may be elected an honorary member”, we find that nine (9) such have been elected, including M. K. Gandhi, C. R. Das, and J. C. Bose.

The chief activities of the Majlis consist in holding weekly Meetings during Terms for debates, lectures, and discussions on topics of Indian interest. A magazine (“The Bharat”) is also published by the association.

General Impressions :—I have attended six meetings of the Majlis as a visitor, and have formed the following conclusions, which have been confirmed by numerous personal conversations with Indians at Oxford :—

- (a) Practically every Indian student at Oxford is a nationalist sympathiser, *i. e.*, one who resents the British domination of India.
- (b) Yet it would be wrong to assume from this fact that our party can look forward to securing many recruits immediately.
- (c) The problem of extending Communist influence over the Indians is one of considerable difficulty requiring very careful and systematic management, and and close cooperation with the Colonial department at Headquarters.

Difficulties :—In the first place the Indians at Oxford are representative rather of the native bourgeoisie than of the Proletariat. Secondly, practically all of them hope to secure Civil Service appointments on their return to India. Many of them expect to become teachers. It is therefore important for them to curry favour with the British Bureaucracy and the India Office so as

to secure personal advancement, or at any rate not to get themselves marked down as "unsafe" or revolutionary. In view of this fact their discontent against the Empire really amounts to a discontent against the White Bureaucracy which stands ultimately in the way of their professional advancement. (I believe this to be a correct analysis of the attitude of the majority. Nevertheless the discontent is there, and I do not say that it is impossible to alter its basis, and to place it on a communist footing.) If there is any deeper nationalist feeling behind their discontent then it is very hard to discover chiefly on account of the fear of victimisation. They know that they are being carefully watched and they simply will not commit themselves in any way. Coming as they do from different parts of India they even mistrust one another. On each occasion that I have spoken at a Majlis meeting I have stated the revolutionary anti-British position without mincing matters. And on each occasion my remarks have been received with unusually loud applause. But I have not heard any Indian make open revolutionary statements at these meetings; neither have I heard any Indian openly make pro-British statements. For the most part they are non-committal. Several have said to me after debates. "We think like you, but we dare not say anything because of the spies".

There is therefore some ground for making the statement that nationalist feeling, of a kind, is very strong. This feeling tends to find expression in vague metaphysical terms. It has very few proletarian roots. Such as it is, it is very inarticulate and quite unorganised.

All of which leads to the conclusion that there are great difficulties in the way of getting the Majlis, or any number of them to associate themselves formally or informally with the C. P. or with any revolutionary political group.

Suggestions .—

(*Note* :—Only three weeks remain of the present Term. Vacation begins on June 20th and lasts till September. Therefore immediate activities are considerably circumscribed.)

- (I) Comrade Thomas and I will continue to attend Majlis meetings, and debates and do our best in the way of direct propaganda. We could also try to get suitable subjects on the agenda of lectures and debates for next term. Perhaps even a lecture by Com. Saklatvala.
- (II) *Literature.*—We cannot sell Communist literature at the Majlis meetings, but if you make available *immediately* any suitable pamphlets or books, we will

see to it that they are judiciously distributed. This seems to me to be a most important method of getting at the Indians here. Why not send us a selection of propagandist literature for *free* distribution and circulation amongst the Indians here. It is easier to persuade a man to "borrow" a book and read it and return it when finished than it is to persuade him to buy it. Also more would be circulated by this method and I believe results would justify the outlay. If you do anything in this matter, do it at once, as time is getting very short this term.

(III) I do not say that it is impossible to get a secret revolutionary club or study circle formed amongst the Indians here, but I do think there is not time in the three weeks remaining of this term to get any effective work done along these lines. All possible preparations should be made, however, to do this right from the beginning of next term.

(IV) Two of the Majlis, *G...* and *S...* are Communists by conviction and are prepared to join the party, *S.* takes his final examinations this term and then returns to India. *G.* will remain in England next year, and he will join up with us immediately. It is through *G.* that we will hope to establish contact with other probables. An attempt should be made to get hold of *S.* before he sails for home. Perhaps Com. Saklatvala or some other Indian Communist in London would find time to have a talk with him. If so a meeting could be arranged.

(V) Meanwhile Com. *Thomas* and myself in collaboration with *G.* and *S.* could make a thorough investigation of the Indian personnel at Oxford, and collect as much data as possible about the antecedents and present outlook of each Indian here, with a view to selecting the most promising for our party purposes, and for work next year. This will be done and the result of our investigations will be presented as a report to the *Colonial Dept.* as soon as possible (say end of term, June 20th). It seems to me that it is only by such means that we can possibly hope to comb out the good material from the bad, and it seems to me that the *Colonial Dept.* should keep itself informed if possible on the Indian personnel at Oxford, which is continually changing from year to year, coming and going between England and India.

Conclusion :—The whole matter seems to me to be of considerable importance, and I am quite prepared personally to collaborate in every possible way with H. Q. during the remaining two years I am to be at Oxford. The line of tactics etc. must be discussed personally and worked out carefully, and communications established in some other way than direct through the post. Any communications sent on this matter through the post to me at Oxford should be enclosed in an envelope addressed to.

Tom Moore, Queen's College, Oxford.

Moore is an Australian, not a Communist, but a close personal friend of mine, and I will be sharing rooms with him at Queen's College next year. I will arrange for personal delivery at King Street of any communication on this matter from me.

(Sd.) P. R. Stephensen.

1/6/25

P. 2391 [P 3].

15 Guildford Street, W. C. 2.

June 3rd 1925

Dear Comrade,

As asked by Comrade Arnatt, I visited Oxford during Whitsun Week end and got into touch with the two comrades who had been carrying on propoganda among the Indians there. These are Comrade Stephensen (who was on the E. C. of the Queensland (Australia) C. P.) and Comrade Thomas. Both seem quite reliable to Thomas belongs the credit of having initiated and carried on the work alone to start with; but Stephensen has a better grasp of the Party position and more capabilities in putting it forward. On the whole I think that as both comrades have rather different contacts it would be best if the work were entrusted to them jointly. I obtained written reports on their work among the Indians from both comrades and they are enclosed. The question of the secrecy of the work, and the necessity of keeping it separate from other Party activities was fully realised.

This actual position among the Indians seems to be as follows there are three who will actually join the C. P.

- i. *Gopaldaswami*, (Balliol College) has apparently had some connection with the C. P. of India. He is standing for the Secretaryship of the Majlis.
- ii. A friend of his, whose name I could not ascertain, who is also willing to join the C.P. immediately.
- iii. *S. C. Sarkar* (Jesus College) is willing to join the C. P. immediately: according to Thomas he is well grounded in Marxism. He leaves Oxford at the end of this term (about June 21st). Perhaps some contact between him and the Centre might be established before he returns to India.

There are various points, which arise from the position at present.

- i. Are the Indians who are ready to join the English Party to be allowed to do so? Or are they to be kept an entirely secret group connected only with the Centre?
- ii. If the latter is the case, immediate steps with regard to Party Training for them should be undertaken.
- iii. The formation of a study-circle will certainly be set on foot; but it must be absolutely secret, and therefore limited in effect. If open, participation would mean individuals coming under suspicion which they are not prepared to risk. Some book of Roy's might form the staple of discussion, and also current Indian political news.
- iv. To enable Party members to participate effectively both in the Majlis and the study-circle, they would need more information than either IMPRECOR or the W. W. gives. If the Colonial department could supply this it would help them a great deal.
- v. Undoubtedly the constant supply of Roy's paper would be a great help. A regular circulation of from one to two dozen could probably be maintained. Further any publications of the C. P. of India might be quite readily sold. If some could be supplied free for lending purposes it would facilitate propaganda greatly.
- vi. *M.N. Roy* has a greater reputation among the Indians, and it seems probable that they would be very willing to publish articles by him in Bharat, the termly paper of the Majlis (issued 3 times a year).
- vii. Should Ming Chak Lee the Cantonese student (see Thomas's report, p. 2) be joined up with the Indian group; or with the ordinary C. P. group?

This contact was quite accidental. The problem of getting into touch with Persians etc. etc. is very difficult. There was an Asiatic Club, which has now faded away. The Cosmopolitan Club (of which the majority were Indians) has not met this term. The only possible method might be through the International Assembly of the League of Nations Union. Though not a very hopeful field, this is not as hopeless as the name suggests.

Yours fraternally,

Graham Pollard.

P. S. Some sort of letter or instructions from the Colonial Department on the seven points raised above should be sent as soon as possible as Oxford term ends about June 21st, and there is a vacation till the middle of October. But it would be a good thing to get matters as straight as possible before the end of term to be ready to get down to it immediately next term starts.

H. G. P.

P. 2391. (P 4)

S. Saklatvala,

4th June 1925.

House of Commons,

S. W.,

Dear Comrade,

Re Jones' interview with POLLITT, I have written Pollitt on this matter asking him to attend to same.

Re Indian students at Oxford, we have received a lengthy report on the position at Oxford as well as the following requests:

(1). That you arrange an 'interview with' three 'Indian students who are leaving for India at the end of the present term. Particulars will be sent later. These three Indians are nationalists but the Idea is that a conversation with you might be useful.

(2). An article for the Indian Students' Magazine next term (after September).

(3). An open letter from yourself on typical Indian political questions addressed to the "Majlis". The "Majlis" is the students organisation and consists of 66 members, all native Indians studying at Oxford. Their rules define its objects as follows:

"Social as well as political, to promote unity and comradeship among Indians at Oxford, to quicken and stimulate a spirit of nationality and to promote a real understanding of the ideals of Indian civilisation".

Among their hon. members are Gandhi, Das and Bose.

Their magazine is called "The Bharat". Possibly, you will be able to have a conversation on this subject on Monday night and go into further detail.

Yours fraternally,

COLONIAL DEPT.

P. 2391 [P 5]

8th June 1925

P. R. Stephenson and I. Thomas,

Dear Comrades,

We have to acknowledge with thanks your two reports received through the medium of Comrade Thomas the other day dealing with Indian students at Oxford and work in the "Majlis" respectively.

Herewith also we are sending you a supply of suitable literature for distribution among Indian students with whom you are in contact. These, of course, should not be distributed broadcast and in a manner likely to arouse comment but judiciously and in such a manner as you think most advisable under the circumstances.

With regard to the outlook of those concerned, we are well aware of the difficulties facing us in this respect and of course, it is up to us to devise ways and means of making the best of these characteristics likely to be of use to us.

We have noted your suggestions regarding the possibility of getting suitable subjects on the agenda of debates, lectures, etc.

for next term, distribution of literature formation of a revolutionary club or study circle, and your offer to make a thorough investigation of the Indian personnel and report same to us as soon as possible. With all these we are well satisfied and hope to hear further from you very soon.

So far as those you mention as being likely to leave for India at the end of this term, with communist sympathies, are concerned, Comrade SAKLATVALA is agreeable to meet them and we await details from you regarding this.

Re your request for more information, this we will attempt to meet, but so far as 'Vanguard' publications are concerned we understand that these are no longer obtainable.

Finally, re Comrade Thomas' suggestion of work among Indians, we are in entire agreement with the measures laid down and have to say that if you pursue this course, it will be with our full consent.

This letter is in the nature merely of a preliminary acknowledgement of your reports and we will be writing you again in the course of a few days,

Yours fraternally,

COLONIAL DEPARTMENT

P 2391 [P 61]

9th June 1925

Graham Pollard;
15 Guildford Street,
W.C. 2.

Dear Comrade,

We are in receipt of your report dated 13rd June, regarding your visit to Oxford, for which please accept our thanks. We are very well satisfied with the clearness and detail with which the numerous points are laid down and we are getting into touch with

those concerned with a view to following out the proposals which you and they have jointly outlined to us.

Yours fraternally,

COLONIAL DEPARTMENT.

P 2391 [R].

A certified copy of an entry in the photo register kept by Photographer Henry Burgess, relating to the photo copies at Exhts. P. 2391 (P) (1), P. 2391 (P) (2), P. 2391 (P) (3), P. 2391 (P) (4), P. 2391 (P) (5) & P. 2391 (P) (6).

Register No. 16

Serial No. L. 203

Pieces cut 14

Size of Photo 7

1925 6/11

1925 6/11

Addressee

Documents for Major

Phillips. Order No. 53.

P. 2392 (P).

108, Kennington Road, S. E. 11.

1-9-25.

Dear Comrade Macmanus.

Since I saw you last we had four meetings of Indian seamen. In the three meetings we had very good audience, our comrades

were very enthusiastic. In the Minority Movement's Conference we have sent five delegates to attend the Conference. One comrade from the Nibasa ship had put forward the complain and condition of the Indian seamen, who are working on the British ships.

We have decided to publish from this month a monthly paper for the seamen. The matter for the first number will be complete on next Saturday; the paper (Khalasi-seamen) will be published in two language (1) in Bengali and (2) in Hindustani (Urdu). Other articles are gone for the translation but one is with me which I have brought to show you.

Beside that another activity. I have to tell you personally, which our Comrade Willson have been doing.

With best wishes,

Yours fraternally,

(Signed) N. J. Upadhyaya.

P. 2393.

6th May 1925.

Mr- Upadhyaya,
Labour Research Department.
162 a, Buckingham Palace Road
S W1

Dear Comrade,

We have received a letter from a party member who states that he has been asked to write an article in a local labour paper dealing with the conditions of Indian Natives employed in the Tinsplate industry. We should be glad, therefore, if you would let me know where there are any special publications dealing with the tinsplate industry in India, and also if you could let us have particulars regarding the number of workers employed in this industry, the owners of the works, the amount of capital invested and the honours wages and conditions of labour of the workers concerned.

We are also informed that a number of Indian seamen joined in the May Day procession in London, falling in behind the banner

of the Minority Movement and that you were instrumental in this. We should like a report on how many Indian seamen took part in the procession, the slogans displayed on the banners they carried etc.

We understand from the Indian Bureau that you are considering the formation of study circles for Indian seamen in London and I should be glad if you could pay us a visit in order to discuss the contents of a syllabus for such students. Any such activity comes under the London District Party Training Department of which comrade Robson is in charge.

Yours Fraternally,

Colonial Department.

P. 2394 (P) (1)

27th. February, 1925.

R. Palme Dutt,
162, Buckingham Palace Road,
S. W. 1.

Dear Dutt,

Some week or two ago we received a letter from the Secretariat urging us to consider the possibility of sending Page Arnot to Moscow for a period of at least six months to work in the Information Department of the E. C. C. I. Failing Arnot, they suggested that H. G. Rathbone be approached.

The matter was considered by the Political Bureau, but in view of the importance of the position occupied by Arnot at the L. R. D., particularly in view of certain pending developments in connection with the campaign for international trade union unity, it was felt to be impossible to release him for the suggested work. At first it was decided to hold the matter over until our representatives go across for the meeting of the Enlarged Executive, but subsequently it was decided to approach Rathbone and put the suggestion before him. I understand that you are in touch with Rathbone. Hence this letter.

Will you please take the matter up with him and ascertain

his views regarding the proposal? Unfortunately we are not in a position to give precise information regarding the terms of the engagement or the nature of the work, beyond that it is in the Information Department and for a period of not less than six months. But as soon as we know that Rathbone is willing to consider the matter favourably, we can take the matter up more fully with the Secretariat. Alternatively if the means are available to Rathbone, he might get into communication with the Secretariat direct. In the latter event, please keep us informed of what is done.

The urgency of the matter is stressed by the Secretariat and I hope you will take it up with Rathbone immediately.

Yours fraternally,

General Secretary

P. 2394 (P) (2)

16-3-25.

Dear Comrade Inkpin,

I have just received your letter of February 27 with regard to Comrade Rathbone, and at the same time a letter of Comrade Pepper, dated January 28, on the same subject. It is a pity the delay should have happened unnecessarily, as there would have been no difficulty in getting in touch with Rathbone direct he had left his address for forwarding at the Labour Research Department, and Arnot also had it. However I have been in touch with him and given him your message.

Yours fraternally,

(Signed) R. P. Dutt.

(P105G)

P. 2394 (P) (3).

March 19th., 1925.

Dear Comrade Inkpin,

Dutt has handed me your letter to him about the proposal that I should go to take up some work in the E. C. C. I. Information Department.

I enclose a copy of a letter I have sent them direct as you suggested. You will see from it that I have had to ask them whether I can come later, as I have gone and made that old lameness of my right foot, originally due as you probably know to infantile paralysis, worse again by getting it too much exposed to the wet and cold here—a thing which hasn't happened for years but which has, of course, come on again just at the moment when I am wanted elsewhere. It is most unfortunate as I would have liked very much to take up the work and as, in any case, I had arranged to be back in England by now. I can only hope that the E. C. C. I. may possibly manage to wait for me until I have got well enough to move about sufficiently to be at all useful in the work they want me to do. In any case I will keep you fully informed on the position.

I am sorry that you seem to have had so much difficulty in getting into touch with me. When coming here I gave my Group Leader my address and also the E. R. D., where, of course, I had been working until I came away. I trust however that the position will now be clear.

Yours fraternally,

(Signed) H. P. Rathbone.

P. S. Please hand on the enclosed to Comrade Bell.

P. 2394 (P) (4).

6th April, 1925.

R. P. Dutt.

Dear Comrade,

I have to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 16th.

instant (? ultimo). Whilst I might share your regret at the delay in communicating with Comrade Rathbone, I am afraid I must decline to accept the personal responsibility. In the first place, it was the decision of the Political Bureau that the whole matter should be left in abeyance pending a discussion of the matter by our representatives to the Enlarged Executive. It was only subsequently on a further letter from the Information Department that the Political Bureau, whilst adhering to its previous decision regarding Arnot, decided to get in touch with Rathbone. When I came to do the letter to Rathbone, I made enquiries as to his whereabouts, and it was only after considerable delay and repeated reminders that I was able to secure it. Then it seemed to me that the nature of the letter was one which it was undesirable should be sent through the ordinary channel, so there was a further delay before I could arrange for it to be sent through you. In any event, there is not much need for your concern, as apparently Rathbone is not able to do anything in the matter for the time being.

Yours fraternally,

General Secretary.

P. 2395

A book in English entitled "Theses and Statutes of the III, Communist International, adopted by the IIInd. Congress. July 17th. August 7th. 1920."

P. 2396.

A book in English entitled "Decisions of the Third Congress of the Communist International held at Moscow July 1921." Published by the Communist Party of Gt. Britain.

P. 2397.

A book in English entitled "Resolutions and theses of the Fourth Congress of the Communist International." Held in Moscow Nov. 7 to Dec. 3, 1922. Published for the Communist International by the Communist Party of Great Britain.

P. 2398.

A book in English entitled "Programme of the Communist International." Published for the Communist International by the Communist Party of Great Britain.

P. 2399.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

STATUTES AND RULES

as adopted by the Battersea Conference, Oct. 7—9, 1922

ONE PENNY

Central Office - 16 King Street, Covent Garden, London, W. C. 2.

THE

COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

STATUTES AND RULES

1. The Communist Party of Great Britain is a section of the Communist International, and is bound by its decisions.

Membership.

2. Membership of the Party is open to all who accept the Programme and Statutes of the Party, and who support the Party by taking an active part in one of its organisations as well as by assisting it financially. Every member of the Party shall place his whole time and strength in so far as he can himself dispose of them under existing conditions at the disposal of the Party, and shall regularly pay the established fees and subscribe to the Party Organ.

All members must carry out the decisions of the Party lead.

3. The acceptance of members and candidates for membership takes place through such local Party Committees or other Party Organisations, as the Executive Committee may decide. Candidates for membership pass through a period of probation, during which they will have no vote and will undergo training. At the end of that time they will be entitled to become full members provided they give satisfaction as to participation in work and understanding of the Party Programme.

4. The power to expel members is vested in the District Party Committees and the Executive Committee. The expelled member may appeal from the Executive to the Party Congress and to the International.

District Organisation

5. The basis of the Party organisation is the District. The area of the District is fixed according to industrial, transport, and political Conditions, and is determined by the Executive Committee. Districts are broken up and new Districts formed whenever required for more effective and uniform direction.

6. The District Congress is composed of representatives of the local organisations in the District. The District Congress lays down the lines of organisation for the District, subject to the sanction of the Executive Committee, and elects the District Party Committee and District Auditors. Special meetings of the District Congress are summoned when necessary by the District Party Committee.

Special District Congress may be called at any time on demand of a proportion of the members in the said District. The proportion of membership necessary to call such meeting to be determined at the first meeting of the District Party Congress.

7. The District Party Committee combines and directs all the activities of the Party, both organising and political, within the District in conjunction with the Executive Committee, to which it reports. The District Party Committee shall work from the principal town in the District, and its members must be able to meet there continuously. The membership of the District Party Committee,

which must include one representative of the District Women's Propaganda Committee and one of the Young Communist League, is sanctioned by the Executive Committee.

8. District Organisers are appointed by the Executive Committee, from nominations by the District Party Committee, and report to the Executive Committee. The Executive Committee may at any time send Special Commissioners or Organisers to a district in charge of special tasks.

9. The District Party Committee appoints special Sub-Committee for special activities as required, which are responsible to it.

Local Organisation

10. In every local Party area (town village, or administrative district of a town), the members are combined for daily activity in different working groups. Working groups are based on place of living, place of work, or Party activity, and are subordinated to the authority directing their activity, to whom they report.

11. General meetings of members in a local Party area are held at least once a month, and elect a Local Party Committee. The Local Party Committee may consist of the Group Leaders in the area when so decided by the general meeting. The membership of all local Party Committee is sanctioned by the District Party Committee, as also is the appointment of Group Leaders. On all Local Party Committee the right to a seat is held by the representative of the Young Communist League and of the Women's Propaganda Committee.

12. The Local Party Committee is instructed by the District Party Committee, and reports to it.

13. Local Organisers are appointed by the District Party Committee.

14. Local Party areas may be combined for special purposes, or a Sub-District of a combination of Local Party areas be formed, where so decided by the District Party Committee in conjunction with the Executive Committee.

The Party Congress.

15. The Party Congress is the supreme authority of the Party and is responsible to the Communist International. The Party Congress meets at least once a year. Questions affecting the Programme and Statutes and issues of principle regarding policy and tactics are decided by the Party Congress. The decision of the Party Congress are final and must be accepted by all members until revised by a subsequent Congress.

16. Representatives to the Party Congress are elected from

the local areas on a fixed numerical basis of representation. The right to participate in the Congress in a consultative capacity is held by members of the Party Executive, the Party Council and the Control Commission; Parliamentary members, the Editor of the Party Organ members summoned by the Executive to report on given questions of Party policy for the Congress, the representatives of the Young Communist League and invited guests

17. The Congress receives the political and business report of the Executive Committee, and the reports of the Parliamentary representatives and the Control Commission.

18. The Conference fixes the number of and elects the Executive Committee (which consists of the Political Secretary, the Organising Secretary, and such other members as may be determined by the Congress), the Party Council and the Control Commission, and also fixes the number of and elects the substitute members for the same bodies. The Executive Committee is elected from nominations made by the Congress from the whole membership of the Party. The Party Council is elected on a District basis. Both the Executive Committee and the Party Council must contain one representative of the Young Communist League and one representative of the Women's Propaganda Committee.

19. The Congress elects the Political Secretary and the Organising Secretary of the Party.

19 a. On the demand of the majority of the District Party Committees the National Executive Committee shall call a Party Congress.

The Executive Committee and the Party Council

20. The Executive Committee directs the current work of the Party, both organising and political, and is responsible to the Party Congress and to the International. The Executive Committee controls all Party officials and organisations.

21. The Executive Committee must be able to meet continuously at the Party Centre.

22. The Executive Committee appoints special Sub-Committees responsible to it for the leading of special activities.

23. The party Council is summoned by the Executive Committee for consultative purposes, when decisions have to be taken on important questions of Party Policy.

The Control Commission.

24. The Control Commission is responsible to the Party Congress for reporting to it on the management of Party finance

and the conduct of Party Business. It has full powers of enquiry for the conduct of its work.

The Party Press.

25. The Central Party Organ is issued under the direction of the Executive Committee, and the Editor attends the Executive Committee in a consultative capacity.

All Party organs must submit to the direction of the Executive Committee.

Parliamentary and Municipal Representatives.

26. All Parliamentary and Municipal representatives are under the direction of the Executive Committee.

Reports.

27. All organisations of the Party shall furnish regular reports to the authority directing their activity.

28. Every organisation of the Party, as well as every individual member, shall have the right of communicating directly with the Executive Committee of the Party or of the International.

Additional Rules.

Finance.

1. (a) The dues of the Party shall be one shilling per member per calendar month. Of this sum 6d. per month shall go to Headquarters, 3d. to the District Party Committee, and 3d. per month shall be retained by the Local Party Committee.

(b) The headquarters' levy of 6d. per month shall be payable by all members without exception. District Party Committees and Local Party Committees shall have power to fix reduced rates for the proportions payable to District Party Committee & Local Party Committee respectively in the case of married women whose husbands are members of the Party, youths, apprentices, unemployed, and those sick or on half-time.

(c) The Local Party Committee shall be responsible to the District Party Committee and Headquarters for total dues from its members according to the membership shown on the last monthly return of their total membership. Each Local Party Committee shall apply for and pay for regularly, monthly, direct from Headquarters, sufficient stamps to provide for all its members as shown on the last monthly returns for their total membership.

(d) Divisional dues shall be remitted direct by the Local Party Committees to District Party Committees on the basis of membership shown on last monthly return of their total membership to Headquarters.

(e) An entrance fee of 6d., in addition to the subscription of the current month, shall be paid by all new members as a contribution to the Local Party Committee's funds.

Membership:

2. All Local Party Committees and groups shall maintain a register of members and candidates for membership with such information concerning them as may be decided by the Executive Committee. Members must assist in keeping this information up-to-date. Copies of this register revised up-to-date shall be forwarded to the District Party Committee and to Headquarters twice a year.

3. Candidates for membership can be provisionally accepted by any Party Group. All persons declaring their acceptance of the Programme and Statutes of the Party and their readiness to obey its discipline will, on entry, be presented with a Party Questionnaire, which they will be required to fill up. The period of probation lasts at least six months, during which period the Local Party Committee accepting a candidate shall be responsible for seeing that provision is made for his training. Candidates who have been members of the Young Communist League for a period of at least one year and attaining eligible age may automatically become full members of the Party.

4. The grounds for expulsion are; (1) refusal to abide by the Party Programme and decisions, (2) non-participation in Party work, (3) refusal to carry out the instructions of the authorised Party lead, (4) action hostile to the Party. In all but the gravest cases expulsion shall be preceded by a warning.

District Organisation.

5. In constituting a District the Executive Committee determines the District Centre and lays down the representation to the District Congress. After the constitution of the District the District Congress determines in agreement with the Executive Committee the District Centre and the basis of representation at the District Congress.

Local Organisation.

6. Groups based on place of living are composed of members, living in easy walking distance of one another. The leaders of these working groups are appointed by the Local Party Committee and sanctioned by the District Party Committee. They are responsible to the Local Party Committee for maintaining contact with the members of the group and receiving and forwarding subscriptions and reports. All members are combined in these small local groups.

7. All group leaders, and the responsible leaders of nuclei and fractions within a Local Party area, meet as a regular body to maintain contact with the Local Party Committee and arrange for the carrying out of local work.

Party Congress.

8 Representation at the Party Congress is based on one representative for each twenty-five members. For purposes of representation at the Congress, Local Party areas may be grouped together; where a common aggregate meeting of members in the combined areas can be held for the purpose of electing the common representative. Such combinations of areas for election have to be sanctioned by the Executive Committee.

9. Representatives at the Party Congress have full powers of decision on all issues.

10. The Executive Committee gives notice of summoning a Congress at least 8 weeks before the date of the Congress, and issues the Agenda to the Local organisation four weeks before the date of the Congress.

11. The Executive Committee appoints particular members to prepare reports on given questions of Policy for the Congress. The Executive Committee is not bound by these reports. The Congress appoints a Resolutions Commission of separate Commissions on each principal issue, to consider the reports and discussions and draw up the necessary resolutions in accordance with the wishes of the Congress.

12. The election of the Executive Committee takes place by ballot vote on a single list. The election of the substitute members takes the form of a separate election immediately following upon the election of the Executive Committee. Substitute members in order of the vote received, replace ex-members when these are unable to serve or are unable to continue in office.

— o: —

C. LONG & CO.

T. U. PRINTERS

NUMBER 168 CAMBERWELL ROAD, S E 5.

P. 2400.

A book in English entitled "Report of the Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of Great Britain. May 30th—June 1st 1925 Published by the Communist Party of Great Britain.

P. 2401 [P].

August 9th 1928.

Dear J ,

I had your letter on Thursday and did the requests therein contained. The little sum we had to send over was sent and I had a reply from Fred on the 4th acknowledging same.

The usual routine has been carried on at the office, press are being supplied-and the C. C. There has been an unusual crop of stuff to dissemble, mainly U. cuttings. Also the outgoing material has been conducted regularly. The "Cards" have helped me in this way. (I am also arranging to send (some) cards over as soon as possible). I was only informed late last night and will take the course suggested at the outset.

Regarding the fund. None has been received for some time but I only sent early last week "forty" Jimmies to the S. I. R.—just before the news came through of the collapse of same. The B. trouble seems to be also on the wane according to the reports here.

As to letters, I have not had any to my address, and the only one I have had from other quarters is of no special importance. This week I had one addressed to you—a full copy I am enclosing herewith. It bears out your contention regarding the whole business. I was also told off to seek from the Rank and file protests against the action of the Imp. but the collapse made it unnecessary. Most of the stuff from Joss. Once every week, contains the stuff obtainable in the U. An invitation is also to hand to the A. I. T. U. C. in November—to the League and the C. P. This matter is in hand with the C. C

By the way, T. P. S. is installed next door we're doing fine together. Also our benefactor comes often (L) and I have sent some books over at his request.

I expect you have had the books I sent over. I also sent some to Bad:—Do you want the I. I. T. C. Reports? Also did you get my letter and reference to the one that was returning to I. But I expect they knew him in Berlin.

There is nothing else much to report. The Weekly letter still goes—although the I. N. H. seems to be in the melting pot and it does not appear there.

Yours fraternally,

ALF.

R. H.

2nd January 1929.

P. 2401. [P] [1].

A copy of letter dated 26-7-28 from S. V. Ghate to C. P. Dutt, sent as an accompaniment to letter at Exh. P. 2401 (P)

(Vide Exh, P. 2408 (P))

P. 2401 (P) (2).

A slip of paper containing the following:—

I sent over to you (i) Moral and Material progress in India
(2) abridged copy agricultural Report.

Have you received same ?

P. 2401 (PE) (1).

Superscription on the envelope:—

Germany.

Herr A. N. Badhuri

Cei Deutsche.

Postal seal of:

Schluterstrasse. 63.

London S. W. 1.

Berlin

9-8-28.

Charlottenburg .

P. 2401 (PE) (2).

Superscription or another envelope:—

For Clemens.

P. 2401 [R].

A copy of an entry from the photo register kept by Henry Burgess, photographer, regarding the photo copies of Exhs P. 2401 (P), P. 2401 (P) (1), P. 2401 (P) (2), P. 2401 (P) (E) (1) and P. 2401 (P) (E) (2).

Register No. 55.

Serial No. M. 517 K.

Pieces cut: 8

Size of photo: 7

1928 : 10/8

1928 : 10/8

Addressee : Badhuri A

Pieces in : 8

P2402. [P]

21st August, 1928 .

Dear Johan,

Since I had your note, I sent the wire away to Des, but had a reply saying that the thing was unintelligible and upon further advice I sent it over to Fred. Up to the present I've had no reply.

Last Thursday I sent away a few CARDS. I hope that all is O. K. Because they were sent away under difficulties, having had no recomm. from anybody here. I wrote something and handed *them* over to Baker, who was going at the same time.

Make enquiries regarding them.

The old philanthropic gent has been often here and I have spent a very profitable number of afternoons with some cajolary etc. managed to get the machine, the inscriptions which you see on this paper, are the result of.

I got a good show in the S. W. last week, over the troubles out there and the life will have something this week.

I am mostly alone here, the other chap promises to come in but doesn't.

You seem to have a very interesting time over there as far as I can gather from the Gov. paper here, in connection with New York.

By the way I have had a few letters from Fred, of a general nature for the W. W. L. containing receipts mostly, with a few lines of comment on the general position.

When do you think you will return ?

Best wishes,

(Sd) Alf.

Did you get Fenner's (illegible-? etc.) and also Kranti and
Ganavani.

P. S. overleaf. I have just received a letter, or rather the Trinity
has, from Anglo-American Sect; C. I. regarding a
manuscript from Bengal. You know the thing.
Will you see to it. I am sending it on to the
above address.

P. 2402 (R).

A certified copy of an entry from the photo register kept by
photographer Henry Burgess regarding the photo copy or Exh.
P. 2402 (P)

Register No : 55

Serial No : N 157 E,

Pieces cut : 2

Size of photo : 7

1928 : 22/8

1928 : 22/8

Addressee : Badhuri

Pieces in : 2

P. 2403 (P).

BOMBAY MUNICIPAL WORKMEN'S UNION.

Improvement Trust Chawls.

Block No. 17, Room No. 1.

Bombay, No. 8,

16th March, 1928.

From the Hon. General Secretary

Bombay Municipal Workmen's Union.

To the Chairman,

Central Committee,

U.S.S.R. Municipal Workers Union,

12 Dvoretz Trunda, Moscow.

Dear Comrade,

I have received a circular from you No. 120 dated 29th November, 1927. I am preparing the information asked by you and will send it to you in due course.

Then I got a letter from you dated 30th December, 1927, No. 206 asking my Union to participate in the 7th Congress of your Union. I placed the letter before our Managing Committee and we have come to the decision of not sending our delegates in spite of your generous offer of defraying their expenses, as our organisation is quite new and our services are wanted here. However we had decided to send you a cable of our fraternal greetings. I sent the cable to you and I hope you got it in time for the congress.

With Comradely greetings,

Yours sincerely,

Sd/- R.S. Nimbkar.

Pro. Hon. Joint Secretary.

P. 2403 (P) (F).

Superscription in the envelope:—

BOMBAY MUNICIPAL WORKMEN'S UNION.

BOMBAY No. 8.

To

The chairman

Central Committee

U.S.S.R. Municipal Workmen's Union.

12 DVORETZ TRUNDA MOSCOW,

RUSSIA.

P. 2403 [R].

A certified copy of an entry from the photo register kept by Photographer Henry Burgess, relating to the Photo copy at Exhts. P. 2403 (P) and P 2403 (P) (E).

Register No : 47

Serial No : B 612 B.

Pieces cut : 2

Size of photo: 7

1928 : 2/4

1928 : 2/4

Addressee : U.S.S.R.

Pieces in : 2

P. 2404 (P).

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

(British Section of the Communist International)

16 King Street,

Covent Garden,

London, W.C.2.

April 25th, 1929.

Mrs. Bradley

4 Elmsdale Road.

Walthamstow.

Dear Mrs. Bradley,

I expect you have been concerned at the news about your son. Unfortunately we have no up-to-date information, so that it is impossible for me to add much to what you will already have read in the press. We have, however, been in telegraphic communication with our friends in India and are assured that a good Defence Committee has been set up and that you need have no doubt that adequate arrangements will be made for the defence when the trial takes place.

I can of course understand your concern, but hope you will accept our assurance that there is no need for you to worry unduly. Our opinion is that the worst that is likely to happen to him is that he will be sent back home again. At any rate, you may be sure that everything that can be done for your son is being done.

I will certainly let you know if and when we receive any further news.

Yours sincerely,

Sd/- Albert Inkpin.

for the secretariat.

P. 2404 (P) (E).

Superscription on the envelope:—

Mrs. Bradley

4 Elmsdale Road

Walthamstow.

P. 2404 [R].

A certified copy of an entry in the photo register kept by photographer Henry Burgess relating to the photo copies at Exb. P 2404 (P) and P 2404 (P) (E).

Register No : 65
Serial No : F. 748 F.
Pieces cut : 2
Size of photo : 7
1929 : 26/4
1929 : 26/4
Addressee : Bradley.
Pieces in : 2

P. 2405 (P).

C/o Mrs. EdeBurgh,
Apollo Chambers,
Fort Bombay,

18-8-28.

Dear Mam and Dad,

I was pleased to receive your ever welcome letter this mail and glad to hear that all are keeping in the best of health at home. I am still very busy no holidays for me yet, as you say that Len was having some, did he go anywhere, I suppose not. I sent Len a cable for my salary on 20-7-28. hope it has been dealt with as I am short. I hope to hear from him as to how things are going along and to receive those Journals. Very sorry to hear about Mrs. Collet, hope she will get on alright, give them my best wishes. I am pleased to say I am keeping in the best of health, and going along alright despite the work. Give my best wishes to Mary and Eva. So you are having some rain now, I may say we have had a drop during the monsoon.

Mrs. Bradley

4 Elmsdale Road.

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I will certainly let you know if and when we receive any further news.

Yours sincerely,

Sd/- Albert Inkpin.

for the secretariat.

P. 2404 (P) (E).

Superscription on the envelope:—

Mrs. Bradley

4 Elmsdale Road

Walthamstow.

P. 2404 [R].

A certified copy of an entry in the photo register kept by photographer Henry Burgess relating to the photo copies at Exb. P 2404 (P) and P 2404 (P) (E).

Register No : 65
Serial No : F. 748 F.
Pieces cut : 2
Size of photo : 7
1929 : 26/4
1929 : 26/4
Addressee : Bradley
Pieces in : 2

P. 2405 (P).

C/o Mrs. EdeBurgh,
Apollo Chambers,
Fort Bombay,

18-8-28.

Dear Mam and Dad,

I was pleased to receive your ever welcome letter this mail and glad to hear that all are keeping in the best of health at home. I am still very busy no holidays for me yet, as you say that Len was having some, did he go anywhere, I suppose not. I sent Len a cable for my salary on 20-7-28. hope it has been dealt with as I am short. I hope to hear from him as to how things are going along and to receive those Journals. Very sorry to hear about Mrs. Collet, hope she will get on alright, give them my best wishes. I am pleased to say I am keeping in the best of health, and going along alright despite the work. Give my best wishes to Mary and Eva. So you are having some rain now, I may say we have had a drop during the monsoon.

I must close now, tell Len to see to that. Love and best wishes to all.

From Your
Affectionate Son,
Sd. BEN,

P. 2405 (P) (E).

Superscription on the envelope :

MRS. BRADLEY,

4 Elmsdale Road,

Walthamstow

(ENGLAND)

London.

P. 2405 [R].

A certified copy of an entry in the photo register kept by Photographer Henry Burgess relating to photo copies at Exbts. P. 2405 (P) & P. 2405 (P) (E) above.

Register	No.	56
Serial	No.	N 753 B.
Pieces cut :		3
Size of photo		7
1928	:	3/9
1928	:	3/9

Addressee : Bradley.

Pieces in : 3.

P. 2406 (P).

C/o Mr. Sandwell,
Apollo Chambers,
Fort, Bombay.

8-2-29.

Dear Mam and Dad,

Just a line to let you know I am still keeping in the best of health, and was pleased to get your letter by this mail. Pleased to hear that things are well at home sorry that Dad is not keeping the best of health, however I may be seeing him and you all very soon and hope he will be quite well by then.

There is some rather bad communal riots in Bombay just at present, many have been killed, I dont know how long this will last anyway the position is rather bad. I will tell you more about this when I see you. Sorry I have not been able to write Len or George owing to this trouble I am so busy. Give them my best wishes and hope they are quite well.

The remittance that you say you sent in your letter has reached Bombay and I shall make an effort to obtain it off those who are holding the same.

Glad to hear that Nora and Harry and youngsters are quite well, give them my best wishes when you meet them.

I must close now as I am rather tired. Hope all are in the best of health at home.

Love and best wishes.

From your

Affectionate Son,

Sd/- BEN.

P. 2406 (P) [E].

Superscription on the envelope :—

Mrs. Bradley.

4 Elmsdale Road

Walthams Tow

(England).

London

P. 2406 [R].

A certified copy of an entry from the photo register kept by Photographer Henry Burgess relating to the photo copies at Exhts P. 2406 (P) and P. 2406 (P) (E).

Register No : 63

Serial No. : C 634 K.

Pieces cut : 3

Size of photo : 7

1929 : 4/3

1929 : 4/3

Addressee : Bradley.

Pieces in : 2.

P. 2407 (P).

My dear Dutta,

Friday

Your letter in hand this morning. Most provely I will leave this port tomorrow morning I am going to Birkenhead not to Liverpool. I am suggesting the following appointments and hope that it will not be inconvenience to you.

On monday evening about 7 P. M. please come near the gate or the docks, wherefrom you returned last time. I will walk within 200 yards in the same footpath. There I will wait only half an hour not longer. If it fails please come on my ship on Tuesday evening about 6-30 P. M. and enquire about "SAIFA" fireman (the Punjabi man) In this case I will leave ship before you and wait near the ship's stair (the seedhi).

If you donot think it proper please drop another envelope with same appointment in Brikenhead on 24th, 25th, 26th instant after 7 P. M.

Hoping you in best health,

Yours

Sd/- Illegible.

N. B. If all fails in that case dont miss to come on my ship to SAIFA.

P. 2407 [P] [E]

Superscription on the envelope :—

Mr. C. P. Dutt,

38 Mecklenburgh Square,

LONDON, W. C. 1.

Postal seal of :

Manchester

22 July 27.

P. 2407 [R].

A certified copy of an entry from the photo register kept by Photographer Henry Burgess relating to the photo copies at Exhs. P2407 (P) and P2407 (P)-(E).

Register No.	32
Serial No.	H. 513 A
Pieces cut.	4
Size of photo.	7
1927.	23/7.
1927.	23/7.
Addressee.	Dutt C.
Pieces in.	3.

P. 2408 (P)

THE WORKERS' & PEASANTS' PARTY, BOMBAY.

17, DWARKADAS MANSIONS,

SANDHURST ROAD,

BOMBAY. 4.

20-7-28.

Dear Comrade Dutt,

Thanks for your letter of the 28th June. With the whole of our press here hostile to us, it is now (sic) wonder that you have got a wrong impression about the affairs here, and about our party's attitude to the Bardoli movement. The press here has been religiously reporting fragments from the speeches of our comrades, with the express intention of damning us before the people. The success that we had achieved as a result of our fighting policy in the strike has been a constant eyesore to the bourgeoisie here, so much so that they have never given up any opportunity damning us by false reports taken from the police specially. For instance the report of Nimbkar's speech; it is incorrect and distorted, by the chronicle specially. Because Nimbkar never made even the

remotest suggestion that we were against the Bardoli fight as such. He condemned the leaders that were conducting the fight at Bardoli for their singular apathy with the strike here, as also else where in the country. He condemned their extravagance in spending the Bardoli fund, not a pie of which has been spent on the peasants; but on purchase of Motors (3 cars have been purchased) and other expenses for the leaders who can well afford to spend money from their pockets. Mr. Gandhi himself made a statement in his paper that the peasants were not going to take a pie from these funds. Mr. Nimbkar said that funds should have been collected where relief to the strikers families was emergent. You also must have noticed that these leaders have not made any gesture of sympathy even towards the strikes that have been raging all the country over. Attacking the attitude of the leaders towards our struggle here, surely does not mean that the party is against the Bardoli fight. •

Our party has made this point clear more than once. Last year when there was the question of increased assesment (sic) in the Kolaba District, the party sent its representatives to study the question and give assistance to the fighters at Kolaba. Our representatives found that it was a fight of the rich peasants against enhancement of taxes. And even there these people were not prepared to fight the Govt. in the right way. They paid the increased assesment (sic) less one rupee as a protest; which in effect meant that they were not prepared to face a fight against the Government. They ultimately paid even the increase, fully. Our representatives returned disappointed. This is number one.

Our annual report has laid down the broad outline of our policy on the peasant question as embodied in the resolution on the peasants. It was considered that it was incomplete, lacking in detailed knowledge of the question, and the peasant group leader was asked to make a special study of the question, and prepare a report which has not yet been submitted. In the meanwhile, the party will be issuing a manifesto on the Bardoli question in a couple of days, a copy of which I shall send you when the same is published.

Your analysis on the question is correct. It is not that we minimise the importance or the gravity of the question. The fact is that we have not men who can go to the place and study the question and advise the party on matters of policy. One of us who was deputed to go to Bardoli was unable to do so as he was unable to secure leave and hence he had to abandon the idea of going to Bardoli.

In the Dt. Congress Committee, where our group is strong, a resolution (not published by the press) questioning the very right of a foreign government to impose taxation, and suggesting that the struggle should be developed into a no-tax campaign was passed,

while some days back, a meeting on the Land fragmentation bill was presided by a member of our party.

You have rightly found out that there are 4 unions of textile workers. In the beginning there were two only: the Girni Kamgar Maha Mandal and the Bombay Textile Labour Union (latter under Joshi.) I am not able to make out the reasons that prompted Mr. Jhabvala to start his mill worker Union, which came into being a few months ago, which has a membership of a few hundreds only, while the G. K. M. M. has a membership of about 4000, and the Bombay Textile Union about 10,000. The G. K. M. M. was responsible for giving a fighting policy and was able to bring about the General strike in spite of Joshi's strike breaking tactics. During this strike the fourth registered Union was born. It came about in the following way. The Secretary of the G. K. M. M., one Mayekar swallowed all the funds of the Union during the 3 years or so, while the president Mr. Alve. being only a weaver, was easily duped by him. At a meeting of the G. K. M. M. the secretary was dismissed. He had already made himself scarce from the strike area because the men wanted to beat him, because of his propaganda against the strike. When the mill-owners were insisting that they were prepared to negotiate only with the registered Unions, this fellow who had so far refused to hand over the papers of the G. K. M. M., went to the Registrar and got the union registered, with himself and a group of seven as president and the executive. (According to the rules an association of any seven people can get itself registered) and so far we do not think that this union has more than 10 members. The only course left open to us, the real G. K. M. M., who name was stolen by Mayekar, was to take a different name, and the real G. K. M. M. got renamed the Girni Kamgar Union, and got it registered, with Alve president, and Dange as Secretary, Bradley and Nimbkar as vice-presidents, and myself and a worker as treasurers. The amazing (sic) committee is composed of the workers, and some of our members.

I have seen Kirk's rotten review. It is of course too mean. But then, No press will take anything from us against these respectable gentry.

I had already sent you some of the printed leaflets, etc, which I hope you have received. Do you want Usmani's book to be sent to you? Please let me know.

You know, we have resurrected the KRANTI, copies of which I am sending you under separate cover.

There is so far no case against Dange, since the complainants in the case have withdrawn their complaints, but still the police have not withdrawn the case formally, which stands adjourned

to the 26th inst. Meanwhile, the case against Nimbkar is proceeding.

The mill owners have been expecting that with the depletion of the funds, the strike would be broken up. Now it looks as if they themselves are breaking. We are having reliable reports of the dissensions in their camp. The worker have never budged inspite of starvation police terrorisation and all other evils.

With greetings.

Yours fraternally,

S. V. GHATE.

P. 2408 (P) (E).

Superscription on the envelope:—

C P. Dutt

162, Buckingham Palace Road

London, S. W. I.

P. 2408 (R).

A certified copy of an entry in the photo register kept by photographer Henry Burgess relating to photo copies at P. 2408 (P) and 2408 (P)(E).

Register No. 55.

Sernal No. M. 273'K.

Pieces cut : 3.

Size of photo 7.

1928 7-8.

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Yours fraternally,

S. V. GHATE.

P. 2408 (P) (E).

Superscription on the envelope:—

C P. Dutt

162, Buckingham Palace Road

London, S. W. I.

P. 2408 (R).

A certified copy of an entry in the photo register kept by photographer Henry Burgess relating to photo copies at P. 2408 (P) and 2408 (P)(E).

Register No.	55.
Serial No.	M. 273'K.
Pieces cut :	3.
Size of photo	7.
1923	7-8.

1928

Addressee

Pieces in

7-8.

Dutt C.

2

P. 2409 (P).

34 Holland Hall,

Allahabad,

India.

5. 11. 28.

Dear Comrade,

You will be glade to hear that an active and strong *Workers and Peasants Party of U. P.* and Delhi has been formed. We have already held two *Conferences one at Meerut* and the other at Jhansi to familiarise the people with the party programme and ideals, and to organise the active workers. They are usually those fine young men who are dissatisfied with the emptiness of the Congress programme and were only waiting to be organised and scientifically led. We have already established branches at Delhi, where (sic) organisational work among the N. W. railwaymen and industrial workers is being done; Meerut working among the peasantry, Gorakhpur working among B. N. W. R. railwaymen and peasantry. Jhansi among G. I. P. railway workers and peasantry, Allahabad itself is the Centre of the Party. Unfortunately we have already been forestalled at Cawnpore the Mazdor Sabha there is in the hands of one of Lajpat Rai's men, who is a humanitarian as also an opportunist and it will be a matter of time to capture the Union there.

A *Young Comrades League of U. P.* and Delhi too has been started with branches at Delhi. Meerut Jhansi, Allahabad. Gorakhpur (membership being almost limited to the College Students.

Our active workers are as yet perfectly reliable, but the danger lies in the fact that they are here because in Danton's fine phrase they want to belong to the party that would attack. They are yet sentimental and not scientific, they never had an opportunity to conduct a scientific study of the philosophy and strategy. They do not get the original literature. It is almost unprocurable.

The University Library here is considered to be the largest in Northern India after the Imperial Library Calcutta and you will be surprised to know we have not got a single work of Lenin and only 3 by Trotsky. Your own Modern India is not there either. Among the university undergraduates the demand for fighting literature is very great but we cannot satisfy it. There is another class the village schoolmasters whose consciousness has been aroused by the victimisation movement for direct action and who want to know and do something. They have to be provided with literature in the vernacular. In this province we are so few and so busy in propaganda and organisational work alone that we have no time to conduct research work and all that we have can do for them is to translate things published in English.

Since we have just begun we are without any fund resources the local branches are somehow carrying on their own work. But we see that organisational work is not solid and such like unless based on the true ideas. Therefore Books! We can't afford to send you any money and we do want literature to supply these needs.

(1) A good Party library.

(2) For young Comrades League reading in the University or International Colleges.

(3) Stuff which could be easily translated for the village schoolmasters for the present they would link us with the peasantry and petty bourgeois.

4 That which could be translated for the actual workers and peasants.

It should be on theory, organisation Russia, labour life, abroad and in India, and in industrial politics. I think all your publications I. L. P. Fabian Society, when they are not themselves would not be very valuable. You will please not forget to send us a regular supply of weeklies and magazines. If you cannot manage to send the literature free you will please send it on concession rates and we will defray you the cost in monthly instalments as best as we can. We want the books most urgently. There is now a very short period of active work for us left this session. Soon the next

crop would be sown, so no work in the villages, they become busy-bodies, now the iron is hot because of the failure of the crops and the new assessments. In the middle of April the Universities exams begin and from middle of February the University friends will close their eyes.

If you could manage to send us more than one copy of each book, we will very gladly get them hawked and send you the price every month and with specimen copies enlist subscribers for your various paper. We could arrange it very easily and it will mean effective propaganda among the wide meaning bourgeois disarm and disorganise them.

May we translate your publications (we have already begun) with your Modern India) and the publications of the Labour Research House, without their formal sanction- also Vanguard Press. If it need be, you will please send me the needed authority:

To familiarise our resolutions we are publishing some tracts 30- 40 pp. each on the following subjects. *Independence, J. Nehru; Native States, Sethi; Bardoli, Dange, Jalianwala, Saigul, The Role of Labour, Spratt, Red Union by Spratt, Workers and Peasants Swaraj, C. G. Suh.* We would so much like to have a pamphlet on the *Workers and Peasants Swaraj from your own pen.* Could you not ask some comrades there with or without Indian experience to send us some very popular expositions of ideas or of *Strategy*, to broadcast them among the masses. We will publish them in English as also get them translated into the various vernaculars.

One thing more. We have started a 16 pp. Weekly in Hind Kranthi Kari as the Party organ. Could you afford to send for it a fortnightly review of the international affairs or write to *Agnes Smedley* (I have lost her address) or ask any nice comrade there to do it.

I am writing all this to you knowing that you are not always so well and are so busy, without any bourgeois formalities. You may ask any other comrade to acknowledge it and reply to me immediately. I am writing to Comrade Spratt to write to you about my credentials.

With greetings,

Fraternally,

Sd/- P. C. Joshi
(General Secretary U. P. and Delhi Workers
and Peasants Party).
34 Holland Hall,
Allahabad,
INDIA.

P. 2409 [P] [E].

Superscription on the envelope;—

R. Palme Dutt.

Editor, "The Labour Monthly"

C/o

The Communist Bookshop.

16 King Street

Convent Garden

London, W. C. 2

(England)

P. 2409 [R].

A certified copy of an entry in the photo register kept by
photographer Henry Burgess relating to the photo copies at Exhs.
P. 2409 (P) and P 2409 (P) (E).

Register no:	59
Serial no:	T. 901 A
Pieces cut:	5
Size of photo:	7
1928	26/11
1928	26/11
Addressee	Dutt R.
Pieces in	3.

P. 2410 [P].

BOMBAY MILL WORKERS' UNION.

Shetye Buildings,

Poibavdi, Parel,

P. O. No. 14.

Bombay, 24th Sepr. 1928.

From S.H. Jhabvala, B.A.

President Bombay Mill Workers' Union,
Bombay.

To the Secretary,

Central Komitee Der Textilarbeiter,
Moskau.

Dear Sir,

I beg to enclose herewith copy of the minutes of one further meeting of the Managing Committee of the above Union to which you kindly sent the amount of £ 1059, 8s. 5d. (Pound one thousand and fifty nine, shillings eight and pence five sterling) through the Deutsche Bank Berlin, order Allrussische Genossenschafts bank Moskau received here on the 11th September, 1928.

I also beg to enclose herewith further receipts from the Mill Strike Committee for the money paid to them from which it will be seen that out of Rs. 14101. 1. 0. received Rs. 4080. 0. 0. has been paid to the Joint Mill Strike Committee and Rs. 21/- only has been spent towards telegrams and postage.

I posted you full minutes of the meeting by last mail dated the 18th September 28 which I hope you have also received it.

Please acknowledge the receipt of the same.

Hoping you will kindly keep up connection with us and help in the general relief of the working class.

Yours faithfully,

Sd/- S. H. Jhabvala,

Pres.

Copy with compliments to F. Potter Wilson, Secretary
Workers' Welfare League 162, Buckingham

Palace Road, LONDON.

P. 2410 [P] [1].

BOMBAY MILL-WORKERS' UNION.

Bombay, 23rd Septemb

MINUTES.

A meeting of the members of the Managing Committee of the Bombay Mill Workers' Union was held on Sunday the 23rd September 1928 at 11 a. m. in the office of the Union situated at Shetye Building, Poibavdi Parel, Bombay, when Mr. Jhabvala presided.

The following members attended the meeting.

1. Mr. S. H Jhabvala.
2. „ Trimbakrao Keshavrae.
3. „ Keshav Laxman.
4. „ Vinayak Ganesh.
5. „ Krishna Vithal.
6. „ Kisan Mukund.
7. „ R. C. Feris.

BUSINESS

The President explained that the resolution passed by the Managing Committee of the Bombay Mill Workers' Union was explained to the Strike Committee but the members of the Strike Committee unanimously requested that the remaining balance of Rs. 600/- must also be given away to the strikers taking into consideration the depressing condition of the strikers.

The Managing Committee of the Bombay Mill Workers' Union thereupon resolved that the balance of Rs. 600/- should also be given away after deducting the charges of postage and telegram and Mr. Jhabvala was asked to pay the balance of Rs. 4080 0 0 to the Joint Mill Strike Committee.

Sd/- S.H. Jhabvala.

BOMBAY MILL-WORKERS' UNION.
THE BOMBAY TEXTILE WORKERS' STRIKE 1928.

Joint Mill Strike Committee.

No. 261

Damodar Thakersey,

Bombay 25th Sept. 1928.

Received with thanks from Mr. Jhabvala out of the Moskau Money the sum of Rs. Four Thousand and eighty only—being the contribution to the joint mill strike Committee.

Rs. 4080/-/-.

I

Sd/- S.A. Paruleker,

anna stamp.

Treasurer.

Joint Mill Strike Committee.

P. 2410 (P [E]).

Superscription on the envelope.

Bombay Mill Workers Union Shetye Building Poibavdi ?

Parel, Bombay 12 (India)

* * * * *

To

F. Potter Wilson, Esqr.

Secretary,

Workers' Welfare League,

162, Buckingham Palace Road

L O N D O N .

P 2310 [R].

A certified copy of an entry in the photo register kept by
Photographer Henry Burgess relating to Exhs, P. 2410 (P) and
P. 2410 (P) (E).

Register no.	... 57
Serial No.	... R 218 E.
Pieces cut.	.. 4
Size of photo	... 7
1928.	... 15/10
1928.	.. 15/10
Addressee	... Potter Wilson.
Pieces in	... 4

P. 2411 (P).

17-11-28.

C/o Mrs. E. de Burgh,
Apollo Chambers,
Fort. Bombay.

Dear Potter Wilson,

Enclosed find about article on the Bombay Mill strike that you may make use of in the press. Also a report of a deputation's meeting with the agent of the G.I.P. railway, he gave no satisfaction to the deputation as you will see, vigorous agitation is to be carried on, better organisation brought into being.

There is still much unrest amongst the mill workers, two and three strikes a day. I am very busy so will close now with best wishes.

Yours fraternally,

Sd/- B. F. Bradley.

P 2411 [P] [1].

An article headed "Brief History, Bombay Mill Strike" (Lasting 6 months, April to October 1928) by B. F. Bradley, Member of Mill Strike committee. This was sent as an enclosure to P. 2411 (P).

(Already Printed Vide Exh. P. 3035).

P. 2411 (P) (2).

An article headed "Worker Leads deputation to the Agent", (by one of the deputationists).

(Already printed. Vide Exh. P. 653).

P. 2411 [P E].

Superscription on the envelope:—

J. E. Potter Wilson.

W. W. L.

162 Buckingham Palace Road
London, S.W. 1.

P. 2411 [R].

A certified copy of an entry in the Photo register Kept by

Photographer Henry Burgess relating to photo copies at Exhts.
P. 2411 (P), P. 2411 (P) (1), P. 2411 (P) (2) and P. 2411 (P) (E).

Register No.	... 59
Serial No.	... W 337 F
Pieces cut	... 13
Size of photo	.. 7
1928	... 3/12
1928	... 3/12
Addressee.	... Wilson Potter.
Pieces in	... 13

P. 2412 [P].

C/o Mrs. E. de Burgh,

Apollo Chambers,

Fort, Bombay.

26-10-28.

Dear Mr. Potter-Wilson,

Your no doubt would like to hear from me as to the termination of the Textile Strike in Bombay. I should have written you before but owing to being so busy with the strike and also travelling on the G. I. P. and B. B. C. I. railways organising railway workers I have not had time.

Much misunderstanding has been created over the settlement, (1) by the Owners, (2) by Mr. N. M. Joshi and his people, both of these party's (sic) have and are carrying on certain propaganda against us. Also there is Mr. S. H. Jhabwala who is playing mischief through his Union although I have advised him other-wise.

Now as far as the settlement goes in my opinion it was the only way out, and further our position is still as strong now with the workers as it was during the strike. We are holding meetings

and organising the workers in the Girni Kamgar Union to which Mr. S. A. Dange, is the General Secretary. The workers are coming to this union for help in all things. While Joshi and others cannot hold a meeting in the Mill area.

The meeting that was held between the Joint Strike Committee and the Mill owners went through the whole of the whole of the (sic) new Standardisation Scheme, and more or less agreement was arrived at on all points up to the question of weavers wages on this the owners showed that they were determined to have at least a 7½% cut on pre strike wages, we claimed that on this scheme it would be much more than 7½%, however here came the deadlock and we broke.

I may say that during this period the position of the workers was getting very desperate some of which had been on strike for eight and nine months, however their solidarity was splendid, we were holding regular meetings at least once per day.

Then came the question of the Government stepping in. Joshi and returned from Simla and his position was settlement at any price, but the workers were still solid behind us, and they were determined that the standardisation scheme should not be worked, even if a compromise had been made with the weavers wages and the 7½% cut, they would have had the standard scheme, during this period we had produced the counter Standard scheme because as you know standardisation was one of our seventeen demands. S. A. Dange had done much to produce this scheme by collecting evidence, etc, the wages of the scheme were based (sic) on pre-cut wages that is wages of before March 1927 when general cut in wages was started, our scheme also included increases to lower paid workers such as sweepers etc. When this scheme was put up to the owners it was ridiculed by them, the whole burden of their agreement being competition, Japan especially.

The next step was that of the government calling a meeting of the owners, and strike committee. The first point discussed was whether (sic) the owners would compromise on the 7½%, this they would not do. Then came the question of the strike being called off pending some committee of inquire (sic), now my opinion of the position was, that the position of the workers was desperate & that there would be a collapse within a week or so, at the moment we that is those connected with the Bombay Girni Kamgar Union had the full confidence of the workers, this being so if an organised resumption of work was to take place the position would be easy for organisation.

Probably the most important factor of the struggle is the wonderful consciousness that has been awakened among the workers,

this is in no small way due to the constant mass meetings that were held.

So after considerable discussion a basses (sic) for resumption of work was arrived at. The points were that for the time being the owners association as an association would throw overboard their standardisation scheme, but in those mills where it had been worked previous to the strike it should remain, now of course this was the very thing that the strike was bassed (sic) on, however looking at it from the point of view that if the strike fizzled out the standardisation scheme would be thrust on to the whole of the workers, were as now it will only effect a few workers in those mills named by this argument the fall has not been so great.

Anyway it is not a good settlement for the workers, and so the slogan that it is only a truce is used. The whole position at the moment is thrown on a Government Committee of three, their points of reference being, the owners standard scheme and ours, also our 17 demands.

I have an idea that the owners wanted to avoid an inquiry. This we shall see, of course, the findings of the committee are not binding on either side and in my opinion it does not matter what the government committee say the stronger mill-owners will force this standard scheme on the association what ever happens. Sasson's and Findlay's groups will do this.

Since the men have gone back their has been victimisation, and many cases were (sic) owners are not standing by the terms of settlement this is to be expected, but we are getting them to operate the terms, one big mill has been shut down for three days about 5,000 men out. Spring Mill. Now as far as organising is concerned, we are carrying on a vigorous campaign to organise them in the Girni Kamgar Union. Seven centres have been opened in the mill area and workers are flocking into the Union, it may be to (sic) early to say but I think the membership must be much more already than that of Joshi's union and the influence of the G K. U is practically 100% Joshi is confined to one area, and Jhabvala a few members.

We are holding meeting throughout the mill area and these are well attended the spirit of the workers is still good. The slogan of preparation for next May is being accepted by all, the union has started a strike fund of Re. 1 per head, this with the subscription of the union is being readily (sic) paid by the workers now, despite the fact that it is the first payment they have received for over six months

An interesting and important point is that this organisation of the workers is being greatly assisted by the jobbers, the reason

for this is that under the standardisation scheme the number of jobbers employed will be considerably reduced, and their wages cut, although we are out for the abolition of the system of jobbers I think at this juncture they must be used.

The union is organising the workers round a definite programme of demands, and if organisation goes on as it is going in a short time a very strong union will come into being and the workers will be prepared.

If you want to know any special points in response to Textile workers just raise them and write me and I will reply, an audited statement of expenditure (sic) from the Strike Committee will be sent you shortly.

.....

Although I am not working with Jhabvala in his mill union, I am still working with him organising railway workers, the G. I. P. Railwaymens Union is going strong, I often have to leave Bombay for a day or two and attend meetings up the line at places.

The All India Railwaymens Federation that met at Simla has submitted a common programme (sic) of demands to the Railway Board, that is all, owing to weakness of leadership everything is left until the next meeting of the A. I. R. F. which will take place the same time as the T. U. C. Meeting place will be Jharia; mining area, the date was fixed for the middle of Nov. but there is talk of putting it off until (sic) the middle of December.

Anyway I hope to attend as a delegate, I shall go from the G. I. P. Railwaymens Union, and shall be able to attend Federation as well as T. U. C., the question of the W. W. L. will be dealt with.

Deputations will wait on the Agents of both the G. I. P. Railway, and B. B. C. I. early in November I hope to attend both these when demands, grievances etc., will be dealt with.

I must close now, will write you again shortly.

Best wishes,

Yours fraternally,

B. F. Bradley.

P. 2412(P) (E).

Superscription on the envelope:—

Mr. Potter Wilson,

W. W. L. of India.

162 Buckingham Palace Road

London.

(England).

S. W. I.

P. 2412 (R).

A certified copy of an entry in photo register Kept by Photographer Henry Burgess relating to photo copies at Exhts. and P. 2412 (P) and P 2412 (P) (E).

Register No.	59.
Serial No.	T. 63 B.
Pieces cut	9.
Size of Photo	7.
1928	10/11,
1928	10/11.
Addressee	Wilson.
Pieces in	9.

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

P. 2413 (P).

C/o Mr. Sandwell

Appollo Chambers,

Fort Bombay.

12/1/29.

Dear Potter-Wilson,

In your letter of Nov. 22-28 you asked for reports of the various conferences that were held the latter end of last year. I am enclosing reports of the A.I.T.U.C., & the A.I.R.F. I have had to draw them up in a hurry but will forward to you full reports when they are out. I only came back to Bombay from Calcutta this week. I attended some of the meetings of Jute Workers on Strike there. The position in Bombay is rather critical, several Mills are on strike and Oil workers are still out. Several incorrect reports have appeared in the press about the different conferences, etc. I will try to correct these in the next mail, will send other reports too, must close now to catch mail.

Best wishes,

Yours fraternally,

Sd/ B. F. Bradley

P. 2413 (P) [1].

An article headed "Meeting of the All India Railwaymen's Federation, and General council at Jharia, Dec. 17-18-19 1928.

(Vide Exh. P. 2416 (P) (4)).

P. 2413. [P] (2).

An article headed "Jharia Session, All India Trade Union Congress".

(Vide Exh. P. 650).

P. 2413 [P] [E].

Superscription on the envelope:—

Mr. J. E. Potter Wilson.

162 Buckingham Palace Road

London

S. W. I.

NOTE:—The above address has been scored through and the following substituted:—

79 Warren St. W. I.

P. 2413 [R].

A certified copy of an entry in a photo Register kept by Photographer Henry Burgess relating to Photo copies at Exhpts. P2413 (P), P. 413 P. (1) P. 2413 (P) (2) and P2413 (P) (E),

Register no.	... 61
Serial no.	... A 247 F.
Pieces cut	... 14
Size of Photo	.. 7
1929	... 28/1
1929	... 29/1

Addressee

.. Potter Wilson.

Pieces in

...14

P. 2414 [P].

14/12/28.

C/o Mr. E. de Burgh

Apollo Chambers

Fort Bombay.

Dear Potter Wilson,

I was pleased to receive your letter last mail. I am writing this in haste as I am leaving to-night for Jharia, T. U. C. and Calcutta. The things you ask for in your letter I will try and get when I come back to Bombay.

There was a serious clash this week between the Mill hands and Police, a fair report appears in the N. Herald.

I will let you have more detail later. Will close now with much hope for the many Congresses I have got to attend.

Best Wishes,

Yours fraternally,

Sd/ B. F. Bradley,

—: 0 :—

P. 2414 [P] [E].

Superscription on the envelope:—

J. E. Potter Wilson.

W. W. L.

162 Buckingham Palace Road

London

S. W. I.

P. 2414 (R).

A certified copy of an entry in a photo register kept by photographer Henry Burgess relating to photo copies at Exhts. P. 2414 (P) and P 2414 (P) (E).

Register no.	... 60
Serial no.	... X 808 K.
Pièces cut	... 2
Size of photo.	.. 7
1929	.. 7/1
1929	.. 7/1
Addressee	... Potter Wilson J.
Pièces in	.. 2

P. 2415 [P].

C/o Mr. Sandwell,

Apollo Chambers,

Fort, Bombay.

19-1-29.

Dear Potter-Wilson,

Just a line to let you know how things are here. I have been away from Bombay for about three weeks to Calcutta and other places attending the many Congresses and Conferences that were held at the end of last year and only returned last week.

As regards the reports of some of the conferences, I have sent under separate covers reports of the A. I. Railwaymen's Federation,

T. U. Congress, and W. and P. Party Conference. I hope you receive them safely.

Now as far as a report of the National Congress is concerned I have not had time to dot down a connected report, however I will get a report for you and make some prints. As you know the Independence amendment was dropped by J. Nehru and S. S. Iyengar and then revived by Subhas Chandra Bose and S. Satymurti at the last minute.

R. S. Nimbkar had an amendment down in his name which should have been the main amendment, but with the stage managing of Pandit M. Nehru the Subhas Bose amendment took first place although handed in at the last moment, and attempts were made to gag.

For days in the subjects committee and out of it the leaders like Gandhi, M. Nehru, Dr. Ansari, S. S. Iyengar, Subhas Bose, etc. were manœuvring and manipulating on the question of independence, *vs.* D. Status. When the resolution was put in the open Congress long speeches were made for the resolution, then the gag was applied. It was only because of Ghandi's personal influence that the resolution was carried. I have never seen so much opportunism shown amongst leaders before.

Now about Bombay, the position here is very uncertain. The Oilworkers have been on strike now for about six weeks, and have become exasperated by the use of Pethans by the employers.

The Mill enquiry committee will start summing up on Monday 21st, the Mill workers are very militant. The Girni Kamgar Union has been able to enrol over 60,000 members and has built a fund of much over Rs. 50,000 since the strike.

Enclosed find some snaps taken at Calcutta, they may not be much use anyway, if they are you can use them. I have not yet had time to get those photos you asked for in your last letter, I will see to this.

I must close now to catch the mail-will write again next.

Best wishes,

Yours fraternally,

(Sd). B. F. Bradley.

P. 2415 (P) (E).

Superscription on the envelope :—

Mr. J. E. Potter Wilson.

W. W. League.

162, Buckingham Palace Road,

London, S. W. 1.

(England).

P. 2415 (R).

A certified copy of an entry in Photo register kept by Photographer Henry Burgess relating to Photo copies at Exhibits P. 2414 (P), and P. 2414 (P) (E) above.

Register No. 62.

Serial No. A 687 F.

Pieces Cut 3.

Size of photo 7.

1929 4/2.

1929 4/2.

Addressee : Potter Wilson.

Pieces in 2.

P. 2416 (P)

C/o Mr Sandwell,

Apollo Chamber,

Fort, Bombay.

18-1-29.

Dear Potter-Wilson,

I am enclosing herewith brief reports of the A.I.T.U.C., and the A.I.R. Federation. These reports you asked for in your letter of Nov. 22nd. Our group worked well at both the Federation and Congress, but as you will see by press reports and enclosed report we did not have an easy passage. The question of the workers' Welfare League was vigorously opposed by Dewan Chamanlal, he told me that he had been abused by certain people in London, and did not see the use of anybody representing the A. I. T. U. C. there. International affiliation question came in for a good fight here, Chamanlal figured again. A very important point worth drawing attention to was the fact that two large unions affiliated to the T. U. C. had placed resolutions on the agenda of the T. U. C. calling for affiliation to the R. I. L. U. and no organisation had placed any resolution calling for affiliation to the I. F. T. U. The question of the I. F. T. U. was raised on a letter from the I. F. T. U. itself, the matter of international affiliation will remain as last year until unity has been achieved.

As you know by now the arrest of F. W. Johnstone caused a bit of a sensation, and the T. U. C. was affiliated to the League against Imperialism.

Generally speaking I think the Indian press boycotted the T. U. C. and very scant reports appeared, I might add that I was elected on the E. C. of the T. U. C.

I will draw to a close as I am writing under cover and sending some photos taken in Calcutta.

Best wishes,

Yours fraternally,

(Sd.) B. F. Bradley.

P S.—The T. U. C. report enclosed was written by me for the press, it may read strange, that is the reason.

B. F. B.

P. 2416 [P] [1].

An article headed "Jharia Session, All India Trade Union Congress."

(Vide Exhibit P. 650).

P. 2416 (P) (2).

An article headed "Second Day Proceedings, All India Trade Union Congress, Jharia, 19th December 1928.

(Vide Exhibit P. 650).

P. 2416 [P] [3].

An article headed—Third Days' Proceedings, All India Trade Union Congress Jharia, 20th December 1928.

(Vide Exhibit P. 650).

P. 2416 (P) (4).

MEETING OF THE ALL INDIA RAILWAYMEN'S
FEDERATION AND GENERAL COUNCIL AT JHARIA.

Dec. 17th: 18th. 19th. 1928.

The A.I.R.F. meet at Jharia on the 17th under the Presidency of Rai Saheb Chandrika Prasad, V. V. Giri as Gen Secretary.

The council meeting of the above Federation took place at 10 P. M. representatives from the following Railway Unions were present. B. N. R., B. B. & C. I., G. I. P., E. B. R., N. G. S., E. I. R. The representatives of the G. I. P. Railwaymen's Union on the Council of the Federation were K. N. Joglekar, D. B. Kulkarni, B. F. Bradley, V. S. Punde. The first item to be dealt with was the acceptance of the Gen. Secretary's Report for the year, the Report pointed out that there are 14 well-organised Unions, it is regrettable that no mention of Amalgamation was made, this is a matter that must receive the attention of the Gen. Council. A review of the strikes that have taken place during the past twelve months was given. The Report and Balance Sheet was adopted. Then the most important item of the All India Railwaymen's demand was taken. The Gen. Secretary stated that he had just received a letter from the Railway Board acknowledging receipt of demands sent to them in September, and it was quite apparent that there had been definite delay by the Railway Board on this matter a Resolution was moved by D. B. Kulkarni, seconded by K. N. Joglekar, G. I. P. supported by B. F. Bradley, G. I. P. Shibnath Bannarjee, E. I. R., Marcell Fernandes, B. B. & C. I. as follows —

Resolution.

This meeting of the All India Railwaymen's Federation considers that sufficient time has been given to the Railway Board to reply to the demands of the Railwaymen placed before them in September last and since no clear reply has yet been received the Railway Board has been deliberately delaying the reply. This meeting therefore considers that a time limit should be fixed and that the Railway Board should reply by the 15th. Feb. 1929. The General Council of the Federation should meet on the 16th Feb. and failing a satisfactory reply from the Board a campaign for direct action be resolved upon and on a fixed date a General Strike of all railways be declared.

Between now and the 16th Feb. the following programme should be carried out.—

- I. Vigorous campaign for 100% organisation on the demands.
- II. Committees set up at all centres to operate Strike.
- III. Centralising Committee of all Strike Committees.
- IV. Common Fund for Strike.
- V. All India Railwaymen's Paper.

The Resolution was opposed by V. V. Giri, S. C. Joshi, and others. An amendment was moved on the lines that a deputation should wait on the Railway Board, and no action should be taken

until this course had been adopted and a reply received, after much discussion the Council adjourned.

The Federation meet in the evening in the question of action on the demands was further discussed the Resolution was defeated by a small majority, and a policy of no action and wait and see was adopted by the Federation.

Other Resolutions passed by the Federation, were sympathy with the demands of the G. I. P. Railwaymen's Union, and a Resolution, that in the event of a strike on the G. I. P. Railway, railwaymen on other lines should not do G. I. P. work or pick up G. I. P. work at linking stations. This was carried. So also were resolutions of sympathy with the S. I. Railway workers and condemnation of the Trade's Dispute Bill, Etc.

Office bearer's were then elected as follows. N. M. Joshi was elected as President of the All I. R. F, for the forth-coming year. V. V. Giri, as Gen. Secretary, S. H. Jhabvala, Org. Secretary, B. F. Bradley, R. S. Chandrika Prasad, E. Kirk, as Vice President.

Thus the session closed.

—o.—

P. 2416 (P) (5).

Administration Report for 1927-28.

PRESS REPORT

A. I. R. F.

ISSUED BY MR. V. V. GIRI GENERAL SECRETARY

BERHAMPORE [GANJAM]

NO. 6

HEAD OFFICE CALCUTTA-INDIA

The All-India Railwaymen's Federation has completed the Fourth year of its existence and has entered upon the fifth. Although the work to its credit has not been of an overwhelming character, nevertheless it has justified its existence as a body representing thousands of Railwaymen in India. Today it can be said that it is the representatives of about 14 well-organised Railway Unions including the N. G. S Railway Employees Union, which has been

recently affiliated to the Federation. Even the Government of India's Representative at the 10th International Labour Conference of the League of Nations had to concede the potency of this Body. The Government of India, during the year discussed matters of grave importance with the Representatives of the Federation. Time was when some Unions in India were sceptical both as regards the efficiency and the necessity of the formation of an All-India Body such as this. But it is a matter now for gratification that all the well-organised Railway Unions in British India and even in Indian States have realised the importance of the Federation especially at the critical times of great Railway disputes. In spite of the limited funds coming as affiliation fees from only 13 Unions, it is a matter for congratulation that the Federation has been able to put forth good work. The Federation has passed its stage of infancy, and has established a permanent existence and has an abiding place in the hearts of Railway workers in India.

It may be of some interest to describe the work done by the Federation during the year under review. When the Fourth Session of the All-India Railwaymen's Convention met at Cawnpore under the presidentship of Mr. V. V. Giri in November 1927, one of the biggest affiliated Unions of the Federation, the Bengal Nagpur Railway Indian Labour Union, was in the throes of an industrial dispute involving more than ten thousand men and at such a critical situation, the Federation came to the help of the Union and was responsible for negotiations with the Government of India which, impressed by the wonderful solidarity of the workers and the justness of their demands initiated settlement of the dispute through the Federation. The settlement arrived at was as follows:—

1. Promise of no *bloc* retrenchment in future.
2. Payment of full wages to all workers for the period of Lock-out of nearly four months.
3. Constitution of an Employment Bureau with a Labour Union representative on it to give priority of engagement to retrenched workers in future vacancies.
4. Institution of a Government Enquiry conducted by Messrs Rogers and Jerrad to investigate cases of victimisation in effecting retrenchment and to recommend any special concessions for any of the retrenched, on the ground of destitution or special hardship; Labour Union representatives being allowed to present any evidence relevant to the subject matter of the enquiry.

A 671 A X

5. Payment of full wages for the retrenched men, recommended by Rogersjerrad Enquiry Committee for reinstatement.

F. I. Ry

Soon after the settlement of the B. N. Ry dispute after a bold stand for more than 100 days by more than ten thousand workers against unjust retrenchment policy, on 5th March 1928, the E. I. Ry Workers at Lillooah found themselves engaged in a serious dispute with the E. I. Ry management who had been continuously ignoring the unjust working conditions of the men. A Lock-out of the workshop was declared by the Agent on 7-3-1928 and lasted up to 10th July 1928. The men under the Leadership of Mr K. C. Mitra displayed a wonderful spirit of patience, non-violence and obedience to the union's mandate on which alone they resumed work after a continued struggle of more than 4 months. The General Secretary of the Federation and Mr. A. N. Bose visited Lillooah to study the situation and appealed for Public help.

S. I. Ry

In the wake of E. I. Ry. struggle S. I. Ry. workers were faced with a similar situation as the B. N. Ry. men by the introduction of retrenchment measures. The Union's negotiation having broken down as a result of refusal of the Agent to place the question of absorption of surplus men in normal vacancies after securing resignations and the lockout pay of the workshop men at Golden Rock, Negapatam and Podanur for arbitration, a strike was declared on 28th July and almost all the low paid staff joined the strike but unfortunately acts of violence by whomsoever Committed resulting in loss and injury to life and property were committed so that the Executive of the Union recalled the strike. Most of the Leaders were arrested and are still undergoing trial. It was in this state of affairs that the Federation convened a meeting of the General Council at Madras to take stock of the situation & devise necessary measure to remedy the unredressed grievances of the Railway men. On 5th August 1928, the General Council of the Federation met at Madras and resolved that a programme of common demands of all the Railwaymen should be prepared so that every Railwayman in India should put up a common fight on the lines of the programme. The Council also deputed Messrs Joshi and Giri to study the S. I. Ry situation at Negapatam and Trichinopoly. When they visited Nagapatam, they were served with orders under Sections 144 to quit Negapatam and they were not allowed to address any meetings and therefore they were compelled to return back and could not help in easing the situation. It is however note-worthy that Madras Government through the District Magistrate have themselves admitted that the orders were unjustifiable, therefore they were withdrawn although too late.

COMMON DEMANDS FORMULATED

As resolved by the General Council at Madras, the Sub-Committee drew up a memorandum of common demands of the

Railwaymen and presented the memorandum to the Council which met at Simla on 12th September 1928 to consider the same. The Memorandum drawn up was approved and taken as the basis for a united stand against the common employer namely the State, for securing the redressal of unjust working conditions. It is expected that the Honourable the commerce and Railway member will receive a deputation of the A. I. R. F.

N. G. S. Ry. STRIKE.

The General Council also offered its sympathy and support to the men on the N. G. S. Ry. where another big industrial dispute occurred between the workers and their management who were asked to favourably consider the demands, which will be found later in the notification issued by the Agent of N. G. S. Ry. & Sir Hydari dated 10th September.

The dispute which began on 16th August 1928 showed no signs of abatement as Trade Unionism was a new affair both to the employer and the employees in the Hyderabad State. The Railwaymen appealed to the General Secretary of the Federation to help the workers in their crisis. In response to this appeal V.V. Giri, the General Secretary of the Federation accompanied by Mr. W.V.R. Naidu went to Hyderabad where he stayed for nearly two weeks, held series of conferences with the H. E. H. Nizam's Government, the Hon'ble Resident and the Agent, N. G. S. Ry and brought about a settlement. In fact the Agent of the Railway on the occasion of the recall of the dispute, attended the Annual General Meeting of the Union presided by Mr. V. V. Giri and addressed the workers there in most conciliatory terms appealing the men for mutual forgiveness. The following is the report of the settlement, as officially communicated to the Federation by Sir Akbar Hydari on behalf of H E H. Nizam's Government and Mr. Rosenthal on behalf of the N. G. S. Ry. Administration.

The following communique, has been issued by Mr. M. Fathaula Khan, President, N. G. S. Railway Union, with regard to the settlement of the N. G. S. Railway Strikes:--

After a series of conferences with Mr. V. V. Giri General Secretary, All India Railwaymen's Federation on behalf of the Union, and Sir Akbar Hydari, representing H. E. H. the Nizam's Government as a result thereto at the final deputation on Saturday the 5th October 1928 at 12 noon in the Finance Office, the following minutes were drafted and signed by the representatives of the parties:—

A deputation of the N. G. S. Railway Union headed by Messrs. V. V. Giri, General Secretary, All India Railwaymen's Federation on behalf of the N. G. S. Railway Employees' Union, consisting of Mr. W. V. R. Naidu. Mr. Fathaula Khan and Mr.

Kulasekharam Mudiliar, waited on Sir Akbar Hydari, Finance and Railway member and Official Director, N. G. S. Railway Board and Mr Rosenthal Agent, N. G. S. Railway at the Finance Office on Saturday, the 6th October 1928 at 12-30 p.m. Khan Bahadur Alladin was also present.

During the course of the discussion of the present strike situation Mr. Rosenthal suggested that the men should join the workers immediately and he assured the deputationists that there should be no victimisation and that they would be treated with every sympathetic consideration. Sir Akbar Hydary assured also the deputation if the men joined duty as advised by Mr. Rosenthal, he (Sir Akbar Hydari) would stand by the notification issued under his signature and that of Mr. Rosenthal dated the 10th September 1928 Mr. Giri while agreeing with the suggestions of Sir Akbar Hydari and Mr. Rosenthal requested the Ag. Agent to grant official recognition of the Union and grant all reasonable facilities for organisation and representation of grievances on similar lines as are granted on other railway systems in India. Mr Rosenthal replying to Mr. Giri's request stated that he had no objection to grant recognition and afford facilities as and so long as the Union was organised and conducted on consitutional lines in accordance with rules framed with mutual approval.

Mr. Giri then thanked Sir Akber Hydari and the Ag. Agent Mr. Rosenthal for their sympathy on behalf of the deputationists and invited them to attend the annual General Meeting of the Union which will be held on the 7th October. Sir Akbar Hydari said that he wished the meeting every success and would have been glad to have attended it but he thought that he would better serve the objects which all had at heart if he left Mr. Giri and the railway employees and Mr. Rosenthal to meet together without any third party being present. His office had been to bring them together and he hoped that henceforth he would be functus officio it was better if he left them to come into direct touch with each other without further mediation on his part. Mr. Rosenthal said that he would be glad to accept the invitation and attend the meeting at 6 p.m.

Copy of the minutes to be communicated to Mr. V. V. Giri, General Secretary, All-India Railwaymen's Federation and the President of the N. G. S. Railway Employee's Union Secunderabad.

(Sd) A. HYDARI,

Nawaz Jung.

Finance Railway Member.

(Sd.) F. M. B. ROSENATHAL

Ag Agent. N. G. S. Rly.

(Sd.) V. V. GIRI.

General Secretary, All India.
Railwaymen's Federation.
M. FATHAULLA KHAN. .
Ag. President N. G. S. Rly.
Employee Union.

(Sd.) W. V. R. NAIDU.
Representative, All India.
Railwaymen's Federation.

(Sd.) T. V. Kulasekaram,
General Secretary. N. G. S. Rly.
Employees' Union.

The notification dated 10th September 1928 issued under the signatures of Sir Akbar Hydari, Official Director and Mr. F. M. B. Rosenthal, Ag. Agent is as follows published for the information of public as well as the employees on the line as it forms an important part of the negotiations:—

The Locomotive and Carriage workmen through certain of their duly accredited representatives presented in the Finance Office through the Kotwal Saheb a list of their grievances as follows:—

1. The wages should be in B. G. Currency.
2. The Suburban Loco trains should run free of charge.
3. All wages for the strike period should be given.
4. One month's privilege leave and 15 days' casual leave and all gazetted holidays should be allowed to all men.
5. Hour system and grade system should be removed.
6. Previous service, bonus, gratuity, etc., should not be forfeited.
7. No victimising.

Of these Nos. 6 and 7 were conceded by the Agent on the 10th September and 5th October.

In due fulfilment of the above terms of settlement of 8th October 28 the following was announced by the N. G. S. Rly. Management.

1. Payment of 15 days wages as advance to be recovered in instalments.
2. Workmens Free Train Service.
3. 15 days Holidays with pay to workmen.

4. Increases in the pay of Wheel, Tappers, lifters, Greasers, semi-skilled and unskilled labour.
5. Promise of early revision of grades.
6. Removal of some minor disabilities.
- 7- Acceptance of representation's submitted by the Employees' Union.

THE FEDERATION AND THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Though the Federation has no direct representation in the Assembly, in order to create interest in the minds of the members of the Assembly, and the Government in the affairs concerning the interest of the Railway workers, it has been the policy of the Federation to hold the meetings of the General Council at the time and places where the Assembly is in session. Two of the three meetings of the General Council held during the year were convened at Delhi and Simla when the Assembly was in full session. The result of this has been the members were fully acquainted with all facts concerning the conditions of services of Railwaymen in India and this helped not a little their cause. In this connection and with regard to the other work on behalf of the Federation during the first half of the year the Honorary services rendered by Dr. W. L. Row M. A. B. S. C are acknowledged.

FINANCES.

It is unfortunate that no Audit Report of the Accounts of the previous year could be presented by the Federation as Mr Mukunda Lal Sircar for reasons best known to himself did not submit the accounts of the Federation and therefore the audit report (vide appendix A) can only speak of the monies disbursed by the Federation during the year under review. In spite of the slender finance of the Federation much work could be done and it is not out of place to mention the valuable help rendered by Pandit Kashinath Muttu, General Secretary of Bengal Nagpur Railway Indian Labour Union for sparing all the paid staff whenever required during the year. It must be clear that unless funds are forthcoming to an adequate extent from the affiliated Unions as resolved at the General Council at Madras the Federation cannot satisfactorily undertake the huge burden imposed upon it by the programme of common demands chalked out by the Council at Simla.

WORK BEFORE US.

It is a matter of common knowledge that the Government have not so far taken any satisfactory action to inquire into the grievances of the Railwaymen. The Federation has been agitating all these years only in vain. The immediate future is gloomy

There is a tendency to make further onslaughts on the working conditions of Railwaymen in respect of Hours of work, security of tenure and the wages. The Trade Disputes Bill is further designed to crush Railway Disputes without bettering the working conditions of the men. There is no doubt that future disputes on the Indian Railways will be waged mainly on the questions of retrenchment, security of tenure, Minimum wages, Hours of work and Racial Discrimination. The only way in which we may hope to seek redress by effective organisation.

While there is need for 100% organisation of all Railways, it must not be forgotten that the financial help which the affiliated Unions were able to receive at the times of industrial crisis was mostly from foreign sources for all of whom the Federation is very thankful; and it is regrettable that the Federation by itself could not help very much the Railwaymen in distress. This is a fact which ought to engage the serious attention of the Unions, who ought no longer to deely in contributing for a big reserve fund.

As it is, the Federation's Annual income is not sufficient to maintain any regular paid staff for the office. The work of the Federation has increased so much that regular establishment is an immediate necessity. Federation must maintain at least four organisers to tour different parts of the country frequently to aid the Unions to organise themselves & be prepared for common action at all times. The memorandum of the Federation must be the basis for further constitutional agitation and in every station of every Railway in India the common programme of work must be dinned into the ears of the employees.

All this requires men and munitions and it is the duty of the affiliated Unions to take immediate action and satisfy the immediate requirements for successfully carrying out the great work before us.

Of these No. 9 the previous service bonus, gratuity, etc. Should not be forfeited and No. 7 that there should be no victimisation, were at once agreed to by the Agent, and the necessary assurance communicated by a notice.

It is also necessary to point out that the Federation's Press Report which is being issued from time to time should be published regularly to keep the affiliated Unions and foreign organisation in touch with the progress made by our comrades on different Railways. The uncertain financial position has precluded regular publication but are long it is hoped that the Federation Press Reports will satisfy the needs of the Railwaymen in India in the same way as the International Transport Workers Federation Press Report does on an International scale.

Before concluding, it is our duty to express our grateful thanks to the International Transport Workers Federation to which

All India Railwaymen's Federation is affiliated, for the wonderful financial help and advice rendered unstintingly on every critical occasion with which the Federation* was faced in the recent Railway disputes. We are on the eve of a great struggle and it is hoped that with the inspiration and sympathy from the International Labour organisation and with justice behind us, the coming year will, it is hoped, witness wonderful achievements of the Railwaymen through help of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation.

A. I. Railway Federation.

BALANCE SHEET FOR THE YEAR ENDING 1927.

Opening Balance on 1-1-27 as per last balance Sheet.	}	1,403-6-0	Establishment Postage and Tele- grams	5---0-0 23---0-0
Affiliation fees from B. B. & C. I. Emp- loyees Unions	}	50-0-0	Travelling and Con- veyance Charges General	129--9-6 3-12-0
B. N. Ry. Strike Relief Act	}	2,936-5-7	Telegraphic address Post	10---0-0
Affiliation fees from B. N. Ry Indian Labour Union	}	200-0-0	Books, Magazine & Printing Stationary Telephone Rentals and calls	232-10-0 20--8-0 32-2-11
		4,589-11-7	B. N. Ry. I. L. Union Kharagpur for relief to strikers in March	} 2,936-5-7
31-12-27 To Balance		684-11-7	Contingencis B. N. Ry. I.L. Union for Relief in November	12---0-0 } 500-0-0
			Closing Balance on 31-12-27	} <u>684-11-7</u>
				<u>5,589-11-7</u>

All India Railway Federation.

BALANCE SHEET FOR THE YEAR 1928.

Receipts		Expenditure.
Balance brought forward from last year.....Rs.	684-11-7	Stationery Printing charges Contingencies General Charges Telegrams
Advance from B. N. R. I. L U.	400-14-0	Rs. 187-1-3 172-0-0 10-15-0 186-15-0 143-12-0

Affiliation fees from			Postage	29-4-0
G. I. P. workmen's	}	200-0-0	Relief to N G. S.	
Union			Ry. worker	350-0-0
do. B.B. & C. I. R.			Typewriting	
Employees U	150-0-0		charges	7-0-0
do. G. P Staff Union.	200-0-0		Advance suspense	85-0-0
do. E. I. Ry. Union			Travelling &	
Mordabad.	10-0-0		Conveyance	583-14-3
do. N. G. S R.			Rent for office	45-0-0
Employees Union	100-0-0		Establishment	300-0-0
Relief from I. F. W.	}	667-12-0	Loan Returned to	}
E. Amsterdam.			B. N. Ry. I. L.	
Affiliation fees from	}	50-0-0	Union.	} 400-14-0
M. S. M. Ry. Em-			Money order	
ployees Union.	}	50-0-0	commission	} 3-8-0
do. B. N. Ry. I. L				
Union	26/27	200-0-0		2505-3-6
do do	1927/28	100-0-0	By cash	518-9-7
do do	do	100-0-0		
do do	1928/29	140-7-0		
do do	do	20-0-0		
	Total	3023-13-0		
on 9-12-28 To Balance		518-9-7		

Bharti Press Berhampore.

P. 2416 [P] [E].

Superscription on the envelope:

Mr. J. E. Potter Wilson.

W. W. League.

162 Buckingham Palace Road

London S. W. I.

NOTE:—The above address has been Scored through and the following has been substituted.

79 Warren St. W I.

P. 2416 [R].

A certified copy of an entry in photo register kept by Photographer Henry Burgess, relating to the photo copies at Exbts. P.2416 (P), P. 2416 (P) (1), P 2416 (P) (2), P 2416 (P) (3), P 2416 (P) (4) P 2416 (P) (5) & P 2416 (P) (E).

Register No.	62
Serial No.	A 671 A-
Pieces Cut.	19
Size of Photo.	7
1929.	2/2
1929.	4/2
Addressee.	Potter Wilson.
Pieces in	19.

P 2417. [P].

2/2/29.

C/o Mr. Sandwell,

Apollo Chambers,

Fort BOMBAY

Dear Potter-Wilson,

I was pleased to get a letter from the League last mail and to know you had received the short report on the mill strike. I have noted from certain quarters particular criticism as to the conduct and termination of the strike, in the main this criticism is based on lack of understanding of the true position here.

The Mill Enquire Committee is still sitting and will not finish for another two or three weeks. But the most important thing is the moral of the mill workers is intact, further they are with the Guni Kamgar Union of which I have spoken to you about. We have organised on lines and got the support of the workers to such an extent that even N. M. Joshi told me he thought to be impossible, will over 60,000 membership and a big fighting fund. You say in your letter the position is unclear, that may be and it would take

much pen and paper to make it clear, but I can assure you that the best is being done in relation to the situation.

Attacks from all sides on the Union have been made through questions such as cast, communal and so on but they have all failed.

I sent you last mail reports of the Jharia T. U.C. and A. I. R. Federation, also a report of the W. & P.P. Conference, I hope you have received the same by now.

The W. & P.P. Bombay stood four candidates for the Municipal Elections, this is the first time this has been done, if you refer to the papers you will see they polled well and but for the fact that a big percentage of the workers who were entitled to a vote not being registered, they would have got in.

However they created a good impression and were responsible getting the workers to take interest in the affair, at the same time pointing out what the corporation as a body really is.

The Assembly is meeting just now at Delhi and has got some very interesting things to deal with, one of course is the Public Safety Bill, at the moment there are many absentee's and Mr N. M. Joshi who I saw the other day is very ill indeed and will not be able to attend.

Another thing is the suggested government enquire into the conditions of labour with the assistance of Whitley, I think many of the labour leader's will fall a prey to this, however we will start propaganda against.

As far as the point you make in your last letter about the Sunday Worker representative, I will put some one in touch so that they can get cable press rates. The matter of Trade Union addresses I will attend to and let you have.

Mr. Jhabvala is still playing mischief in the G. I. P. Railwaymen's Union but we are still there and have the support of the workers, he is rather disappointing, and an opportunist.

The Oil strike still drags on the employers have employed Pathans and the oil is delivered to station and places in lorries covered with wire netting and Police escort, scene something like the General Strike in England.

Hoping these points will help you to grasp the situation here. I am pleased to say I am keeping in the best of health,

Best wishes,

Yours Fraternally

B. F. BRADLEY.

P. S. Enclosed find "The Spark" a new paper that has come out, it has got to be improved.

Also find mild article I dashed off here for press on T.U.C. but I am writing a more detailed article.

B. F. B.

P. 2417 (P) (1)

An article headed "The Trade Union Congress and the Communists" by B. F. Bradley. Vice President, All India Railwaymen's Federation.

(Vide Exb. 1896 (1) (c))

P. 2417 [P] [E]

Superscription on the envelope.

Mr. J. E. Potter Wilson.

W. W. League

22 Great Windmill Street

LONDON.

W. C. 1.

England

P. 2417 [R].

A certified copy of an entry in the Photo register kept by Photographer Henry Burgess relating to the photo copies at Exbts. P. 2417 (P), P. 2417 (P) (1) and P 2417 (P) (E).

Register No.	62
Serial No.	B 644 B.
Pieces Cut.	10
Size of Photo.	7
1929	18/2
1929	18/2
Addressee	Potter Wilson J.
Pieces in	10

P. 2418 (P).

THE WORKERS' & PEASANTS' PARTY,

17 Dwarkadas Mansion,

Girgaon

Bombay 12th August 1927

(INDIA)

My dear Comrade Politt,

I am glad to receive your letters, but I am sorry to say that I have not yet received the copies of your paper which, I suppose, are lying the Police Officials' room and may or may not reach me at all. Please, if it is possible for you, send me some pamphlets of the L. R. Dept. and two copies of the Modern India by P. Dutt. People here are demanding these things from me and I have got nothing to give them. The Times of India today and yesterday has attacked the book very severely and that has created extraordinary interest in it. I hope you will do something in this respect.

I promise to send you news on trade Union activities, together with facts and figures, in India. I will, for instance, send you next week the report of Strike of the Textile Mills operatives in Bombay which we are conducting. It has arisen out of the introduction of three-loom system instead of two so far current in the Indian Mills. Some of the Mills in Bombay want to make an experiment in that direction: The workers think that it will cause unemployment and their wages also will be told upon. The strike has begun since four days; about 2000 weavers have downed tools. Sympathy is expressed on all sides.

Please give my greetings to Comrade Mrs. Marjorie Politt who I think, knows me by name as an author of a story entitled "The Confessions of a Prostitute" about which she wrote to the Editor of "The Hindustan" who was kind enough to shew me the same last year.

Last week there was a police raid on our office (The W. & P. Party Office) to take possession of booklet published by me entitled "The India and China". It has been proscribed and confiscated by all the provincial govts. in India; much my literature was also seized.

How is comrade Sak doing? What is that foolish stunt of his viz. initiating the children to Parsi religion? To my mind it is most uncommunistic. What is your view on the matter may I know?

With greetings,

Fraternally Yours,

Sd/- S. S. Mirajkar

P. 2418 [P] [E].

Superscription on the envelope:—

Harry Pollitt Esqr.

38 Great Ormond Street

London W. C. 1

P. 2418 [R].

A Certified copy of an entry in the Photo register kept by Photographer Henry Burgess relating to the photo copies at Exbts. P. 2418 (P), & P. 2418 (P) (E).

Register No.	35
Serial No.	M 85 A.
Pieces cut	3
Size of photo	7
1927	5/9
1927	5/9
Addressee	Pollitt H.
Pieces in	2

P. 2419 (P).

2/1 European Asylum Lane,

Calcutta.

23-10-28

Dear Robin,

I must ask your pardon, as usual, for not having written to you for a long time. I am told that I have become very completely "Indianised," and procrastination is certainly an Indian virtue. My last effort, I think; was a short letter of introduction to you, which I sent with one "KARDIKAR. Perhaps you saw him? He left about March or April last. He is of no particular use, I think, but he wanted some contact with the labour movement, and I sent him to you.

Since then I have been in Bengal almost all the time. I am sorry I missed the Bombay textile strike, which seems to have been a very instructive affair. But there was plenty to do here, where I took a more or less active part in about five strikes. I am afraid we rather made fools of ourselves over the Lillooah strike. We

merely gave some assistance in agitation etc, but without making any serious difference to the ill-judged and very reactionary policy of Mitra. Ill-judged, I mean, in that no attempt was made, until too late, to extend the strike which by itself was naturally weak. And also in that the funds were misused. And reactionary because his policy was directed simply at keeping the men under his personal control. For this purpose he used his religious reputation, intrigue and a rather low type of demagogy, and repressed on the part of the men at independent activity. He delayed by all possible means the formation of a strike committee, and when it was formed, mainly of outsiders, he prevented its working. It is easy to say this after the event of course, but it was difficult to realise it at the time.

When eventually he consented to let us try spreading the strike, it was too late, and the effort failed. At the same time he was able to shift on to us the blame for the victimisation etc. which befell the men at Asansol who did strike. I do not accuse him in connection with the end of the whole affair. So far as I can tell he was forced into calling it off against his will. But he made clever use of the situation, and succeeded in fooling us pretty completely, while we have little in the way of propaganda achieved to compensate for it.

Another case in which we were deceived occurred in the second Calcutta Scavengers' Strike, but here I think we cannot be blamed. A special sub-committee of the corporation agreed to terms, which, when the strike was called off, the corporation itself refused to ratify. We were too weak at the time to call another strike it would have been the hind in three months, and we simply had to acquiesce in being swindled.

In connection with the Bauria Jute Mills Strike, which is still going on, I believe we have pursued a thoroughly wrong policy.

The situation is that the oldest Jute Union, the Jute Workers' Association, is led by us, but there recently have been established at Chengail and Bauria separate unions, under the rather reactionary leadership of the Bengal Trade Union Federation. When the lock-out took place at Bauria, the Association, instead of helping and getting support, simply stood aloof and did nothing. I have been to Bauria a number of times and have tried, since I realised what was happening, to persuade the Association to alter its policy, but without success. The Federation is naturally making much capital out of it. The feud has, as usual, assumed an intensely personal form, and to act correctly in such circumstances is very difficult.

I am afraid I have maundered on about my difficulties, but I think you will be interested in the situation at Jainshepur.

Throughout the lock-out and strike we were unable to visit the place, but shortly afterwards we were invited by some friends of Mr. Homi, and I went, I was unable to get the essential facts, I think, but the story is long and complicated. The substance is roughly this. Homi, who has constituted himself the "boss of everything, in the usual style, conducted the strike on the whole well. That is, his organisation and tactics were good, though the propaganda he indulged in was of a low type, non-political, and soon. But when he called in Subhas to his assistance. Subhas rallied the people, and got out all those who had returned to work, and so on, and began negotiations (The company, ostensibly for personal reasons, had refused to deal with Homi at all). He obtained eventually what is called an "honourable settlement," that is, it is not a complete defeat. His terms in any case are far better than those proposed by Homi through a third party, but rejected by the company, some weeks before. But Homi chose to fight with Subhas over the terms. He did not go to the length, even when he had a good opportunity, of advising the men to come out again for better terms. But now they are safely back at work, he is turning their natural disappointment against Subhas. The real reason is of course that Subhas, instead of doing his work and going away again, brought a number of his Congressmen with him, made himself President of some sort of Union, and proceeded to "capture" busily. The men are suffering a good deal inside the works, but neither Union does anything particular for them. Homi's because it is "unrecognised," though relatively strong, Subhas' because although recognised it is still weak, and in any case does not want to upset the management. Their rival lines of policy are roughly these; in fact; Subhas' peace with the company, and support the Congress; Homi's peace with the Government, and fight the company. Each accuses the other of communism (rightly). Subhas' bases his strength on the Bengalis (clerks, technicians, etc.) Homi damns all Bengalis, and works up the provincial patriotism of the punjabis, who supply most of the skilled workmen. Each also accuses the other, plausibly, (I mean that judging from what I heard, it is very probable that Subhas (or the Congress) and almost certain that Homi, received some money) of receiving money from doubtful sources. Homi has also one thing in his favour, apart from money, and that is his work during the strike. Subhas has his term of settlement, the favour of the company, the strength of the Congress machine, and Homi's obvious scoundrelism. Subhas is therefore winning ground, slowly. The only hopeful sign is the appearance of a small group, at present consisting only of intellectuals and nonentities (I mean people who are incapable of conducting a real fight against powerful and unscrupulous people like Homi and Subhas who suggested to me that what is wanted is a "workers group" which will fight against both autocrats in the interests of the workers themselves. The apparently complete subserviences of workers even to the worst

leadership is a curious and rather discouraging thing. It is almost universal in India and our efforts to bring about an improvement have not yet had much success. The best case I have seen is the Bombay textile strike. I went there six weeks or so ago, and found a number of workers taking an active and intelligent part in leading the day-to-day activities, making what I was told were very good speeches, and so on. But even there, the actual conduct of the strike was left largely to the outsiders. Our campaign against the Trade Disputes Bill shows the same thing. We have got out a fairly good leaflet, and held some meetings, but only among the most advanced workers is the point seen. The Bill is of course a rather subtle one, far more so than the British Trade Union Act of 1927. The whole right wing school is hesitating about it; some of the worst, Choudhury, Shwa Rao and so on, have openly supported it. Of course, the blame is largely ours. We have not put in a tenth of the energy necessary, and if, as I hope, we increase the intensity of our campaign, we shall probably get better results.

I paid a visit recently to Eastern Bengal, where I was able to see some political people, students and the few traces that exist of workers' and Peasants' organisations. The agrarian situation is getting acute in several places in Bengal nowadays. I sent a longish account of the position out Atia, in Myminouj to the Sunday Worker some months ago. I have heard nothing, (we never see the paper of course), so I assume it went astray. I must find another copy or write something out again. I went also to Meerut, in U.P. recently, where there was held a fairly successful Workers and Peasants' Conference, and we saw the formal establishment of the Workers, and Peasants' Party of U. P., with branches, I think, at Meerut, Allahabad, and Gorakhpur. It should make fairly decent progress, I think. There, as in Bombay and Punjab, a great difficulty will arise about the relations of the Party to the Congress. There may be trouble about it in the forth coming All-India Conference, and it is certain to arise sooner or later. The Congress in these places is not at all acutely class-conscious, and all the leading Workers' and Peasants' Party members are also staunch Congressmen, and find little inconsistency in it.

I believe a sharp break with the Congress is inevitable, but we cannot bring it about yet. (That is the significance of course of the "Independence League"—to prevent a sharp break, and keep the mass movement under bourgeois control). The position is quite different in Bengal. The Congress is definitely class-conscious, and, far from patronising us as "young unthusiasts" etc. it fights us bitterly. The difference is exactly that between Subhas and Jawaharlal. So the Independence League in Bengal is accepted by all as sheer humbug from the beginning; though of course, owing to its financial and other resources, it is very formidable. It is making a serious attempt to enter the Trade Union

movement, at Jamshedpur, Lillooah, and elsewhere, and may quite well succeed in its attempt to make "King Subhas" President of next years' T.U.C. The tactical line in Bengal is therefore pretty clear, though of course we have here to encounter much more powerful opposition. But in other provinces far more care and skill is required. It will be interesting to see what programme the Independence League puts forward. The Bengal programme is of course put forward with the idea of keeping the League within the bounds of the Bengal ideas, and of securing its leadership, as opposed to Jawaharlal, who they think, "goes too far." What the reply will be I don't know, though of course the programme ultimately adopted cannot be very different. It will remain a bourgeois programme.

I gather, by the way, that Varga has been suggesting the existence of a changed policy in regard to the industrialisation of India, and traces to that the apparent increase in the acuteness of the conflict between the British and Indian bourgeoisie. I have been rather puzzled throughout to account for the behaviour of the Government in connection with the Commission. It seems unnecessarily provocative; and I have been driven to various more or less improbable explanations on grounds of tactics. If there is any more fundamental reason, it would be extremely interesting to get hold of some material on it. I don't think, on the other hand, that there has been any very important change in the attitude of either side, to judge e.g. from the Anglo-Indian Press, and the Nehru Committee's Report. I mean that there is no fundamental change in the situation, from our point of view. Of course all the periodicals, in which this would be discussed are prescribed, and absolutely unobtainable.

This reminds me that I have seen nothing of the L.R.D. things for months and months. They must be prescribed also I suppose. I must write to the proper authorities and inquire. I have never yet seen a copy of Purcell and Hallsworth's Report, and nor has anyone else that I know of except Joshi and Kirk. Could you manage to get one sent to me? And I should like a copy of Furtwaengler's book, if it is obtainable. I ought to have ordered them at a bookshop, but I have had no money for some time passed. And it is after all doubtful, if they could be obtained that way.

About Research work, I am afraid I have to report a complete blank. Dange has done nothing in Bombay, on account of the strike, and Kishori has the same record here, for less tangible but equally formidable reasons. I had the intention of doing some work in British and Indian capitalism and on agriculture, but I have had no time and in any case am not equipped for it. Nevertheless while I am in Calcutta, which is the best place for it, I ought

to do something. No doubt, if Henry or Rath, or anybody wants to know something, and sends me concrete questions. I shall be able to get some sort of information for them. I am afraid, too that my capacity for work has rather seriously decreased lately. For some months past I have been getting intermittent attacks of fever, and have become anaemic and weak. Now of course, the weather is getting cooler, and I am stronger and better, in every way. I think I shall not recover completely while I stay in Bengal, though, for the climate here is most poisonous. I must stay here till the end of the year, and then I want to go to U.P. which is far healthier. I was much improved by my recent journey to Meerut, though it was still very hot there. It was suggested, in consequence of this ill health, that I should return to England, say by next March, before the hot weather came. But I think now that is unnecessary, as I am recovering, and if I take reasonable care, should continue all right. I should like to hear, though, what you think about my returning, so that I may arrange my future programme.

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

I see that I am on the ninth page, enough to try your patience, and give me writer's cramp. I want to ask one thing more. Can you manage that the cash shall come rather more regularly. I have been in a very awkward position for some weeks owing to lack of money. I had to travel to Meerut with their money, and to borrow from various people and so on.

The last day, I think it is, of the Durga Puja, is on, and I am just going, at Kishori's invitation, to see all the images being immersed in the waters of the holy Ganga.

Yours,

S. Spratt.

P. 2419 (P) (E).

Superscription on envelope :—

Insured for Rs. 100 (Rupees One Hundred).

29 Rates. £ 7-8-0

From 187—50.

R 704
Asylum Lane

MR. R. PAGE ARNOT.

162 Buckingham Palace Road,

London S. W. 1

England.

From
P. SPRATT
2/1 European
Asylum Lane
Calcutta
India

P. 2419 (R).

A certified copy of an entry in the Photo register kept by Photographer Henry Burgess relating to the Photo Copies at Exbts. P. 2419 (P) and P. 2419 (P) (E).

Register No.	59
Serial No.	T 116 B.
Pieces cut	10
Size of Photo	4
1928	12-11-28.
1928	12-11-28.
Addressee	Page Arnot.
Pieces in	10

P. 2420 (P)

Letter dated 1-11-28 from D. K. Goswami Secretary Reception Committee, The First All India Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference, 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta, to the General Secretary, National Minority Movement, 38 Great Ormond Street, London, W. C. 1.

(Vide Exb. P. 467 (7))

P. 2420 [P] [E].

Superscription on envelope —

The General Secretary

National Minority Movement

38 Great Ormond Street

London, W. C. 1.

P. 2420 [R].

A certified copy of an entry in the Photo register kept by Photographer Henry Burgess, relating to Photo Copies at Exhbs. P. 2420 (P) and P. 2420 (P) (E).

Register No.	59
Serial No.	T 522 A.
Pieces cut	2
Size of Photo	7
1928 .	19/11
1928	19/11
Addressee	N. M. M.
Pieces in	2

P. 2421 [P].

Dear Glyn

Moscow
Sept. 23/28

I have no news from you for about a month, I know, I am partly responsible for that. But now, after receiving my letter you will have no excuse for not writing to me.

I am alright here and hope you are enjoying quite excellent health in London.

Will you please send my clothes which you must have received by now.

You get two copies of "People & Mahyatti." Can you send one to me? Will you please send me also this month's Labour Monthly?

We don't receive 'Kranti' here. If you can send it to me, I shall feel highly obliged. If possible send the Mahrathi weekly 'Maharashtra' also to me.

Is it possible for you to send me, Workers' Life, Sunday Worker, Communist & communist international? It is very difficult to get them here. Please send my letters which you have received.

You have no use for it there. Here someone will make use of it.

I should like you to send some of my books to Kel. He is a very intelligent man and often writes in newspapers, and magazines. You can very profitably send him serious type of books and Magazines. He can make use of 'Comintern' & 'Inprecor'.

In conclusion I have to thank you for all the kindness I received at your hands. I am also very thankful to other comrades who also were very kind to me.

Hoping to be excused for the troubles.

I remain
Yours fraternally

(Sd.) Jim

Please note my address.

WILLIAM

K. U. T. V.

15A, Tverkoy, Boulevard,

Moscow.

P. 2421 (P) [E].

Superscription on the envelope :

Postal mark,
MOCKBA GOKCN
24-9-28

Com. Glyn Evans,
162, Buckingham Palace Road
LONDON. S. W. 1.
England.

P. 2421 [R].

A certified copy of an entry in the photo register kept by photographer Henry Burgess, relating to the photo copies at Exbts. P2421 (P) & P2421 (PE).

Register No.	57
Serial No.	P 193 A
Pieces cut	3
Size of photo	7
1928	28/9
1928	28/9
Addressee	Glyn Evans.

P. 2422 [1].

Requisition for Foreign and Colonial Money orders.

No : of order 11089.

Amount of Order Forty Pounds.

Payable at BOMBAY.

to B. F. BRADLEY C/O MRS. SANDWELL APOLLO
CHAMBERS FORT.

BOMBAY.

sent by Mrs. Bradley

Residing at 4 Elmdale Road, Walthamstow, E 17.

P. 2422 (2).

Original sent message.

Dated 12 Mar. 28

L. C. O.—MANDAT 11089 Bombay.

Mrs. BRADLEY FORTY POUNDS B. F. BRADLEY CARE
Mrs. SANDWELL APOLLO CHAMBERS FORT FORTY
POUNDS.

4. Elmdale Rd. Walthamstow.

P. 2422 [3].

Original Received Message.

SHAFTESBURY AVENUE LONDON EMPIRADIO LCO
MANDAT 0382 BOMBAY.

Mrs. BRADLEY NICHEHATCH B. F. BRADLEY CARE Mrs.
SANDWELL APOLLO CHAMBERS FORT.

—:O:—

P. 2423 [1].

Requisition for Imperial and Foreign Money Orders.

No. of Order 11088.

Amount of Order Forty Pounds.

Payable at BOMBAY INDIA.

—

P. 2423 (2).

Original sent message.

LCO

Dated 12 Mar.

MANDAT 11088, Bombay.

Mrs. BRADLEY FORTY POUNDS B. F. BRADLEY CARE
Mrs. SANDWELL APOLLO CHAMBERS FORT FORTY
POUNDS FROM MOTHER WIRE RECEIPT LEAGUE.

Sender: 4 Elmdale Road Walthamstow.

—

P. 2423 [3].

Original Received Message.

SHAFTESBURY AVENUE LONDON EMPIRADIO
LCO MANDAT 0383 BOMBAY.

Mrs. BRADLEY NICHEHATCH B. F. BRADLEY CARE Mrs.
SANDWELL APOLLO CHAMBERS FORT FROM MOTHER
WIRE RECEIPT LEAGUE.

P. 2424 (1).

Requisition for Foreign and Colonial Money Orders.

No. of Order : 33518.

Amount of order — Thirty Pounds.

Payable at India.

(See also No: 33517).

P. 2424 (2).

ORIGINAL SENT MESSAGE.

T. M. O. counter No: 57045, dated London 21 Dec. 27.

LCO-MANDAT 0967 BOMBAY

BRADLEY FOLIOJÉTTY MR. B. F. BRADLEY
APOLLO HOTEL.

Signature and Address of Sender: Mr. L. C. Bradley,
4 Elmsdale Road. E, 17.

P. 2424 (3).

ORIGINAL RECEIVED MESSAGE.

Counter No: 57045.

LCO...MANDAT 0967 BOMBAY

BRADLEY FOLIOJETTY MR. B. F. BRADLEY
APOLLO HOTEL

P. 2425 (1).

Requisition for Imperial and Foreign Money Orders.

No. of Order 33517.

Amount of order forty pounds.

Payable at Bombay to Mr. B. F. Bradley, Apollo
Hotel, Bombay, India

Sent by L. C. Bradley, 4 Elmsdale Road,

LONDON, E. 17.

P. 2425 [2].

Original Sent Message.

Counter No: 57046.

LCO-MANDAT...0969. BOMBAY.

BRADLEY NICHEHATCH MR. B. F. BRADLEY
APOLLO HOTEL CABLE RECEIPT BRADLEY

Sender L. C. Bradley, 4 Elmsdale Road, E. 17.

P. 2425 (3).

Original Received message.

Counter No: 57046.

Date: 21/12/27.

LCO-MANDAT 0969 BOMBAY

BRADLEY NICHEHATCH MR B F BRADLEY
APOLLO HOTEL CABLE RECEIPT BRADLEY

P. 2426(1).

Requisition for Imperial and Foreign Money Orders.

No of Order...74109.

Amount of order Forty Pounds.

Payable at Bombay to Mr. B. F. Bradley Apollo Hotel,
Bombay, India.

Sent by L. C. Bradley, 4 Elmsdale Road Walthamstow, E. 1.

P. 2426 (2).

Original sent Message

T. M. O. No. 55528, dated 14 Mar. 28.

LCO-Mandat 0216 Bombay.

L. C. BRADLEY. NONCE B. F. BRADLEY,

APOLLO HOTEL FORTY POUNDS

WIRE RECEIPT IMMEDIATELY

P. 2426 (3).

Original received message.

T. M. O.

South Western District Office

LONDON

LCO-MANDAT 0216 BOMBAY

L. C. BRADLEY NONCE B. F. BRADLEY APOLLO

HOTEL WIRE RECEIPT IMMEDIATELY

P 2427 [1].

Requisition for Foreign and Colonial Money Order.

No: of Order 74110.

Amount of Order Forty Pounds.

Payable at India

Telegraph.

P. 2427 [2].

Original sent message.

Counter No: 55529. Dated 14 Mar. 28.

LCO MANDAT 0217. BOMBAY

L. C. Bradley Nonce B. F. Bradley Apollo Hotel

P. 2427 [3].

Original Received Message.

South Western District Office LONDON

LCO MANDAT 0217 BOMBAY

L. C. BRADLEY NONCE B F BRADLEY APOLLO
HOTEL

P. 2428 [1].

Requisition for Imperial and Foreign Money Orders:

No. of order 28280. London.

Amount of Order Forty Pounds.

Payable at Bombay to Mr. B. F. Bradley, Apollo Hotel.

Sent by Bradley, 4 Elmsdale Road, Walthamstow E. 17.

P. 2428 (2)

Original sent Message.

Counter No 36020 Dated 12 July 28 Fleet st, B. O. E. C. 4

LCO MANDAT 0568 BOMBAY

Bradley Nichehatch B. F. Bradley Apollo Hotel towards
Sending Delegate Len.

Sender L. C. Bradley, 4 Elmsdale Road E. 17.

P. 2428 (3)

Original Received Message.

Counter No 36020 Date 12-6-28 London.

LCO MANDAT 0568 BOMBAY

Bradley Nichehatch B. F. Bradley Apollo Hotel Towards
Sending Delegate Len.

P. 2429 (1)

Requisition for Foreign and Colonial Money Orders.

No: of Order 3192 Victoria Stn. London Amount of Order
Forty Pounds.

Payable at Calcutta, India, to Mr. Philip Spratt,

Care Kishorilal Ghosh, Vakil Kantapukur Lane, Calcutta.

Sent by R. P. Arnot, 38 Mecklenburgh Squar. W. C. 1.

P. 2429 (2)

Original Sent Message

Telegraph Money Order dated London 15 Dec. 27

LCO MANDAT 3192 CALCUTTA

R. P. Arnot Forty Pounds Mr Philip Spratt Care Kishorilal
Ghosh Vakil Kantapukur Lane Forty Pounds Merry Xmas More by
Letter.

P-2429 (3)

Original Received Message.

LCO MANDAT 0937 CALCUTTA.

R. P. Arnot Nichehatch Mr. Philip Spratt Care Kishorilal
Ghosh Vakil Kantapukur Lane Merry Xmas More by Letter.

P. 2430 (1).

Requisition for foreign and Colonial Money Orders.

No. of Order 3193.

Victoria Station, London dated 15 Dec 27.

Amount of Order Ten Pounds.

Payable at Calcutta to Mr. Philip Spratt, care K
Ghosh, Vakil, Kantapukur Lane, Calcutta Sent by R. P. Arnot, 38
Mecklenburgh Square, W. C. 1.

P. 2430 (2)

Original Sent Message.

Telegraph Money Order Dated 15 Dec. 27.

LCO MANDAT 3193 Calcutta

R. P. Arnot Ten Pounds Mr Philip Spratt Care Kishorilal Ghosh Vakil Kantapukur Lane Ten Pounds.

P. 2430 [3].

Original received message.

T. M. O. Dated 15-12-27, Victoria Station, London.

LCO MANDAT 0938 CALCUTTA

R. P. Arnot Askewpeony Mr Philip Spratt Care Kishorilal Ghosh Vakil Kantapukur Lane.

P. 2431. [1]

Requisition for Foreign and Colonial Money Orders.

No. of Order 3218.

Amount of Order Forty Pounds.

Payable at Calcutta, India to Mr. P. Spratt, c/o Kishorilal Ghosh, 1 Kantapukur Lane, Calcutta. Sent by R. P. Arnot, 162 Buckingham Palace Road, S. W. I.

P. 2431 [2].

Original Sent Message.

T. M. O. Dated London, 12 June, 1928.

LCO MANDAT 3218 CALCUTTA

R. Arnot Forty Pounds P Spratt C/o Kishorilal Ghosh
1 Kantapukur Lane Forty Pounds.

For Representative Manchester Conference Robin.

P. 2431 [3]

Original Received Message.

T. M. O. Dated Chancery Lane, London, 12-6-28.

LCO MANDAT 0567 Calcutta

R Arnot Nichehatch P Spratt C/o Kishorilal Ghosh 1 Kanta-
pukur Lane.

For Representative Manchester Conference Robin.

P. 2432)1).

Telegram No. 0300 dated 28th January 1928, from Albert to
Bell Mokhavaia 16 Moscow.

Urgent you request responsible authorities instruct shipping
accept Allison Passage Leningrad without visa.

ALBERT.

A. Inkpin, 16 King St. W.C. 2.

P. 2432 (2).

Telegram No. 0559 dated August. 28th 1928 from Albert to Bell Mokhavaja 16 Moscow.

Imperative Brain return meeting September ninth stop tell Clemence Desmonds friend fred writing desperately we can do nothing.

ALBERT

A Inkpin, 16 King Street, W C. 2.

P. 2433.

Telegram dated 26th Jan. 1928, from FIELD to Bharucha, Rajkya Sabha, 63 Pedder Road, Bombay.

The Communist Party have issued the following statement to the British press stop a year ago comrade Spratt went to India with object studying conditions of working class and participating in struggles of that country for freedom from imperialist domination stop in September he was arrested for sedition which is very common charge in India he was alleged to have written a brochure on Chinese revolution in which he advised the Indian nationalists to follow the example of China in struggle against imperialism stop British Communist Party desires make its attitude clear on question raised by Spratts arrest stop in contrast to reformist leaders british labour Party who advice Indian people to remain inside British Empire the communist Party maintains that interests of Indian people as well as British Proletariat demand dissolution of Empire the programme of communist party is to help people of India as well as other subject countries organise revolutionary mass struggle to overthrow imperialist domination such a struggle has been organised in China where imperialism would be overthrown but for treachery of national bourgeoisie stop to assist indian nationalists to learn from the lessons of Chinese revolution is duty of British Communists who will determinedly discharge this revolutionary duty imperialists condemn this as sedition stop the communists never professed loyalty to them on contrary they are avowed enemies of imperialism and are determined overthrow it by by all means stop Spratt is again arrested this time on charge of working class propaganda he was arrested whilst distributing with

some members Workers Peasants Party of India leaflets among textile workers striking in Bombay the strike of textile workers is to resist wagecuts the third in course of two years the reduction of wages in Bombay has had disastrous effects on Lancashire workers the present capitalist offensive in Lancashire is closely connected with that in Bombay so activities of comrade Spratt and Workers Peasants Party of India were not only in defence of Bombay workers but also of Lancashire operatives stop lately reformist Labour leaders have been visiting India promising workers that country help in struggle against capitalism but here is a representative of British proletariat arrested for actually helping India workers in their fight the propaganda of reformists is not hindered but even encouraged by imperialist rulers whilst least action of Communists aiding Indian workers in struggle for daily bread is suppressed stop. This is so because while former helps imperialist domination latter has for its ultimate object overthrow imperialism the conditions Indian working class cannot be appreciably improved the Indian people cannot be really free except by breaking bonds of imperialist domination the communists know this and all their activities are determined by this basic necessity stop kindly use your influence to secure publication in Indian papers.

FIELD

P. 2434.

Telegram No. 0236 from C.P., 16, King Street, W.C. 2. to National Congress, 36 Wellington Street Calcutta., dated 21st December, 1928.

British communist party sends through your congress warmest greetings all fighters Indian national struggle stop hope you stand firm for independence with deeds not empty words as only road freedom from imperialist oppression stop simultaneous support dominion status and independence equivalent abandonment latter stop hope congress will repudiate Nehrus Report surrender and betrayal mass interests by private property pledges stop international working class solid behind indian national struggle asks you support indian toilers as mightiest force national emancipation

repudiate reformist imperialist agents join world fight against imperialism exploitation.

C. P., 16, King Street, W.C. 2.

P. 2435.

Telegram dated 21st December, 1928, from C. P., 16, King Street, W.C. 2. to Muzaffar Ahmed 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

British communist party joyfully greets workers peasants congress congratulates revolutionary mass fighters on heroic achievements and through you voices solidarity class conscious British workers with struggle oppressed masses India stop convinced your congress will draw lessons from rich experience recent strikes correct opportunist mistakes and prepare victorious advance mass struggle workers peasants under leadership proletariat stop we eagerly look forward establishment strong Indian communist party.

C.P., 16, King Street, W.C. 2.

P. 2436 .

Telegram dated 20th December, 1928 from Saklatvala to Joshi Secretary Trade Union Congress Sandhurst Road BOMBAY.

Just learned latest Government outrage in arresting comrade Johnstone anti imperialist league delegate to you best answer for all your associated bodies affiliate League and organise to finish Imperialism and consequent acts Government lawlessness and repression.

Saklatvala.

P. 2437.

Telegram dated 16th December 1928 from Potter-Wilson to Workers and Peasants Party, Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

Greetings to first Congress Workers welfare league Hopes unity of workers, peasant Masses will be achieved for future struggles.

Potter-Wilson.

P. 2438.

Passport application dated 9-5-23 submitted by Hugh Ponsby Reynolds Rathbone. His photo is attached with the application.

P. 2439

Passport application dated 22-3-22 submitted by Henry Graham Pollard. His photo is attached with the application.

P. 2440.

Passport application dated 20-5-22 submitted by Douglas John Frederick Parson together with his photo.

P. 2441.

Passport application dated 9-11-27 submitted by Harry Pollitt together with his photo.

P. 2442.

Passport application dated 25-10-26 submitted by Philip spratt together with his photo.

P. 2443.

Birrell & Garnett.

English and Foreign Booksellers.

30 Gerrard Street

London W.

Francis Birrell

Ralph Wright

Graham Pullard.

29 September 1926.

Dear Sir,

It is necessary for Mr. Philip Spratt, who has been employed as a buyer by our firm for some time, to have a passport for Europe, America, and the British Empire, to enable him to attend the foreign sales to which we are giving increasing attention.

Yours faithfully

Birrell & Garnett

Sd/- Graham Pollard.

P. 2444.

Passport No 349988 Dated 6-4-23 granted to Thomas Bell for travelling in the British Empire, France, Belgium, Holland, Germany, Poland, Latvia, Lithuania, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The following entries are important—

- Page 19. Russian Visa given in London on 7-5-26. The Visa has a hammer & sickle.
On the same page there is the frontier stamp showing that Bell entered Russia on 13-6-26.
- Page 25. There is Russian Visa given at Moscow on 29-6-26, & there is another stamp on the same page dated 30-6-26 of Moscow.
- Page 26. Another Soviet Visa given in London on 12-11-26. There is also a Frontier stamp dated 20-11-26.
- Page 30. Return Visa given in Moscow on 29-11-26. The Frontier stamp is dated. 19/12/26.
-

P. 2445.

Passport No. 437486 dated 19th April 1927 issued to Thomas Bell for travelling in France, Belgium, Holland, Germany, Poland, Latvia, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The following entries in the passport are important :—

- Page 7 :—Russian Visa given in London on 22nd April 1927.
The Frontier stamp is dated 1-5-27.
- Page 10 —Return Visa given at Moscow on 27th May 1927. Frontier stamp is dated 3-5-1927.
- Page 12 :—Soviet Visa given in Berlin on 9-5-1928.
Frontier stamp is dated 11-5-1928.
- Page 14 :—Soviet Visa given in Moscow on 4th September 1928. Frontier stamp is dated 7-9-1928.
- Page 16 .—Soviet Visa given in Berlin on 9th October 1928. Frontier stamp is dated 11th October 1928.

Page 18 :--Return Visa in Moscow dated 11th June 1929.
Frontier stamp is dated 14th June 1929.

Pages 22 & 23 .--The stamps show that Bell was in Moscow
from February 7th to May 3rd 1929.

P. 2446.

Passport No. 105114 dated 21st December 1921 issued to
C. P. Dutt. The following entries are important :--

Page 16 :--German Visa given in Moscow on 4th June 1926.
Frontier stamp for crossing Eastern Frontier of
Germany dated 11th June 1926.

Page 30 :--Lithuanian Visa Shows that Dutt was in Russia
in July 1928.

Page 31 :--Latvian Visa proves that Dutt was in Russia in
July 1928.

Page 32 :--So also the Polish Visa given in Moscow proves
that Dutt was in Russia in July 1928.

P. 2447.

Application dated 3rd May 1929 submitted by Clemens Palme
Dutt for obtaining a passport. His photo is
attached with the application.

P. 2448.

Letter dated 4th May 1928 from C. P. Dutt to the Chief Passport Officer, London, requesting him to issue a fresh Passport in exchange for the old one.

For proving the signature and hand writing of C. P. Dutt.

P. 2449.

A receipt in the handwriting of and signed by C. P. Dutt. It runs as follow :—

May 21 1929.

I hereby acknowledge the receipt of Passport No. 804021 issued to me valid until June 28th 1929 endorsed for France, Belgium, Holland, Germany, Switzerland.

(Sd.) C. P. Dutt.

P. 2450.

Passport No. 373120 dated 12th May 1923 issued to H. P. Rathbone for travelling in France, Belgium, Switzerland, Holland, Germany, Czecho-Slovakia, Austria. The following entries are important :—

Page 8 :—Passport was renewed in Moscow by the British Mission on 1st June 1927.

Page 14 :—Bears a Russian Exit Visa given in Moscow on 29th September 1927. Frontier stamp is dated 3rd October 1927.

Page 19—Soviet Visa given in Berlin on October 20th, 1927. Frontier stamp dated 22nd October 1927.

Page 22—Russian Exit Visa given in Moscow on 16th December 1927. Frontier stamp is dated 21st December 1927.

P. 2451.

Passport No 200326 dated 7th July 1922 issued to Harry Pollitt for travelling in France, Belgium, Holland, Germany, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, Poland, Austria, Latvia, Esthonia, Lithnania and Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The following entries are important :—

Page 28 —Soviet Visa given in Berlin on 14th October 1927. The Frontier stamp is dated 15th October 1927.

Page 30 —Soviet Visa given in Moscow on 17th October 1927. Frontier stamp is dated 20th October 1927.

P. 2452.

Passport No. 567663 dated 9th November 1927 issued to Harry Pollitt. The following entries are important :—

Page 8 :—Soviet Visa given in Berlin on 11th November 1927 Frontier stamp is dated 12th November 1927.

Page 12 — Soviet Exit Visa given in Moscow on 6th December 1927. Frontier stamp is dated 12th December 1927.

Page 17 .—Soviet Visa given in Paris on 26th May 1928. Frontier stamp dated 30th May 1928.

Page 20 :—Soviet Exit Visa in Moscow dated 1st June 1928. Frontier stamp dated 5th June 1928.

Page 22 :—Soviet Visa given in Berlin on 26th November 1928. Frontier stamp dated 19th December 1928.

Page 26 :—Soviet Visa given in Berlin on 9th February 1929. Frontier stamp dated 11th February 1929.

Page 28 :—Soviet Exit Visa given at Moscow on 12th February 1929. Frontier stamp dated 14th February 1929.

Page 27 :—Soviet Exit Visa given at Moscow on 26th March 1929. Frontier stamp dated 28th March 1929.

P. 2453 [1].

Application dated 7th July 1925 submitted by Henry Graham Pollard for the renewal of his passport.

P. 2453 (2)

Birrell and Garnett.

English and Foreign Booksellers

30 Gerrard Street,

London, W. I.

Francis Birrell

Ralph Wright

Graham Pollard.

HGP/NH.

Dear Sir,

I should be very much obliged if you would endorse my passport and that of my wife as Valid for Germany, Czecho-Slovakia, Austria and Poland. I enclose a cheque for 10/1½d to cover the cost of renewing each passport for a further five years, and the postage back to me at the above address.

Yours faithfully,

(Sd.) Graham Pollard.

12th June 1928.

The Passport Office,
London, S. W. 1.

P. 2454 (P)

A photo of the right hand Top cover portion of a passport application form submitted by P. Glading. The entries and the signature are presumably in the hand writing of Percy Glading.

P. 2455.

Letter dated Berlin, 20th August:1928 from Shapurji Saklatwala to the Secretary, the Foreign Office, Passport Department, London. The contents of the letter are as under :—

Berlin.

August 20th 1928.

The Secretary,

The Foreign Office,

Passport Depart.

London,

Dear Sir,

I hold a joint passport for myself and my wife, which I had to keep with me when travelling to Berlin, where I am at present.

My wife has now to travel alone, and join me in Berlin during the week of the Conference of the Inter-parliamentary Union, and she and I will be obliged to you to issue to her immediately a separate passport or necessary voucher to enable her to travel through the Continent and be in Berlin.

Our joint passport is 466774 dated 3rd, August 1923, and renewed again on 3rd August 1925, with No. 75 on the rubber stamp mark.

Yours truly,

(Sd.) Shapurji Saklatvala.

M. P. for N. Battersea.

P. 2456.

Passport application D 4- 11- 27 submitted by Anant Bhaskar Khardikar. The declaration and signature are presumably in the handwriting of Khardikar. The application is accompanied by Khardikar's photograph.

P. 2457. (P).

Letter dated Berlin, 31. 12. 28 from A. B. Khardikar to D. K. Kelkar, Panchgani, Satara Dist. Proves the handwriting and Signature of A. B. Khardikar.

P. 2458 [P].

Letter dated 20-2-29 from D. K. Kelkar to A. B. Khardikar
C/o Bei Rolef, 24 Friedrichstrasse, Berlin S. W. 48, Germany.

—:o:—

P. 2459.

Speech delivered by Radharaman Mitra at Shradhanand Park
on 20-1-29 (Separately Printed — Bengal Speeches).

—

P. 2460 [S]. ^{Rejected}

A letter signed by M. N. Roy and addressed to Messrs. Dango
Usmani, Ghate and others.. Special Magistrate's Court, Meerut, U P.
India.. The post mark on the envelope is Berlin 25-9-29.

The letter is headed as follows.—

“My Crimes”

(An open letter to the Members of the Communist International)

—

P. 2461.

Jail register relating to the admission of prisoners or under-
trials into to the Meerut jail. The following entry is important:—

Serial no. 41

Date : 23- 3- 29

Name: Ajodhya Pershad

S/o

Lala Ram Pershad.

Caste, No Caste.

Occupation Service.

Residence 2/1 European Asylum Lane Calcutta.
Masranipur, Dist. Jhansi.

Section of Act 121 A. I. P. C. 23- 3- 29

Description: Wheat Complexion and flat face.
One mole between the eyebrows.
One Scar below left eye. One Small Scar
on left cheek.

Articles : Dhoti — Two
Shirt — Two
Bunyan — One
Langot — One
Slipper — One pair
Coat — One
Bed sheet — One
Pillow with case — One
Durrie — One
Towel — One.

Health : G.
Age, Weight } 25, 94, 5, 2"
Height etc. }
Signature or } Thumb Impression
Thumb Impression } of Ajodhya Prasad

P. 2462.

A file containing the documents described below at Exbts
P 2462 (1) to P. 2462 (6)

P. 2462 [1]

Passport no 448230 D. 2- 12- 19 issued to R. Page Arnot

P. 2462 [2].

Passport application dated 11- 1- 22 submitted by Robert
Page Arnot

P. 2462 [3].

Labour Research Department

Eccleston Square,

Westminster

London S. W. I.

The Director, Passport Office,

18. 1. 22.

Dear Sir,

I should be obliged if you would give bearer my passport if it
is ready. This passport was sent in by me for renewal on Tuesday,
January 10th. As it was after a period of two years from the

granting of the first passport in December 1919 and as the Visa space was completely filled in, under the regulations an application was made for an application form to renew passport. I understand that normally two days is sufficient for this business but that at the present time there may be delay due to the removal of the passport office. I should, however, be very glad if you could now expedite the matter.

Yours Fraternally,

Sd/. R. Page Arnot.

P. 2462 [4].

Application for the renewal of passport, the first part of which was presumably filled in by R. Page Arnot

P. 2462 [5].

Application dated 19-5-21 for endorsement of Passport no. 4488220 submitted by R. Page Arnot.

P. 2462 (6).

Application dated 14- 8- 22 for endorsement of Passport no. 113203 submitted by R. Page Arnot.

P. 2463.

An issue of "Sunday Worker" dated 17- 6 - 28, containing a group photo of the following:—

Nat. Watkins; Tom Mass; George Allison; Harry Politt; Wal Hannington.

P. 2464.

An issue of "Sunday Worker" dated 29 -1 -28

P. 2465.

An issue of "Sunday Worker" dated 24 -2 -29.

P. 2466.

An issue of "Workers' Life" dated 28-1-27.

P. 2467.

An issue of "Workers' Life" dated 7-12-28.

P. 2468.

An issue of "The Worker" dated 4-1-29.

P. 2469.

Speech of Radha Raman Mitra at the Maidan near the Ochterlony Monument on 19-1-29.

(Printed Separately—Bengal Speeches).

P. 2470.

Speech of Dharani Kanta Goswami at the Maidan near the Ochterlony Monument on 19-1-29.

(Printed Separately—Bengal Speeches).

P. 2471.

Speech of Muzaffar Ahmed at Mirzapur Park on 20-1-29.

(Printed Separately—Bengal Speeches).

P. 2472.

Speech of P. Spratt at Mirzapur Park on 20-1-29.

(Printed Separately—Bengal Speeches).

P 2473 [P].

A certified photo copy of entries in the "Marks of Identification" register maintained in the Shipping Master's office, Bombay. The entries are as follows:—

- (1) A.
- (2) Bombay

- (3) Black spot on left side of chest, one on lower part right side of stomach.
 - (4) Thumb Impression.
-

P. 2473 [P] (1).

A certified photo copy of entries in the "Marks of Identification" register maintained in the Shipping Master's office, Bombay.

- (1) Thumb of right.
 - (2) Thumb impression.
-

P. 2473 (P) (2).

A certified photo copy of entries in the "Marks of Identification" register maintained in the Shipping Master's office, Bombay.

- (1) 14513
 - (2) Abdul Hameed Abdul Currim
 - (3) Bombay.
 - (4) 1906
 - (5) M.
 - (6) 5-27.
 - (7) Imampara.
 - (8) P. No. 9
-

P. 2474.

THOMAS COOK & SON (BANKERS) LTD.

CALCUTTA 7th. November 1929.

BE/FB.

We hereby certify that the telegraph message contained in the attached form is a true translation of a message received by us from our London Office, and which was despatched by them on the 3rd. May 1928, in our private code.

For Thos. Cook & Son (Bankers) Ltd.

Sd/. Illegible.

Manager.

Enclos.

FB/AC.

THOS. COOK & SON (BANKERS) LD.

Translation Telegram.

Telegram from London. Time of despatch: 3rd May.

Date: 4th May 1928.

£200 (Two hundred Pounds).

Travellers Cheques as follows to be supplied for before-mentioned amount, payment having been received here (to) Philip Spratt to be advised, address in care of Kishorilal Gosh, 1 Kantapukur Lane.

P. 2474 (1).

No. A 225309

Confirmation of Telegraphic Payment.

London Office 3/5/1928.

Calcutta Office.

Dear Sirs,

We hereby confirm our telegram to even date requesting you

to supply travellers cheques to Philip Spratt, addressing care Kishorilal Gosh, 1 Kantapukur Lane, for the sum of Two hundred pounds stg-

Yours Truly.

£200-0-0.

For Thos. Cook & Son (Bankers) Ltd.

Sd/. C. O. Rapson.

The above payment was sent under instructions.

From Hugo Rathbone.

P. 2474 (2).

Thos. Cook & Son (Bankers). Ltd.

Calcutta, 5/5/1928.

Philip Spratt Esqr.

C/O Kishorilal Gosh Esqr;

1, Kantapukur Lane,

Calcutta.

Dear Sir,

We beg to advise you that we have today received telegraphic instructions from our London office to issue traveller cheques for £ 200/- in your favour and shall be glad if you will kindly give us a call in connection with same at your earliest convenience.

-- Yours Faithfully

Per Pro. Thos Cook & Son (Bankers) Ltd.

Sd/. R. H. Beeson.

P. 2474 (3).

No. 930848

Calcutta Office 11th. May 1928.

Received of Thos Cook & Son (Bankers) Ltd., the sum of Two Hundred Pounds Sterling, being the amount of a telegraphic transfer from their London Office in my favour.

Sd/- Philip Spratt

£ 200-0-0

2/1 European Asylum Lane.

Calcutta.

P. 2475.

An official letter No. 7271 d/20-9-29 from Supdtt. of Police Lahore, to Supdtt. of Police Meerut, asking whether certain property which was attached from the person of M. A. Majid of Mochi Gate Lahore, in connection with a case under I.P.C. 302/120, should be returned to Mir Mahomed Bux the brother of M. A. Majid. M. A. Majid has written in reply as follows:—

My property in the custody of Lahore Police may be delivered to Mir Mohamed Husain S/o Mir Fateh Bux of Dhal Mohalla, Mochi Gate, Lahore.

7-10-29.

Sd. M. A. Majid.

P. 2476.

Received item No. 1 & 73 in my search list.

Sd. M. G. Desai,
3-8-29.

P. 2477.

Sir,

Please permit me to see the exhibited & unexhibited portions of my search and those of Mr. V. H. Joshi (my personal secretary).

Yours truly,

23-9.

Sd. S. A. Dange.

P. 2478.

The following is in the hand writing of Dange :—

Seen exhibited & unexhibited search of Kranti Office.

Sd. S. A. Dange.

7-10-29.

P. 2479.

The following is in the hand writing of Adhikari :—
Received

- (1) Suit case
- (2) Leather hand bag.
- (3) Writing Pad.

Sd. G. Adhikari,

23-8-29.

P. 2480.

The following is in the hand writing of Shaukat Usmani:—

Received three copies of Payam-i-Mazdoor d/3, 10 and 17th. of March 1929.

Sd. Shaukat Usmani,

6-9-29.

P. 2481.

The following is in the hand writing of Jhabwala:—

Received items Nos. 19-20-21-22 which are returned to me.

Sd. S. H. J.

10-8-29.

P. 2482.

The following is in the hand writing of Mirajkar:—

I have inspected the unexhibited portion of my search and will inspect the exhibits tomorrow.

Sd. S. S. M.

7-10-29.

Inspected all the exhibits mentioned in the above application.

Sd. S. S. Mirajkar,

14-10-29.

P. 2483.

The following is in the hand writing of Mirajkar —

Received one copy of India & China.

Sd S S. Mirajkar,

30-8-29.

P. 2484.

22 High Court of Allahabad notices served on 23 of the Meerut Conspiracy accused.

These notices contain the signatures of the following.—

- | | |
|-------------------------|--------------------------------|
| (1) P. Spratt | (2) B. F. Bradley |
| (3) Ajodhya Pd. | (4) Shaukat Usmani |
| (5) Dhanu Goswami | (6) Muzaffar Ahmed |
| (7) G. C. Basak | (8) S. Huda |
| (9) Kishori Lal Ghosh | (10) Gopendra Chakravarty |
| (11) R. Mitra | (12) S V. Ghate |
| (13) S. H. Jhabwala | (14) D. R. Thengdi |
| (15) S. S. Mirajkar | (16) G. Adhikari |
| (17) M. G. Dasai | (18) A. A. Alwe (in Marathi) |
| (19) G. R. Kasle | (20) Sohan Singh Josh. |
| (21) M. A. Majid. | (22) Kedar Nath Saigal. |

P. 2485.

COMPLAINT.

King Emperor

Versus

1. Phillip Spratt, 2/1 European Asylum Lane Calcutta.
2. Benjamin Francis Bradley, Bombay.
3. Ajodhya Prasad son of Ram Prasad, of Mauranipur, Jhansi and 2/1 European Asylum Lane Calcutta.
4. Shaukat Usmani son of Ghulam Bahauddin, Mohalla Ustan, Bikaner and Room No: 2, 4th floor, Block No. 8, Aga Khan Building, Haines Road, near Jacob Circle, Bombay.
5. Puran Chand Joshi, Holland Hall, Allahabad.
6. Gauri Shankar, Anand Math, Meerut.
7. L. R. Kadam, Gudri Bazar, Jhansi.
8. Dr. V. N. Mukharji son of Dr Harish Chandra Mukharji, of Jafra Bazar, P. S. Kotwali, district Gorakhpur.
9. Ch. Dharamvir Singh, M.L.C. (Vice President, Workers, and Peasants Party) Meerut.
10. Dharni Goswami, son of Rmani Mohan, of Jasodal, Kishoreganj, Mymensingh.
11. Shib Nath Banarji son of Dwarka Nath of Rangdia, Khulna.
12. Muzaffar Ahmed son of Mansur Ali Sarkar, of Musapur, Police Station Sandwip, Noakhali and No. 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.
13. Gopal Basak son of Brindaban of Nawabpur, Dacca.
14. Shamsul Huda, 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.
15. Kishori Lal Ghosh, son of late Nanda Lal, 1 Kantapukur Lane, Calcutta
16. Gopendra Chakravarty son of Harendra Lal of Wari, Lohajang, Dacca.
17. Radha Raman Mitra son of Bipin Behari, of village Bamanpura, Burdwan.
18. Sripad Amrit Dange, Mulji Haridas Chawl, 3rd floor Nagu Sayaji's Wadi, Parbhadevi Road, Bombay.

19. Schhidanand Vishnu Ghaté, 17, Dwarkadas Mansions, Sandhurst Road, Bombay.
20. S. H. Jhabwalla of Khar, Bandra in the Bombay Suburban district.
21. Dhondi Raj Thengdi son of Gunwant alias Arkoba Thengdi, 229 Sadashiv Peth, Poona City.
22. Keshav Nilkant Joglekar, 168, Fanaswadi, Bombay.
23. Shantaram Savlaram Mirajker, 2/3 Khandke Building Lady Jamshedji Road, Dadar, Bombay.
24. Raghunath Shivram Nimbkar, Contractor Building No: 2, 2nd floor, Charni Road, Opposite Prarthana Samaj Bombay.
25. Gangadhar Moreshwar Adhikari, Bhimrao Atmaram's Wadi, Block No: 3, 3rd floor, Thakurdwar Road, Bombay.
26. Motiram Gajanan Desai, Jariwala Building, 2nd floor Sandhurst Road near Dr. Parekh's Hospital, Bombay.
27. Arjun Atmaram Alve, Shivram Agri's Chawl, first floor, close to Elphinstone Mill, Bombay.
28. Gobind Ramchandra Kasle, Bombay Development Department's Chawl No: 24, ground floor, near DeLisle Road Police Station, Bombay.
29. Sohan Singh Josh son of Lal Singh Jat, of village Chetanpura P. S. Ajnala, district Amritsar, living in Islamabad, a suburb of Amritsar.
30. M. A. Majid alias Abdul Majid son of Mir Faiz Baksh Kashmiri of Dhal Mohalla, inside Mochi Gate, Lahore City.
31. Kedar Nath Sehgal son of Bhag Mal, Kucha Moiasian Paper Mandi, Lahore City.

The complaint of Mr. R. A. Horton Officer on Special Duty under the Director, Intelligence Bureau, Home Department, Government of India, Showeth:

1. That there exists in Russia an organisation called the Communist International. The aim of this organisation is, by the creation of armed revolution, to overthrow all the existing forms of Government throughout the world and to replace them by Soviet Republics subordinate to, and controlled by the Central Soviet administration in Moscow.

(2) That the said Communist International carries on its work and propaganda through various committees, branches and organisations, controlled by and subject to itself, e. g. the Executive Committee of the Communist International (E. C. C. I.), and various sub-committees of the same, including a sub-committee concerned with Eastern and Colonial affairs (Colonial Bureau) the Communist Party of Great Britain (C. P. G. B.) which is a section of the Communist International, the Red International of Labour Unions (R. I. L. U.), the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat, the League Against Imperialism, the Young Communist League (Y. C. L.) and various other bodies.

3) That the ultimate objective of the said Communist International is the complete paralysis and overthrow of existing Governments in every country (including India), by means of a general strike and armed uprising. It has outlined a programme or plan of campaign which should be followed for the achievement of this ultimate objective. Among the methods so ordained are.

a) The incitement of antagonism between Capital and Labour.

b) The creation of Workers' and Peasants' Parties, Youth Leagues, Unions, etc., ostensibly for the benefit of the members thereof, but in fact for the purpose of propaganda: the domination of such parties by Communists pledged to support the aims of the Communist International, and the unification of such bodies under one control subservient to the Communist Inter-National.

c) The introduction of fractions or nuclei of such communists with illegal objects as aforesaid into existing Trade Unions, Nationalist bodies and political and other organisations, with the object of capturing the same or obtaining their support in the interest of the Communist International.

d) The encouragement of strikes, hartals, and agitations.

e) Propaganda by speeches, literature, newspapers the celebration of anniversaries connected with the Russian revolution etc. etc.

f) The utilisation and encouragement of any movements hostile to the Government.

4) That in the year 1921 the said Communist International determined to establish a branch organisation in British India, and the accused Sripad Amrit Dange, Shaukat Usmani and Muzaffar Ahmed entered into a conspiracy with certain other persons to establish such branch organisations with a view to deprive the king Emperor of his sovereignty of British India.

5) That thereafter various persons, including the accused Phillip Spratt and Benjamin Francis Bradley were sent to India by

the Communist International through the medium of one of its branches or organisations, and with the object of furthering the aims of the Communist International.

6) That the accused named in this complaint reside at different centres throughout British India. They have conspired with each other and with other persons known or unknown within or without British India, to deprive the King Emperor of the sovereignty of British India, and for such purpose to use the methods and carry out the programme and plan of campaign outlined and ordained by the Communist International, and in fact they used such methods and carried out such plan of campaign with the assistance of, and financial support from the Communist International.

7) That the accused have met and conspired together as aforesaid at various places within and without British India, and amongst others at Meerut, and in pursuance of such conspiracy as aforesaid, the accused formed a Workers' and Peasants' Party at Meerut and there held a conference thereof.

8) That the above named accused have committed an offence under section 121-A of the Indian Penal Code and within the jurisdiction of this Court.

It is, therefore, prayed that the Court will enquire into the above named offence.

Sd/-R. A. Horton,
Officer, on Special Duty Under, the
Director, Intelligence Bureau,

H. D. Government of India.

March 15, 1929.

This complaint, has today been filed by Mr. R. A. Horton and declared by him to be correct.

Sd/- E. H. H. Edye.

Dist. Magst.

Meerut.

15-3-29

Warrant to issue for the arrest of the accused.

Sd/ E. H. H. Edye.

15-3-29.

P. 2485 (1).

SANCTION ORDER:

Whereas

1. Philip Spratt, 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta:
2. Benjamin Francis Bradley, Bombay:
3. Ajodhya Prasad son of Ram Prasad, of Mau-Ranipur, Jhansi and 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta:
4. Shaukat Usmani son of Ghulam Bahauddin, Mohalla Ustan, Bikaner and Room No: 2, 4th floor, Block No: 8, Aga Khan Building, Haines Road, near Jacob Circle, Bombay:
5. Puran Chand Joshi, Holland Hall, Allahabad:
6. Gauri Shanker, Anand Math Meerut:
7. L. R. Kadam Gudri Bazar, Jhansi.
8. Dr. V. N. Mukharji son of Dr. Harish Chandra Mukharji, of Jafra Bazar, P. S. Kotwali, District Gorakhpur:
9. Ch: Dharamvir Singh M. L. C. (Vice-President, Workers' & Peasants' Party), Meerut:
10. Dharani Goswami, son of Ramani Mohan, of Jasodal Kishoreganj, Mymensingh:
11. Shib Nath Banarji son of Dwarka Nath of Rangdia, Khulna.
12. Gopal Basak son of Brindaban of Nawabpur, Dacca.
13. Muzaffar Ahmed son of Mansur Ali Sarkar. of Musapur, Police Station Sandwip, Noakhali and No 2/1 European Asylum Lane Calcutta.
14. Shamsul Huda, 2/1 European Asylum Lane Calcutta.
15. Kishori Lal Ghosh, son of late Nanda Lal 1 Kantapukur Lane Calcutta.
16. Gopendra Chakravarty son of Harendra Lal of Wari Lohajang Dacca:
17. Radha Raman Mitra son of Bipin Behari of village Baman para Burdwan
18. Sripad Amrit Dange Mulji Haridas Chawl 3rd floor Nagu Sayaji's Wadi Parbhadevi Road Bombay.

19. Sachhidanand Vishnu Chate, 17, Dwarkadas Mansions, Sandhurst Road, Bombay:
20. S. H. Jhabwalla of Khar, Bandra in the Bombay Suburban District:
21. Dhondi Raj Thengdi son of Gunwant alias Arkoba Thengdi 229 Sadashiv Peth, Poona City:
22. Keshav Nilkant Joglekar, 168, Fanaswadi; Bombay:
23. Shantaram Savlaram Mirajkar, 2/3 Khandke Building, Lady Janshedji Road, Dadar, Bombay.
24. Raghunath Shivram Nimbkar, Contractor, Building No. 2, 2nd floor, Charni Road, opposite Prarthana Samaj, Bombay:
25. Gangadhar Moreshwar Adhikari, Bhimrao, Atmaram's Wadi, Block No. 3, 3rd floor, Thakurdwar Road, Bombay.
26. Motiram Gajanan Desai. Jariwala Building, 2nd floor. Sandhurst Road near Dr. Parekh's Hospital, Bombay:
27. Arjun Atmaram Alve, Shivram Agri's Chawl, first floor, close to Elphinstone Mill, Bombay:
28. Gobind Ramehandra Kasle, Bombay Development Departments Chawl No. 24, ground floor, near DeLisle Road, Police Station, Bombay:
29. Sohan Singh Josh son of Lal Singh Jat, of village Chetanpura, P. S. Ajnala, District Amritsar, living in Islamabad, a suburb of Amritsar:
30. M. A. Majid alias Abdul Majid son of Mir Faiz Bakhsh, Kashmiri of Dhal Mohalla, Inside Mochi Gate, Lahore City:
31. Kedar Nath Sehgal son of Bhag Mal, Kucha Moiasian, Paper Mandi, Lahore City:

have entered into a conspiracy to deprive the King of the sovereignty of British India, and have thereby committed an offence punishable under section 121-A of the Indian Penal Code. Now therefore the Governor-General in Council, in pursuance of the provisions of section 196 of the Criminal Procedure Code, 1898, orders Mr. R. A. Horton, Officer on Special Duty under the Director, Intelligence Bureau, Home Department to file a complaint

against the said persons in respect of the said offence in the court of the District Magistrate, Meerut:

Dated this 14th day of March 1929:

Sd/-H. G. Haig.

SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,
HOME DEPARTMENT:

P. 2486.

**COMPLAINT,
KING EMPEROR**

VERSUS

PHILIP SPRATT & OTHERS.

The complaint of Mr. R. A. Horton Officer on Special Duty under the Director Intelligence Bureau, Home Department, Government of India showeth :—

(1) That the accused mentioned in the Schedule hereunto annexed and marked A have conspired with each other and with the persons named in the Petition of Complaint dated 15th March 1929 (copy of which is annexed hereto and marked B) and with other persons known or unknown within or without British India to deprive the King Emperor of the Sovereignty of British India in the circumstances and in the manner set out in the said complaint and have used the methods and carried out the plan of campaign therein set forth. The complainant prays that the said annexure B be read as part of this Complaint.

(2) That the said accused named in the Schedule A hereto have committed an offence under section 121-A Indian Penal Code and within the jurisdiction of this court.

It is therefore prayed that the Court will enquire into the above named offence.

Sd. R. A. HORTON

11-6-29.

Officer on Special Duty under the
Director, Intelligence Bureau,

H. D., Government of India.

Schedule "A".

1. H. L. Hutchinson,
C/o Miss Chattopadhyaya,
5, Napier Road,
Fort,
Bombay.

Amir Haider,
General Motors, Ltd.,
Rehmu Seth's Chawl,
Ghelbhai Street,
Madanpura,
Bombay

Sd. R. A. HORTON

11-6-29.

Officer on Special Duty under the
Director, Intelligence Bureau,
H. D., Government of India.

P. 2486.

(Schedule "B").

This is the complaint printed at Exh.P. 2485 above (q—v).

P. 2486 [1].

WHEREAS,

AMIR HAIDER KHAN, native of Kahlian Fialian—Post Office Kallar—District Rawalpindi, Punjab, has entered into a conspiracy to deprive the King of the sovereignty of British India, and has thereby committed an offence punishable under Section 121-A of the Indian Penal Code. Now therefore the Governor-General in Council, in pursuance of the provisions of Section 196 of the Criminal Procedure Code, 1898, orders Mr. R. A. HORTON, Officer on Special Duty under the Director, Intelligence Bureau, Home Department, to file a complaint against the said person in respect of the said offence in the Court of the Additional Magistrate, Meerut

Dated this 8th Day of June 1929.

Sd J. A. WOODHEAD

Secretary to the Government of India.

P. 2486 [2].

WHEREAS,

HUGH LESTER HUTCHINSON has entered into a conspiracy to deprive the King of the sovereignty of British India and has thereby committed an offence punishable under section 121-A of the Indian Penal Code. Now therefore the Governor-General in Council, in pursuance of the Provisions of Section 196 of the Criminal Procedure Code, 1898, orders Mr. R. A. HORTON, Officer on Special Duty under the Director, Intelligence Bureau, Home Department, to file a complaint against the said person in respect of the said offence in the court of the Additional Magistrate Meerut.

Dated this 8th Day of June 1929.

(Sd.) J. A. WOODHEAD,

Secretary to the Government of India.

P. 2487.

Rejected

A Magazine in English entitled "Chinese Correspondence", Weekly organ of the central Executive committee of the Kuomintang.

—o—

P. 2488.

Rejected

A copy of the Indian Daily Telegraph dated 16th January 1929, containing amongst others an article headed "Peasant's and Worker's Party" by Dr. Biswa Nath Mukerji.

—

P. 2489.

Rejected

Papers, etc. prohibited from entering India under Section 19 of the Sea Customs Act. (Act VIII of 1878).

Serial No.	Name.	Number and date of Government of India order.	Remarks.
1.	"International Press Correspondence" or "Internationale Presse Correspondence", "or Internationale Presse Korrespondenz"	Commerce Department Notification No. 1456, dated 18th March, 1922.	Journal printed by the Friedrichstadt Druckerei, Berlin, and issued from the Friedrich-strasse, Berlin, in German, French and English.
2.	"India in Transition"	Commerce Department Notification No. 4909, dated 23rd September 1922.	A book by M. N. Roy, published at Geneva. (See Serial No. 7.
3.	"The Advance Guard"	Commerce Department Notification	Newspaper purporting to be printed by

- No: 5597, dated 28th October 1922 the Emerald Press, 22 St. Patrick Road Dublin, and published in London
- 4 "India's Problem and its solution". Commerce Department Notification No. 6391, dated 9th December 1922. A Pamphlet by Manabendra Nath Roy, (See Serial No 7).
 - 5 "What do we want". Commerce Department Notification No. 6757, dated 23rd December 1922. A pamphlet by Manabendra Nath Roy, (See Serial No. 7)
 - 6 All Publications issued by the "Red International of Labour Unions". Commerce Department Notification No. 907 dated 10th February, 1923. Any publications issued by the "Red International of Labour Unions" wherever and in whatever language, they may be printed.
 - 7 All Publications issued by M. N. Roy or Evelyn Roy. Finance Department Notification No. 581, dated 7th July 1923. Any publications issued by M. N. Roy or Evelyn Roy wherever and in whatever language, they may be printed.
 - 8 "The Masses of India". Finance Department Notification No. 236-I-Cus.25, dated 5th March 1925. A monthly periodical published in Paris.
 - 9 "League Against oppression in the Colonies" now styled the "League Against Imperialism and colonization and for National Liberties". Finance Department Notification No. 25 dated 30th April 1927. See also Serial No. 11
 - 10 Any copy of any publication issued by or emanating from (a) The Communist International, or (b) any organisation affiliated Finance Department Notification No. 26, dated the 28th May 1927.

to, or controlled by or
connected with the
Communist Interna-
tional.

11. Any literature emanating from the Finance Department of the "World League Against Imperialism" or "League Against Imperialism" or "League Against Imperialism" No. 31, dated 4th June 1927. See also Serial No. 9

P. 2490.

Rejected

Publications, etc., proscribed under Section 99-A, of the Code of Criminal Procedure

Serial No.	Name of Party or publication.	Name of author or known.	Place of publication.	Notified originally by (with date).	By notification.
1.	Communist Party of India.	Manifesto, dated 15th May 1926 published by J. P. Begothotta and M. Ahmed and printed by S. C. Majumdar, Sree Gauranga Press, Calcutta.	Calcutta.	Burma, No. 165, dated 2nd June 1926.	Madras, No. 165 dated 2nd June 1926. Central Provinces, No. 1031 674-IV, dated 8th July 1926.
2.	"Ek Communist ka Paigam" (the mes-	Urdu pdpmh- let with translation)	Issued by Shams-ud-Din Hasan, Labour	Lahore. No. 784- VIII-62,	United Provinces, No. 425-215 IV, dated 3rd

sage of a tion in Publishing
commu- English. House
nist). Lahore

dated 10th March
February 1926.
1926.

and printed
by Lala Ram
Saran lal of
the Bande
Matram '
Press,
Lahore.

P. 2491.

International Press
Correspondence.

Vol. 2 No. 66 Date 8th Aug. 1922

Vol	2	No	85	„	3rd Oct. 1922
„	2	No.	89	„	17th Oct. 1922
„	2	No.	97	„	10th Nov. 1922
„	2	No.	99	„	16th Nov. 1922
„	2	No.	107	„	5th Dec. 1922
„	2	No.	108	„	7th Dec 1922
„	3	No.	2	„	5th Jan. 1923
„	3	No.	3	„	9th Jan. 1923
„	3	No.	4	„	10th Jan. 1923
„	3	„	6	„	16th Jan. 1923
„	3	„	1	„	„ ... „
„	3	„	9	„	23rd Jan. 1923
„	3	„	40 (22)	„	31st May. 1923
„	3	„	49	„	12th July. 1923
„	3	„	50 (29)	„	12th July 1923
„	3	„	65	„	6th Oct. 1923
„	4	„	24	„	10th Apr 1924
„	4	„	34	„	18th June 1924
„	4	„	61	„	28th Aug. 1924
„	4	„	62	„	29th „ 1924
„	5	„	3	„	12th Jan. 1925
„	5	„	5	„	15th „ 1925
„	5	„	11	„	5th Feb. 1925
„	5	„	42	„	7th May 1925

International Press	Vol.	No.	Date,
Correspondence	5	43	14th May 1925
"	5	69	" 10th Sept 1925
"	6	26	" 8th April 1926
"	6	40	" 13th May 1926
"	7	51	" 1st Sept. 1927
"	7	59	" 20th Oct. 1927
"	8	2	" 12th Jan. 1928
"	8	11	" 1st March 1928
"	8	12	" 1st March 1928
"	8	14	" 8th " 1928
"	8	16	" 15th " 1928
"	8	17	" 15th " 1928
"	8	19	" 22nd " 1928
"	8	25	" 3rd May 1928
"	8	60	" 6th Sep. 1928
"	8	65	" 21st " 1928
"	8	92	" 31st Dec. 1928
"	9	3	" 15th Jan. 1929
"	9	18	" 12th April 1929

P. 2492.

Rejected

A book in English entitled "Soviet Russia" by Jawaharlal Nehru.

P. 2493.

An application submitted by some of the accused to the A. D. M. Meerut. It bears the signatures of the following:—

(1) B. F. Bradley (2) R. S. Nimbkar, (3) S. V. Ghate (4) S. S. Mirajkar (5) H. L. Hutchinson (6) P. Spratt (7) K. N. Joglekar (8) M. A. Majid (9) S. A. Dange (10) Shaukat Usmani (11) Ajodhya Prasad (12) Gouri Shankar (13) Laxman Rao kadam (14) Kedar Nath Sahgal. (15) Shib Nath Banerji (16) R. Mitra. (17) Gopal Basak (18) Dharani Goswami (19) G. Chakrevarty (20) G. Adhikari (21) Sohan Singh Josh. (22) D. R. Thengdi (23) P. C. Joshi.

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

P. 2499

Lower Court's English deposition of Albert George Foster
P. W. 298.

P. 2500

A book in Russian called "IV congress of the Profintern".

P. 2501

Lower Court's English Deposition of William Mc Bride
P. W. 306.

P. 2502 [1]

Lower Court's, English, Deposition of J. N. Bose P. W. 6.

P. 2502 (2)

Lower Court's Urdu deposition of J. N. Bose (P.W. 6)

P. 2503

Sketch plan of 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

P. 2504

Dharani Goswami read a paper in Hindi depicting the benefit the men will accrue by joining the Union.

P. 2505

Radha Raman Mitter a member of the Cal. Comp. Teachers' Union sympathised with the strikers and said that they were also in the same boat with them. There were 700 of them who were striving for increment and some concessions but to no effect. The C.R.O. was trying to break the Hartal with police help. He had seen European Police with revolver patrolling in Dist Gemkhana. They should remain firm. The rich were all combined to suppress the poor.

Dharani Goswami said that many members of the Swaraj Party were present in that meeting. They were committing great oppressions on them (strikers) in the name of the country (Purshottam Rai presented. Virwanda—let him say). He wanted to move a resolution against that Swaraj Corporation who was giving them great trouble (Purshottam Rai again tried to exist a disturbance but Virwanda stopped him). The resolution was to the following effect:—

Resolved that a wire be sent to the General Secretary A.I. C. C. communicating the reactionary attitude of the Swaraj Corporation and its highhanded activities through the police help in handling the strike situation in Calcutta.

The speaker explained, the resolution and asked the strikers if they agreed. They all agreed and the resolution was passed.

P. 2506

Muzaffar Ahmed, in the course of his speech, observed that there were two types of Nationalist Movement—one being the capitalists' Nationalist Movement and the other mass Nationalist Movement. The goal of the former was to secure Dominion Status through Reforms, where-as the latter had for its object complete independence through class struggle. By 'class struggle' the speaker referred to the perpetual conflict between Capitalists and the working class. Finally, he assured the audience that when the transport labourers as well as the peasants were organised and would declare a general strike, it was then only the Capitalists Govt. would collapse and in no other way.

P. 2506 N [1]

Transcription of English shorthand outlines as taken down in recording the summary of speech of Muzaffar Ahmed delivered in Bengali at Mymensing on 16. 8. 28.

He is a representative of London Labour Research Association. They have sent him to × × the condition of Labour in India. What is 'Labour Research Deptt?' It is an extreme wing of the Labour Party. It has no × × with the Labour Party. Govt. has issued notification prohibiting publication of Labour Research Deptt. — 'Politics of Oil (?)' × × × Govt. has prohibited the coming of this book into India. Earl Winterton said this book is objectionable × × × are both dangerous. × × is revolutionary, Govt. of India says that. His 'China and India' was proscribed and the Bombay Govt. prosecuted

him in the sessions and he was acquitted. In Bengal he took an active part in E. I. Ry. and x x x strikes. The Bengal Chamber of Commerce requested Govt. to extend him. x x The difficulty is that under the law which they have created, they cannot do that to preserve their prestige. He introduced himself as a representative of the Workers and Peasants Party x x x x

There are two Nationalist movements—the 'bourgeois or Capitalists Nationalist movement' and 'Mass Nationalist Movement' x x x To be more clear, the 'Mass Nationalist Movement' is in favour of gaining complete independence and with this they want to have the People's Govt.—not the Govt. of 'Capitalists' x x x x x Through the 'Capitalist Nationalist Movement' they want 'Dominion Status' through Reforms, which will bring no benefit for the mass.

We are advancing towards the 'Class Struggle' in order to win complete independence. It will come through perpetual struggle between the exploiters and the exploited. We will win freedom through 'Class Struggle' and the awakening of the mass. Transport labourers should be organised as well as the peasants. When these people will declare a general strike, 'Capitalists' Govt.' will collapse and in no other way.

B. N. Chatterjee.

English Reporter

Bengal Govt.

P. 2507 (1)

Mohammadi Press Order Book 1928.

81.

Serial No.	Date.	Name and address of customer.	Name of works.	No. of Copies	Size.	Descriptions.	Print- ing charge	Paper charge	Bind- ing charge	Total amount	Ad- vance	Balance amount	Deli- very Date.	REMARKS.
545	17 ¹ / ₉	Moulvi Muzafar Ahmed Sahib 2/1 European Asaliam Lane.	Hand Bill in Bengali & Urdu	1000 1000	1/4 Demy	Black	Rs 10/-	By party	x	Rs 10/-	Rs 3/- Rept No 731	Rs 7/-		Memo No. 470 Paid in full 19. 1. 29.
547	18 ¹ / ₉	Muzaffar Ahmed Sahib.	Hand Bill in Hindi	1000	1/4 Demy	Black ink	6/-	By party	x	Rs 6/-	x	Rs 6/-		Memo No 470 Paid in full 29. 1. 29.

This is to certify that all are true.

Sd. Mohamed Auolad Ali-Chowdhury 13. 5. 30.

P. 2507 (2)

731

Mohammadi Publishing Co.

Press Department

—————:0:—————

29, Upper Circular Road,

Calcutta.

Received with thanks from Moulvi Muzafar Ahmed sb.
the sum of Rs. 3/- Rupees Three only.
as advance for the printing charge

Dated 17. 1. 29.

(Sd.) E. Khan.

Cashier.

M. A. Ali Chowdhury

Collector.

This is to certify that all are true.

Mohamed Auolad Ali Chowdhury.

13/5/30.

P. 2508

Meeting at Sitarampur on 14-6-28.

Several hundreds of strikers marched from Asansol to Sitarampur to induce the men there to go on strike. The procession carrying a red flag halted near the Sitarampur Railway Station. The meeting began at 4-30 p. m. The audience included some 20 or 25 Sitarampur workers.

Radha R. Mitra, Spratt, Chiranjilal and Kali Kumar Sen were present. The meeting was marred by incessant rain and Radha R. Mitra was the only speaker.

He traced the history of the Lillooah dispute and said that the demands of the Lillooah workers were for 25 percent increase

in wages, Rs. 30 p.m. should be minimum pay, holding casual leave and privilege leave on full pay and free quarters or house-rent.

The speaker then observed that Ondal and Asansol workers had struck in sympathy with the Lillooah strikers. He appealed to the Sitarampur workers to help them either by going on strike in sympathy or contributing money for the relief of strikers. The workers of Europe helped them with money, the greater portion of which viz Rs 10000/- came from Russia. It was their duty all the more being workers of the same Railway to help the cause of the Lillooah workers which would also benefit them.

He asked the Sitarampur workers to consult among themselves and when they would invite them they would again come and convene meetings.

The meeting then dispersed and the strikers then left for Asansol at 5-30 p. m.

CAMP ASANSOL, }
15-6-28 }

Abul Lais Mohamad,
Govt. Reporter
15-6-28

P. 2509

“A copy of Golden Treasury”.

P. 2510

**The Programme of the
Bengal Peasants' and Workers' party.**

The Imperial Government established in India is not conducted in accordance with the will of the British masses. The sole object of this Imperial Government is to help in the exploitation of

the worker, peasant and the petty bourgeois in the interests of the British Capitalist Class. It is for this reason that nothing is being done for the welfare and progress of the worker, peasant and the petty bourgeois by an administration run in the interests of the British Capitalist class.

2

The Indian National Congress and the parties within it and the Liberals and Independents do indeed sometimes refer to welfare of the masses. But they have never as yet looked to the political, economic and social demands and needs of the masses in practice. In fact their activities prove that they are guardians of the interests of the British and Indian capitalists.

3

Most of the Indians live on agriculture. These agriculturists are in their last gasp under the heavy burden of taxation and debts to the grasping Mahajans. Groaning as they do under these oppressive burdens, they are further handicapped in their struggle for freedom by the fact that they are illiterate. No wonder that they are unable to advance in the fight for freedom.

4

The interests of the workers are not safe-guarded by legislation. Whatever little way have been done for them in the shape of legislation leaves them completely at the mercy of the exploiters for want of an efficient machinery. Higher to the workers far from being able to participate in a fight brought to a successful issue have been compelled to leave the trade Union Movement in the hands of the Bourgeois. The Bourgeois are using these trade unions in their own political, communal and personal interests.

5

Though there are groups into which the masses of the people are divided and though the interests of these groups are not always exactly identical yet these interests are not fundamentally opposed to one another in view of the fact that economically they are all externally exploited and held in bondage. British Rule as also the Indian capitalist class has always stood in the path of their social and Educational Progress.

6

In view of what has been said above the need for the formation of a political party of the peasants, workers and the lower middle class is being increasingly felt. The members of this party

should enter the Indian National Congress and give a reality to the rights and demands of the masses and should strengthen and organise the trade unions so that they may be got out of the clutches of men with adverse interests. This party is intended to organise Peasants' Unions on the basis of their economic and social needs and make a firm and consistent stand against the Government with a view to provide the social, economic and political progress of the peasants, workers and the petty bourgeoisie.

There can never be any final remedy against the exploitation and serfdom of the masses till they themselves have complete control over the administration of the country. The Party of the Peasants and Workers has for its goal a Federated Republic with the instruments of production, distribution and exchange completely under its control and regulated in conformity with the social needs of the whole people.

Immediate Demands

A. Political Demands

1. Universal Adult Suffrage.
2. Removal of all racial and caste distinctions.
3. Complete liberty of the Press, of speech and the right of Association.
4. Removal of all obstacles in the path of the Trade Unions and guaranteeing to them all the rights which would place them on a footing of equality with the Trade unions of all progressive countries.

B. Economic Demands.

1. Abolition of all indirect taxes as far as practicable and fixing the scale of income-tax on a progressive scale on incomes of Rs 200 or over per month.
2. Abolition of landlordism and rationalisation of Land.
3. Legislation permitting basing out of agricultural lands to none but those who till the soil.
4. Fixing by legislation the minimum scale of taxation in proportion to the produce so that in no case should the scale fixed exceed ten percent of the actual produce.
5. Starting of state co-operation Banks for advancing loans to the agriculturists on which the maximum rate of interest should be 7 p. c. per annum. This legal rate of interest should also be binding on those who carry on private banking.

6. There shall be no transfer of land in case of failure of the peasants to pay their debts.

7. Measures for educating the agriculturists on the modern scientific methods of Agriculture.

8. Reduction of working hours for Industrial Labour to 8 hours per day and five days and a half in the week. The women and children workers should have their working hours still more reduced.

9. Statutory measures for fixing the minimum wage. This should be thirty three per cent above what is required to satisfy the essential human needs of the worker.

10. Legislative measures for the institution of old age pensions, sickness and unemployment Insurance Funds in every industry.

11. The workmen's Compensation Act which determines the extent of Employers' liabilities should be liberally recast and prompt measures should be taken to give due effect to it.

12. To compel the employers by means of legislation to introduce the use of those improved appliances invented for securing the workers against dangers incidental to working in the mines and other industries.

13. Payment of weekly wages.

C. Social Demands.

1. To drive out illiteracy amongst the masses. Literacy is to be taken in the sense of ability to read and write in ones own mother tongue.)

2. Establishment of hospitals and health resorts for the workers and the Peasants and of maternity homes women workers about to become mothers.

3. Measures for importing lessons on sanitation and hygiene to the masses.

4. Compel the employers to make proper housing arrangements for the workers and charge rents that may not be beyond their means.

5. Measures prohibiting the employment of women and child Labour on work attended with danger.

6. Legislative measures against employment of children below the age of 14.

In view of the fact that the only means for the successful working of this programme is complete independence of India for British Imperialism the Peasants' and workers' Party would never hesitate to work in co-operation with all parties who are in agreement with its ideals and ready to work for their realisation.

(This programme was unanimously adopted in the second session of the Peasants' and Workers' Conference held on the 27th February 1927).

P. 2511

Last page of item 70, Communist File.

P. 2512

The Situation in India.

Industrialisation is not proceeding at a rapid rate. In some branches it is even going down. The steel industry is practically nothing. Whatever there is under mixed control that is Indian and Foreign British or American. Production of the means of production is nil. All the Textile machinery and stores are still imported. Even in the Railways, the policy of maintaining plants in India for manufacture of spare parts is being slowly abandoned the Kharagpur example there. The Indian wagon Co. was going into losses for want of Govt. help and was ultimately sold to Govt. Whatever engineering there is of the maintenance type.—Maintaining railways, automobiles and other transport, small workshops, electrical plants etc. Even Textiles which are firmly established and are threatened by post war competition and relation stabilisation in the imperialist countries. Textiles are clamouring for protection but are not getting it.

There are vast schemes of electrification. One in Punjab (Mandi Scheme), one in Madras (The Pyakata scheme), Bombay has already had them. This involves a total capital of approximately Rs 200,000,000. But they are under construction and are started not for industrialisation but for capitalist agriculture. In shipping, the imperialist interests are adamant and there is no prospect of compromise. Plantation and Jute are all non-Indian. Thus the development of the Indian bourgeoisie is not prospective. Whatever progress it could make during war and post war period is already being undone in some branches.

In such circumstances will the bourgeoisie, whatever it is, turn revolutionary? It will not. First it has not the inherent class-strength. Secondly its enemy i. e. Br. Imperialism is not so much weakened, as would make it (Br.) yield to smaller threats. Thirdly, the bourgeoisie is frightened by the mass-revolts. It would therefore be more content with asking for small mercies. The speech of the mill owners representative with Viceroy's 'Repression speech' on January 25th cheers the Viceroy. The vague December announcement broke the slightly solid stand of the bourgeoisie effected on the Simon platform. The big industrialists, as also the feudal land lords section who were on one anti Simon platform are now definitely broken from the hesitating petty-bourgeois, who under the pressure from below, and the uncompromising attitude of Imperialism, which takes pseudo liberal airs, have shown some radical tendencies in the Lahore Congress.

The big land holding bourgeoisie which slightly flirted with the petty bourgeois and industrial bourgeois elements have definitely broken away, as is shown by the fiasco of Assembly resignation after the Lahore Congress resolutions. Moreover Imperialism seems to be playing a different game with this feudal block. This feudal block is powerful in U. P., Bengal and Madras. The attempt of Bombay to manufacture a Kulak element by consolidation bill was frustrated. The Punjab by passing a money-lenders' bill wants to foster Kulaks or big cultivating farmers, by stopping the land going to idle moneylenders. It had also the partial motive and allowing the discontent of the indebted Kulaks and peasants. On the other side, the banking inquiry is finding out how the scattered capital in the agricultural tracts could be concentrated and agriculture mechanised. The various electrical undertakings have this aim in view. It is thought that the feudal bourgeoisie itself will be tempted to invest its savings in this.

This will naturally put large reserves of capital under the control of the Imperialist power and raise markets for its commodities. It will throw large pauperised masses into the town,

where it will try to break the industrial organisation and workers in the towns. This new venture will not end like the Reserve Bank affair, or this will be completely feudal imperialist with the states as one of the partners. The states are becoming amenable to capitalist influence more and more. If textiles are an indication, industrial capital is slowly going to the states. But it is yet afraid because of the absence of any safety for capital in the states feudal rule. Absence of any organised liberal authority has created an autocracy or rather continued the old one so that there are no rights for workers and exploitation is severe. But the same absence also does not generate confidence in Capital. No private banking grows there, because the feudal confiscatory powers of the chiefs are still there. But slowly, the example of some states like the Mysore are encouraging industrial capital to come to it and ever help it by subsidies (Hyderabad's subsidy to Textiles). But the states with their most brutal exploitation of the peasantry incite revolt, which makes them always run to the Imperialist power for help. By showing the feudal block to increase its surplus by mechanised agriculture and banking under imperialist control, & protecting it from peasant revolts, imperialism will maintain the block on its side.

This increased interest in agriculture has a military significance also. Recently a big syndicate was formed, a corporation of contract to supply army stores rations. It is the biggest distributive syndicate having its roots in the village markets. Similarly, the motorisation of the country is being first increased, (under the General Motors and other Cos. the mechanisation of army is also being carried on in order to lessen the chances of the Indian Peasant element getting rebellious.

What will be the political repuren of this class alignment.

The first is that the bourgeoisie may give slight threats but will not turn revolutionary. The Feudal Bourgeoisie also will do the same. On the contrary the latter may strengthen Br. Capital with its surplus.

Now we have to see in detail the vole of the petty bourgeois, the peasantry and the workers. The Lahore Congress helps us in showing that the petty bourgeois is breaking away from the Gandhian school and is speaking with hesitation, but with increased confidence. Still its outlook is not quite clear. The petty bourgeoisie also has not a homogenous character in India. It differs according to the peculiar class-developments in each province. The one in Punjab with its predominant and a little well-to-do militarised

peasantry is showing signs of a militant youth movement sympathetic to the peasantry. In U. P. with its oldest feudalism, it is nil. In Bengal being tied to the big zamindari and having a share in the exploitation of peasantry; the petty bourgeoisie is fascist but out imperialist because it has no outlet in the industries, suffers from employment and is getting less and less of the exploited surplus. In Madras there is no conscious organization, and because of the severity of the caste problem the lower masses are still under Gandhism, but the petty bourgeoisie is still inactive either way. In Bombay there is a slight outlet for the petty bourgeoisie in the industries and it is not definitely fascist, is rather mildly pro-peasant. But, in the city proper, it is out-working-class to some extent. But the prejudice is not deep as yet. In Gujrat it is wholly under Gandhian influence. It is anti-imperialist but not pro-peasant in the sense that it was not tackle the problem of the landless peasant at all as was shown in Bardoli.

The working class has just passed through a severe wave of strikes and has suffered defeats in some places and victory in some. Organization still young and mostly in the hands of the reformists. Even though the reformists are kicked out of the T.U.C. They hold more unions and centres than the W. P. P. They lose sympathy in some quarters because of their pro-imperialist sympathies otherwise they would have been stronger in influence. The reasons are plain. They are earlier in the field, have greater resources and safety, are encouraged by the bourgeoisie in some place though not always. Their cadre is big. But the rank and file is just getting class-consciousness. As yet there is no political class consciousness in the rank and file. The intellectual level of the movement yet hovers round minimum economic demands. There is very little sustained organisational work. The strike way has brought temporary bill, but demoralization has not come in

The W. P. P. is nearly extinct. It had never its roots in the masses. Therefore when the leading spirits were arrested the party was almost killed. During its life time no attempt was made to recruit men either from the rank and file or from the intellectual. In Bombay W. P. P. membership was too rigid, in Bengal too open to the petty-bourgeois and the workers alike, but the petty-bourgeois rushed in more than the workers and naturally ruptured it. The organizational success in Bombay made the leadership incapable of objective analysis. The theoretical calibre was never attended to. Even the trade union organization, the simple workers grievances and problems were not studied by the most leading men, which had disastrous results in 1923 and 1929 more in the latter. The partial success in 1928 made the majority of the W. P. P. think that personality was greater than anything else.

Party leadership was getting deteriorated. Viz. During negotiation of the 1928 Gen. Strike the same terms were negotiated by Dange two months earlier but the party rejected then because they could not understand the terms or measure the objective situation and the comparative strength of the employer who had large reserves and plenty of goods on hand differences on this point are in Party minutes. The W.P.P. relied too much on the foreign remittances for relief and thought that the strike could go in that indefinitely. Certain instances at the Moraji mill, discontent and starvation and the stoppage of the relief money opened their eyes to the objective situation and Mr. Danges compromise was accepted. Similarly, the question of alliance with the reformist union at the beginning of the strike. The Reformists had a powerful organization, a block of 50,000 workers, mostly Muslim under their influence; while the W. P. P. was new and no organization. One of the W. P. P. men (K. N. J.) was in the field in 1929 but had not accomplished anything. It was Danges proposal to form an alliance with freedom of criticism with the reformists. It helped in bringing a very big section of the workers under W. P. P. influence and gave financial strength to the movement (the criticism of RILU on this point is wrong.)

It was the Punjab and Bengal W. and P. which had tried something in the peasant but the Bombay W. P. P. did nothing. In a peasant country, all the cadre being thrown in the working class is suicidation. There is a psychological reason for it. It is the remnant of petty bourgeois psychology. The I. J. movement in the cities gives a tremendous all India publicity the leadership, which the leader does not like to leave and sink himself in the tedious peasant work, which for a long time gives you no fame. It has been one of the main reason. Why even when after the 1928 strike some could be spared for peasant work, none from the Bombay experience cadre left the place for the interior.

The Gandhian groups are very strong in the villages—the Congress groups. But they are not in all places. In Punjab and U. P. they are none. There are some Congress groups in a little part of Bengal, some in Madras. Plenty in Gujrati.

To penetrate the Peasantry some working alliance must be formed with Congress groups of youths. There can be no talk of a sweeping organisation of the poorest peasantry before even a knowledge of an organizational footing is obtained in the villages. That does not mean compromise with Congress. It only means a closer and more sympathetic approach to the youth element wherever it is not yet clearly fascist. A slow penetration of their ranks.

This can be achieved at this stage more easily. The Bhagat Singh group has captured the imagination of the youths. The

Terrorist organization is negligible. Yet some of their elements have more aptitude for illegal work and are hazely sympathetic to socialism. A sympathetic not hostile criticism would do much good. Otherwise recruitment is absolutely impossible. There is great demand for marxist and Leninist literature of which advantage must be taken in Meerut Case.

The different elements in the case and their analysis. The communist group functions irratically and thinks of directly the outside movement by fiat when it knows nothing of the objective situation. This hampers work of those who are outside. First fiat on Pendse by the six. Next intervention by the other five. Then a serious of instructions.

The group depends too much on the opinion of the C.P.G B. which is ignorant of the situation local and natural (Vide: Page Arnot's criticism of Bombay Riots.) The Br Comrades have not yet naturalised by thought and retain some of their race characteristics, i.e. every time pointing to what the C.P.G.B would say and not caring to think for themselves. The Br. Comrades are absolutely ignorant of illegal work. Cre. is a mere university student just out from school, sent to direct a movement openly and maintain secret connections. Both in one are disastrous. Some with the Engineer. The third is absolutely useless for organization, because of his style of life and nature. You cannot end men of such type to take charge of a vast colonial movement. Allison had done better work and was superior in organization. That is also the opinion of many.

The group inside does not therefore function freely. Where it does every individual flows off at tangent. There is great rivalry for name, which is many times seen in the dock even.

Countries outside have been influenced from inside, as outside has influenced inside also.

Question of statements and acknowledge communist creed. Wrong propaganda done by other party. Need of a statement as a lead to the Lahore Congress Youth elements. Differences in the point between D. and others. The Br. Comrades wanted to wait for Campbell to come and tell them what they should do or say.

The objective and theoretical differences in the outside controversies. G. K. U. composition. The managing *social composition*. How many jobbers, Hd. Jobbers how many low paid workers etc. Man composed of unemployed men who after a time loose touch with rank and file and cease to reflect their opinion. They either become lumpen or develop hostility to the employed or became too reckless. This develops clash, antipathy

in the employed rank and file. Desh in such hands. The Meerut group advises collaboration with this group the non bra....fraction as against Joshi—

Future

An English theoretical organ—

Recruitment of the Petty bourgeois Peasant work.

Cessation of sending low grade C P.G.B. men. More attention to developing work under a repression policy.

Taking advantage of the Temporary Independence mood and consolidation of the Petty bourgeois and worker peasant alliance in provinces where possible. Temporary penetration in the Land Leagues Fraction in them.

More efficient study of the Indian situation at the centre.

Literature should be produced in the Indian soil itself. Subsidy Adaptation of the Apparatus to czarist or worse than czarist conditions.

Meerut men should cease interference. Outside should unite. Policy of winning over rank and file, not expulsion, without warnings viz Balk.

P. 2512 (a)

Panchnama.

We the undersigned declare that we were called by address of Mr. Mr. George Clarke, Insp. of customs, to witness the V.H. Joshi Top search of Vasudeo. Hari Joshi, who was near floor, Nagu the S. S. Trifels berthed at No 14 Alex Dks. At Sayaji Wadi about 12/30 P. M. on the 4. 2 30 We saw a De Lisle Rd. wallet made of black leather wallet removed Bombay. 13. from the pocket of his coat and in it was found a manuscript article entitled the situation in India and comprising of eight pages.

Vasudeo was accompanied by two other named Amir

Haider, Athar Mohomed Khan, and Manindra Nath Missra, s/o Harindra Nath Missra, whose persons were also searched.

Besides the manuscript article there were Rs.205-2-0 i e., 200 in notes, one of which was of 100, and the others of ten each. Rs. 5 five in silver and two ans. (One nickle and 4 coppers).

Before me.

Geo. Clarke

Sd. Illegible

Sd. Illegible

Insp. P. S.

Port Health Staff.

Asstt. Manager

4/2/30.

Bombay.

I/c c. section.

4-2-30.

B. P. T. Docks.

4/2/30.

P. 2513

Labour Monthly of May 1928.

P. 2514

Membership card of Workers and Peasants Party in favour of Thengdi accused.

P. 2515

A copy of "Karl Marx. An Essay by Harold. J. Laski".

P. 2516

Amendments to the Congress Constitution.

Rule No. 3, Constituents

Delete all after "India" in the 3rd. line.

Rule No. 4, Affiliation.

Insert "economic or trade union" after the word "every" in the first line.

Rule No. 4 (a),

Delete the whole clause, and substitute:—"That the Union seeking affiliation, shall agree to pay to the A. I. T. U. Congress, affiliation fees at the rate of one pice per member per annum, or a minimum fee of Rs. 15/-, whichever is the greater.

Rule No. 4, (b).

Delete the words "of two-thirds" in the forth line, and add the word "present at the meeting" after the words "members"

Rule No. 7, Special sessions.

Delete the whole clause and substitute the following:—"The E. C, its own initiative, or on the demand of the affiliated unions, representing 20% of the aggregate membership of the Congress, shall have the power to call a special session to discuss and decide upon specific questions of importance that arise between the annual sessions. Such special session shall deal only with matters tyat have been stated on the agenda, calling the meeting' and only to that extent can it encroach upon the work of the annual session.

Rule No. 8, Deligates,

After the word "basis" in the second line, delete the whole clause, and substitute "5 delegates for the first thousand members or a part there of and one delegate for each additional thousand members.

Rule No. 10, Business of the annual sesions.

Delete the whole clause and substitute:—"The annual session shall elect the chairman, Vice-Chairman, the Secretary, two asst. secretaries and the Auditor, Shall receive, discuss, and adopt the annual report an audited statement of accounts and decide upon such resolutions as place on the agenda"

Rule No. 11, President and Ex-officio delegates

Amend in accordance with the ammendment to rule 10, and delete all after "treasurer" in the fifth line.

Rule No. 12. Resolutions and Ajenda.

Delete all substitute:—Any affiliated union has a right to send to the E. C. through R. C. not more than 5 resolutions for insertion in the Agenda, which shall be placed before the session for discussion & the decesion, unless withdrawn by the union concened. The E.C. may also place resolutions on the agenda, in its own name and shall decide the order in which the resolutions shall come before the session.

Rule No. 14. Time limit for speakers.

Add after the word "reply" in the 3rd line:—The mover of the motion shall be allowed 10 minits to move and 5 minits to reply, other speakers shall be allowed 5 minutes only once.

Rule No. 14 Closure.

The president may apply the clouser to any debate only with the concent of the delegates, or a motion for closer has been moved and endorsed by the Rule No. 18. Composition of the E. C.

The E.C. shall consist of the Chairman, the Vice Chairman, the three Secretaries, as exofficio members, not more than 30 members from the affiliated unions, one delegate from each accredited pro. Council. For the perpose of the election to the E. C. The affilliated Unions shall be grouped according to Industry and allocated representation commensurate with their aggrigate membership. Uncla'ssified Unions shall go to form a miscellenious groupe and be represented on the E. C. in the same proportions as the other groups. Nominations shall come from various groups and be voted upon by the house.

Rule No. 17. Reception Committee

after the word "secretary" in the first line, add the words "in consultation with the Unions and Pro. Committees."

Additional Rule to be added.

The annual session shall appoint annually, a Scrutiny committee, for the perpose of inquiring into the bonefides and members of any union seeking affilliation to the Congress, and to scrutinise the standing of any union, desirous of increasing or decreasing its voting strength in Congress.

These ammendments are suggested by our friend. I do not afree with all of them. I agree to move those with which I

agree. I will send you a draft of my amendments, in course of time. I intend coming to Bombay on Tuesday the 8th March on my way to Delhi. I should like you to convene a meeting of the party to talk over our part, we have to do in the next A. I. T. U. Congress at Delhi. This meeting is very important.

P. 2517

All-India Trade Union Congress.

GENERAL SECRETARY'S OFFICE,

SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY'S HOME,

Sandhurst Road, Girgaon,

Bombay, 5th April 1927.

URGENT.

CIRCULAR.

To

The members of the Executive Council of the

All-India Trade Union Congress.

Dear Sirs,

It has been brought to my notice that a Pacific Trade Union Conference is going to be held on the 1st of May 1927 at Canton in China. Mr. D. R. Thengdi, the Administrative Secretary of the All-India Trade Union Congress and Mr. S. V. Ghatge, Assistant Secretary have expressed to me their willingness to attend the Conference at their own expense. I am, therefore, requesting the members of the Executive Council to let me know if they approve of authorising them to attend the Conference as the Delegates of the All-India Trade Union Congress. Members of the Executive Council are requested to send their replies as early as possible. These two gentlemen propose to leave by a steamer starting on the 11th April 1927 if they can secure pass-ports.

Yours fraternally,

N. M. Joshi

General Secretary.

P. 2518

A book "Peshawar to Moscow" in English.

P. 2519

T. M. O. receipt for Rs. 30/ sent to Ghate by some one from Calcutta on 30-8-28.

P. 2520

List of Articles found in the Leather Bag and Tin Box belonging to P. Spratt at the time of inventory on the 11th October 1927.

S. No.	Name of article	No.	Remarks
<i>Leather Bag.</i>			
One card board Box containing:—			
1	First Aid Case	1	
2	Photographic plates		
3	Boric Ointment bottle	1	
4	Quinine compressed tablets bottle.	1	
5	Cascara Sagrada bottle	1	
6	Quinine tablets empty bottle	1	
7	Cold Cure tablets tin-box	1	

S. No.	Name of article	No.	Remarks.
8	Keys	5	
9	Cuff links pr	1	
10	Studs	3	
11	Fountain pen filler	1	
12	Three bottles containing liquids	3	Detained by the D.C.P., S. B. for analysis.
13	Card board box containing buttons, thread etc.	1	
14	Leather Pocket Case Containing; Tickets for Puja function Letter signed by B. G. Horniman	2 1	Detained by the D.C.P., S. B.
15	Card board box containing name plates and packets of cards..	2	
16	Wearing apparel i. e. collars shirts, handkerchiefs, pyjamas, ties and socks - <i>Tin box</i>		
1	Leather purse containing pocket camera	1	
2	"Gandhi v Lenin" by S. A. Dange	1	
3	"Sacco & Vanzetti"	50	
4	"Modren India" by R. P. Dutt	1	
5	"Sex Problem in India" by S. N. Phadke	1	
6	"Rural Economy of India" by R. Mukerji	1	
7	"Singing Bone" by R. Austin Freeman	1	
8	Bottle of ink	1	
9	"Labour in India" by J. H. Kelman	1	
10	"Forbs' Hindustani Manual "	1	
11	"The Marxist 3rd Number	1	
12	Report of the Konkan Cooperation Committee on the Districts of Kolaba & Ratnagiri	1	

S. No.	Name of article	No.	Remarks.
13	"The Principle of Relativity"		
14	Press Cuttings bundle	1	
15	"The Prayer Book Measure".	1	
16	Typing paper portfolio	1	
17	"Mammonat" by Sinclair	1	
18	"Lars Porsena"	1	
19	"Home Universal Library of Modern Languages	1	
20	Private letter to Spratt from his brother	1	
21	B. B. & C. I. Ry Employees' Union 7th Annual Report	4	
22	Bulletin No 5- handbills in Marathi & Gujrati.	-	
23	Notice of G. I. P. Ry Workmen's Union Meeting	1	
24	"The Law of Social Revolution	1	Detained by D. C. P., S. B.
25	Hindi-English & Urdu English pamphlets	2	
26	Files containing documents	6	Detained by D. C. P., S. B.
27	Box of envelopes	1	
*28	Letters from Page Arnot to Chamap Lal & Goswami	2	*Detained by D. C. P., S. B.
*29	General Letter of introduction from L. R. Department	1	
30	One envelope containing bills receipts ect		One detained by D C.P., S. B.
31	Envelope addressed to D. I. F. Parsons, I E Carlyle Mansion, London. S. W. I.	1	
32	One pr motor glasses	1	
33	Brush	1	
34	Braces .....pr	1	

S. No.	Name of article	No.	Remarks.
35	"Golden Treasury"	1	
36	Knife	1	
37	Letter forms of Birrell & Garnett-Booksellers, Loun	-	
38	A Letter in German from Furt Wingle	1	Detained by D. C. P., S. B.
39	Roll of Boric Lint	1	
40	Blanco tin	1	
41	Set Squares	2	
42	Lead pencil	1	
43	Foot-Rule	1	
44	Collars, Pyjamas, Mosquito net etc.	-	

P. 2520 [1]

Arthur Road Prison,
Bombay.

8-10-27.

The Commissioner of Police,

Sir,

I wish to have my possessions, now in the custody of the police, sent to me at this jail, as I have to remain here under-trial until the next Sessions. They consist of (1) two handbags, sealed, at present at the Esplanade Road Police Station, and (2) miscellaneous articles, (fountain-pen, watch etc) and money (Rs. 100), at the Headquarters Police Station, Hornby Road.

I should be much obliged if you would direct that these articles be sent to me.

Your truly,

P. Spratt.

Through the Superintendent, Arthur Road Prison, Bombay.

No 4089/8.10. 27 of 1927

Forwarded with compliments to The Commissioner of Police, Bombay.

Sd. Illegible,
Superintendent,
Arthur Road Prison, Bombay.

P. 2521

Log Book and Articles of Agreement of S.S. Ejsia opened on 14. 12. 27.

P. 2522

Maharatti Hand Bill regarding May Day.

P. 2523

International Information

Published for Press use by the Secretariat of the

Labour and Socialist International

Zurich 2, 41 Stöckerstrasse (Switzerland)

Vol. VI Nr. 28

300

20th July 1929

The "League against Imperialism" and the Labour and Socialist International.

(I. I.) The Congress of the "League against Imperialism and for National Independence" opens in Frankfort on Main on the 20th July. This is the same League which held a congress in

Brussels in February 1927, and which was at that time called "Against Colonial Oppression and Imperialism". The name of this League has often changed in the course of the 3½ years during which it has existed, but the leadership and the policy of the leaders have remained the same.

This "League" was founded in Berlin in 1926 by *Willi Munzenberg*, the Communist Member of the Reichstag, who is to-day the *General Secretary* of the League, the *organiser* of its Frankfurt Congress and the *deciding man* in all its affairs. On the occasion of the publication of the Report of the first Congress of the League, the "International Information," issued by the Labour and Socialist International, published (on the 7th October 1927) a detailed account of the history and policy of the League.

At its Executive Meeting in September 1927 the Labour and Socialist International fully discussed the "League" and unanimously passed the following resolution:

"The Labour and Socialist International is filled with the warmest sympathy for the peoples who are waging the fight against imperialist and colonial oppression; it will continue now as before to lend the most vigorous support to their struggle and will do all that lies in its power to have the closest contact with the movement towards liberation of these peoples.

But what the International views as its chief task is to rally the working-class elements of these nations under the banner of international socialism, and not to create a new international organisation having for its aim the blending of these elements into a pan-national movement, nor to sub-ordinate their interests and those of the whole nationalist movement to the political interests of any Power. Therefore the Executive holds that it cannot be any part of the task of the L. S. I. or of the parties affiliated thereto, to join the so-called "League against Colonial Oppression".

This decision of the Executive of the Labour and Socialist International has been followed by all its affiliated parties, and as a consequence no party of the Labour and Socialist International will take part in this Congress. According to its Rules, however, the L. S. I. can only directly bind the parties as such, but not the individual members of the parties, in relation to their activity in the international sphere. The Rules say:

"It is the duty of the Parties affiliated to the L. S. I. to endeavour that their members shall

develop their activity in the international sphere first and foremost within the L. S. I., and shall be encouraged by their national organisations to refrain from individual membership of political associations whose tendencies are at variance with the programme or tactics of the L. S. I."

With regard to the "League against Imperialism," all the parties affiliated to the L. S. I have influenced their members in the sense of the resolution of the Executive of the L. S. I. Accordingly there is also no individual participation of party members in this "League". With regard to this there is *only one single exception*: the Independent Labour Party of Great Britain (I.L.P.). This party does *not* belong to the "League", it accepts *no responsibility* for such of its members who join the "League", but it also does not prevent them from doing so. Accordingly individual members of the I. L. P. will take part in the Frankfort Congress. Indeed the Congress is even to be presided over by one of the principal members of the I. L. P., namely James *Maxton* M. P.

For Munzenberg and the Communists especially this participation of maxton in the Congress is of the highest strategical value. Under the presidency of Maxton the *purely Bolshevik* character of the *real* leadership of the "League" and of the Congress will be *concealed* from the Socialist workers. The Communists and especially Munzenberg had always brilliantly understood how to use for their protection by means of the "League" all kinds or united front and similar manoeuvres of individual Socialists, especially from England. After they had done what was required of them, they could go, and take with them as thanks a flood of insults. Purcell, Cook, and dozens of others have had thorough experience of this. But Munzenberg still continues to succeed in procuring the people who are necessary to him, and whom he contemptuously describes as "Innocents". It is now the turn of Maxton.

James Maxton, who was re-elected to the presidency of the I. L. P. at its last Annual Conference will act in Frankfort *not as Chairman of the I. L. P.* but only in his individual capacity. But the fact that *a private policy of a party Chairman* is possible will only be understood with difficulty, especially on the Continent. The conception of party discipline and the necessity of solidarity apply in continental countries to the highest officers of the parties in particular. Accordingly it will only be too easy for Munzenberg and his Communist followers to use the fact of the participation of Maxton in the Congress and his office as president of the Congress as a weapon against the socialist parties and

against the Labour and Socialist International. It is quite certain that Maxton himself in no way follows such a design, but is simply actuated by the honourable wish to seize every opportunity of showing his sympathy and support for the oppressed colonial peoples. But unfortunately the world is so constructed that the various effects of a political action cannot be isolated from one another. If Maxton believes that this Congress concerns *only* colonial peoples, he is unfortunately labouring under a misapprehension. The Congress at Frankfort cannot be considered in isolation from the general situation of the International Labour Movement.

We are hoping for the re-unification of the working class in an all-inclusive International, but so long as the cleavage exists any common action with the Communists that is not expressly decided upon by the Labour and Socialist International is a breach of solidarity. If the President of a Communist Party were to make private expeditions into the political sphere, which were in express contradiction of the decisions of his International, his activity would at best be continued in Siberia or in some other place of recuperation. We have no wish whatever to adopt the barbarous methods of the Communists for the maintenance of Party discipline, but on the other hand we can not pass over in silence the fact of the *weakening of the common action* of the Labour and Socialist International.

Against the misconstructions which will certainly appear in the Communist and bourgeois press it is therefore necessary to point out from the first that James *Maxton* is taking part in the "League against Imperialism" in his individual and personal capacity, and that *the Independent Labour Party has no responsibility what ever for his actions in that capacity.*

P. 2524

Receipt of "Notice to produce letters" by C. Krishna Swami Ayengar.

P. 2525

Search warrants of Mudkate.

P. 2526

Punchnama.

Bombay 21st August 1929.

We the following members of the Punch

(1) Kaloba Gopal Rawal, age 40 years, clerk in Phoenix Mill, residence- Sharda Chawal Lamington Road.

(2) Laxuman Baburao Chendwandkar, 25 years, Cap merchant, residence Sharda Chawl Lamington Road.

remained present at the time of search of Room No. 1, on the ground floor of Sharda Chawl, Lamington Road, in the occupation of N. S. Mudakatte, in pursuance of a search warrant issued by the Additional Distt. Magistrate Meerut under section 96. C. P. C. on the morning of August 21st. In our presence the following articles were taken charge of by the Police:—

S. No.	Name and description of article	Place where found.
(1)	One framed group photo including the pictures of N. S. Mudkate and Ghate.	Hanging on the wall.
(2)	One cover addressed to Mr. R. S. Rao- General Stores - with a letter dated 18/2 P. M. addressed to "Dear Rama.	Found at the sill of the window
(3)	Two cancelled Stamps - of Persia and France	Do
(4)	Two black covered account books containing accounts	Do
(5)	One letter asking for a job from M. A. Kanath to the Accountant - Tata Industrial Bank Fort.	Do
(6)	Issue No. 9. of the G. I. P. Union Herald dated 15/8/29.	Do

- | | | |
|------|--|--------------------|
| (7) | One cover addressed to N. S. Mudkatte containing a slip of paper with the inscription " Please don't open, tear this paper and see the address inside. | Found in the trunk |
| (8) | Two group photographs of Bombay clerks Union-including Jhabwala's photo. | Do |
| (9) | Issue No. 271 dated 13/11/28 of the Indian National Herald. | Do |
| (10) | Issue No. 245 of the Indian National Herald dated 13/10/28. | Do |
| (11) | Foreign postage stamps for France, Belgium, U. S. A., Palestine, Germany and Portuguse India - all cancelled- | Do |

The above-mentioned articles only were taken charge of by the Police. This Punchnama was written in our presence and was read over to us and we hereby put our signatures to it to testify its contents.

Before me.

A. K. Chaudhari

(1) Kaloba Gopal Rawal

Dy: Insp. of Police

(2) Luxman Baburo Chandwandkar

C. I. D. Bombay.

21/8/29.

9. A. M.

P. 2527

Group Photo of Mudkatte and Ghate.

P. 2528

Specimens of Adhikari's typewriter.

P. 2529

P. 1166. Title of book and name of author.

Primers of Communism

Vol. 2.

Friedrich Engels

Principles of Communism.

Annex: From the early days of the Communist manifesto.

Introduction and glossary of foreign terms by Dr. Hermann Duncker.

International Workers Publishing Co. Ltd.

Berlin C25.

K1, Alexander str. 28.

P. 1168. Headings only.

1. *Spark.*
2. External correspondence.
3. Party Organ.
4. Translations and propaganda tracts.
5. The Agrarian question.
6. *Agitation—Propaganda.*
7. The Trades Union Movement.

Abbreviation?

P. 1169. Whole.

Bombay 18th Feb. 1928.

Dear Comrades,

I did not work very long with you, still you will not have forgotten me. At that time we very seldom happened to discuss this country and its problems. Now I am here in the midst of the strife and am therefore in a position to inform you of things and events which are suppressed and misrepresented by the capitalist press. You know that in this age of imperialism, in this period of capitalist downfall, the acuteness of the crisis comes about

more quickly in colonies and semi-colonies than in capitalist countries. The increasing rate of exploitation, the rapidly proceeding revolution of the process of the production, speed up the process of class differentiation, *deepen* the class-opposition which the driving force of revolution fosters. This opposition between the proletariat and the ruling classes is now making itself felt with us. On the one hand the class-consciousness and war-preparedness of the Indian workers is growing. A number of important concerns is no longer under 'reforms' leadership. The stalemate within the All Indian Industrial Congress is already breaking away in the direction of a revolutionary class-politic. Even below the lower middle class strata a growing dislike of the politics and programme of the national bourgeoisie and an increasing sympathy and interest in communism are being manifested. On the other hand, the British - Indian oligarchy of capitalist finance, which knows exactly where its enemies are, is forging in the Legislative Assembly at New Delhi powerful oppressive weapons to crush the Indian Workers movement thoroughly and timely. But that does not suffice them - Still meaner methods are employed to break the closed class-front of the proletariat. By the employment of Mahomedan strike-breakers, by subtle propaganda aided by agents provocateurs, by the dissemination of false reports of the desecration of mosques, temples, etc, efforts are being made to kindle the flame of racial and religious hatred in order thereby ...

Corrupt tax ?

May have some technical meaning

P. 1176. Title of book and name of author.

Illustrated History
of the Russian Revolution.

1917

Edited by

W. ASTROW. A. S. LEPKOW. J. THOMAS. with
contributions by BLAGONRAWOW. BUCCHARIN.
ENGELHARDT. KAJUROW. KRYLENKO. LENIN.
LUNATSCHARSKI. OLMINSKI. RACHJA.
RASKOLNIKOW. SALESCHSKI. SARABJANOW

SCHENEWSKI. SEREBRJANSKI. STALIN TROTZKI.
WERMENISCHEW. WLADIMIROWA, etc.

225 illustrations

BERLIN 1928

New German Press.

Willi Munzenberg.

P. 1181 Title of book and name of author.

Primers of Communism

VOL. 3.

KARL MARX

Wage, Price and Profit

1926

International Publishers' Association Ltd. Berlin S. W. 61.

P. 1188 Title of book and name of author.

The Class-Battles in France 1848 - 1850

by Karl Marx

With an introduction by Friedrich Engels and a foreward by
August Bebel.

1920

'Forwards' Bookshop, Berlin S. W. 68.

P. 1189 Headings of all chapters.

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P 1195 Title of Book and name of author.
(Arbitrator's) Award.

S P.D. Technical trans- pracise meaning doubtful.	<i>Economic Democracy</i>	Citizens' Party Wedge
31 Days	January	5 weeks

29th Tuesday.	30th Wednesday	31st Thursday
1927. Citizens' Party Regime under Marx. 1919. Franz Mehring died in Berlin-Grune- Wald (born 27th Feb- ruary 1846 in Schlawe.) 1864. Arrest of Lassalle in Berlin	1927. Murder of Workers in Schattendorf (Burgen- land) 1925 Cooperation of the S.P.D. established with the '700 Million Presents Funds' for heavy industries 1923 Collapse of the Saxon Government. Opening of negotiations for the formation a Worker s Government.	1925 Approval of the Horthy-Pact of the Hungarian Soc- ial Democrats by the Second Inter- national 1918. Suppression of the Berlin general strike by the military. 1911. Paul Singer died in Berlin.
Ten Years Communist International 1919-1929.		25

Bombay 25 1-29.

Dear Vera,

It is now two weeks since I heard from you. Have you not written, or is it due to the "efficiency" of the post office? I am getting no post at all, either inland or foreign. I am earning nothing, nor do I see any possible prospect of earning anything. I shall now give up the search and devote my whole time to my task. What I am to live on then I do not know. I eat at my father's and sleep there too. I shall gradually have to give up many comforts. If you get the letter that I have sent you by a different channel, you will get a couple of new addresses. There you will also find a letter, which please forward. The letter is to a comrade whom you know. This comrade will be able to give you a new address, which you should please use. Please use all other ways of reaching me. *B. T. IPK* has not arrived either. It is so very important-one is as it were cut off here. Dear vera, please write to me and send me the things. You write that you are ready to help me. I need a number of books. I am ashamed to write to you to send them to me. They are:—"The History of the Civil War in Russia", New German Press. "Under the Banner of Marxism"—all the parts that are so far published. How the books should be sent I will let you know later. Please never try to send me money. It will never arrive. I am sending you a photograph from the newspaper. The group shows the Bombay delegates to a Women's Congress for educational reform. A bourgeois affair. You will recognise Mrs Hirlekar. Please remember me to all our mutual acquaintances.

Yours.

Meaning ?

P. 1198. Title of book and name of author.

The Battle

for the

Communist

International

? Meaning

Documents of the Russian Opposition not published by the stalin ZK

Published by

The 'Banner of Communism' Press

Preis 25 Pfennig

P. 1161. Item 73.

73. A book in German entitled 'Manual of the Russian League.'

P. 1214. Title of book and name of author.

LENIN

Probably has a on *Comradeship*

technical signi- Articles and Speeches

fication. Edited, with an introduction, by

N--L MESCHTSCHERJAKOFF

Press Monogram 19 AGV 25

Universal Comradeship Press

Berlin-Friedrichshafen.

P. 1250. Items 82, 85, 86, 87, 91, 96, 97 & 98

82. Marxism and Natural Science, a German book of 1925.

? Not a 85 *Die Canfte.* a German book.

German word 86 Woman, by August Bebel, a German book of 1923.

87 Critique of Political Economy, Karl Marx, a German book.

91 Capitalism, Communism, Scientific Socialism of
1919-2 German book.

96 Causality and Freewill, Max Planck, 1923

97 Ether and the Theory of Relativity, Albert
Einstein 1920. a German book.

98. The Nature of Light, Dr. Max Planck 1920.

P. 1478. Items 9, 11, 22 and 25.

9. Under the Banner of Marxism, books 1-6 (5books)

11. The New Russia.

22. The National Anthem.

Text Corrupt ? 25. *Betriebsstrategie*

D. R. D. Bher.

Major, R. A.

General Staff Branch,

Army Headquarters, New Delhi.

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