

P. 1825

Berlin, Jan. 14.

Dear friends,

By this Mail I am sending instructions to the big medical man as agreed with Gangadhar, who should see that the doctor takes care of the patient.

P. 1825 (E).

An envelope bearing the following address on it:—

MR. JAGANATH ADHIKARI,

D/16-17 Simplex Buildings,

Paowalla St. Girgaon,

Postal Seal of:

Bombay,

Berlin N. W.

India.

14-1-29

18-19

P. 1826 (P).

24-11-28

C/o MRS. E. DE BURGH,

Apollo Chambers,

Fort Bombay.

Dear Mām & Dad,

I was pleased to receive your letter this mail, and to know all
are keeping well at home. * * *

I have not yet received what I had asked for, my salary. I cabled
to Len about it last week on the 17th. urgent, ask Len to let me
know by return if he received my cable, also to see that what I wan-
ted is despatched at once if not already done. * *

P. 1826 (P). (E).

An envelope bearing the following address on it:—

Mrs. BRADLEY,

4 Elmsdate Road,

Walthams-Tpw.

England

London

P. 1827.

CONFIDENTIAL.

Date of censorship—17-3-28.

Sender's Name & Address: Ben, Apollo Hotel. ~~Bombay~~

Date of letter: 17-3-28.

Addressee; Mrs. Bradley, 4 Elmsdale Road
Walthams tow, Loncon, England.

Copy Substance, Extract, Etc.

Dear Mam & Dad,

I was pleased to receive your welcome letter and to know all
are well at home. * * * * *

* * * * *

I received that item I cabled for and I hope things have been
put right and by now the office must be disorganised. * *

* * * * *

From your affectionate son,

Sd. BEN.

P. 1828.

Y. M. C. A.,

Wodehouse Rd.

Bombay.

26/3/27.

Dear Robin,

I send herewith some sort of report of the proceedings at the
recent session of the T. U. C. I am sorry I could not do so last
week, but when I wrote that letter I was in bed with a temperature

of 102, and was feeling very unwell. I am afraid this report, which is essentially of an 'interim' character, is now too late to be of much use, as you will be getting the official accounts shortly.

On the question of my own work, I was of course unable to do what I wanted on the subject of capitalism, owing to the alteration of the date of the Congress. Nevertheless most of them are keen on that aspect of the work, and I must contrive to get some material from Calcutta soon. Joshi and Co are more sympathetic than before, and want me to begin at once, provided I can get the necessary support from somewhere else, e. g. the National Congress. They want something done on three subjects, a Trade Union survey, something about shift system, and something about fines and dismissals etc., a Truck Act, in fact. Both the latter subjects are coming up in the Assembly later in the year. Unfortunately at the moment I know nothing about them. In particular I am vague about legislation on shift systems. I imagine that the point at issue is the effect on output of working shifts, and in particular of limitation of hours, but I must get more exact information. I should like to get material about the present state of British legislation and practice with regard to fines etc.

Yours,

Sd. Philip.

A. I. T. U. C. DELHI SESSION, 1927.

The 7th session of the All-India T. U. C. was held on March 12 and 13 in the hall of the Hindu College, Delhi. The E. C. had previously decided that the session should be held at Calcutta, during April, but owing to the desire that Mr. Saklatvala should be present, and for the convenience of the M. L. A. s, the time and place were altered. Because of this, and because there is no local T. U. movement at Delhi, the attendance was small. There was no Reception Committee, which usually acts as a credentials committee and accordingly there is no record of the number of delegates or of those represented. The actual number of delegates was 45-50, and included Shiva Rao, and Kirk from Madras, Sethi, Giri, P. Bose, S. Bose, A. Ghosh, Aftab Ali, Muzaffer Ahmad from Bengal, Jhabwalla, Thengdi, Joglekar, Nimbkar, Mirajkar, Ghate, from Bombay, Chaman Lall and S. D. Hassan from Punjab, and Joshi and Rai Sahab Chandrika Prasad. Visitors included Goswami, Lala Lajpat Rai, Srinivasa Iyengar and Rangaswami Iyengar.

Only one full session was held, when the Chairman's address was read. The rest was in theory all E. C. meeting, in which about 25 of the delegates could take part, but a special motion was passed allowing all delegates to take part in discussion, but not to vote. Actually they did vote. The rules in regard to resolutions were evaded, and anybody brought forward any number of resolutions.

Further the rule of the Chairman Prasad, who is a benevolent old man was extremely weak, and very frequently the proceedings had to be almost forcibly quietened. Nevertheless it must not be supposed that the proceedings were entirely farcical. Quite important results were achieved.

The two wings were present in nearly equal strength, and the "left" was able to effect favourable compromises on a number of points, though it could not with outright. The "left" derives mainly from Bombay and Punjab. The Bengal "left", owing to the circumstances related above, and to other quarrels, decided to boycott the session, which it did, with the exception of Aftab Ali. This young man left the meeting almost in tears on the last day, threatening loudly to found a new Congress. This threat was also repeated from Punjab. I do not think that either is serious as such, but it indicates a view which seems to be fairly widespread, that the Congress is simply a bogus affair which it is not worth joining. The elements which favour splitting or founding a new body include good "left" individuals and policemen in about equal proportions, so that any section on their part would be most unfortunate and difficult to deal with.

The proceedings opened on the first day with a great quarrel between the rest of the Bengal delegation and Aftab Ali over his credentials, and most of the other points in the notorious Bengal quarrel. Each claims that the others' unions are bogus, [and since the unions of the majority are older their claims were upheld in this case. Campbell had told me that he attempted to investigate one of the very cases at issue, the seamen's unions, and was unable to decide definitely, though he was inclined to think that the old Union, of which Daud is secretary, was less vigorous than the new one of Aftab Ali's.

After this and the other new affiliations had been got rid of, the long list of resolutions was taken. I am unable yet to give the texts except in a few cases, but I can supply the substance.

Proposed by Joshi that the recent settlement of the South African question renders the proposed Trade Union conference on the subject unnecessary.

Joshi; protest against the absence of action on the part of the Government in response to the scheme of Labour representation put forward at the last Congress.

Joshi; general Labour demands. 8 hour day, sickness and accident insurance etc. Amendments added weekly payment of wages and prohibition (1).

Demand for legislation on the question of fines and dismissals.

Demand for scheme of unemployment benefit.

Demand for a pensions scheme for menial employees of the Government.

Resolution condemning the common evasion of factory inspection, and demanding the appointment of more women factory inspectors.

Resolution welcoming the proposed legislation on the shift system, and demanding a statutory 8-hour limit to shifts.

These are what may be called the official resolutions, and were put forward mainly by Joshi himself. They were all carried without discussion and practically without amendment.

Chaman Lall who made an appearance at the Congress for the first time for three years or so, proposed a resolution congratulating Saklatvala. This was accepted of course, though the Bombay group had drafted a resolution congratulating Battersea and the Holborn L. P. on their choice of candidates. This was not passed, as the group was still timid thus early in the proceedings. Chaman Lall then brought forward a protest against the dispatch of Indian troops to China, which was carried and Thengdi then proposed a more general resolution on China. It read:—

This Congress puts on record its wholehearted approval of the magnificent advance made by the people of China toward the attainment of National freedom and in pursuit of the principle of self-determination. Congress warmly appreciates the valuable work that has been done by the Trade Unions and Peasant Organisations, which, under the leadership of the Kuo Min Tang have frustrated the aggressive designs of the United Imperialist Powers. Finally Congress while pledging its full support to the movement of liberation in China, records its firm conviction that the cause of Indian Nationalism and the struggle of the lower classes against exploitation can profit from the heroic example set by the Chinese working class.

This caused a great discussion: Joshi, Shiva Rao and so on objected to the last part on the ground that it committed Congress to a policy of violence.

Eventually the sentence was modified in a way which I cannot recollect, but it was left I think essentially unaltered.

That finished the business for that day, as the rest was spent in the open session, when the Chairman's address was read, and everyone slept. At the end of the Secretary's report was read. It contained little of interest. The number of affiliated unions is now 57, an increase of 5 during the year. The excuse given for

the lack of any activity was the continual dispute between the two secretaries in Calcutta. The financial statement showed a very small expenditure and a balance of a few hundred rupees.

On the following day a row arose immediately on a motion by Shiva Rao to accept the Secretary's report and statement of accounts, and to add an expression of gratitude to the secretary and of confidence in him. The exact wording I forget. Jhabwala moved to omit the word 'confidence.'

An effort was made to get over the difficulty by confining it to mere acceptance of the report, but Jhabwala was a darrant. After an exhibition of personalities the original resolution was carried.

Thengdi next moved a resolution on International Trade Union Unity :

This Congress deploras its lack of effective organised connection with the World Trade Union movement, and at the same time the absence of a single all-inclusive International of Trade Unions. It views with approval the efforts which have been made by the Anglo-Russian Unity Committee, the national Trade Union organisations of Norway, Mexico, Japan, etc., and the large number of local Unity committees in Europe and elsewhere to bring about unity between the International Federation of Trade Unions and the Red International of Labour Unions. It pledges itself to support such efforts in the future and to affiliate to an International which shall unite these two organisations and strive to embrace the whole trade union forces of the world.

Again there was a fierce discussion. Joshi moved to omit lines 5 and 6 of the above, and to modify the last sentence into expression of a hope instead of that of a pledge. His amendment was carried. It leaves the attitude expressed as before, but the policy implied is reduced to quiescence.

It was now the turn the of sectional interests, and resolutions were rapidly passed supporting demands on behalf of railwaymen, miners (abolition of underground employment of women, with a protest against the lack of action after an official inquiry and Sunday working in collieries), Jute workers, telegraph peons, and cordite factory workers. A protest was raised against the practice of voicing particular demands in a general labour conference.

A resolution was then moved confirming the action taken at a previous E. C. meeting when the Workers' Welfare League was adopted as the official representative in Britain. The Bombay group had a better resolution on the point, but in view of this it was not brought forward. It was carried.

Next Chaman Lall moved:

This Congress looks upon Imperialism as a form of Capitalist Class Government intended to facilitate and perpetuate the exploitation of all workers both white and coloured, in the interest of the small ruling class, and declares that the only safeguard against exploitation lies in the creation by the working classes of a corresponding measure of unity and solidarity. Congress therefore expresses its willingness and desire to bring about the greatest possible solidarity and coordinated activity on the part of the Trade Unions throughout the British Empire in order to counteract the ruthless exploitation carried on under the aegis of British Imperialism. (this is very close to the text at any rate. I have only a first draft here at the moment).

This was carried by 24-3.

Thengdi then moved:

This Congress deplores the tendency in the Trade Union movement towards the creation and maintenance of small and overlapping unions, with its results in inter-union rivalry, unnecessary dissipation of energy, & the reduction of the strength of the workerism negotiation with the employers. Congress therefore declares in favour of the development of the Trade Unions on industrial Lines, in the direction of one Union for each industry, and hereby resolves to appoint a thoroughly representative committee which shall formulate detailed plans whereby the existing local and sectional unions shall have power to coopt accredited representatives of Unions not affiliated to the Congress.

Giri, of the B. N. Union moved to add the words 'or Federation of unions' and this was accepted by the mover. The sting having been taken out of it, it was accepted unanimously.

A resolution was then moved as follows, and accepted unanimously, without amendment.

This Session of the A. I. T. U. C. deplores the fact that the industrial working class, despite its immense importance, has not yet found expression for its political aspirations through the medium of an independent working-class political party. Similarly Congress notes that the plight of the peasantry who form the basis of Indian society, is exploited by other political creeds and organisations, while their material conditions remain unaltered. Congress therefore declares that the paramount need of the working classes, industrial and agricultural, is the establishment of a Workers' and Peasants' Party that shall fight insistently against the exploitation of those classes, strive to secure for them full rights of citizenship, political social and educational, and achieve the complete liberation of India from all alien domination. Finally this session of the

Congress pledges itself to work for the creation of such a Party on an All-India basis.

There followed some minor amendments to the Constitution, framed by the Bengal 'right', making it incumbent upon all affiliated unions to join the provincial Committee of the T. U. C. The more comprehensive set of amendments framed by Bombay could not be discussed owing to lack of time.

Saklatvala then addressed the session. His proposals were chiefly the following:— (1) Closer contact between the T. U. movement and the National Congress, to be brought about by local affiliation etc. (he discussed the same suggestion a few days later with an informal meeting of the Working Committee of the Congress) (2) Organising work to be taken up by the Congress itself by the appointment of provincial Committees, (3) Taking the international affairs of the Congress out of the hands of the General Secretary by the appointment of a "National and International Negotiations Committee", which shall have advisory powers only. This committee will also maintain contact with the National Congress. His suggestions were adopted by the Congress, which elected its officers for the following year in accordance. The caucuses had been busy, and the following list was put forward and accepted unanimously.

Chairman .. Chaman Lall.
Vice-Chairman ... Kirk and Bose (which?)
General Secretary ... Joshi
Administrative Secy. ... Thengdi
Assistant Secretaries .. R.R. Bakhale and S.V. Ghate

Negotiations Committee Chairman, two secretaries B.F. Bharucha (a Congress man, with no Labour connections, who was present) Goswami, J. Nehru (of the Brussels Conference), K. N. Joglekar, and Lala Lajpatrai.

Provincial Organisers (Jhabwalla for Bombay, Santos Kumari Gupta, as National Women's Organiser. The others I could not note down.

Treasurer Ginwalla.

It was decided to hold the next session at Cawnpore in November next. The name was changed, no reason being given by the mover, to "Trades Union Congress". By that time the house was tired and would accept anything. The proceedings finished with further congratulations to Joshi, Saklatvala and Battersea.

I should add that shortly before the end Aftab Ali proposed a resolution that in future no recommendations be made to the Government of representatives of Labour at the Geneva Conferences of the I.L.C. It was very badly worded, and as he read it out the laughter was loud. Nevertheless it was lost by a very small vote (14-12, I think). He rightly perceived in Geneva a bait which draws all sorts of undesirables into the Trade Union movement here, and what is worse, attracts those who are already in.

Further, as Saklatvala was putting forward a very comprehensive scheme for the foundation of a Labour College, a Labour Publication Office, and a Research body all in one, I said nothing in the open Congress on this question. In private discussions, however it was agreed that whatever the fate of his scheme as a whole, I should if possible begin work even on a small scale. Much greater eagerness was displayed than before.

P. 1828 (E).

Address on the Cover.

The Secretary,

The Labour Research Department,

162 Buckingham Palace Rd.

London S.W. 1.

England.

P. 1829

March 5th.

Dear Brother in God,

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

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

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

The foundation stone of the future Church is laid here, and we are getting ahead with the work. Our University men are active to a gratifying extent, and show promise. They are mainly literary in their interests, but we have one or two Law men and commerce students. Science men and philosophers whom we badly need are difficult to get hold of. We have started training, but unfortunately shall have to stop for a few weeks owing to the departure of Father Ambrose for the North, and the indisposition of David. You might by the way let us have a miscellaneous collection of the more recent works of piety and devotion. They would be of great interest to some of our tyros.

Drs

P. 1829 (1)

30/22;	29/2	37/13	35/4	31/1	34/5	26/6
25/5	28/7	29/9	25/5	35/7	38/2	36/8
29/15						
1/4	6/1	8/9	10/10	2/4	4/9	3/8
1/12	3/3	1/7	5/8	9/7	5/3	7/9 8/3
11/3	13/3	17/1	9/1	18/7	2/4	12/2

3/10	17/6	11/2	14/5	13/2	16/2	18/5
5/8	11/11	12/4	16/7	5/7	15/10	14/6
15/6	26/7	6/9	10/6	11/11	13/10	12/10
9/8	7/4	10/9	16/8	8/10	9/13	7/7
10/10	15/7	9/10	10/10	12/10	18/2	12/4
8/8	10/10	2/4	3/2	8/6	9/13	6/5
5/10	7/5	6/10	10/6	6/12	5/7	4/3
3/12	9/7	14/8	12/5	9/1	19/11	13/17
6/11	7/12	7/9	10/6	11/8	12/6	13/3
14/11	9/7	7/12	9/15	10/6	11/7	12/10
13/7	15/11	16/10	18/11	19/6	20/6	21/18
21/21	20/10	19/1	10/10	9/3	8/12	15/5
18/6	2/5	3/17	3/13	2/16	31/5	7/6
9/10	13/9	11/12	15/11	18/8	19/7	20/6
21/6	12/5	17/8	18/11	19/8	20/11	7/7
8/12	10/10	12/4	8/7	10/6	5/3	2/7
4/17	5/7	9/4	6/13	8/12	9/8	10/9
14/13	13/9	15/4	9/9	12/8	15/11	16/5
13/9	8/7	16/8	11/5	2/15	14/20	15/14
12/6	5/7	4/3	3/11	9/2	8/9	7/8
12/12	13/14	14/2	6/6	9/7	11/5	8/2
13/12	5/11	8/11	12/15	5/11	13/7	9/11
10/14	18/4	8/6	24/3	21/10	23/6	22/8
7/3	13/1	9/4	12/4	5/5	13/6	10/9
5/7	8/10	12/4	9/6	11/8	12/12	8/12
15/10	5/8	13/4	15/3	1/7	5/10	7/2
3/12	1/10	1/10	3/5	1/9	3/5	5/8
7/2	5/3	10/10	9/10	6/22	19/19	6/1
1/13	4/15	1/8	5/8	8/3	9/1	11/1
5/11	5/2	8/8	9/8	10/6	1/1	3/9
2/8	1/6	3/5	6/7	8/3	11/10	5/17

P. 1829 (E.)

An envelope bearing the following address on it :—

Mr. Harry Howell

37 Lithos Road.

Hampstead N- W. 3

London

England.

Postal seal of:

Late fee paid

5 mar 27.

Bombay, G. P. O.

P. 1830.

Receipt in Date: 3-8-27. in Mirajkar's handwriting.

Received the following ten books from the C. I. D. Bombay.

1. Bosshevik Russia.
2. Evolution and Revolution.
3. Who are the liars ?
4. Soviet Russia .
5. Outlawing Socialism .
6. Modern India.
7. Soviets at Work .
8. Lenin as Marxist .
9. Lenin on cooperatives .
10. Bengali Kranti Karak

Sd/- S. S. Mirajkar.

3/8/27.

P. 1831.

Date of censorship....February 11, 1923 .

Sender's name and address . . S. S. Mirajkar, Bombay.

Date of letter...10-2-1928 .

Addressee....D. R. Thengdi, 229, Sadashiv

Peth, Poona City.

My dear Mr, Thengdi,

I am sending you herewith a copy of the open letter addressed to the All Parties Conference at Delhi to be held on 12-2-28. Yesterday I sent you the resolution on T. U. movement passed at our last Enlarged E. C. meeting.

The annual meeting fixed for 18-2-28 had to be put off till sometimes in the first week of March because on the 18th and 29th there is the Maharashtra Youth Conference and on 25-2-28 there is E. C. Meeting of T. U. Congress at Delhi and some of our members will be going there to attend it; hence the postponement.

I am getting on with the work of the annual meeting. Nothing more at present to add. Are you going to Delhi ?

Please acknowledge receipt of all the papers that I am sending you.

With greetings,

Fraternally Yours,

Sd/- S. S. MIRAJKAR.

9th February.

AN OPEN LETTR TO THE ALL PARTIES CONFERENCE .

Gentlemen ,

The All Parties Conference meets at a momentous hour and faces a momentous task. The Nation has shown by its reception of the Simon Commission that it wants Swaraj and is able and willing to fight for it. It has fought the first engagement, and won. It now waits expectantly for the next step. What that step is to be, whether it will lead us on to victory, or to defeat, or worse, to an ignoble compromise, depends upon you .

The Nation demands what the British Government will not grant-Independence, Democracy, and the abolition of the evils of poverty and ignorance. Nothing but our strength will win these for us. Our aim must be Political power, our strategy to rally and organise the whole might of the Nation to bear upon the subject.

Our chief need is therefore a programme, an authoritative statement of our aims and methods, that each man may know how and for what he is to fight and sacrifice. The time has gone when we can be satisfied with vague words. We must know that what we aim at is worth our efforts to attain it. You propose to draft a constitution. We feel that far more is required. A programme for the Nation must have many plants, of which its future Constitution may be one. And we must know how our programme and constitution are to be put into practice.

Many of you seem to look upon the Constitution as the central question of present Political tactics. Is the Constitution to be presented to the Statutory Commission? Or to the Government. If so, it can be intended only as a basis for compromise, or otherwise why demand a "Round Table Conference"? If, on the otherhand, the draft Constitution is intended to be an ultimatum, why trouble yet again to prove that the Government will not grant what we want? Or alternatively, why not more effectively rally our own forces by presenting for rejection our full programme. But if we judge from the drafts which have appeared, you will be concerned, not with the legal and technical details of a Constitution.

We shall raise a further question. Your Conference consists of representatives of Political parties, communal, commercial and similar organisations, and elected members of legislatures. We venture to say that it is no fit body to draft the Nation's Constitution or to lead its campaign for freedom. It is almost as unrepresentative as the legislatures, which speak for 2 percent in the name of the whole. Your Conference will not even, be able to achieve unity among the national institutions. The National Congress has voted for complete independence. If the decision is a serious one, how is agreement possible with those who will not demand separation from the British Empire?

Nevertheless you are in a position to give authoritative guidance to the country. Our aim must be the attainment of Political power and if you give the Nation a real lead in that direction, you will be justified.

The Nation requires a really representative and authoritative leading organ, which can rouse and organise the the populations as a whole, can draft its constitution, and begin the solution of the pressing economic and social problems which confront it. The All Parties Conference, or the National Congress, must decide to convene a National Constituent Assembly which shall undertake these tasks.

The National Constituent Assembly must be elected by universal Adult Suffrage. No other basis will satisfy the people as a whole. It is deplorable that some of the drafts Constitutions al-

ready prepared contemplate a far more limited suffrage. If the people as a whole take part in the movement for independence and that is a condition for its success- their interests cannot be neglected. They must be guaranteed a democratic State completely free from foreign control, and full Political Rights including Universal Adult Suffrage. They need freedom to organise and to express their views, by speech and in the press, the abolition of racial, caste and other discrimination equality of the sexes, universal primary guarantees of such elementary economic legally limited to eight hours, a legal minimum of the chief services and basic industries, the abolition of feudal Institutions, the despotic Native system of landlordism.

It is the only one which can be successful. Independence requires independence. And the All India Congress Committee give a lead in the right direction in only one way - the formation of a Constituent Assembly, based on the principle of universal suffrage to which the leadership of the future is entrusted.

It is the only ally in the cause of complete Independence.

Executive Committee,

Workers' and Peasants' Party.

P. 1832.

Rejected

Letter dated 26th January 1927 from S. S. Mirajkar. Pro. Secy, Congress Labour party, Khandke Chawl No. 2 Dadar, Bombay, to D. R. Thengdi Esqr. 229 Sadashive Peth Poona City.

(Vide Exh. P. 855)

P. 1833 (P).

Letter dated 6-12-28 from P. Spratt, Calcutta, to a Comrade, enclosing the following articles:—

(1) Functions of the sub-Committee

(2) Draft of Proposed statement —

“Labour and Swaraj.”

(3) Draft of statement by the Trade Union Congress on the Nehru Committee's Report and Constitution.

(Vide Exh. P. 543 (3))

SEVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY'S
BRANCH-LIBRARY
BOMBAY

P. 1834.

Date of Censorship:— 31st May 1928.

Sender's name and address:— Muzaffar Ahmad, The Workers' & Peasants' Party of Bengal, 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

Date of the letter:— 28th May 1928.

Addressee:— S. V. Ghate, Secretary, the Workers' & Peasants' Party of Bombay, 17, Dwarkadas Mansions, Sandhurst Road, Bombay.

Copy, Substance, Extract & C.

Dear Comrade,

Nothing has been heard from you for a long time. I am writing to you this letter with a view to remind you that the “Provisional Committee of the Workers' and Peasants' Party of India,” must now meet once. It is true that we are all engaged in strikes, but, that is no plea that we should not meet at all. Half the portion of the year has nearly passed away, yet we have not met once. Our meeting, I believe, will facilitate our works. We must not forget that we are to hold our First All-India Conference in Calcutta in December next. If we do not begin work for it now it will surely be failure. So, we must not keep ourselves engaged only in one work. Please inform me whether it will be convenient for you and Dange to come to Calcutta for the purpose of the meeting

of the Provisional Committee. As the majority of us including Comrade Spratt are living here, this, this that is your coming to Calcutta will save us a great deal of money. I have already written to Majeed to this effect. Please reply at once.

As to other informations, the workers of the Keshoram Cotton Mills of Calcutta, have gone on strike for more than a week. A fresh strike of the Calcutta scavengers is imminent. We are thinking of restarting "Ganavani" from the 14th June. The thesis and resolutions of our party Conference have been sent to the press. The book will be published under the name of "A call to Action." Com. Spratt and Goswami have gone to Ondal (E. I. R.) to conduct a new railway strike there. One of your party members is being prosecuted in connection of the Lillooah strike. Please send us cuttings of newspapers whenever you can make time.

Nothing more to-day, with greetings-

Fraternally Yours,

Sd/- Muzaffar Ahmed.

P. 1835.

CONFIDENTIAL.

Date of Censorship:— 29. 11. 26.

Sender's name & address:— Nil

(Post stamp of Calcutta).

Date of the letter:— 26. 11. 1926.

Addressee:— V. S. Pawar,

Shilotri Bank, Girgaum Branch,

BOMBAY No. 4.

Dear M.

In addition to all the enclosed I want to explain that till now I have not had time to draw up the suggested constitution for the Bombay Labour League. I hope you will excuse on the grounds that it will be forthcoming in the course of the next few days. This need not however deter you from getting on with the spade

work and with S back to help you I hope to get a good report from you when I am able to give you my permanent address. Tell S that I meant to ask him to do a special article on the Significance of the Indian Elections for the Lab Monthly, but I didn't see him before I left. Ask him on my behalf to do it in at least two copies give them to J he is in charge of my postal affairs. One will come to me and the other will go to it's destination. If it is left unsigned it can go to either the Rev or the other one. Try and get him to do it for the next mail.

Will write you on other matters later

On the reverse of this note the following pencil:—

To M.

Pleas

NOTE:— The following were enclosed with the

- (1) A letter dated 26th Nov. 26 from as D to J.
- (2) A typed copy of the Draft of Resolu to the A. I. C.C. and the National Congress.

Both these have been printed before.

(Vide Exh. P. 1144).

P. 1836 (P).

37 Harrison Road,
CALCUTTA.

3-2-1926.

My dear Joglekar,

Your letter is to hand. Here with the copy of the letter I have sent to Mr. Joshi. Please do what you can. In any case the money must be realised from him. I believe, poor Com. Ghate is in

troubles. Please note that Mr. Joshi collected Rs. 300/- at Benares while coming to Calcutta.

Please reply soon.

Yours.

Muzaffar Ahmad.

Com. K. N. Joglekar, B.A.

P. 1836 (P)(E)

Superscription on the envelope:—

K. N. Joglekar Esq. B.A.

168 Fanaswadi

Bombay No. 2.

P. 1837 (P).

37 Harrison Road,

CALCUTTA

3-2-1926.

My dear Joshi,

I am sure you are aware of the fact that I am out of gaol. You know it very well that the Communist Party of India has been formed, and its Central Office is removed to your City. Comrade S. V. Ghatge has been elected one of the Secretaries. He requires money badly for the upkeep of the office and for other work. Rs. 1,500/- were collected by you for the defence of our case. Another sum of Rs. 300/- was made over to you by the people of Benares. Nothing, excepting your personal and travelling expenses, and a few rupees for our comforts in jail during the under-trial period was spent out of the total sum of Rs. 1,800/- for our case. Mr. Ganesh

Shankar Vidyarthee wrote to me saying that Mr. Kapiladeva Malaviya was paid at Cawnpore out of subscription raised by Messers Jog and Balkrishna. Mr. Jog wrote after the appeal was heard, to Halim that the Bombay people did not contribute even a pice towards the fund for the prosecution of appeal. From these facts I gather that you still possess a handsome amount of money of the Communist Defence Fund of which you had been the Secretary and Treasurer. As one of the four accused for whose benefit the fund was originally started, I request you to make over the balance of the fund to Comrade Ghate for the purpose of the Communist Party of India. Nalini is here with me. He also request you to do so. I understand that as per the manifesto issued at the time of the collection of the fund, it is quite legitimate that our Party should have the full benefit of the balance at present with you. So, please give the money to Comrade Ghate in presence of Comrade Parvate and Joglekar.

I am not doing well in Calcutta. Halim is here. He has got an attack of Appendicites. Please let me know how you are faring with your health.

Yours

Muzaffar Ahmad.

To.

V. H. Joshi,

434 Thakurdwar.

Bombay.

P. 1837 (P) (E).

Superscription on the envelope :—

From
Muzaffar Ahmad }
37 Harrison Road }
Calcutta. }

Mr. V. H. Joshi, B.A.
434, Thakurdwar
Bombay.

P. 1838.

CONFIDENTIAL.

Date of Censorship:— 16th April 1927.

Sender's name & Address:— Nil

London.

Date of the letter:— Nil.

Addressee:— S. S. Mirajkar, 2/3, Khandke

Bldgs, Dadar.

Substance, Extract &c.

Sends packet containing the following books:—

- A. 2 copies of "The Aftermath of Non-Co-Operation" by Manabendra Nath Roy.
- B. 2 copies of "One year of Non-Co-Operation" from Ahmedabad to Gaya by Manabendra Nath Roy and Evelyn Roy.
- C. 1 copy of "Russia's Path to Communism" by G. Zinoviev.
- D. 1 copy of "Building up Socialism" by N. Bukharin.
- E. 1 copy of "Lenin as a Marxist" by N. Bukharin.
- F. 1 copy of "Elementary Course of Communist Party Training" with preface by T. B.
- G. 1 copy of "Bolshevism" Some questions answered, by I. Stalin.
- H. 1 copy of "The Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of Gt. Britain."
- I. 1 copy of "The Political meaning of the Great Strike" by J. T. Murphy.
- J. 9 copies of "And Now for Power", opening speech at the Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of Great Britain Battersea, 16-10-26, by T. Bell.

Sir,

The packet contained 4 copies of books by M. N. Roy. (Vide items A & B). As all publications issued by M. N. Roy are prohibited from entering into India under the Sea Customs Act, the packet is detained and is put up herewith for favour of orders.

Sd/- D. M. Somji

19-4-27 Dy. Inspector Police.

P. 1839.

CONFIDENTIAL

Dated of Censorship:—16th April 1927.

Sender's name and address:— Nil

LONDON,

Date of the letter:—Nil.

Addressee:— S. S. Mirajkar, 2/3 Khandke

Buildings, Dadar, Bombay, No. 4.

Substance, Extract & C,

Sends a packet containing the following:—12 (Twelve) copies of the Book entitled "The Future of Indian Politics" by M. N. Roy, published by R. Bishop, 7, Blomfield Crescent, London, W. 2.

Sir,

As all the publications by M. N. Roy are prevented from entering into India under the Sea Customs Act, the packet has been detained and is put up herewith for favour of orders.

'Sd. D. M. SOMJI.

Dy. Inspector of police.

19/4/27.

P. 1840.

CONFIDENTIAL.

Date of Censorship.— 23rd April 1927.

Sender's name & Address:—Nil, Posted in
LONDON.

Date of letter:—Nil.

Addressee:—S. S. Mirajkar, 2/3 Khandke
Building, Dardar.

Substance, Extract & C.

Sends a packet containing the following:—

1. Three copies of "Cawnpore Conspiracy case, An open letter to The Rt. Hon. J. R. Macdonald by M. N. Roy.
2. Six copies of "And Now for power, opening speech at the Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of Great Britain, Battersea, 16/10/26 by T. Bell.
3. Four copies of "The Class Struggle in Parliament" by S. Saklatwalla (Communist M. P. for Battersea.
4. One copy of "The Meaning of the General strike" by R. Palme Dutt.
5. One copy of "Empire "Socialism" by R. Palme Dutt.
6. One copy of "Army, Supplementary Estimate, 1926.
7. One copy of "Army Memorandum of the Secretary of State for war, relating to the Army estimates for 1927.
8. Two copies "Imperialism and Labour, The meaning of British Policy in India, An appeal to the Workers of Great Britain.
9. Two copies of "Lenin on Co-operatives".
10. One copy of "The Reds and the General Strike" by C. B.
11. One copy of "Russian Trade with Gt. Britain and the U. S. A.

Sir, The packet is detained and is put herewith for favour of orders.

The packet contains three copies of Cawnpore Conspiracy case an open letter to the Rt. Hon. J. R. Macdonald by M. N. Roy.

All the publications by M. N. Roy are banned from entering into India Under the Sea Customs Act.

(Sd.) D. M. SOMJI

Dy. Inspector of police.

23/4/27.

P. 1841.

Letter Dated 10th Jun. 27 from Shaurji Saklatwala to Ghate.

(Vide Exh. P. 1287 (6))

1841 c Rejected.

P. 1842.

Letter dated 2/4/26 from Muzaffar Ahmed Calcutta, to K. N. Joglekar, Bombay.

(Vide Exh. P. 1141)

1842 c Rejected

P. 1843.

CONFIDENTIAL.

Date of censorship—31st July 1925.

Sender's name & address—Arthur Field,

Honorary Secretary, East-West Circle,

18, Featherstone Buildings, High Holborn W. C. I.

Date of the letter—29th June, 1925.

Addressee—Sjt. K. N. Joglekar,

The Labour Press, 434 Thakurdwar, Bombay.

President: Mr. B. G. Hornimun.

Secretary: Mr. A. Field.

East-West Cir

Dear Mr. Joglekar,

The East-West Circle of London has decided to hold a conference from 1st to 9th September of representatives of the races of the East and of the West.

The Countess of Warwick has kindly consented to act as hostess and has placed at the disposal of the East-West Circle, Eastern Lodge, sometimes known as the Labour "Chequers". The delegates will spend the whole of the week together and will thus remain in close contact with their fellow delegates from the various countries. The Conference is not intended for any vague or sentimental conversation; the definite basis on which the delegates meet is that the long suffering masses in the West now begin to realise that imperialism pays but a very few of their countrymen at the cost of the common good. It is as much the liberty of the people of the West as the liberty of the people of the East that demands the liquidation of the present imperialist system wherein Western Nations claim domination over the people of the East for commercial or other ends.

The Conference will be composed of delegates who distinctly accept the principle that the time has arrived when the peoples of the East and of the West must enjoy complete and equal political, social and economic freedom, while an international system of fair and equal economic exchange between various nations should be arrived at. The conference will therefore proceed to discuss immediately the possibilities of the complete acquisition of freedom to the conquered or subjugated races. Following upon this discussion will arise the question of future work which could be suitably and safely carried out in their respective countries by the peoples at present under subjugation as well as by those not thus subjugated. Details of this work will be settled at the Conference and would then form the immediate programme for the delegates on which to create the necessary organisation on their return to their respective countries. It is felt by the East-West Circle and the delegates from the Eastern and Western countries who have so far signified their willingness to attend, that your presence would be extremely useful and of great value to the struggling masses not only of your own country, but of all countries concerned. We realise the difficulties to be faced in your accepting the invitation but we trust that ways and means will be found in your country by yourself and your friends, to surmount these difficulties, for whenever such a conference should be called these difficulties would be bound to arise.

Yours fraternally,

Signed by B. G. Hornimum, President,

S. H. Saklatwalla, Organiser of

Conference and Arthur Field

Honorary Secretary.

We consider that the above conference will lead to a useful discussion on problems affecting both East and West.

P. 1844.

Date of Censorship :- 3/1/1927.

Sender's name and Address :- Muzaffar, Lahore.

Date of the letter :- 1/1/1927.

Addressee: -K. N. Joglekar, 168 Fanaswadi Bombay. 2.

Substance, Extract &c.

My dear Com. Joglekar,

I read in papers about your activities in Gauhati and I really feel myself proud that one of us took some prominent part in the National Congress. I am sorry that I could not stay in Calcutta while you passed through it. I have been ailing for many months and a change was necessary for me. I have come here to that purpose. I am getting still a slow fever.

Arrangements are being made to hold the Communist Conference here. But the resources at the disposal of friends here are very poor. It is impossible for them to make the things a success without substantial help from the other parts of the country. You will have to think over this matter. This Lahore Conference will be very much important one. It will decide the fate of the Communist Party of India.

The friends here asked Com. Saklatwala to preside over the Conference: His consent has not been obtained as yet. He will, however be reaching Bombay by the 24th instant and I think it proper to give him a reception there in behalf of the Communist Party of India. If you think it necessary I may come there also though I am ailing and my circumstances are very much strained. Please think over this proposition and let me know your decision at once. I request you to give a serious attention to every side of the affairs.

With greetings,
Yours,
Sd. Muzaffar.

P. S. You may write to me to the care of the reception Committee or the care of M. Abdul Majid, Esq. Dhal Mohalla, Mochi Gate Lahore.

P. 1845.

162 Buckingham Palace Road.

Westminster, S. W. I.

March 29, 1928.

Dear Comrade,

I have obtained a specially written article from our Comrade Tom Mann, on the question of International Affiliation and hope you will be able to obtain the widest possible publicity for same. I am enclosing a few copies and the original, and have sent also a copy to the "Forward" of Calcutta.

Yours Fraternaly,

Sd. C. P. Dutt.

S. A. Dange

Research Institute

Bombay 4.

P. 1845. (1).

A manuscript copy in English of an article headed "A message to Indian Workers", by Tom Mann.

NOTE:—This is the same as a typed copy of the same at Exh. P. 1845 (2).

P. 1845. (2)

The International tasks of Indian Trade Unionsim.

A Message to Indian Workers. by Tom Mann.

I desire to send greetings and good wishes to our fellow workers in India, and to express my real pleasure to learn that the workers of India are really organising in Trade Unions and are likely to be using them to raise the standard of life.

We reach out our hands to Indian Comrades who are bravely facing the position squarely and resorting to Industrial organisation. In Britain the Union movement is a relatively old institution and whilst it is rich in experience, it has developed and retains many faults.

Britain's Trade Unionism grew largely when Capitalism was in the ascendancy in this country and the struggle was one of wresting something extra from the capitalist employers rather than what now becomes necessary, the aiming definitely at superceding the capitalist system.

With the rapid industrialisation of India that is now proceeding it becomes an absolute necessity for the workers to organise strongly and militantly or for a certainty there will be additional miseries piled on the workers as the direct result of the revolutionary changes that are sure to accompany the application of machinery and higher forms of production.

It is certainty that increasing thousands will be dislodged from present occupations and will find no other for long spells with the horrors of starvation always at hand. We have had it and we have it now. We have not effectively guarded against the misery that accompanies unemployment which is caused by the changing methods of work because very largely we make use of the unions to fit in with the requirements of the capitalist system instead of determinedly using the power of unionism to establish a good basis for not only a livelihood but for a regular advance, raising our living standard as our power to produce increases.

In short we in England have reached the position when unless we unite more perfectly and demonstrate our solidarity on militant lines Nationally and Internationally then our condition will go from bad to worse; and this is correspondingly true of Europe and of Asia also.

The United States of America is now reaping the results of Capitalism, of private enterprise, of production for profit. The

the United States are in many respects in
tries and their output is greater per worker ;
ew that since 1923 there has been a decrease
workers in factories of 15 per cent. but th
ries is higher. This shews itself in four
ed, and an increasing percentage of those in
employment in luxury trades largely parasitic
in America and in Europe there is only one
vance and that is by intelligent and courageous
organising industrially and battling to raise
er of wages, to reduce the working hours, to
g thrown into enforced idleness, and to do this
pasmically, but as the result of well directed
Union organisation. This is why we in the
movement of Britain are affiliated to the red
our Unions, this being the only International
-capitalist and definitely out for the full and
f Industry by the workers on the basis of
not for profit.

have the great pleasure of the company of the
s affiliated to the some Red international, that
our common enemy the Capitalist exploiter,
and as workers secure our full social and
on.

TOM MANN.

P. 1845 (E).

An envelope having the following address on it :—

S. A. Dange Esq.

Secretary National Research

Publicity Institute

Bombay 4.

India.

P. 1846.

37 Harrison Road,

Calcutta.

22/2/1927.

My dear Joglekar,

You have not replied to my letter. I am writing to you this letter at the request of Saklatwala to say to you and other people that he is willing to meet all socialists and Communists in India on the 14th of March next at Delhi. He prefers the 14th March, because it is the Anniversary day of Karl Marx. You may hold a conference there or you may simply meet him for the purpose of discussion. Please go there if you can so arrange. I am not going there, my financial position will not allow me to do so.

Yours

Sd/- Muzaffar Ahmad.

P. 1846 (E).

An envelope bearing the following address:-

K.N. Joglekar Esq. B.

168, Fanas

B

P. 1847

CONFIDENTIAL.

Date of Censorship :- 7/4/1927

Sender's name & Address :- Muzaffar Ahmed,

37, Harrison Road, Calcutta.

Date of the letter :— 4/4/1927.

Addressee :— S.V. Ghatе, B.A.,

Petit Institute, Bombay No. 1.

Substance, Extract &c.

My dear Ghatе,

I do not know what has happened with you people. Two of my letters have remained unanswered. Really I am very very anxious for not having heard from you. Please write to me at once. Please let me know all about the Trades Union Congress business. Have Com. Thengdi and yourself taken over the charge of the office?

Is anybody from Bombay going to Canton to attend the Pacific Labour Conference? I understand that the Trades Union Congress has received a wire from Canton to send delegates. I shall write to you more when I shall hear from you. How are you doing?

Yours,

Sd/- Muzaffar Ahmad.

P. 1848 (C).

CONFIDENTIAL

Date of Censorship :— 25/2/28.

Sender's name and Address :— Muzaffar Ahmed, P. & W's
Party, 2/1 European Asylum
Lane, Calcutta.

Date of the letter, 21/2/28.

Addressee :— S.V. Ghatе,

751 Girgaum Road,
Bombay.

Copy, Substance, Extract &c.

My dear Ghatе,

I thought none of you are in the land of leaving (?) Your

silence made me think so. But, yesterday I received your letter of the 17th instant. I have received also a cover containing a booklet of the T. U. C. The cover was addressed in Dange's handwriting. So, it is sure that at least you and Dange are living. No registered cover has reached me till today. If you had sent it on the 11th instant why did you not write to me so long and why did you not insure it? Are you quite sure that it was sent at all? May I know please why did you not send it on the 6th instant instead of the 11th? Really Ghatge, you are very very careless. Even when you wrote to me after so many days you did not care to give the full particulars. Now if you have got copies of those papers at all please send them to me at once. Please insure the cover for Rs. 200/- without fail. I cannot understand at all why such harmless papers will be detained by the police. It seems to me that you asked some body to send to me the cover under a registered post, but, he did not care to do so. A responsible man you are! In any case I cannot wait for a thing which is gone stray. You are to send the same again.

I had wired to Dange to send the remaining portion of the manuscript of "Hell Found". But he also did not care to respond to it. It seems to me that whole Bombay has become irresponsible now-a-days. It was not sent even on the 17th instant, I am sure. You wrote it only on mere conjecture.

Our friend Tagore wrote to Bombay Party for a report on textile workers of Bombay, but, got no reply. Please send to him a report at once dealing with the following points:—

1. Total number, 2. per centage of male, female and child labour, 3. wages, 4. working hours, 5. compensation and housing conditions etc. 6. numbers of textile workers' organisations, 7. strength of membership in each organisations, 8. how workers are organised and what difficulties are to face in organisational works?

All these informations are necessary. *He requires the report by the 1st week of March latest.* His address is given below:—

S. Tagore, C/o Miss Agnes Smedley, Holsteinische Strasse
36 Berlin-Wilmersdorf Germany.

Nothing more today. with greetings, Fraternally yours,

Sd/- Muzaffar Ahmad

Date of the letter :— 4/4/1927.

Addressee :— S.V. Ghate, B.A.,

Petit Institute, Bombay No. 1.

Substance, Extract &c.

My dear Ghate,

I do not know what has happened with you people. Two of my letters have remained unanswered. Really I am very very anxious for not having heard from you. Please write to me at once. Please let me know all about the Trades Union Congress business. Have Com. Thengdi and yourself taken over the charge of the office?

Is any body from Bombay going to Canton to attend the Pacific Labour Conference? I understand that the Trades Union Congress has received a wire from Canton to send delegates. I shall write to you more when I shall hear from you. How are you doing?

Yours,

Sd/- Muzaffar Ahmad.

P. 1848 (C).

CONFIDENTIAL

Date of Censorship :— 25/2/28.

Sender's name and Address :— Muzaffar Ahmed, P. & W's
Party, 2/1 European Asylum
Lane, Calcutta.

Date of the letter, 21/2/28.

Addressee :— S.V. Ghate,

751 Girgaum Road,

Bombay.

Copy, Substance, Extract &c.

My dear Ghate,

I thought none of you are in the land of leaving (?) Your

silence made me think so. But, yesterday I received your letter of the 17th instant. I have received also a cover containing a booklet of the T. U. C. The cover was addressed in Dange's handwriting. So, it is sure that at least you and Dange are living. No registered cover has reached me till today. If you had sent it on the 11th instant why did you not write to me so long and why did you not insure it? Are you quite sure that it was sent at all? May I know please why did you not send it on the 6th instant instead of the 11th? Really Ghatge, you are very very careless. Even when you wrote to me after so many days you did not care to give the full particulars. Now if you have got copies of those papers at all please send them to me at once. Please insure the cover for Rs. 200/- without fail. I cannot understand at all why such harmless papers will be detained by the police. It seems to me that you asked some body to send to me the cover under a registered post, but, he did not care to do so. A responsible man you are! In any case I cannot wait for a thing which is gone stray. You are to send the same again.

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1. Total number, 2. per centage of male, female and child labour, 3. wages, 4. working hours, 5. compensation and housing conditions etc. 6. numbers of textile workers' organisations, 7. strength of membership in each organisations, 8. how workers are organised and what difficulties are to face in organisational works? All these informations are necessary. *He requires the report by the 1st week of March latest.* His address is given below:—

S. Tagore, C/o Miss Agnes Smedley, Holsteinische Strasse
36 Berlin-Wilmersdorf Germany.

Nothing more today. with greetings, Fraternally yours,

Sd/- Muzaffar Ahmad

P. 1849. (P.)

Workers' & Peasants' Party of Bengal

2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

The 4th Nov. 1928.

My dear Ghate,

I am so sorry that you have altogether ceased to write to us. We do not know what actually is going on in Bombay. Please write to me at once. An announcement for the "All-India Workers' and Peasants' Party" Conference was sent to you for publication in Bombay papers. Please let me know if it had appeared anywhere. We have not got much time at our disposal. A sum of Rs. 2000/- is to be collected for the Conference. Please let us know at an early date how much you will collect to meet this expense (sic). The Punjab has promised to collect some money; the newly-formed U. P., has promised to collect about Rs. 250/- so you too must do something

Resolutions and Constitution have not yet been drafted. Is any of you going to draft some resolution? Please prepare a report of the Bombay Party dealing with all possible particulars and send us a typed copy of the same. In this way we want to have the report from other parties also. When all are to hand we shall prepare a general report out of them. This will save much of printing cost.

Please do begin a regular propaganda for the Conference. "This will at least make the name of the Party popular."

Please do reply at once and do not avoid your responsibility by simply keeping silence. You promised to send us some back copies of the "Times of India" which you did not. Comrade Spratt has just began (sic) his trade union enquiries.

With greetings,

Yours fraternally,

Sd/- Muzaffar Ahmad.

A receipt book containing 25 RECEIPTS is sent per registered post.

P. 1849 (P). (E).

Superscriptions on the envelope :—

MR. S. V. GHATE B. A.

Secy. Workers' & Peasants' Party

17 Dwarkadas Mansions,

Sandhurst Road,

BOMBAY, No. 4.

P. 1850 (P).

Workers' & Peasants' Party of Bengal

2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

BENGAL PROVINCIAL BRANCH.

February 10, 1929.

Comrade S. V. Ghate

17, Dwarkadas Mansions,

Sandhurst Road, **BOMBAY 4.**

Dear Comrade,

I am quite at a loss to understand the cause of your silence. Do please write to us to say all about the happenings of Bombay. Nimbkar never replied to my urgent letters. I do not know what has happened with him. When does he propose to hold the meeting of the National Executive Committee? One member of Bengal has suggested that it should be held during the Easter (sic) Holidays. Because, Railway concession will be available at that time. Notice must be issued now.

How Usmani is doing? *I believe, he has served a useful purpose in Bombay.* Is it not? You told me to let you know my impression about the new book which was received by us from Europe and which you saw in our possession when you had been here. Well, I gave a very careful reading of the Book and found it absolutely worthless. This kind of presentations is really very

discouraging. We would like to throw it away rather than keep it in our library.

Comrade Spratt wired to London for his allowance, but, have not received any till now. He is very much in troubles so far as financial affairs are concerned.

With fraternal greetings to you all.

Yours,

Sd/- Muzaffar Ahmad.

P. 1850 (P). (E).

Superscription on the envelope :-

MR. S. V. GHATE B. A.

17 Dwarkadas Mansions,

Sandhurst Road,

BOMBAY 4.

P. 1851 (P).

POONA CITY

23-8

Dear Comrade,

Your card of 21-8-28. Yes, I should like to meet friends to have a talk on some important points. So kindly hold a meeting of E. C. on 28th or 29th evening or night, as it suits you all. In the meanwhile, had you sent me a copy of statement, it would have been ever so much better.

Fraternally yours,

Sd/- D. K. T.

P. 1851.

Superscription on the Post Card :—

Mr. S. V. Ghaté

Peasants' & Workers' Party

17 Dwarkadas Mansions

Sandhurst Rd.

BOMBAY No. 4.

P. 1852. (P).

League against Imperialism.
and for Independence.

International Secretariat.

Jawahar Lal Nehru Esqr.

Berlin 2nd Jan. 1928.

Anand Bhawan,

Allahabad.

Dear Comrade Nehru,

This is to inform you that we have received your telegram of January 12th reading as follows:—

‘Intend sending one representative
your congress subject transport
facilities no definite news John-
stone probably deported from
Bombay—Congress.’

January 21st. Comrade Johnstone has safely arrived in Berlin,
and by next mail you will hear more about him.

Enclosed please find 5 copies of the Statutes of the League
as accepted by the Executive Committee.

A detailed letter on the meeting you will receive by next mail.

Yours fraternally,

League against Imperialism,

International Secretariat,

Berlin, S.W. 48., Friedrichstr.

24.

Willi Munzenberg. Sd. ppa. Chattopadhyaya, E. W.

We have not received any news from you since the last two weeks.

P. 1852. (P) (E).

Address on the envelope :—

Jawaharlal Nehru Esqr.,

Anand Bhawan,

Allahabad.

P. 1852. (1). (C).

A typewritten copy of the draft statutes of the League Against Imperialism and for National Independence.

(Vide Exh. P. 1647. (P).)

P. 1853. [C].

CONFIDENTIAL.

Date of censorship—7-4-1927.

Sender's name and & address—Thos, Cook & Son Ltd.,

P. O. Box 46,

Bombay.

Date of the letter —6-4-1927.

Addressee—K. N. Joglekar, 168 Fanaswadi Bombay 2.

Dear Sir,

With reference to your recent call regarding three second class passages to Hongkong, we are glad to inform you that we have reserved—second class three-berth cabin No. 11/3 in the "Nyanza" leaving here on or about 12th inst.

Will you please come early to pay us the full cost of p money to enable us to prepare the tickets as there is not much left.

Awaiting your early decision.

Yours faithfully,

Pro. Thos. Cook & Son Ltd.,

Sd. J. E. WALLER.

P. 1854 (P)

34. Holland Hall,

Allahabad.

Dear Comrade Sah,

You are so respectable (1) as to need a reminder abt. writing to the Kranti Kari about the Bombay strike in a very popular way—a very detailed account remember. What is a strike - A general strike - the history of the strike - the role of humanitarian and opportunist leadership - the nature of the oppo. of the millowners - the classes - the press - general view point to be stressed always - class and unsurprisingly militant lead.

Our Labour - this you promised to write a weekly Bombay letter. You alone could afford to do it, we know the other comrades are so busy.

Friends here who read Hundred Percent, call it very pungent, some that the Indian mentality is fictitious - their patriotism was bent! It is being circulated. Could you send me some copies more?

When are you going to the Punjab? Masoor wd. say Bombay is too gripping (sic) and you denied it! May I hope you will accede to our requests and it does not matter if you write it in English, they will get them translated.—The editor The Kranti Kari, Jhansi, U. P. With greetings,

Fraternally,

Sd/- P. C. JOSHI.

P. 1854 [P]. [1].

Letter dated nil from P.C. Joshi, 34 Holland Hall, Allahabad, to S. V. Ghate, Bombay.

(VIDE EXH. P. 1304).

P. 1854 (P). (E).

Superscription on the envelope:

SECY.

BOMBAY WORKERS AND PEASANTS' PARTY

17 Dwarkadas Mansions.

BOMBAY. 4.

P. 1855

TRADE DISPUTES BILL.

2/1 European Asylum Lane,
Calcutta.

11 August 1928.

Dear Comrades,

You must have been made aware of the Trade Disputes Bill which is to come before the Legislative Assembly during the next Session, and the threat conveyed by it to the very existence of the Trade Union movement. There can be no doubt that if it is passed, it will be ruthlessly enforced against all working-class activity, and can only be a prelude to similar legislation against the activities of peasants.

This Party feels strongly that only united and strong action on the part of all working-class and peasant organisations, now, can stop the passage of this bill. We have accordingly asked the Bengal Trade Union Federation to convene in cooperation with us a Conference of all Trade Unions and Peasant organisations in Bengal, Bihar and Assam, for which we propose the following agenda.

(1) Measures of resistance to the Trade Disputes Bill such as

- (a) campaign for increasing Union membership
- (b) organisation of unorganised workers
- (c) establishment of Trades Councils in all industrial towns
- (d) amalgamation of overlapping Unions
- (e) campaign of propaganda for a general strike with the following demands (1) Trade Disputes Bill to be rescinded (2) all Unions to be allowed to affiliate to the Trade Union Congress (3) legislation for a minimum wage of Rs 30 (4) universal adult suffrage.

(2) Assistance to Jamshedpur workers and any others involved in strikes.

(3) Mass demonstrations of workers on landing of Simon Commission.

(4) Consideration of All Parties Conference decisions.

We hope that you will assist in this campaign, and will send a good representative delegation to the Conference, which should be called within three or four weeks. Meanwhile we hope that you will receive and circulate among your members the periodicals "Ganavani" and "Lal Nishan" in which we shall conduct a campaign against the Bill, and the special leaflets etc. which we shall prepare.

Yours fraternally,

Executive Committee.

P. 1855 [E].

Mr. S. A. Dange

Wadekar Building,

Bombay No. 4.

P. 1856 (P)

4. Elmsdale Rd.

W'stow. E. 17.

6-11-28.

My dear Ben,

Your welcome letter to hand this mail.

We have seen to what you asked. Let me know if its alright.

• • • • •

From yours loving

Sd./ Mam.

P. 1856 (P) (E).

Superscription on the envelope :-

Mr. B. F. Bradley.

C/o Mrs. E. de Burgh.

Apollo Chambers.

Fort, Bombay.

India.

P. 1857 (P).

1. Nov. 1928.

4 Elmsdale Rd.

Walthamstow.

E. 17.

Dear Ben, I was pleased get your letter and hear you were well. I saw the people you mention and registered a strong protest and was told that in future things would be different. Yes, you are running up a bit of a bill, about 3/10/- now I think.

* * * * *

I went to the A. E. U. dance in Southampton Row last Sat. night, met Jack S. who wished to be remembered to you, also S. Knibbs.

* * * * *

There has been some excitement over P.G. getting discharged from his job, you know where he was working of course.

* * * * *

Well Ben I hope you got your salary right on time this quarter, if not I'll goo them up again.

* * * * *

Your aff. bro.

Sd/ Len.

P. 1857 (P) (E).

Superscription on the envelope :—

Mr. B. F. Bradley.

C/o Mrs. E. de Burgh.

Apollo Chambers.

Fort. Bombay.

India.

P. 1858. [C]

Confidential.

Date of censorship :—5-1-29.

Sender's Name and address:—Mam.

4 Elmsdale Rd. W'stow, E 17.

Date of letter:—18-12-28.

Addressee :—B. F. Bradley.

c/o Mrs. E. de Burgh.

Apollo Chambers,

Fort, Bombay.

Copy Substance, extract etc.

My dear Ben,

Your welcome letter came Monday eve 17 which you wrote the 24 of last month. Its been delayed a week, perhaps you have missed a mail. "You can tell me when you write, I've never missed one."

* * * * *

What you mentioned in the letter has been sent to you long ago, it was seen to at once when we received the wire. I cannot understand its delay. It must be kept by some one. We have sent on journals and hope you will re've them.

From yr. loving

Sd/ Mam.

P. 1859.

January 25.

Dear Phillip,

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

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

I am glad to hear that you are at the Y. M. C. A. and I hope that you are making many good friends. Religion is a great standby, but keep away from dogmatism. There can be good even in Methodism. Unfortunately many are inclined to be uncharitable, and you should not necessarily accept the statements of others at face value.

It is a great pity that David is not in good health. It is a very depressing thing to be ill in a strange country. Perhaps Baker can do something for him. I believe Ewan is still in Dundee.

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

Remember that everyone is anxious to hear from you.

To, Mr. Phillip Spratt

Yours affectionately,

C/o Y. M. C. A.

Sd. Douglas.

Wodehouse Rd., Bombay.

The following appears in invisible ink in some portions of the letter between the lines :—

Letter perfectly good.

obtain no herald for couple of months

carry on

don't prevent Y.M.C.A. conference but secure the amalgamation.

May Pan-Pacific lab conf in Canton
good Ind delegation essential

Thengdi should go

tell Rhug to send few more copies pamphlet

get in touch with Rwan as best you can—e.g. by advt.

do get me addresses for bibles. We have

heard nothing of Victor

look for letters at Cooks. I am putting mss on both forms you signed.

Only just heard about Donald

doing what we can.

re Canton Conference David's job but perhaps you can help. Passage of delegates both ways will be paid. Get T. U. C. sanction but organise thro' our friends.

P. 1859 E.

An envelope with the following address on it :—

Mr. Philip Spratt,

Postal seal of :

c/o Y. M. C. A.

London W. C.

Wodehouse Road,

Jan. 27, 1927. D.

Bombay.

India.

P. 1860.

Workers' Welfare League of India

The Agent of the Indian Trade Union Movement in Great Britain

162, Buckingham Palace Road, London, S.W. 1.

President: Treasurer: Secretary:
Dr. K.S. BHAT. Mr. K. SHELDRAKE Mr. J.E. POTTER-WILSON.

Indian Secretary:
Mr. S. SAKLATVALA, M.P.

Aug 23rd 1928.

Dear Comrade,

I have to thank you for the very interesting letters you have sent to me and also the photographs of housing conditions, and meetings, etc., also the receipts for the moneys the League has been able to collect from the British workers for the strike at Bombay.

I may also state that all the material that is being sent over is made use of in many ways, giving publicity etc, and general information regarding things happening in India. And I would be very pleased to have some more, especially, some photos of the Women demonstrations and Women picketing during the Bombay Strike.

I note that the negotiations between the Mill-owners and the workers has broken down, and that it is now really a test of strength between both parties. I also note that Mr. Joshi is not acting in accordance with the desires of the Strike committee on all occasions and if this is true, it is to be deplored, because it would be very bad for the movement in general if he and many others were to lose the confidence of the workers in this respect. The situation in this country should make it very clear, in regard to the leadership, that once the leaders fail to respond to the demands of the workers, and lead the fight to the best interests of the workers, their day is doomed, despite the fact that it is sometimes a prolonged process. Our activity here is hampered by the same movement. Officialdom tends to sabotage, rather than give real help to the workers, and the best example of this are the attacks that are being made against Mr. A.J. Cook. by all the leaders, without exception, in the General Council. Yet Mr. Cook commands the greatest respect among the workers. This is a very important fact, because ere long the workers will throw up a leadership which will oust those who act contrary to the real demands of the workers. The situation here is indeed very bad, unemployment is increasing at an alarming pace, and Mr. Baldwin has approached about 150,000 employers appealing to them

to give employment to unemployed workers. A ridiculous proposal because employers are never philanthropists, they are out for profits, and profits alone.

This week the Featherstone miners came out on strike refusing to accept a reduction in wages of 10% and it is quite possible that about three other collieries will come out in support within a fortnight or so.

I note that the Railway Federation has met. I would be much obliged if you would keep me informed of what transpired in the conference and whether the Rail unions have amalgamated. This would be an important feature on the whole.

I must close wishing you every success in the real work that is being put in on behalf of the workers of India. I may say that I am writing this on my own behalf the committee having met some time ago and they desired me to express their thanks for the receipts and information sent.

Thanking you in anticipation,

Yours Fraternaly,

Sd. J. E. POTTER WILSON.

P. 1860 [P][E].

Mr. B. F. Bradely.

C/o E. de. Burh

Apollo Chambers.

Fort Bombay.

INDIA.

P. 1861. (P)

C/o Mrs E. de Burgh.

Apollo Chambers

Fort, Bombay.

8-9-23.

Dear Potter Wilson,

Many thanks for your letter by this mail. The information regarding happenings in India I will try to forward to you, at the moment I am terribly busy but have managed to scrape time to write these few lines. The Mill strike still continues in Bombay, the solidarity of the workers is an example to the workers throughout the world, it is nearly five months since the general strike started and many workers were on strike before then, of course what is needed is funds because the owners are hoping to starve them back. We on the strike committee are putting a standardisation scheme up against the owners' scheme, that is accepting standardisation but the wage basis is on the wage's the workers were getting in 1925, before the owners started cutting—how the owners will receive this scheme I do not know, but I do know that the workers are determined to carry on. You spoke about Mr. Joshi in your letter and his having the confidence of the workers, as far as the textile workers are concerned he never has had the confidence of the majority of them since this strike started.

I attended the Madras meeting of the Railwaymen's Federation and I will give you more information about this next mail, there is a report of this in one of the enclosed papers.

I have been able to advise amalgamation of the two big G.I.P. Railway unions and the enclosed papers the Railwayman is their official organ, also I may say I am Vice President of this union, all that can be done at the moment is to bring about one union for one railway. However I must close now as I have got an engagement I must attend, will write more next mail. If you can get any more help for the mill strikers it will be good, by the way there is a big mill strike going on at Sholapur, I was there a month ago. Thanking you and the League for its help, I will close now with best wishes.

Yours fraternally,

Sd—B. F. Bradley.

P. 1861 [P] [E]

Superscription on the envelope:—

Mr. J. E. Potter-wilson

W. W. League of India

162 Buckingham Palace Road

London.

49

(England).

S. W. I.

P. 1862 [P]

Apollo Hotel.

Lansdowne Road.

Bombay.

25-2-28.

Dear Mam & Dad,

I was pleased to receive your letter by this mail, also the letter from Len.

* * * * *
* * * * *

My salary is rather a long time coming through, I don't know what the delay is, I have written to the firm about it.

* * * * *

From your

Affectionate son,

Sd/. Ben.

P. 1863(P)

2/ EUROPEAN ASYLUM LANE,

Calcutta,

18-12-27.

Dear Dange,

I must make what I fear are the usual apologies for not having replied to your letter before. I have been busy of course—I am afraid too that I can't come to Bombay before the Congress. I shall do so immediately afterwards of course, and then we can decide what is to be done.

My own idea was not to draft a constitution at all. It is intolerably laborious to do so, and in the flood of constitutions now pouring out nobody would read it. It is certain that no worker would read it any way. I had thought of preparing instead a short pamphlet entitled "Labour and Swaraj" or something of the kind. If that could be published officially by the T. U. C. it would be a good thing. We can emphasize a few points, universal suffrage, complete independence, etc., which Labour would insist upon in any Indian constitution, and point out what assistance labour can give to the work of obtaining such a constitution. If necessary, we could go into rather more detail about the provisions of a constitution, but I think personally that that would be waste of time, and would possibly commit us to things which later we should want to repudiate. For the moment I think what we want to aim at is a single Constituent Assembly. That is good warcry, and emphasises the national, as opposed to the provincial or communal or linguistic aspects of the thing. It is for the time nothing but a warcry, and so needs little further definition.

There is no hurry about it, I think. We must in any case wait for the Madras Congress decisions, and possibly we shall have to wait until the next T. U. Congress approves before anything can be published. The present kind of political situation will last, I imagine, until the Commission has finally left India, or even has published the Report, so there is no hurry on that account.

I will draft my ideas more definitely between now and the end of the month (this is not a promise but I think I can do it), so as to present them to you when we meet in Bombay. Thanks for the list of members of the Sub-Committee by the way. I shall perhaps see Kishorilal and Sethi about it before I see you. If there is anything you disagree with Violently, you can send a message to Madras, where I shall be, if you are not coming yourself.

The strike is still going on, and has become rather serious. I hope you did not mind my wiring to you, but the need for cash was urgent. A little has since been collected, but more is wanted, & I

think Kishorilal is wiring to Jishi again. There is some prospect of an extension of the present strike to other dock workers. They are keen, but Rand is keeping them back. If they do not come out soon, the others will be defeated for a certainty.

Renewed apologies, and please give my love to those who deserve that favour.

Yours,

Sd. P. SPRATT.

P. 1864 (C.)

A typed copy without signature of the "Draft" of proposed Statement "Labour and Swaraj" from P. Spratt c/o the All India. T. U. C. Sandhurst Road, Bombay, to S. A. Dange. Wadekar Bldg. Girgaum Bombay.

(Vide Exh. P 545 (2))

P. 1865.

B o m b a y

8/9/1923

Dear Miss Smedley,

The attached Bengali letter is meant for our mutual friend S. Tagore. Please see that it reaches him as early as possible. Hoping to be excused for the trouble.

Yours fraternally,

Sd/-Muzaffar Ahmad.

(Workers' & Peasants' Party of Bengal).

P. 1865 (I).

A letter in Bengali from Muzaffar Ahmad to Sonmyendranath Tagore.

P. 1865. [E]

An envelope having the following address on it.

Agnes Smedley.

Holsteinischestrasse 36 II

Berlin—wilmersdorf.

(Germany).

P. 1866. [P]

LEAGUE AGAINST IMPERIALISM

And for National Independence,

International Secretariat

24, Friedrichstrasse, Berlin S. W. 48

Berlin, September 18, 1928

Dear Comrade Jhabvala,

We have not heard from you for a long time in spite of the fact that we have regularly sent you copies of our press service, and other publications. You have not acknowledged receipt of the "Anti-Imperialist Review" of which we sent you a copy of the first issue several weeks ago. We have been following through the columns of the Indian papers the excellent work which you have been doing among the workers especially among the railwaymen, and we hope that in the midst of your numerous occupations you

will not forget to bring about the affiliation of more Indian organisations to the League. We should be extremely happy to hear from you that it is possible to get the "Central Labour Board" also to join the League.

We should be glad to know whether you will be willing to undertake to multigraph and send out our press-service in English, Gujrati and Marathi, if we send you the next in English manuscript. This will mean that you have 1stly to multigraph the English manuscript, 2ndly to have the text translated into Gujarathi, Marathi and also multigraphed, thirdly to send out the press service in the suitable language to newspapers, organisations and persons in the Bombay Presidency. Will you kindly let us know what this work will cost and whether you can guarantee its being done regularly? Please do us the kindness of replying immediately on receipt of this letter.

Yours fraternally,

League against Imperialism,

International Secretariat,

Berlin S. W. 48, Friedrichstr.

Sd/- V. Chattopadhyaya.

P. 1867.

AN APPEAL

TO

Those who are Interested in the cause of the
MASSES of INDIA.

Comrades,

"Ganavani" (The Voice of the People) is the official weekly organ in Bengali of The 'Peasants' and Workers' Party' of Bengal. Though Marxian in outlook this paper is propagating the highest cause of the Indian nation and aims at the complete liberation of India from the yoke of the British Imperialism by the masses of India. The paper is a semi-theoretical and semi-agitational one. As the masses of India are mostly illiterate the main object of this paper

is to prepare an ideological background on a strong scientific basis for the de-classed intellectuals so that they may work with the masses in order to educate and organise them, and to make them class-conscious. The language in which "Ganavani" is published is the richest of all the languages of India and is spoken by more than 48 millions of peoples. Again, Bengali is the mother tongue of both the Hindus and the Muslims in Bengal, and in certain parts of two sister provinces. This not being the case in other provinces "Ganavani" has got unique advantage of making propaganda. So far as its broadest outlook and most advanced views regarding the cause of India are concerned "Ganavani" was one and the only one Journal of its kind in the whole of India till the month of May last when two more weeklies were started—"Krantī" (Revolution) in Marathi from Bombay and "Mehnatkash" (The Toiler) in Urdu from Lahore.

We have just published the 31st issue of "Ganavani." As it is not being backed by big mercantile firms with their advertisements, the paper has been running at a huge loss. The "Peasants' and Workers' Party" of Bengal is lacking in resource. Henceforth, we shall have absolutely to depend for the publication of "Ganavani" on the financial help of those of our comrades, in India and abroad, who are interested in the cause of the masses of India. Any amount of help, how small might it be, will thankfully be received by us. If we be fortunate to get a sufficient response from our comrades we would like to have a moderately equipped printing press of our own which will ensure and facilitate our propaganda work.

Comrades, without resource at our back we have undertaken a very hard task. It is beyond question that we shall incur the disfavour of the British Imperialism, but we are also looked down by our bourgeois nationalist leaders who are so anxious to make a compromise with the British Imperialism to get an equal share in the exploitation of the masses. Comrades, it is your sympathy and material help which can only grant us a long lease of life in the service of the masses of India.

With greetings.

37, Harrison Road,
Calcutta (India).

The 13th. October, 1927

Fraternally yours

IUZAFFAR AHMAD
Publicity Secretary of the

"Peasants' and Workers" Party of Bengal

AND

Editor, "Ganavani"

P 1868.

Not the masses for Revolution—but Revolution for the Masses

THE VANGUARD.

OF INDIAN INDEPENDENCE.

Dated Nov. 6.

Editor,

The Socialist,

Bombay.

Dear Sir,

I hope you will insert the enclosed communication in the next number of the Socialist.

I avail myself of this opportunity to request you to exchange your paper for ours which is sent to you regularly. Failing to get the desired exchange, we sent several subscriptions a year or so ago. Even then, we did not get the paper regularly. Since the subscriptions never ran out, we may expect to get your paper on that account if not in exchange.

In case you can spare more than one copy, please send the second one to Librairie du Travail, 96 Quai Jemmapes Paris X.

Yours truly,

Sd/- M. N. Roy.

P. 1868 (1).

This is an enclosure to P. 1868 above, and the article is headed 'Should the Communist Party be a Secret Society?' This is addressed to the Editor "The Socialist" Bombay.

Note: This has already been printed.

Please Vide Exh. P. 1138).

P. 1868 (E).

An envelope with the following superscription on it:—

Editor, The Socialist,

434, Thakurdwa

Bombay 2

India.

Postal seal of:

Paris

6-XI-24

Depart.

P. 1869 (C)

Confidential.

Date of censorship— 13. 12. 1924.

Sender's name & address—Arthur Field, Battersea, London,

dated 27th November 1924.

Addressee—K. N. Joglekar 434 Thakurdwar, Bombay.

COPY.

It was with genuine pleasure that I saw again the Socialist as I was at fitful intervals a correspondent of poor unfortunate Mr. Dange, the Victim at this moment of British imperial methods and international capitalist influences. I am glad to see the paper going and to note its tone of wise restraint combined with advanced opinion. I enclose a few notes (rather illegible copies, I fear) which you are at liberty to use free of charge. Notes of a similar or identical words may have been sent by me to other journals. If, however, you commission me to write for your publication the writings would be special and exclusive to each journal supplied. Contract work of that character would, of course, be legibly written and (if possible) typed, but cannot guarantee typing.

I am in the unhappy position of having lost my regular whole time employment on September 16th and of having been

totally unable to secure another. As trade is bad in England, and as continued unemployment seems probable, I have conceived the idea of throwing myself entirely in writing for the advanced press, and appealing to that press to try to let me earn some sort of a living from it. Can I hope to write a Londone page, or *World Page of Labour*, for your journal? I am closely associated with the entire Labour and Socialist movement—Trade Union, Cooperative and political—I am right in the thick of international politics and economics. About 30 journals weekly pass through my hands with innumerable circulars, bulletins and reports. I am secretary of several pro-Oriental societies. The chief obstacle to such an application is generally "lack of funds" on the part of the publications. However, I can solve or relieve that difficulty.

Send me word exactly the amount of cash (no matter how small) that you feel you can pay me—either for one article or weekly for a defined period and I will send you writing to the cash value, *pro rata*, on the payment I now receive from equally poor and financially harassed publications like Muslim Outlook, etc. Even a few rupees will help to solve my problem and I will provide you with full money's worth especially if you can make an arrangement for weekly articles. Hoping you can see your way to commission me even if in a small way and trusting to receive a copy of your journal to be filed at the East West Circle, (18 Featherstone Buildings, High Holborn) where I have an office and where Indians see and read all such files.

I am

Yours fraternally,

Sd/- Arthur Field.

In referring to me on your columns following life particulars will be of use to you:—

Founded in 1917 the Workers' Welfare League of India in London. Personal friend of Shapurji Saklatvala, M. P., B. G. Horniman and Tom Mann. Member of First National Council of the Independent Labour Party. Author and Journalist. Member of the following Trade Unions:

N. A. U. S. A. W. & C., and N. U. C. T.

P. 1870 (C).

CONFIDENTIAL.

Date of censorship 9th January 1925.

Sender's name and address:— Marjorie E. Boewer, 63, Dresden
Road, High Gate, London N. 19.

Date of the letter:—22nd December 1924.

Addressee:—K. N. Joglekar. B. A., 434 Thakurdwar,

BOMBAY.

Dear Comrade Editor,

I am writing to thank you for the many copies of the "Socialist" that you have so kindly sent me. I have been deeply interested in reading many articles in them, and as I write for the "Workers' Weekly" the organ of the Communist Party of Great Britain I anticipate finding them exceedingly useful to me.

I wish to order the "Socialist" to be sent to me at the above address - you will notice I have removed for six months.

Will you enlighten my ignorance as to the rate of exchange and let me know how much English money I have to send you?

Although Christmas will be over by the time this reaches you, I should like to send greetings and good wishes for the New Year to you and the Workers your papers represent.

Yours in the Revolution.

(Sd) Marjorie E. Boewer.

P. 1871 (P).

BOMBAY.

Saturday, 31-1-28.

Dear Richard,

After a terrible sea journey I have arrived. Bombay is stricken at present with small-pox, therefore I have been advised to get myself vaccinated as a precautionary measure. Apart from this

I have experienced a trouble, and sincerely hope that my trouble will be no greater.

With best wishes

I am

Sd. R. COCHRANE.

P. 1871. [P] [E]

Superscription on the envelope:—

M. Hasfield.

Libraire di Travail

86 Quai de Jamappes

Paris 10.

France.

P. 1872 (C).

Report Dated 4/7/25 reg. B.D. P. Sinha, Patna,

A cover P. O. (Foreign) My dear Mr. Sinha,

illegible D/18/6/25 P. O. I suspect you are suspecting if I still
Patna D/4/7/25 From continue to be in London as I have not
Motiram G. Desai, 14, written to you all this while. By the by
Rutland St. LONDON did you get my letter and an engagement
N. W. 1. calendar at Venice as you never said you
did. I am feeling you never received it.
I had addressed it to c/o Thomas Cook &
Co. but this I find was a mistake. I had
recently to send a similar letter to a Friend
of mine Professor Bhansali of Sabarmati
Ashram, at Venice. I called at the 'Cook's'

office and was advised to address it at c/o Triestino Lloyd & Co. In my letter I had informed Mrs. Sinha that she could conveniently meet Dr. Miss Dhurandhar at Cama Hospital which is very close to the Victoria Terminus, as Mrs. Sinha did not call on her Miss Dhurandhar is beginning to suspect if Mr. and Mrs. Sinha of whom I had been writing so often are any real people or only Dramatic personance.

It might perhaps have been that Mrs. Sinha might have been too ill-disposed owing to the dreaded sea voyage, to let you stay for any length of time in Bombay and as such she could not have seen my girl.

Your introductory notes proved very valuable. I have been working regularly at the Labour Research Department and have been contributing to one of the labour papers. I wonder if you notice any of my articles in the Bombay Chronicle. They have been appearing recently under a different pseudonym—(From our occasional correspondent).

We have been trying to form a Trade Union Centre in conjunction with people in Bombay and Calcutta for the Indian Laskars over here, There are at a time 1500 Indian seamen in Britain, You might find some information on the subject in my article of the 16th. April.

I get occasional news about your public activities as you are sometime mentioned even in the cables of the Indian Correspondent of the London Times. (your speech on Tata Steel, Bombay—your lead in launching the Indian Labour Party, and your promised support to the Buddhist Ceylonese in their efforts to recover control of Budh Gaya), and now Mr. Prasad. Pro. Bhate and Mr. Goswami have given me first hand news about you.

There seems to have been an unfortunate gust storm in the wake of your marriage.

My sympathies are entirely with you. As I had once explained to Mrs. Sinha, I am also in very much the same position, though in a different way. The opposition of Hindu Orthodoxy is no obstruction to me, it is a painful reality, I and my girl are both struggling against.

Mr. Sinha, if I could have helped it I would not have made the request that I am tempted to do. I am at present in a very tight corner. If you can lend me Rs. 300 you will help me to get out of this ugly situation. The Voice and the Chronicle have financially been of late in very low waters, and have not been able to pay me adequately of late. The Labour Papers here that I have an access to, are very much in the same position as our National Papers. I promise to return the amount immediately on my return to Bombay, early next year. During the last few months I have again and again been tempted to write to you for help, but I postponed doing so as long as I could help it. You have seen how I try to keep down expenses and yet I find myself today very near semi-starvation. Please do not disappoint me. Help and help soon and oblige.

Yours very Sincerely

Sd/. M. G. DESAI.

(My Bombay Address:— 327 Thakur Duwar, Bombay, 2)

.....Do.....In the same cover a card size photo

Mr. M. G. Desai.

Sd. Syed G. Murtiza Bilgrami

4. 7 25.

P. 1873 (P)

Telegram Address: "GANAVANI" Calcutta.

THE FIRST ALL-INDIA
WORKERS' & PEASANTS' PARTY CONFERENCE

2-L. European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

Ref. No.

27/11/28.

Comrade Sohan Singh Josh.

Secretary, Workers' & Peasants' Party of Punjab.

Dear Comrade,

I have to inform you that the Reception Committee of the All-India Workers' & Peasants' Party Conference at a meeting held on 22nd instant, unanimously elected you President of the Conference. I hope you will inform me of your acceptance as soon as possible.

Yours fraternally,

Sd/- Dharani Kanta Goswami.

Secretary Reception Committee.

Mr. Sohan Singh Josh,

Kirti Office,

Amritsar,

Punjab.

P. 1874.

Rejected.

Agnes Smedley

Berlin—Germany

c/o American Express Co.,

55, Charlottenstr.

Women Trained for the Revolution

by

Agnes Smedley.

Before me is a hall in the Prussian Landtag—a pompous hall.

decorated with the gold-framed portraits of very well-fed and very well-dress gentlemen, gentlemen who perhaps never knew what it meant to be hungry or cold or burdened with the burdens carried by the vast masses of mankind. They are German gentlemen by accident; they might as well be Indian, for in India as elsewhere the old Biblical saying remains true—"To him that hath shall be given, and from him that hath not shall be taken away."

But that proverb, like so many other proverbs created out of the age-long mastery of the few and the age-long subjection of the many, will not last for long. There is the rise of the subjected peoples of the earth, and there is the rise of the working class, as certain but as unconquerable as the tides of the sea. And here in this hall, we see the signs today, just as once the sign was given in Russia that heralded the victory of the revolution. Today his pompous hall is decorated with the red banners of the revolutionary proletarian women—the long strips of red bunting graze the lower edge of the portraits of the well-fed. The "Rote Frauen und Maedchen Bund (Red Women's and Girl's Association), an organisation of proletarian women, are in session in their second National Congress. The 30,000 members of this organisation have some about a hundred delegates to Berlin—all factory workers or housewives whose husbands are factory workers. Some are factory workers, housewives, and mothers at the same time—a threefold job that no man could carry. They are from 18 to 50 years of age, some slender girls, and some broadhipped, broad-bosomed mothers who have perhaps borne anywhere from four to a dozen children, most of whom are perhaps dead. The younger ones are bobbed—pretty girls with faces of strength and intelligence. Many of the older ones keep their knobs or top-knots. I counted two pairs of silk stocking amongst the lot. Most of them all wear khaki coats and skirts—for the R. F. M. B. is not an organization for afternoon tea; it is, instead, the woman's section of the "Red Front" of Germany, while has 200,000 organized men, 50,000 organized youth, 30,000 organized women, and some 20,000 organized children "Pioneers." The "Red Front" and all these organizations which form a part of it are the "Storm troops" of the proletariat—men, women, youth and children organized for military action in case of need. Their purpose is openly and frankly the destruction of the Capitalist State and the erection of a Socialist, or Soviet State such as exists in Russia. Seditious? Perhaps. Seditious changes its meaning according to the power of the forces engaging in it. And the Communists of Germany are strong enough to be seditious openly and frankly, to send their members to Reichstag, to conduct open revolutionary newspapers throughout the country, and to command the use of the Landtag (State House) for the sessions of its members. Its all a matter of strength.

And these are the Red Front women, organized in the factories to do their part in the programme, and housewives organized to help in all strikes or others actions of defense or offense. Khaki clad class-conscious, discussing methods of organization propaganda, and a programme such as would put to shame most college men. They all work for their living and they know life and all its problems. They are intelligent, well-schooled in analysis of the present capitalist system and in the Socialist system of Soviet Russia. There were remarkable speeches-not just expressions of emotions-that showed heavy research work, clear thought, forecasts. There was the report on the history of woman's development-why she is more ignorant, more reactionary, more egotistical, more ignorant and difficult to organize. The history of her subjection was traced. And then the speaker outlined *methods* for overcoming this condition, for educating and organizing working women and house-wives that they may enter the struggle for a new society. She showed that from the year 1920 to 1925, the women engaged in as wage-earners had increased from 3.6 millions to 4.7 millions, of which 30% were engaged in industry.

Another gave a very excellent report on bourgeois women's organizations, as well as religious organizations, all of which work to maintain the present economic system. She took each organization and examined its number, its leadership, its methods of work. In her analysis of the Salvation Army, for instance, she quoted from a big German daily saying that the Salvation Army has plantations in India where workers work for practically nothing-for the love of God, as it were, but from which the Salvation Army profits.

The reports on methods of propaganda and the present tasks of the organization were likewise good. The following subjects were covered thoroughly: the new "efficiency" system being introduced, according to the American model, into Germany, together with its effects and the fight of the workers against it; the struggle against the bourgeois-Block now ruling Germany, together with an analysis of its activities during the past year; the preparations for another war and work against it; the many public affairs in which the R. F. M. B. took part and will take part in the present year: the Whitsuntide "Red Front" day the Red Army Celebration, the 10th Jubilee of the Soviet Union, Proletarian Christmas Festivals, and the Commemoration of the men and women who fell fighting for the German Revolution in 1918 and 1923-including Liebknecht and Luxemburg; Sacco-Venzetti activities, etc., etc. The study groups which train the women for revolutionary work and organization, were discussed, and the weak points in the work altogether were carefully discussed and methods adopted for overcoming them and strengthening the organization.

All these reports and discussions showed that the women were in actual grips with reality in every sphere of economic life in Germany. Some spoke in the dialects of south Germany, some in the dialect of feudal East Prussia, square-shouldered strong women from the mining and metal districts of the Ruhr and the Rheinland, and others from industrial Saxony, simple, earnest, determined and intelligent faces; strong, decisive voices of women who knew what they were dealing and what they were going to get. One had the firm impression that if there is another revolution in Germany, these khaki-clad women will be in the front and that there will be no more determined fighters than they. It was interesting to watch the men who had been admitted as guests to listen to the proceedings; they were from the "Red Front," the Central Executive of the Communist Party, from Russia itself, and so on. There were also about a hundred women guests who sat along the walls and listened. It was also interesting to see their interest in India. For when I, the writer, presented my papers as a representative of the Indian press, the executive immediately asked if I would not give a report on labour conditions in India. That night I worked and the next day spoke somewhat along these lines:

An analysis of British capitalist policy before the war, and the post-war policy of economic imperialism: then of the industrial proletariat, of plantation workers, and the agricultural wageworkers; statistics and numbers of industries, with men, women, and children workers: of hours, wages, housing conditions, child mortality; opium policy of the Government; slave conditions on the plantations; of "Justice" for workers in the courts; of trade unions, of laws and lack of laws; strikes; the last resolutions of the Trade Union Congress, of the Workers and Peasants Parties, of the growing Political and class consciousness of the workers; of the wonderful solidarity of Indian workers, as well as the Chinese; of the present boycott of the Simon Commission and the part played by the workers. I ended with the barricades in Calcutta on Feb. 3. No applause followed, although all present had written steadily and intensely as I spoke, not raising their heads. Finishing, I turned to sit down. But I had not had time to even turn around when a slight noise attracted my attention and, glancing back, I saw the entire audience, delegates and guests alike, had arisen, instinctively and as quick as light. Not one signal was given but with one voice they burst into the strains of "The International"

Arise, ye prisoners of starvation!
 Arise, ye wretched of the earth!
 For justice thunders condemnation,
 A better world's in birth.
 No more traditions chains shall bind ye,
 Arise ye slaves! No more in thrall.

The earth shall rise on new foundations,
Yet have been nought-ye shall be all.
'Tis the final conflict,
Let each man stand in his place,
For the Internationale
Shall free the human race.

The song went through the three other stanzas, the audience standing with right hands lifted and balled into a fist—the sign of the Red Front fighters.

Such was the instinctive response to Indian workers and to the struggle of the Indian people to throw off the yoke of British Imperialism. Who would not have been moved at this remarkable show of solidarity with the workers of India; words failed them perhaps they expressed their feelings in song.

For three days the session continued. A report was given by one of the four girls sent on a study trip to Soviet Russia at the time of the 10th Annual Celebration of the Republic. Other reports were by the Financial Commission— in 1927 the organization spent M. 19,000, all of which the members contributed in dues; the Editorial Commission showed some 25 pamphlets and reports on conditions and special subjects for the local organizations to take up; seven proletarian plays were given to draw women to the meetings. The important place of birth control in the lives of women was mentioned. The Red Cross, as a Fascist organization supporting war and supported by capitalist States, was analysed, the speaker showing that at the head of the German Red Cross are not only reactionaries, but actual members of the Hohenzollers Dynasty working for the return of the Monarchy. The fight against Christianity, as the most powerful subjecting influence in social life, was emphasized. In the evening, motion pictures were shown of the life of working women in Germany and of the life of women in Russia today. The sessions always opened and closed with the singing of revolutionary songs, and in the reports on methods, the importance of music was mentioned. The women also made a pilgrimage to the cemetery and laid green and red wreath on the graves of the fallen revolutionaries.

An official representative from the Central Executive of the Communist Party had been sent to speak. His speech concerned itself with the problems of organization—the close cooperation with all Communist organizations, including with the Communist members in the Reichstag and the various Provincial Parliaments. One could see that no Communist deputy could go off on his own in Parliament — for the organization is a closely — knit organization and all Communists under rigid discipline. We also saw that the Communist Party always delegates at least one

member to take part in all other organizations that are not Communist—to speak, to advocate a programme of the Communist Party, etc. In order to train men and women to do this effectively, there are Social-Political Seminaries in all headquarters of the Communist Party in Germany. They penetrate all organizations throughout the country, building an especially strong opposition within the ranks of all trade union organizations. This speech also gave an idea of the various non-Communist organizations that the Communists could cooperate with—one of them being the International League for Peace and Freedom because the programme of this organization says that the way to peace lies through the freedom of subjected peoples and the working class; and it also supports Russia as forming the strongest and most honest force for peace.

The Congress closed by singing "Out to the Sun and the Light."

P. 1874 (E). *Rejected.*

BERLIN

15-2-28. 2-3N,

Charlottenburg 2

Editor, "KIRTI" Magazine,

AMRITSAR

The PUNJAB.

INDIEN.

P. 1875. (P.)

34 Holland Hall

Allahabad,

2 Nov.

My dear Comrade Mansoor,

At Cawnpore I found Kari Harnath a rank opportunist, as you all said and was disappointed but at Jhansi I made up for all this. They have affiliated their party. They are 3 absolutely sincere, wholtime workers though not very intellectual. I leave

in their hands a Railway Union with 5th members. What is more, they have started a Hindi Weekly Kranti Kari for Jhansi, that will be the party organ. Since it is not advisable to give a place to opportunists you will please *immediately* send them an article—absolutely *popular* and in *Hindustani* on the meaning of the General Strike—you have some books on the subject and some articles were also published in the Socialist Review of the I. L. P. and send them *every week* a translation (in popular Hindustani) of one of the articles on theory and strategy for the Labour Monthly (mostly by Lenin and Palme Dutta) there with you. Please attend to it absolutely urgently. The Party paper should not be trash.

What has come out of the formation of the Study Circle. What about the Professor of the Milla? If he is not worth anything, kindly organise 4 or 5 really keen youngmen, they need not subscribe to the party programme. They will be coordinated in the League of Young Comrades of U. P. and Delhi. They will do scientific study of politics, and help you if they please in social and ameliorative work; e.g. in night schools and arranging games for the boys of the labouring classes. It is not a body of party men but a recruiting ground for future party workers. If the Professor does not help, you will please write to me and I wd. try to help the young friends by correspondence as I am doing for Meerut and Jhansi. How do you intend to get a library to begin with. I will send to you a list of what I consider the minimum amount of books reqd.—it comes to about 60/- or in the least Rs. 60/-. You can get most of these from Taraporewala and Sons, Kitab Mahal, Hornby Road Bombay and what you may not there from Comrade Muzaffar.

I will send to you the forms for the League as soon as they are printed. Have you begun organisational work? The vernacular papers report ferment among the scavengers there, just the time for you. Please rush with the industrial labour there: Delhi and Ghaziabad Railwaymen are in your charge. I am sure as a matter of strategy, you will not begin with the propagation of party principles but with palpable and concrete grievances and agitate for their redress and cooperate with the managers and foremen, otherwise the fear of these will not let the workmen even come near you. Having once organised them and won their confidence they are absolutely yours and you theirs. Try to send the Kranti Kari and Kirti among the young village school teachers, they alone can help you there. I will send you the Party forms too as soon as printed. You will write to me how many you require in Hindi and how many in Urdu.

Please send to Krishna Gopal, Editor, Kranti Kari, Jhansi, U. P. list of friends to whom you think a specimen copy should be sent and who will not refuse the next V. P. P. and you will also

write to him how many copies you could arrange to be hawked in through hawkers in Delhi proper.

With greetings—

fraternally,

Sd/. P. C. Joshi.

- (1) Russian Year Book—latest 59.
- (2) Price—Russian Revolution 65.
- (3) Bukharin—Historical Materialism 55.
- (4) Bukharin—Economic theory of the Leisure Class. 55
- (5) Vanguard Press—Soviet Russia Series about 12 Volumes in all e.g. How the Soviets Work, Village Life, Women, Econ: Org:, Health Work, etc. etc. 1/8 each.
- (6) Lenin—State and Imperialism 1/8 (Vanguard Press).
- (7) Jack London—Essays on Revolt 1/8 (Vanguard Press).
- (8) Kripotkin—Revolutionary Pamphlets, 1/8 (Vanguard Press).
- (9) Kripotkin—The Conquest of Bread 1/8 (Vanguard Press).
- (10) Trotsky—In Defence of Terrorism 2/12.
- (11) Lenin on the Road to Insurrection.
- (12) C. G. Sah—100% India.
- (13) K. T. Sah—Russian Experiment.
- (14) Marx—Value, Price and Profit 15 cents.
- (15) Marx and Engels—Communist Manifesto 10 cents.
- (16) Lafargue—Evolution of property.
- (17) Emile Ludwig—Lenin and Gandhi 15/12.
- (18) Fullop Miller—Mind and face of Bolshevism 15/12. exclude them if funds are not permit but they are really grand books.
- (19) Palme Dutta—Communism -/8/-.
- (20) Palme Datta—Modern India 1/11/-
- (21) Trotsky—Whither is Britain Going 1/11/-

Address on envelope:

Ferozudin Mansoor

C/o Shankar Lal, Esq.,

Secy. Provincial Congress

Committee.

DELHI.

P. 1876.

E. I. R. Union.

Asansol.

Dear Comrade,

13-7-28.

Thanks very much for the copies of "KIRTI" which you sent. The workers here, many of whom read Urdu seem to like the paper very much, and if we try, we shall be able to get several subscriptions for you, when they have been paid their wages again.

I was away from Asansol when they arrived, and your letter seems to have been lost. I have not seen it. But I gather you asked me for an article. I am sorry I have not yet written one for you, but I am sending the only one I have with me now, which I wrote recently for the monthly journal "CHITRAMAYA JAGAT" of Poona. If you care to publish it, you can certainly do so, but you should mention Chitramaya Jagat.

Have you written anything yet about the Report of the Royal Commission on Indian Agriculture (or whatever it is? We should be very pleased if you would send me a copy of the paper containing anything about it. Muzaffar can read Urdu, as you know, and he would like to know what you say about the report, particularly in relation to the Punjab. We intend to publish some article on it, with special reference to Bengal, in "GANAVANI".

I expect to leave Asansol very soon, but before I go I want to get somebody who will act as agent for distributing "KIRTI" or at any rate one or two men who will take it regularly.

Please excuse my notepaper.

Yrs Fraternally
P. Spratt.

P. 1876 (1)

A typed copy of an article "RUSSIA AND INDIA".

(Vide Exh. P. 526 (25)).

P. 1876 (E).

An envelope having the following superscription on it:—

THE EDITOR

"KIRTI"

Amritsar.

Punjab.

P. 1876 (P)

A photograph copy of the letter printed at Exh. P. 1876 above.

P. 1876 (P). (E).

A photo copy of the address on the envelope printed at P. 1876 (E) above.

P. 1877.

A pamphlet in Urdu publishing the address of Sohan Singh,
the president of 2nd Nau Jawan Bharat Sabha Lahore.

P. 1878. (C).

Abdul Majid,
c/o Mehnat Kash,
Wadekar Buldg.
Girgaum.

BOMBAY 4.

Dear Mr. Majeedali;

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
copy for being retained with him. I hope to do it if work progresses.

5/12/27.

Yours fraternally,

(Sd) Prov. Secretary.

To

Messrs. 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.

5/12/27.

Yours fraternally,

(Sd) Prov. Secretary.

P. 1878 (1). (C).

The T. U. C. Lett.

When the 8th. 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 a 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 organizers. We moved the inclusion of the names of P. Spratt and Fazl Ilahi Hussain, convicted in Peshawar to five years R. I. In the para of recently started labor organs, only the Indian Labor Review of Mr. Vick was mentioned. We amended to include the Kranti (Bombay), Kirti, Mehnat Kash (Punjab) and Ganivani (Bengal).

RESOLUTIONS.

A resolution expressing sympathy with Aims and Objects of the League Against Imperialism and Colonial oppression has suggested by Sethi (Jamshedpur), but was not allowed. The official party supported by Purcell opposed it on the alleged ground that the League was on off-shoot of the 3rd. International. We exposed the somersaults of Purcell and the Capitalist character of the 2nd. International. Mr. Purcell's attitude in 1925 has brought to light from quotations from his articles in the Labor Monthly on International Unity.

Reaffirming last years Resolutions.

Resolution on Imperialism; (a lit changed) Resolution on China.

Resolution on International Unity, (deploring failure of the Anglo-Russian Union Committee.

A resolution of ours (adopted unanimously congratulated the U. S. S. R. on its 10th. Anniversary).

A resolution condemning the encirclement of the USSR, by the Imperialism states and provocation to war was rejected by the 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/ The XX/ of the organising Secretary of the Council of Action was got for Jhabwala, and that of Assistant Secretary to Dange.

The Council of Action and the Committee to draft a constitution includes the following :—

P. Spratt, S. H. Jhabwala, S. A. Dange.

An informal meeting held at Goweltoli, 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, Joglekar

LAHORE.

2. Ferozuddin, 2 Majid ali, 3 Goharrahman

4. Bhaj Singh, 5. Sohon Singh

1. Muzaffer Ahmad 2. Dharni Kant Goswami;

3 Bhoshak, 4. Kidarnath Roy, 5 Aftabali.

Total 14

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

Wadekar Build.

Girgaon, Bombay 4.

Yours fraternally,

(Sd) Prov. Secretary.

P. 1879.

A short hand note book belonging to Mr. Rashid Ahmed Khan S.I. Punjab C.I.D. in which the shorthand notes and their transcriptions in Urdu of several May Day Speeches are recorded. The following amongst others are considered to be important:—

- (1) Speech delivered by Sohan Singh Josh on May Day on 1-5-28.
- (2) Speech delivered by M.A. Majid on the occasion of the May Day on 1-5-28.
- (3) Speech delivered by Kedar Nath Sehgal on the occasion of the May Day on 1-5-28.

P. 1879 (1).

Short hand notes and Urdu transcriptions submitted by S. I. Rashid Ahmed Khan of the Punjab C. I. D., of a speech delivered by Sohan Singh Josh on May Day on 1-5-28.

P. 1879 (2)

Shorthand notes and Urdu transcriptions submitted by S. I. Rashid Ahmed Khan of the Punjab C.I.D. of a speech delivered by M.A. Majid on the occasion of the May Day on 1-5-28.

P. 1879. (3)

Shorthand notes and Urdu transcriptions submitted by S. I. Rashid Ahmed Khan of the Punjab C.I.D. of a speech delivered by Kedar Nath Sehgal on the occasion of the May Day on 1-5-28.

P. 1880

Confidential.

Name and address of the sender. No address given.

Whence sent. Calcutta.

Date, 7-5-28.

Name of Addressee. Mr. Abdul Majid.

Address. Dhall Moholla., Mochi Gate.

Date of receipt. 9-5-28.

No. of photographic plate if taken. No.

Detained or passed with date in the latter case. Passed on 9-5-28

Name of the examiner. S.I. Badri Nath.

S U B J E C T .

There were three printed documents in the envelope.

1. The Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal's constitution. Printed at Zinat fine Printery at 38, European Asylum Lane, Calcutta, and issued by the Central Office, 2/1, European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

It is given that the name of the Party in Bengali will be Bangiya Krishak-o-Sharamik Dal, and it shall be the integral part of the Workers' and Peasants' Party of India. The object of the Party is the attainment of *Complete Independence* from *British Imperialism* and through democratisation of India based on economic and Social emancipation and Political freedom of men and women.

The following is a list of the members of the Executive Committee for 1928.

1. Atul Chandara Gupta, M. A. B. L., Chairman.
2. Naresh Chandra Sen Gupta, M. A. D. L. Vice-Chairman

2. Muzaffar Ahmad, Genl. Secretary.
4. Dharani Kanta Goswami, Sectional Secretary, (Labour.)
5. Kalidas Bhattacharaya, Member.
6. Nikhil Roy. „
7. Gopendre Chakravarty „
8. M. Abdur Razzak Khan, „
9. Abdul Halim, „
10. Aftab Ali. „
11. Nirod Kanta Chakravarty „
12. Pyari Mohan Das. „
13. Sudhindra Nath Chakravarty „

2. The second pamphlet is a report of the Executive Committee of the Peasants' and Workers' Party of Bengal for 1927-28. It is published by Muzaffar Ahmad from the office of the Peasants' and Workers' Party of Bengal at 2/1 European Asylum Lane Calcutta and printed by S. C. Mazumdar at the Sri Gouranga Press, 71/1, Mirzapur street, Calcutta.

3. The third is a preliminary report of the annual Conference of Workers' & Peasants' Party of Bengal (Bhatpara 1928) entitled "A CALL TO ACTION." It is published for the Workers' & Peasants Party of Bengal by Muzaffar Ahmad at the office of the Party, at 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta, & printed by S. C. Mazumdar at the Sri Gouranga Press. 71/1 Mirzapur Street, Calcutta.

Sd/- Badri Nath,

9-5-28.

D.S.P. B.I.

P. 1881.

Shorthand notes & their transcriptions in Urdu submitted by S. I. Badri Nath of the Punjab C.I.D., of a speech delivered by M. A. Majid at Jaman (Dist. Lahore) on 13-5-28.

P. 1882.

Short hand notes & their transcriptious in Urdu submitted by S. I. Badri Nath of the Punjab C.I.D., of the Presidential speech delivered by Sohan Singh at the first sitting of the Nau Jawan Bharat Sabha Lahore on 22-2-29.

P. 1883.

A note book belonging to S. I. Badri Nath of the Punjab C. I. D., containing notes in Urdu of speeches made by M.A. Majid, K. N. Saigal, & Sohan Singh Josh at Jullunder on 26-5-28.

P. 1883 (1).

Notes in Urdu of a speech made by M. A. Majid at Jullunder on 26-5-28.

P. 1883. [2].

Notes in Urdu of a speech delivered by Kedar Nath Siagal at
Jullunder on 26-5-28.

P. 1883. [3]

Notes in Urdu of a speech delivered by Sohan Singh Josh at
Jullunder on 26-5-28.

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

P. 1884

A shorthand note book submitted by S. I. Badrinath of the Punjab C. I. D. containing Urdu transcriptions of speeches delivered by Sohan Singh M. A. Majid and others between 18-8-28 and 9-9-28

P 1884 (1).

Transcriptions in Urdu submitted by S. I. Badrinath of the Punjab C. I. D., of a speech delivered by Sohan Singh at the Jallianwala Bagh, Amritsar on 18-8-28

P. 1884. (2).

Transcriptions in Urdu submitted by S. I. Badrinath of the Punjab C. I. D. of a speech delivered by M. A. Majid at the Jallianwala Bagh, Amritsar, on 18-8-28.

P. 1885.

Sir,

My friend Mr. Ferozudin Mansoor has come to see me and others from Lahore.

Please allow him pass to attend the court and interview us.

Yours Truly

S. A. Dange.

S. P.

Permitted Under

Sd. R. M. W.

Careful

19/9/29

Sd. R.

19-9-

P. 1886.

" KIRTI "

The only Labour organ in Punjabi,

Amritsar 12th January 1929.

Dear Comrade Muzaffar,

The report published in the newspapers that Abdul Majid has been re-arrested under 124 A is wrong. He has been released on bail.

Please send me the receipt of Rs. 13 annas 13 pies 9, because the Manager wants it. Send it without fail immediately.

Yours Comradely

Sd. F. D. Mansur

P. 1886 [E].

An envelope with the following superscription on it:—

Muzaffar Ahmed

C/o Workers' & Peasant's,

Party of Bengal,

2/1 European Asylum Lane

Calcutta.

P. 1887

Pages 7 to 10 of the Bombay chronicle dated September 15, 1928, containing the following article :—

M. N. ROY'S CHALLENGE TO GOVERNMENT

—:0:—

Produce the Original Letter

REFERENCE TO JAWAHARLAL

A "DOWNRIGHT LIE"

To the Editor of "The Chronicle."

Sir,—Some days ago the "Times" correspondent from Delhi cabled what was purported to be extracts from a letter written by me to the Central Committees of the Communist Party and Workers' and Peasants' Party of India. According to the report; this letter, alleged to be written by me, was dated sometime in December last year, but made public by the police only a few days ago. In a subsequent message to the "Times" dated Aug. 26, it is stated that in this fictitious letter I mentioned Jawaharlal Nehru "as liaison agent between Moscow and India".

I hereby declare that I did not address any such letter to anybody in India. The statement about my referring to Mr. Nehru "as liaison agent" is a downright lie. I challenge the Government of India to produce the original of this mysterious letter with my signature.

Obviously this latest "letter of Roy" has been invented as a pretext for the proposed legislation against the Communists. A cable to the "Times" dated Simla, Aug. 24 gives a purport of the Public Safety (Removal from India) Bill, and says: "The recent publication of M.N. Roy's letter to the Communists in India has directed public attention to this evil relation of the Indian Labour movement with International bodies of similar character.)" If this letter proves the necessity for new repressive legislation, why has the Government been sitting tight on it all this time since December?

Hoping that the elected Nationalist Members of the Assembly will throw out this repressive measure.—Yours, etc.,

Moscow, Aug. 29.

M. N. ROY.

P. 1888.

To

The Editor "FORWARD" Calcutta.

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The scheme of the things is very obvious. The imperialist government wants to suppress the young labour movement in India. Some plausible pretext must be there. A "letter of Roy" is forged with a back-date,..... because one supposed to be written just in time to help the government out of the difficulty would be too fishy.

Hoping that the elected nationalist member of the Asssmbly will throw out this repressive measure, I remain, yours faithfully,

Sd. M. N. Roy.

Crisis in the German Social Democratic Party

Hardly two months have passed since the Social Democratic leaders helped the solution of the political crisis in Germany by entering the coalition government paractically without any conditions. Already the action of the Social Democratic Ministers has created a severe crisis inside their own party. The crisis inside the Social Democratic Party is very likely to influence the political situation of the country, and the consequences may be very far-reaching.

The last general elections held in May returned the Social Democrats as the single largest party in the Reichstag as well as in the Prussian Landtag. The balance of forces inside the National, Prussian and several other State Parliaments radically changed. The Nationalist predominance was lost, and there was a clear swing to the Left. Half of the total number of votes cast (12.5 in 25 millions in round numbers) were given to the Social, Democratic and Communist Parties. The other half was cast in favour of the six bourgeois parties. The total number of votes cast in favour of the Social Democrats and Communists was a little over 10 millions in the previous election of 1924. All the bourgeois Parties with out exception lost. The German Nationalist Party (Monarchist, representing mainly reactionary landed interests) received 4,359,586 votes and 73 seats in this election as against 6,122,255 votes 103 seats in the previous. The German Peoples' Party (predominantly Monarchist, representing big industrial interests) poled 2,669,549 votes and got 44 seat as against 3,017,132 votes and 56 seats in the previous election, The Centre Party's (Catholic, representing industry) loss was from 4,061,593 votes and 69 seats to 3,705,000 votes and 62 seats. The Democratic Party (Republican, representing the intellectuals and the urban petty bourgeoisie) lost from 1,900,000 votes and 32 seats to 1,500,000 votes and 25 seats. The Peoples' Nationalist Party of Ludendorf (Fascist, representing rank Monarchist militarist reaction) was practically swept off the board. On the others side, the Communists pcled 3,232,875 votes as against 2,679,429 in the previous election raising the number of their seats in the parliament from 45 to 54 and the Social Democratic Party poled over 9,000,000 votes and increased their seats in the parliament from 103 to 152.

The lesson of this change in the situation was obvious. The majority of the German people have discarded monarchist traditions; and more they are disillusioned about the capitalist

republic which has made a rapid recovery from the effects of the war and Versailles Peace Treaty at the expense of the toiling masses. Indeed, the majority of the working class did not yet go all the way to the Communist Party, but their votes were cast clearly on class lines. By casting their votes, in millions, for the Social Democratic Party and for the Communists the working class expressed their disbelief in bourgeois republicanism, and revolt against capitalist rationalization. Even considerable petty bourgeois elements, who had been expropriated by the policy of inflation, deserted the nationalist camp and voted for the Social Democratic candidates.

The immediate consequence of the general election was political crisis which on the face of it, appeared insurmountable within parliamentary limits. With the given distribution of parliamentary seats to form a Stable government with dependable majority was extremely difficult. If all the big bourgeois parties could possibly unite on a common platform, there would be a majority for the government; but such an all-embracing bourgeois coalition was not realizable. The firmly republican Democratic Party would not enter into a coalition with the avowed monarchists of the German Nationalist Party. On the question of Monarchy the Centre Party was also divided. Its republican wing led by the former Chancellor, Wirth, was decidedly against a coalition with the reactionary monarchists. And above all, no government could be secure in its place without the support (open or veiled) of the largest Social Democratic Fraction—more than twice as big as the second largest Nationalist Group. So, the Social Democratic Party was the master of the situation. And with *nine million* people backing it, it could dominate the situation, if it would. The alternatives before the Social Democratic Party in the juncture were either to enter into a coalition with some of the bourgeois parties and carry on the business of the capitalist republic; or to make bourgeois parliamentary government impossible as preliminary for the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist system by the working class. Though objectively the situation was thus, the Social Democratic leaders had their course previously decided. They are against revolution, and, therefore, in favour of coalition with the bourgeoisie. Consequently, they had only to be asked to assume the responsibility of forming a coalition government and thereby rescue the capitalist republic from the political crisis fraught with grave possibilities.

The protracted negotiation for the actual formation of the Cabinet revealed the willingness of the Social Democratic leaders to enter the coalition under any condition. Their theory that coalition governments can be used as means for the realisation of Socialism makes one think that they would enter such coalitions on conditions guaranteeing the promotion of working class interest. Only from

this point of view the socialist workers returned their coalitionist leaders to the parliament with such a large following. But in the negotiation for the formation of the cabinet the conditions were dictated not by the Social Democratic leaders; it was done by the bourgeois parties beaten in the election. Fear of revolution, anxiety to save the capitalist republic, obliged the Social Democratic leaders to forego their victory, to betray the nine million voters, who sent them to the parliament to fight the capitalist system, and willingly accept the conditions dictated by the bourgeoisie. Otherwise, they must, together with the Communists oppose the bourgeois coalition with a precarious majority causing a permanent parliamentary crisis. The inevitable result would be dissolution of the parliament and new election before long. In the new election the Social Democratic and Communist victory would be still greater. With a possible working class majority in the parliament the Social Democrats leaders would have no longer any excuse against the enforcement of a hundred per cent socialist programme. The class struggle would, in that case, inevitably develop into a open civil war. For, the bourgeoisie would not give in their position of power and privilege in obedience to an act of parliament. The motive of the Social Democratic coalition politics is the anxiety to prevent the sharpening of the class struggle to this pitch.

The first stage of the negotiation for the formation of the cabinet with the Social Democrat Herman Mueller as Chancellor was about the nature of the coalition. Should it be the so-called *Weimer Coalition* or *Grand Coalition*? The former is a coalition of the parties that unconditionally accept the Republican Constitution promulgated by the Constituent Assembly at Weimer Coalition with a Social Democratic Chancellor. The latter is the broadening of the coalition by adding the Peoples' Party whose acceptance of the Republican Constitution has never been unequivocal. The Grand Coalition was first formed by Stresemann in 1924 after the Social Democratic leaders and helped the bourgeoisie to defeat the revolution of 1923. In view of the fact that the popular verdict given in the election was decidedly antimonarchist, Weimer Coalition should be the constitutional government, if a coalition it should be. Herman Mueller violated even this logic of bourgeois democracy by undertaking, at the express desire of the monarchist president of the republic, Hindenburg, to form a Grand Coalition with the quasi-monarchist Peoples' Party. The insistence upon the Peoples' Party's joining the Coalition (in reality as the dominating factor) is not owing to its lingering adhesion to the decayed and discredited monarchy. The reason is that it is the Party of the great industrialists. There was also an international factor involved. The leader of the Peoples Party Gustav Stresemann, has successfully brought Germany in the orbit of British imperialism. An ardent promoter of international trustification of industry, he has even become a persona grata in

France. He has freed German foreign policy, on the one hand, from the Fascist doctrine of *revanche*, and, on the other, hand, from the tendency of a reprochement with the Soviet Union to resist the domination of Entente imperialism—a tendency represented by liberal democrats like Rathenow (killed by the Fascists) and Wirth. In other words, Stresemann is the father and promoter of the policy of “west orientation” in Germany’s foreign relation. This policy has brought Germany back inside the constellation of the imperialist nations (League of Nations) preparing war against the Workers’ and Peasants’ Republic. Entente imperialism desires that Stresemann remains at the helm of German foreign policy; and this desire must be taken into consideration while forming any government in Germany which wants to defend the present order of things. Of course, in view of the fact that the Social Democratic Leaders, even while in opposition enthusiastically supported the foreign policy of Stresemann, there could not be any danger of their changing it. Still, a Stresemann with the heavy industry behind him is always more reliable than a Social Democratic Foreign Minister sitting dangerously upon the seething volcano of nine million working class votes. So, under the given conditions, no government of the Hindenburg-Republic can dispense with Stresemann; and Stresemann would not enter a Government unless he could dominate it in the interest of the heavy industry. So, it was under these fundamental conditions that the Social Democrat Herman Mueller formed the government of *Grand Coalition*. The Social Democratic leaders acted not according to the will of the nine million voters who supported them believing that they would fight against capitalism; on the contrary, they acted under the dictation of German heavy industry and international finance capital.

But nine million people, majority of whom are class conscious Socialist workers, cannot be treated as a herd of cattle. The shameless action of the leaders has precipitated a severe crisis in the Social Democratic Party before the grand coalition Government is hardly two months old. Once it was settled that the Social Democratic Chancellor should form a Grand Coalition, there rose the question of the programme of the government.

This question had also been predetermined. The Social Democratic ministers had nothing to say, unless they were prepared to go out of the coalition, — and such a road led towards revolution. The programme of the coalition Government should be to promote the interest of German capitalism developing into neo-imperialism. Knowing that the prospective Social Democratic ministers would not dare form a coalition government without him (and his party) Stresemann took the initiative. As the condition *Sin quo non* of its entering the coalition the Peoples’ Party demanded that the composition of the Prussian Government should be changed also into a Grand Coalition. Now, ever since the establishment of the Republic

there has been a government of Weimer Coalition in Prussia with Social Democratic Prime Minister. On many occasions under the pressure of the bourgeoisie, the Social Democratic leaders were willing to enlarge the Prussian Coalition, but the masses prevented. Finally, the issue was revived in the negotiation for the formation of the national government. The Social Democratic leaders could not give in openly without invoking the hostility of their party. On their accepting, in principle, the condition of the Peoples' Party in secret negotiation, the actual reconstitution of the Prussian government was postponed until the reopening of the Prussian Diet in autumn. The Peoples' Party agreed to make this apparent compromise to prevent that the Social Democratic leaders were forced by their followers to abandon the policy of coalition. Together with the question of the reconstitution of the Prussian government that of the programme of the new national government was also postponed. That is, the Social Democrats agreed to enter the government in coalition with the bourgeoisie without any condition.

While agreeing to pigeon-hole all the essential questions as regards the policy of the new government the Social Democratic leaders desired a decision on four points of minor importance. They had to do some thing to cover their abject surrender to the bourgeoisie in order to deceive the nine million voters. The points on which they desired a previous decision were: 1. Amnesty for the political prisoners; 2. Legislation making the date on which the Weimer Constitution was adopted, a national holiday; 3. Educational reform; and 4. Construction of new battle-ships. None of these is remotely connected with the basic issue of the economic demands of the working class, not to mention the realization of Socialism. Nevertheless, they were opposed by the bourgeois parties. Except partial amnesty no agreement be reached on the other items. In deference to the sentiments of the not-negligible monarchist elements among their supporters the Peoples' Party and the Centre Party would not commit themselves as regards the legislation on the national holiday. The Catholic Centre Party was opposed to Educational Reform which would free the schools from the domination of the church. On the last question about the construction of new battle-ship all the bourgeois parties with the exception of some Democrats were united. The previous government of *bourgeois block* had decided to build four armoured cruisers replacing the old one left to Germany by the Versailles Treaty. The decision about the construction of new battle-ships (obviously with the sanction of the *entente* powers) indicates the rebirth of German militarism not as an independent factor of world politics threatening France or the supremacy of British imperialism, but subsidiary to the dominating imperialist states preparing war against the Soviet Union. Germany would be allowed to rearm herself as an outpost in the coming war against the Workers' and

Peasants' Republics.

Now, aversion to armament, hostility to a new war, is nowhere so strong and pronounced as among the German working class which has suffered the most from the last war and its horrible consequences. When in frequent mass meetings and demonstrations the German workers shout "*nie wieder Krieg*" (never again war), they mean it. For Germany, in her present position in the world, to build four armoured cruisers which cannot apparently be of any practical use, at the cost of 40,000,000 marks looks like madness. These 40 and many times more millions could be absorbed in removing, at least reducing, the enormous taxation on wages which breaks the back of the working class. But the present trend of German foreign policy shows that there is method in this madness. Besides, the bourgeoisie have absolutely no scruples in breaking the back of the working class. Should the *entente* powers allow, they would build more battle-ships and increase, instead of decreasing, the burden on the working class. The working class paid heavily for the war which was the result of the ambition of the German bourgeoisie for *weltmacht* (world domination). The bitter fruits of defeat were the share of the working class. It was the working class again that suffered from the consequences of the unsuccessful efforts of the German bourgeoisie to go into fraudulent bankruptcy in order to evade the payment of reparation. Finally, the working class had to toil and starve so that the reparation could be paid. The present industrial recovery has been realised at the expense of the working class. Bitter experience has taught the German workers to hate war, and determinedly oppose the policy of armament which eventually will lead to another war.

Today the Social Democratic leaders are faced with a serious rebellion of their followers in consequence of their cynical disregard for the sentiment of the masses against any war-like preparation.

The solution of the question as regards the construction of new battle-ships was ostensibly postponed together with all other vital issues until autumn when the Grand Coalition should be finally and definitely formed. But under the given circumstance, postponement meant the refusal to consider any condition that the Social Democratic ministers might make, and therefore the continuation of the purely capitalist policy. This being the case, the proposal for the commencement of the actual construction of the armoured cruisers came before the new Cabinet, in spite of the fact that on the insistence of the bourgeois parties the final decision of all outstanding vital political and economic questions had been deferred. The minister of Defence (a general of the old army) pressed for the commencement of actual construction on the ground

that the decision had been made by the previous parliament and the previous government. He argued that the money necessary for the purpose had been earmarked from the surplus in the previous year's budget; so the new government could sanction the actual construction without committing itself to the principle of the matter.

Should the Social Democratic ministers stand firmly by their professed principle of disarmament and pacifism, and act according to the oft-expressed sentiment of the working class, there would be a cabinet crisis leading inevitably to their resignation and a return to the political crisis created by the general election. The Social Democrats are in minority inside the cabinet. There are four of them in the cabinet of eleven. Their opposition to the proposal would be defeated, and they must resign which they did not want to do. Of course, the Social Democratic Finance Minister could refuse to sanction the money, and the Chancellor (Prime Minister), who is also a Social Democrat, could submit the question to the parliament. But such a course would not only reopen, but sharpen the political crisis almost to a revolutionary situation. And the whole theory of coalition is to avoid a revolution as the transition from capitalism to socialism.

So, violating their own principles and cynically disregarding the clear verdict of the majority of the electorate the Social Democratic Ministers sanctioned the construction of the first armoured cruiser. The news provoked the indignation of the masses which has reflected inside the Social Democratic Party as a wide-spread rebellion against the ministers and the leaders supporting their policy.

In a joint meeting of the Central Committee and the Reichstag Fraction of the Party the action of the party members on the government has severely criticised. The demand of several branch organization of the party for the withdrawal of the Social Democrats from the government was, however, rejected. This insolent attitude of the leaders has precipitated such a situation as will liberate a considerable section of the German working class from the illusion of Social Democratic reformism. There may be more far-reaching consequences. Not only the leaders of the Social Democratic Party, but their bourgeois allies also are very much alarmed by the trend of the situation. For example, one liberal democratic paper estimates that as result of the situation the Communists will win 160 seats and the Social Democrats will lose half of their seats in the next election which must take place before long. According to this estimation, which does not go very wide of the mark, 5 to 6 million workers will consciously join the already large (over 3 and half million) army of revolution under Communist banner.

It is sure that either the Social Democratic Party must abandon the Coalition politics or lose a very large section of its following to the Communists. As the former cannot be expected of it as long as it remains a Social Democratic Party, the latter will be the inevitable outcome of the present crisis. The Communist's demand for a referendum to ascertain the popular opinion on the construction of new battleships has received enthusiastic support from the Social Democratic workers. Many important branch organizations of the Social Democratic Party have endorsed the demand. Not only the working class, but even the pacifist intellectuals and petty bourgeoisie are falling under Communist leadership to oppose the neo-militarism of the German bourgeoisie supported by the Social Democratic leaders. For example, a mass meeting the *League of Human Rights* condemned the so-called "Panzerkreuzer Politik" (policy of building new armoured cruisers) and endorsed the demand for a referendum. As the result of the referendum is sure to be against them, the Social Democratic leaders are opposing it on constitutional grounds. This makes their position still worse. Coalition politics are driving them to oppose democracy which they so devoutly worship as the kind goddess who will in fullness of time throw open the doors to the heaven of Socialism. The workers, who have been following them until now, are sure to see what they are.

In spite of the decision of the Central Committee of the party that the Social Democratic Minister should remain in the Government, the rebellion becomes more wide-spread every day. For example, a meeting of the party officials of the Berlin organization have passed a resolution demanding that the Social Democratic Ministers must withdraw their sanction for the construction of the battle-ship, and bring the question immediately before an extraordinary session of the Reichstag. They have threatened to lay down their party functions unless this demand is accepted by the party leaders. Further demands made in the same meeting were enquiry into the action of the Social Democratic ministers, and change of the editorial staff of the central party organ "*Forwards*" which supported the action of the ministers as against the sentiments of the party. In the same meeting numerous resolutions were moved in behalf of the lower organizations (that is, the masses) with such demands as repudiation of coalition politics, and immediate withdrawal of the ministers from the government. The Social Democratic Party organization of the industrial district of Chemnitz (Saxony) has passed resolution actually demanding the expulsion of the Social Democratic ministers from the party. Those who know what authority leaders like Mueller, Hilferding and others had on the party, can judge from these indications that the membership are in the throes of a serious revolt and the

party finds itself in a great crisis the consequences of which are sure to be far-reaching.

In the last referendum of 1925, carried through also under the leadership of the Communist Party, on the issue of expropriating the private estates of the ex-ruling dynasties, over *fourteen million votes* were cast in favour of expropriation. The required two-thirds majority is a little over 20,000,000. If, as can be logically expected, the number of votes in the referendum now demanded rises in proportion with the rise of the total votes cast in favour of the Social Democratic and Communist Parties from the previous to the last general election, the referendum stands a very good chance of success. In that case, the general political situation of the country will be dangerously acute. The result of the referendum must be accepted as a defeat for not only the Social Democratic ministers, but the entire government, which must, in that case, resign, should it act constitutionally. Under given conditions the next general election will produce such a balance of forces inside the parliament that it will be still more difficult to form a government with a stable parliamentary majority. Bourgeois democracy will stand naked in its real character as capitalist dictatorship as was the case in the revolutionary year of 1923. As then, as in the prospective political crisis, the parliament will be set aside (dissolved or prorogued indefinitely) and a so-called "Beamtensregierung" (government of officials) will conduct the business of the country under the orders of heavy industry and banks. When the bourgeoisie throw down their hypocritical mask of democracy and express the determination to maintain their right of exploiting the working class, the latter can only pay them in their own coin by replacing the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie by the dictatorship of the proletariat: by establishing the dictatorship of the majority instead of that of a minority. A frantic desire to avert this unavoidable fierce clash between the dominating and dominated classes as a decisive event in the struggle for Socialism, is the essential feature of the Social Democratic politics. Afraid of the revolution, the Social Democratic leaders refuse to see the logic of events, and not daring to face the vital question of power boldly they hide themselves miserably behind the flimsy skirt of the deceptive goddess of bourgeois democracy. Pinning their faith in bourgeois democracy they have evolved the theory of coalition with the bourgeoisie as a feature of the transition from capitalism to Socialism. The present crisis in the German Social Democratic Party reveals the bankruptcy of the theory of coalition which is a creation mainly of the German Democratic theorists.

The fundamental difference between the Social Democrats and the Communists is on the question of the capture of political state-power by the proletariat and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat as necessary stages of class struggle for the

realization of Socialism. The Social Democrats maintain that the working class will capture political power through parliamentary majority: it is not necessary for them to use violent measures to overthrow capitalism. They accept bourgeois democracy as a condition for Socialism. According to them, Socialism will inevitably evolve out of bourgeois democracy. They argue that the political democracy realised under capitalism is defective, it will be perfected under Socialism, and precisely for this reason the struggle for Socialism should not disturb the democratic institutions—what is already gained should not be sacrificed for winning more. This theory is based upon the acceptance of political democracy as an absolute and not as a relative phenomenon what is really is. Democratic form of state was an improvement upon the absolute monarchical state of the bygone days. The next of stage of development will be Socialism. But as democracy could not be established without overthrowing the absolutist state, so Socialism will not be realised before destroying the democratic state. The Social Democrats are opposed to the destruction of the democratic state. On the contrary, their theory is that the democratic state can be used as the means for the realization of Socialism. Starting from this supposition they discard the Marxian theory of revolution and dictatorship of the proletariat in favour of the politics of coalition. Their alternative to the theory of revolution and dictatorship of the proletariat is that in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism party of the working class should enter into coalition (with the bourgeoisie) governments in order to utilise the democratic state-apparatus for promoting the cause of socialism. The erroneousness of this theory, as theory is obvious. This erroneous theory is based upon a false conception of the character and function of the state. The Social Democrats accept the bourgeois theory that the state is a super-class organism—a political abstract, so to say. But in reality the state is an organ of class domination. As the old monarchical state was used by the ruling dynasties and the feudal aristocracy to oppress other classes, so the democratic state is the organ of capitalist dictatorship. The fallacy of the Social Democratic theory of coalition politics and even of realising socialism through parliamentary majority lies in that that it proposes to liberate the working class from capitalist domination with the help of a weapon which was forged to establish strengthen and defend precisely this domination. Then it is no longer necessary to point out theoretically the fallacy of the Social, democratic conception of the state and democracy and the futility of their politics of parliamentarism and coalition. Events have proved the erroneousness of their theory and the futility of their politics. In more than one European country the fear of revolution has obliged the bourgeoisie to discard the mask of democracy and exercise openly the dictatorship of their class. In others, Social Democratic reformism has helped the stabilization of the capitalist

state thereby saving the hypocritical modesty of the goddess of democracy. It was Social Democratic treason to the working class and blood suppression of the revolution that the child of democracy was not killed at its birth in Germany in 1918. After the revolution of 1918, the German Social Democratic Party was in control of the democratic state as far as such control was possible through parliamentary majority. The president of the new republic was a Social Democrat, and the Government was Social Democratic (not coalition). All the conditions for the realisation of Socialism in accordance with Social Democratic theory were there. But what actually happened was the recovery of the shattered system of German capitalism thanks to brutal exploitation of the working class and the expropriation of the petty bourgeoisie. It happened so, because the democratic state, the organ of capitalist dictatorship, was not destroyed, industries and banks were not confiscated from their capitalist owners, and a new state (dictatorship of the proletariat) was not created to crush the resistance of the bourgeoisie. Even after this experience the German Social Democrats maintain that they would lead the working class towards socialism with the help of the democratic states.

The German Social Democratic Party is the leader of the international Social Democracy. Its theoreticians revised the revolutionary teachings of Karl Marx in favour of parliamentarism and coalition with the bourgeoisie. Therefore the crisis in the German Social Democratic Party on the question of coalition politics will have a very far reaching effect upon the working class movement throughout the world. It will release not only the German proletariat from the influence of reformism; the influence of Social Democratic doctrines will be weakened in other countries as well. The struggle for Socialism will be thus very much strengthened.

The capture of political power is essential for the transformation of the existing social system. The forces making for a social transformation must conquer and ruthlessly exercise the state-power in order to break down the opposing forces and for creating the conditions for the actual building of the new society. The Marxian theory, to which the Communists adhere, of revolution and dictatorship of the proletariat is built on this necessity. For the interests of their class the bourgeoisie set up parliamentarism on the ruins of absolutism. It is but human that when necessary for the preservation of their class interest they will not hesitate to discard the parliamentarism of their own creation. If the working class capture the parliament, the bourgeoisie will fight that parliament. Therefore, the working class must capture something more than a parliamentary majority. They must capture political power which is not vested in the parliament, but in the key-positions of banks, industry transport & the state-apparatus army navy,

Police, courts etc) the first series of these positions (namely banks, industry and transport) must be expropriated which cannot possibly be done by the so-called constitutional means. Nothing short of an armed struggle will do. The second series of positions (namely, the state-apparatus) must totally destroyed. They are built for the defence of the existing social system; therefore cannot be suitable for the forces aiming at the destruction of the existing order of things. In their place a new type of state-apparatus the working class state (the dictatorship of the proletariat) should be created. The object of the new state is to defend the conquest of the revolution and to break down the resistance of its opponents. For, simple expulsion of the bourgeoisie from the economic and political key-position will not eliminate them from existence. They will naturally try to regain their positions. So the bourgeoisie (and other social elements identified with private property) must be completely exterminated before Socialism can be realised. There cannot be real democracy as long as the society is divided into classes with antagonistic interest. The Dictatorship of the proletariat (the exploited and expropriated majority of the society) has for its historic mission the abolition of classes-the establishment of real democracy.

The more the working class see the treacherous and futile nature of Social Democratic theories and politics the more they come under the influence of these revolutionary teachings of Marx propagated by the Communists.

Sd. M. N. Roy.

P. 1888 (E).

An envelope with the following address on it:—

Editor

"Forward"

Postal Seal of:

BERLIN

29-8-28

British Indian street

CALCUTTA.

INDIA.

P. 1889.

Rejected.

The Red Communist Badge with the following slogan painted on it in white:—

“WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE”

The usual hammer & sickle is painted in the Centre of the badge.

P. 1890 (P)

“KIRTI”

The only Labour organ in India in Punjabi & Urdu.

Amritsar, 16th. April 1928,

Dear Halim,

I am in receipt of your both letters. I could not reply you, because I was not here & was in Meerut. The Comrades there are doing well & sticking. Except Jhabvala all are happy, Caring not a fig for arrest; friend Jhabvala is a shaky fellow. I met Muzaffar, he is alright.

Here in the Punjab the worker is going on in in a fairly good manner. The organisation of the party is going on. I am not at all reticent. The thing is this that I am too much busy now-a-days because we are bringing out a special number of the “KIRTI” on the occasion of May.

When will you reach Meerut? Inform me.

Yours Comradely
Sd/ F. D. Mansur.

P. S.

Bhag Singh is well.

P. S.

What became of the noon trouble? The Comrades were asking me. When Mr. Sen & Miss Das Gupta were in Meerut, I & Bhag Singh were also there. Do write me all about Bengal.

Yours
Sd/ F. D. Mansur.

P. 1890 [P] [E]

Superscription on the envelope:—

To

Abdul Halim

2/1 European Asylum Lane,

Workers' and Peasants' Party's Office,

CALCUTTA.

P. 1891 (C).

Rejected

From:—

Comrades, M. Shafic H. A. Nasim, and P. Mansur, C/o S, Habib Ahmad and Co. Sadr Bazaar, Delhi.

To

The members and sympathisers of the Communist Party of India.

Dear Comrades,

The Central Executive of the All India Trade Union Congress meets in Delhi on the 26th. instant and a number of comrades will be coming here those days to attend the session and during the same days we propose to call a conference of all the Communists in order to make the Communist Party, which exists but in name to day a working body and to organise under its banners all the disheartened and disintegrated elements for a Joint action.

The need for such a conference, we are sure you will agree with us, is universally being felt. And in order to afford an opportunity for such a discussion we have undertaken to make necessary arrangements for the proposed conference with the session of the A. I. T. U. C. and we hope our appeal to you to make this occasion a success will not fall on deaf ears.

We will be obliged for your kindly intimating us the date and time of your arrival here and also of the place where you propose

to put up. If desired we will also be in a position to arrange a place for you to put up in some Indian Hotel here.

With Fraternal Greetings,

Yours Comradely,

Sd/. H. A. NASIM,

Dated 19th. Feb. 1928.

P. Mansur,

M. Shafiq.

To

Comrade M. A. Majid, Export and Import Agent,
Mochi Gate, Lahore.

P. 1892.

Verbatim transcription in Bengali. submitted by Messrs. S. B. Bhattacharya and K. Guha, Government Reporters, Calcutta, of the Speech delivered by Dharani Gosain on 7-11-28 at Malda Youngmen's Convention.

P. 1893. (1).

Transcriptions in Bengali submitted by Mr. S. B. Bhattacharya, Government Reporter, Calcutta, of the speech delivered by Babu Kishori Lal Ghosh at Beadon Square on 26-4-28.

P. 1893 (2)

Transcription in Bengali submitted by Mr. S. B Bhattacharya
Government Reporter, Calcutta of the speech delivered by babu
Shivnath Banerjee, at Beadon Square on 26- 4- 28.

P. 1893. [3]

Transcription in Bengali submitted by Mr. S. B. Bhattacharya, Government Reporter, Calcutta, of the speech delivered by Babu Kishori Ghosh at the Harish Park on 27- 4- 28.

P. 1894 (C).

CONFIDENTIAL.

Intercepted Letter

Name and address of the sender: Puran Chandra Joshi, M. A.

34 Holland Hall, Allahabad.

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

Whence sent: Allahabad.

Date of Posting: Nil.

Language:— English.

Name of the addressee: Shaukat Usmani.

Address: C/o KIRTI Office.

Date of receipt: 30- 1- 29.

No. of Photographic Plate if taken: Nil.

Detained or passed on with date in the latter case:

Name of the examiner: Arjan Singh.

Subject.

The attached is a letter from P. C. Joshi in English in which he writes to Shaukat Usmani as follows:—

“Dear Comrade Usmani”,

I did not hear from you nor you from me. Have you managed to arrange books for us? I have already talked to you in length how our work is suffering because of them. Please do manage to send me as many books as you can immediately.

Our young friend is getting impatient to work- without any idea of ideology- there are couple of them- but I am watching them and asking them to read things. Would you suggest me anything here. If some one grows impatient shall I send him to you to work with you- he will become sane and more sober.

Please do contribute to the Krantikari Jhansi make it my personal and popular. You may write in Urdu and they will transcribe it in Hindi.

Do write to me frequently. With greetings

Fraternally

Sd/- P. C. Joshi

P. 1895.

17 Thakurdwar

mansion.

Bombay A.

17/ 1/ 29.

Dear Comrade Josh,

Mine negotiations with Khan having collapsed I had to leave Punjab. Sorry could not see you before leaving.

The KIRTI should be sent in many copies here as Com. Ghate wants a copy in every branch of their GIRNI KAMGAR UNION.

With best wishes

Sd/ SHAUKAT USMANI.

Best compliments to Com. Mansur from all.

Address on the envelope:—

Com. Sohan Singh Josh.

The "KIRTI"

AMRITSAR.

P. 1896. (P.)

C/o Mr. Sand Well

Apollo Chambers.

Fort, Bombay.

19/1/29

To

Editor

"Kirti"

Dear Comrade,

I have promised so many times to write for "Kirti" but have always failed, enclosed find an article on the Trade Union Congress. That you can use.

Next week I will try and find time to write a special article for your paper. I am rather busy lately, but will try and keep my promise.

Best wishes.

Yours fraternally

Sd/- B.F. Bradley.

P. 1896 [P] [E]

Superscription on the envelope:—

The Editor

“Kirti” Amritsar

Punjab.

P. 1896 (1) (C.)

THE TRADE UNION CONGRESS AND THE COMMUNISTS.

(By B. F. Bradley, Vice President, All India

Railwaymen's Federation).

It is necessary to stop the disruptive tactics of some individuals in the Indian Trade Union movement to draw attention to some the remarks recently made by certain prominent, trade Union leaders. Mr. E. Kirk who attended the last session of the Trade Union Congress at Jharia has got a rather bad attack of the “Red Bogey” perhaps it is because he stayed with me at the Dak Bungalow at Jharia. However what has appeared in the “Times” and “Statesman” written by Kirk will not help to build the Trade Union movement in India, but rather destroy it. His statement was eagerly seized on by these organs of Capitalism and enemies of the working class, in order to prove that the activity of the organised worker must be either curbed or stopped but I am not as much concerned with the abuse of the Capitalist press, or repression by the Government, as I am about individuals within the Trade Union movement advocating as Mr. Kirk is made to advocate in these organs of Capitalism that there should be a split in the Trade Union Movement. Mr. Kirk apparently is not prepared, it seems by his statement to abide by a majority decision; he says that those who do not agree with him must be driven out or there must be separation. This advocacy of disruption must be received with glee by the Capitalists in India, and satisfaction to know they have such a loyal ally within the ranks of labour. The Trade Union Congress should deal with Kirk, Shiv Rao and others who are carrying on this disruptive propaganda, they talk about constructive and genuine trade unionism, fine catch-words like these, mean to those who use

them Trade Union organisation on the lines of class collaboration and non-militancy. Despite all that has been written and said about the terrible conditions of Indian Labour these individuals would attempt to use the Trade Union Movement of India to collaborate with the Capitalist to perpetuate slave conditions and make the worker satisfied with his lot.

However there is one pleasing feature about this year's Trade Union Congress that is, that what these non-workers say is not the way of the worker, the workers that attended this Congress at Jharia showed a consciousness and determination to make the Congress a fighting organisation. This was made clear and it was the outsiders in the Movement who were putting the brake on all the time.

Another very important factor that makes Kirk whimper is the point he makes about the Communists and left wing voting solidly all the time and having closer mutual understanding. The fact that they had a definite policy in relation to all the issues that came before the Congress should be praised not desired. Then he goes on to say that the other members of the Congress were generally speaking, disunited, this is only natural, and what to expect from people who attend the Congress just as an annual gathering or to get a trip to Geneva. These very arguments prove that the Communists and left wing were the only section at the Congress who were concerned about giving it the correct policy and making the Trade Union Movement a militant machine that could be used by the workers in their fight against capitalism and for better conditions.

It is for the workers to understand why these people that Kirk describes as disunited, are disunited and have no policy, there are many reasons, many of them are in the Trade Union Movement, not for the movement but for personal reasons, it is thought by some to be an easy stepping stone to the Councils and Assembly, some attempt to centre the movement in themselves, and so on, but none have a considered policy to organise the workers to face their problems and a common enemy. As is proved by Kirk, that the Communists are the only people that have given that consideration to the problems facing the workers and know what they want and where they are going. Let us see what happened at the Trade Union Congress Jharia, personally I am not altogether satisfied with the result of the Congress but however it marks a considerable step forward to the development of the Indian Trade Union Movement. The question that took up most time in discussion was whether we should send delegates to the International Labour Conference at Geneva this year, on this matter there was a scramble of those "disunited elements" to support the sending of delegates, possibly with the idea that they might get a free trip to Europe. As far as this question is concerned the Communists and left wings had a

decided policy, they opposed the sending of delegates, some of the reasons given were that the International Labour Office is an appendix of Imperialism, and is controlled by the particular Capitalists and Government concerned. Further rarely do the findings of the International Labour conference get taken any notice of or operated by the Governments or employers concerned, if the findings go in favour of the workers.

Despite the fact that Imperialism does not operate in the interests of the workers and that the workers are organising to fight Imperialism as was shown by a resolution passed by the Congress the day before which pointed out that Imperialism was a form of Capitalist class Government intended to facilitate and perpetuate the exploitation of all workers, both white and coloured and declares that the only safeguard against exploitation lies in the creation by the working class of a corresponding nature of class unity, solidarity and consciousness, and desire to bring about the greatest possible solidarity and co-ordinated activity on the part of the Trade Unions throughout the world to oppose Imperialism. This resolution was passed unanimously on the second day on the third day those disunited elements decide to co-operative with Imperialism through the I. L. O. The Communists vigorously opposed this illogical position the Trade Union Congress was taking but Kirk and his disunited friends won the day, free trips to Geneva were secured and many delegates sat back with relief, their object of attending Jharia had been achieved.

The next question to be dealt with was international affiliation, whether the Congress should affiliate to the I. F. T. U. or the R. I. L. U., many of the disunited delegates were leaving the room, they did not know what the I. F. T. U. or the R. I. L. U. stood for and did not want to know. I noted an interesting point in relation to this matter, two large unions affiliated to the T. U. C. had sent in resolutions calling for affiliation to the Red International of Labour Unions, but no the Union had called for affiliation to the reactionary I. F. T. U. and I. F. T. U. question was raised on a letter from the I. F. T. U. itself. Our disunited friends had dwindled considerably after Geneva and they were ready for a compromise which was suggested by Chamanlal that until unity had been achieved by the internationals concerned the T. U. Congress would affiliate to none, this was gladly accepted by the disunited in fear that the T. U. C. might have turned another volte-face and affiliated to the R. I. L. U. thereby carrying out the resolution of the day before and the fight against Imperialism.

Then came the Pan Pacific Trade Union Secretariat another (Red Scare) here Dewan Chamanlal came to the assistance of the disunited, advocating an Asiatic Labour Congress to be held in Bombay with the assistance of Imperialist Japanese labour representatives such as Sazuki. Here Chamanlal according to the "Times"

makes a good speech accusing J. Ryan and myself of Communism and showed that the P. P. T. U. S., was a Government-banned affair, we all know the Government bans many things especially as far as India is concerned. The "Times" put it's praise in the right place, the question was put to the vote Chaman Lal and the disunited won, but there was that solid vote of the Communists still there every time. The Workers Welfare League of India was also under the cloud of red connection despite the good work it has done for the Indian Trade Union Movement during the last year, on this point the T. U. C. gave a snub to the British Trade Union Congress and broke with them it was decided to have no agent at all in England.

The Congress went on to agree to the affiliation to the League against Imperialism this was carried almost unanimously and was one of the good points of the Congress. Then our friend Kirk seems surprised that the Communists should have the audacity to put a candidate up for president of the Congress' on this point I should like the make it clear that our candidate was a worker, a railwayman also he was a member and an official of a Trade Union and had worked in the T. U. movement some years but this did not matter the position had got to be saved from the "Reds" So J. Nehru, who has none of these qualifications is put up for President against the worker, the disunited supported him as Kirk says not because they like him or his policy but to stop the communist getting in.

In the question of relationship of the Congress to the all parties convention the Moscow hand is seen again, because the Congress laid down certain demands to be placed before the Convention such as the establishment of a socialist republic Government in British India and Indian states, universal adult suffrage, freedom of speech, free compulsory education, nationalisation of services, and non-enactment of repressive measures. These demands were opposed as being too extreme but as another good point to the congress the demands were agreed to.

Among the many resolutions such as general demands of 8 hours day minimum living wage etc. and resolution for individual, trades, two important resolutions were agreed to, one for the setting up of Trades Concils in all towns where there are trade-Unions, the other was on the proposed Trade Dispute Bill to be brought in the Assembly.

The resolution on the trade Dispute Bill laid the following points down, the Congress condemns the Bill as a whole, being a reactionary measure designed to deprive the worker of the right to strike, and calls upon the Trade Union movement to prepare for a General Strike if the Bill-becomes law. The only way in our opinion to fight this Bill is by the organised power of the workers;

of course any talk of strike upset some however the resolution was carried, it is now for the Trade Unions, Provincial Committees and E. C. of T. U. C. to prepare to carry it out.

The Congress was got through despite those elements that had to decide questions on the spur of the moment. It was a tug of war between bourgeois reformist cooperation with Imperialism and an attempt to make the Congress give a real working class expression. The Communist group worked well and deserved the praise that Kirk pays them in the "Statemen." They concentrated on making the Trade Union Movement of India a live body, an active body, their object was to make the Congress reflect the feelings and wishes of the workers who today are living in slavery. They wanted to make the T. U. C. the machine that is going to free them from the bonds of Capitalism and Imperialism and despite, disruptionists like Kirk and Shiv Rao they will succeed.

Sd. B. F. BRADLEY.

P. 1897 (P)

Dear comrade,

Bhai Ishwar Singh requested me to contribute regularly to the Kirty. This I will, of course, do with great pleasure. As it may not be advisable for the Kirty to publish too many articles signed by me, I shall write them with a pseudonym "M. Rahman".

I shall be very much obliged if you kindly send me the paper (in both languages) to the following address:—

Herrn Bhajuri c/o Arnheim, 44 Jagow St. Berlin.

Any communication to me will also reach me through this address:—

Very best wishes and revolutionary greetings.

13/1/29

Sd/- M. N. Roy.

An envelope with the following superscription on it:—

For "Kirti"

Another envelope having the following address on it:—

Postal seal of:

Berlin N. W.

14-1-29

Messrs Darbar & Co.

P. O. Box—14

Amritsar, Punjab.

India.

P. 1897. (1) (P).

An article in English, Dated Jan. 11/29 headed "The Lessons of the Fortythird Congress".

(Vide Exh. P. 1255).

P. 1898 (1).

THE STRUGGLE FOR POWER.

During the debate on the anti-Communist Bill in the Legislative Assembly Pundit Motilal Nehru, as president of the National Congress declared that the object of the body he represented was to subvert the present system of government. This is a bold statement which the Pundit was forced to make by the indiscretion committed previously by Dewan Chamahlal. But the explanation that followed the sensational statement showed that neither the Pundit nor the Dewan desired anything more serious than to produce a dramatic effect.

In spite of the debacle of left radicalism in the Calcutta Congress, the process of revolutionization is deep-seated in the nationalist ranks. The proletariat is bidding for the hegemony in the national revolutionary struggle with increasing boldness and determination. In this situation, the bourgeois cannot maintain its control of the movement, unless they indulge in demagoguery which can still delude the middle class malcontents. The dramatic gesture of the Pundit in the Legislative Assembly is nothing more than cheap demagoguery. Let him prove if it is not. We would be sincerely glad, if he could do so. None would be more pleased than the Communists to see the redoubtable Pundit make good his words, and in that case he could count upon full support of the proletarian and peasant masses. But we are not so easily deceived. We do not trust him not because he does not like us, as he made it clear while opposing a measure directed, in the first place, against us; but because the Leader of His Britannic Majesty's Loyal Opposition cannot be expected to place himself at the head of a revolutionary army which alone can subvert the power of the state. He himself does not aspire for that glorious role. His ambition is much more modest. He wants to "subvert the present system of government". This is an entirely different proposition.

In the same speech, which he began with the declaration of his intention to subvert the government, he made it quite clear that he did not mean any thing of the kind. Dealing with the principle of the Bill, he opposed it on the ground of legal technicality—the government had not adduced sufficient evidence to establish the necessity for such a measure. The conclusion of this argument is obvious: the Pundit and whose opinion he voiced were not opposed to such a measure on principle; they simply did not believe that the situation warranted it. By way of endorsing the principle of such a legislation he said: "If it was a case of war or rebellion, one could understand investing the executive with greater power to meet an emergency situation". So, the Pundit is not a revolutionary; on the contrary, he believes that to suppress a rebellion is the legitimate duty of the government.

This conception of the function of the state exposes the utter hollowness of the declaration with which the Pundit opened his attack upon the anti-Communist Bill. How can one subvert the government when he is prepared to invest it with extraordinary power to suppress a rebellion against it? The constitutional principle that the people has the right to subvert a government if it is not democratic, is meaningless unless it leads to the establishment of the "sacred right of revolt". The right to subvert an oppressive government and the right to rise in revolt for this purpose are the twin principles on which the whole political philosophy of bourgeois democracy is based. If you deny the right of revolt, you necessarily abdicate your constitutional right to subvert a despotic government. It

appears that the Pundit was afraid to carry his legal argumentations to their logical conclusion.

In reality it is, however, not so. The Pundit was very careful in making his opening declaration. The object of this attack was not the entire undemocratic state; his quarrel is with the "present system of government". Had he not made a mental distinction between the state as a whole & the "present system of government," he could not agree, on principle, "to invest the executive with greater power to meet an emergency situation". He could not possibly agree under any circumstance, to the increase of power of an institution, if he really wanted to subvert it. Particularly, to increase its power as against the forces of subversion. What the Pundit wants, then is evidently not a subversion of the present undemocratic state, but some change in the administration of this state. The change he proposes is that the Indian bourgeoisie should be given greater power in the administration of the present state. To prove that such a redistribution of the power would not weaken the present state he reassured the nervous imperialist rulers that "the Indian commercial Community (by which he meant the entire bourgeoisie) have an equal, if not, a larger interest in keeping peace and security in this country".

From the point of view of the Indian bourgeoisie the defect of the present system of government is not that it is undemocratic, but that it is unrepresentative. If the executive were responsible to the legislative the Indian bourgeoisie would accept the present system of government as representative, as, in that case, it would represent their interests, although it would still remain undemocratic-foreign domination. The burden of the whole opposition to the Public Safety Bill was that the Indian bourgeoisie were unwilling to grant the executive more power unless they had a greater place on that executive. Grant the legislature, representing the Indian upper classes, more control over the executive, and the harmony between the two will be established. This is the reform that the Pundit, in behalf of the nationalist bourgeoisie, proposed when he demagogically advocated subversion of the present system of government.

The nationalist bourgeoisie have not love for Communism. They would see the Communists hanged as happily as the imperialists. They are only afraid that the rope given to the latter might be so long as would reach themselves. This fear was expressed by the Pundit and other nationalist speakers in the Assembly. The Pundit said. "I consider this Bill as a direct attack against Indian nationalism and Indian National Congress." Only he does not know how it is so. The imperialist government does not need any special power to deal with the noisy petty bourgeoisie radical who turn tail at the slightest sabre-rattling of the kept press. It also knows that the Leader of His Britannic Majesty's Loyal Opposition is neither a Cromwell, nor a Washington and most certainly not a

Robespierre. The measure is directed against the nationalist movement, because its object is to crush the driving force of national revolution. The expansion of the activity of the working class signifies the deepening of the anti-imperialist struggle. The appearance of the proletariat as an independent factor in the situation indicates the beginning of the real struggle for power. Communism is the ideology of the revolutionary proletariat. The Communists are the vanguard of the national revolution. Hence the attack on them; and hence the attack on them is an attack on the entire nationalist movement.

The bourgeois nationalists do not see this great danger involved in the measure. They are afraid of their own precious skin. They are *reluctant* to give the imperialist rulers a long rope to hang the hated Communists. They would rather have the pleasure of hanging the Communists reserved to themselves. They say; change the present system of government, give us the executive power and you will see how we deal with the Communists and the revolutionary working class when they try to subvert the state based upon private property—the right of the possessor to exploit the dispossessed. Has not the president of the National Congress admitted, on principle, that greater power should be given to the executive in case of rebellion? Only let the nationalist bourgeoisie have a share of the executive power and they will show how they can exercise it. Appreciating this potentially counter-revolutionary tendency of the nationalist bourgeoisie the cleverer and more far seeing imperialists suggest that the administration of the law and order should be transferred to them. Such transfer will mean the "subversion of the present system of government" as far as the nationalist bourgeoisie are concerned. It is not struggle for freedom, but struggle for power inside the imperialist state that the nationalist bourgeoisie are engaged in.

ABDUR RAHMAN.

P. 1898 (2)

THE PERSPECTIVES OF THE SITUATION IN CHINA.

The recognition of the Nanking government by the great imperialist powers and the agreement on the long-debated question of China's right to levy higher custom duties, were read in the

bourgeois world as the signs of a new era in China. There were high hopes in the quarters concerned—at last order was coming out of the Chinese Chaos. It was believed that under the leadership of the nationalist bourgeoisie, who had so ruthlessly dealt with the revolutionary workers and peasants, China was entering the paradise of capitalist law and order. Not only the bourgeoisie, but their allies of the international Social Democracy also welcomed with joy the birth of capitalist China. For example, the Arbeiter Zeitung of Vienna (Dec. 27/28) welcomed China's entry into the "whirlpool of capitalist economy" with the wise observation that "the lesson of the defeat of Moscow in China is that no stage in the history of social evolution can be jumped over." According to the organ of Austro-Marxism, "barbarous Asiatic Bolshevism" could be defeated by British imperialism "on the banks of the Yangtze", because the former sought to change the course of history. In other words, capitalist development of China under a centralized bourgeois state is unavoidable, and as such, it should be welcomed as a stage of human progress, even if it takes place under the hegemony of imperialist finance.

Even among the Communists there were a few who anticipated a period of capitalist stabilization of China. They thought that the temporary defeat of the revolution would lead to a concentration of the forces of the bourgeoisie in a capitalist state.

However, from the very day of its inauguration, the Nanking government stood revealed in its instability. To-day it is more evident than ever that the nationalist bourgeoisie are not capable of solving the problems that face China. In spite of the benediction of the imperialist powers, the position of the Nanking government today is more precarious than at its birth. It has signally failed to accomplish the tasks it set to itself. These tasks were: to centralize the country under a supreme political power; to reduce military expenditure through the centralization and limitation of the armies; and to reconstruct the country economically on the basis of centralized finance. None of these tasks has been so much as touched. The cause of this signal failure of the attempt to reconstruct China is simple. It is that the bourgeois democratic revolution has not yet been complete in China. The creation of a centralized bourgeois state is conditional upon the accomplishment of the bourgeois democratic revolution. The Chinese bourgeois seek to build a capitalist state without having created the conditions for the existence of such a state. They aspire to taste the sweet fruits of a revolution that they have shamelessly betrayed. Therefore, not sweet fruits, but bitter disappointment is their share.

The signs of a concentration of the forces of counter-revolution were read in two facts. The first of these was the composition

of the discords and disagreements inside the Kuomintang consolidating the position of the so-called middle group around Chiang Kai-shek; and the second was the meeting of all the war-lords in Nanking to discuss the thorny question of the centralization and limitation of military forces. The first was a more apparent success than the latter. It was not a peace, but armed truce among the antagonistic counter-revolutionary factions to deal with the revolution. The vital issue concerning the abolition of the branch Political Councils, whose continued existence meant that the party was split up into a number of independent and warring groups, could not be settled. It was postponed till the Third Party Congress. This is due to meet in the middle of March. Every precaution has been taken by the ruling clique to make it a packed assembly. Nevertheless, a new note of discord is struck, all on a sudden, from the most unexpected quarter. On the eve of the Party Congress, Kiangsu Provincial organization, which has all along been a stronghold of Chiang Kai-shek, demands the return of his rival Wong Ching-wel who was forced by the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie to flee the country after he had betrayed the national revolution at their behest. The apparent unity of the party was established by the elimination of Wong from the leadership. Now, it appears that Wong and the petty bourgeois left wing, who are opposed to the Nanking clique of Shanghai bankers, are not eliminated. On the other hand, the Kiangsu *junta* of feudal militarists, which in addition to its native land, controls the important provinces of Kwangtung, Hunan and Hupeh, having further a strong garrison near Peking, are showing its ugly teeth. The Wuhan Branch Political Council, of the party, usurping the power of the Nanking centre, has ordered certain movement of troops and has removed the nominee of Nanking from the governorship of Hunan. The situation is so tense that all river shipping on the middle Yangtze has stopped. The atmosphere is charged with the possibility of new war between Wuhan and Nanking.

The meeting of the war-lords in Nanking was a more important phenomenon. It augured bankruptcy of militarism and was pregnant with more far-reaching consequences than the armed truce among the warring factions inside the Kuomintang. The continuance of militarism has been made untenable from both sides. The revolutionary ferment among the peasant masses is positively dangerous for militarism which is constantly threatened by peasant uprising, in the rear, on the flank, indeed on all sides. On the other hand, imperialism has decided to change the feudal militarists for the bourgeoisie as its social base in China. The United States have to a great extent dictated this new orientation in China. Extension of trade and investment of capital demand tolerably peaceful conditions in China. Militarism has been the main disturbing factor in this respect. It has outlived its usefulness. It must now be set aside.

as the weapon of the imperialist domination of China. Therefore, the imperialist powers, particularly America, extended their benediction to the Nanking government. Threatened from both sides constant menace of peasant uprising and the vanishing prospect of imperialist support awakened constitutional scruples in the war-lords who flocked to Nanking wishing to participate in a joint control of the entire country rather than carry on their precarious efforts to gain absolute control of certain regions. This agreement to subordinate themselves to a national high command, and to disband part of their respective forces was something unprecedented in the history of the Chinese Republic, although, this agreement was largely on paper.

The achievement of the Nanking government in the sphere of military concentration, after all, has not also been more abiding than on the question of party unity. The re-appearance of the notorious Chang Chung-chang proves that the curse of militarism is not cured. It proves that imperialism, as a whole, cannot dispense with its tried and traditional weapon in dominating China, even if it wants to. There is little doubt that Japan stands behind Chang Chung-chang, and it is very likely that Japan violates the new imperialist orientation in China under the instigation of Britain. Thus capitalist reconstruction of China under a centralized bourgeois state, desired by imperialism, meets serious obstacles before it is hardly under-taken. These obstacles are produced by class contradictions in China and contradictions of imperialism.

The contradictions inside the country grow out of the antagonistic interests of the two classes on which the Nanking government tries to base itself. They are the big city bourgeoisie, on the one hand, and the feudal landlords, on the other. And the Holy Ghost of imperialism lurking rather prominently in the background, makes the trinity of the political faith of Nanking, complete. The wrestle inside the Kuomintang is the wrestle for power between the big bankers of the maritime provinces and the feudal barons of the interior, now that the ballast of petty bourgeois radicalism has been thrown overboard. But this defeated and discredited third factor endeavours to smuggle itself back into the political arena through the back-door. It allies itself with the feudal militarist Kiangsi group thus constituting itself into a factor of disruption.

Sitting at the apex of such a precarious class combination the Nanking government began its career with a very grandiose scheme of reconstruction. The very first steps towards the realization of this scheme threatened to disrupt the loose class alliance which constitute the social basis of the Nanking government. Although it has assumed the grandelloquent title of National Government, the Nanking clique, in fact, rules only over two and half provinces Kiangsu, Chekiang and southern half of Anhwei. The supremacy of Nanking over other provinces is but normal, the

the real power being still in the possession of local authorities largely dominated by feudal militarists. So a government based upon the support of the merchants of the two maritime provinces and the bankers of Shanghai endeavour to extend its rule over the interior of the country where feudalism still rules supreme. The Shanghai banker agreed to support the Nanking government on condition that it accepted their plan of financial reorganization. The cardinal point of this plan is the curtailment of military expenditure by heavy disbandment of troops. The object is to mobilize in the central national treasury the revenue today eaten up by the huge armies and pocketed by the generals. According to the famous memorandum of the Nanking Minister of Finance, T. V. Soong, nearly 200, million silver dollars could be gained for the national treasury if the proposed revolutionary measure were enforced.

It is one thing to make a laudable scheme; but to put into effect is something entirely different. The success of the scheme of the Bankers' Conference, which brought the Nanking government in its present precarious existence, depends upon the ability of the government to find occupation for the disbanded soldiers. This is a very hard nut to crack, and the Nanking government has broken its teeth on this nut. There are approximately 1,600,000 troops, really or nominally under the control of the Nanking government. The plan is to reduce the number by half. So, considerably more than a million men, counting soldiers and the camp-followers, are to be disbanded. The initial cost for disbanding these men is estimated at least at 40 million dollars. Where is this money to be found? This is the problem.

The next, and more difficult problem, is that of finding permanent employment for the disbanded soldiers. There are two directions in which the problem could be solved, namely, providing the men with land and capital to cultivate it or extensive public works (construction of roads, railways etc.). The first alternative involves an attack upon feudalism which the nationalist bourgeoisie have proved themselves unwilling and incapable to do. The latter requires huge supply of capital which the Chinese bourgeoisie by themselves are not able to find. So the disbandment scheme, which is the condition *sin quo non* of the reorganization of national finance hangs fire.

Meanwhile, the Nanking government is in great financial difficulty. Although the total revenue of the country is estimated at 450 million dollars, and the control of this sum theoretically belongs to the Nanking government, the actual income of this is only 5 millions a month collected from the provinces of Kiangsu and Chekiang. The monthly expenditure of the Nanking government is 9 million dollars. This large deficit has been met by loans ever since the inauguration of the government. Until now the

Shanghai Chinese bankers have lent to the Nanking government the total sum of 126 million dollars at an average interest of 9.5 per cent. So, it would be not an exaggeration to say that the Nanking government is mortgaged to the Shanghai Chinese bankers behind whom stands international imperialist finance. The new customs tariff introduced from February 1, will produce two and half millions a month, hardly fifty per cent of which sum will enter the national exchequer, as the part collected at Canton and ports similarly situated will be absorbed by the local authorities. So, there is not a bright spot in the horizon.

The attempt to create a modern bourgeois state in China has ended in a fiasco. The Chinese nationalist bourgeoisie are utterly unable to tackle the problem. There is only one way for them to sell themselves and the country to imperialist finance. Unlimited supply of capital, with the help of which, the baffling problems of disbandment and financial reorganization can possibly be tackled with greater chance of success, must come from abroad. There is only one imperialist country which is in a position to supply unlimited capital. That is the United States of America. But Uncle Sam would not give a cent, unless he quarters his exacting baliffs on the debtor country. So there appear in China a whole host of American "advisors". Judging from the number of these, they are a veritable army of occupation.

The new orientation of imperialist policy in China thus works all in favour of the United States, if it works at all. Others are left in the cold. But Britain, Japan, France, with their "Special interests" in China could not be done out of the profitable job without making a counter move. They are making it. The renewal of Anglo-Japanese agreement, which was burst by America in 1921, was a part of this move, which is taking the form of support and encouragement to movement disputing the supremacy of Nanking. So, the irreconcilable rivalry among imperialist powers is bound to give impetus to the forces of disruption in China thus operating against their own desire to see a counter-revolutionary bourgeois government established in that country. Neither the nationalist bourgeoisie, nor foreign imperialism can solve the Chinese problems in a way favourable to capitalism.

The accomplishment of the national bourgeois democratic revolution is the basic condition for the solution of all the complicated economic and political problems of China. Feudalism has to be completely destroyed before militarism, which is one of its ugly by-products, can be liquidated. In consequence of the failure of the bourgeoisie to do it, the historic task devolves upon the proletariat. And, bourgeois democratic revolution carried to its conclusion by the proletariat, in this period of capitalist decay, transforms itself directly into socialist revolution. The debacle of the Nanking government and the new period of civil war, that is sure to be the

the result of this debacle, will present the working class with the opportunity to go over again to the offensive. Reviewing the situation the correspondent of the London Times wrote from Nanking already in the beginning of the new year:

“It (outbreak of new hostilities) would give the Communists the opportunity to establish a leadership which would be difficult to destroy”.

P. 1898 (E).

Messers. Durbar and Co,

P. O. Box 14

Amritsar, Punjab

INDIA

P. 1899.

EXPULSION OF TROTZKY.

In the world the name of Leon Trotzky is associated with that of Lenin as one of the leaders of the Russian Revolution. Therefore, it is but natural that the expulsion of Trotzky first from all the high positions in the revolutionary government and party, then from the party itself subsequently his banishment to a far off corner of the Republic and finally his deportation from the land of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, should cause wide-spread astonishment. The bourgeoisie together with other enemies of the revolution find in this treatment of Trotzky signs of degeneration of the Communist Party. They are happy, and plan to have in Trotzky a valuable ally in their fight against revolution. So, objectively speaking, Trotzky, who in the beginning rendered great service to the revolution, is today not only lost for the revolution, but has become an instrument in the hands of its enemies.

How has this happened? The answer to this question is to be found in the development of the revolution. And when the correct answer is found, it becomes clear that the defection of Trotzky and others, who once stood under the banner of revolution, does not indicate degeneration, but, on the contrary, consolidation of the revolutionary party of the proletariat.

Every body knows of the Reign of Terror of 1793-94 during the Great French Revolution. Much has been written for and against that period of revolutionary history. The object of the Terror was to exterminate the enemies of the revolution. Commenting upon the Terror, bourgeois historians observe that, instead of destroying its enemies, it consumed itself. Hence the banal bourgeois theory: "revolution eats her old children". And a justification of this theory is found in the elimination of Trotzky. But the fact is that revolution not being a static affair of a day, in course of time, develops complicated features which are not understood by all of her original children; the revolution outgrows these who are not "eaten" by her, but are eliminated. As their action is often prejudicial to the final triumph of the revolution, their elimination is not often painless. This was the case with some of the outstanding leaders of the French Revolution; and this is the case with Trotzky.

Revolution takes place under the leadership of one particular social class; but other social elements either associate themselves with or are driven forcibly into the company of the revolutionary class. The necessity and eagerness for the fight against the common enemy overshadow the contradictions and antagonism inside the revolutionary ranks. But as soon as the first stage of the revolution—that of destroying the old order—is accomplished and the revolution enters the constructive phase of its development, class struggle rages inside the revolutionary camp. Safety of the revolution, the guarantee for its ultimate victory, demands that the internal feuds are ruthlessly terminated asserting the supremacy of the leading revolutionary class. Unless this is done subsidiary classes which joined the revolution, are linked up with the enemies of the revolution. The revolutionary alliance is placed face to face with a counter-revolutionary front which cuts right across it. The result of such a situation is bound to be disastrous for the revolution. It was so in case of the French Revolution. The Terror killed Danton; but for one spokesman of bourgeois reaction it exterminated many representatives of the Parisian proletariat whose weapon the Terror was. In the fierce struggle for power, in which the Sacred Guillotine played such a prominent part, the bourgeoisie came out victorious. Danton had not given his life in vain. The proletariat had not yet formed itself into a definite social class prepared to undertake the historic task of building a new social order. But in the case of the Russian Revolution, the ground layed entirely

different. The relation of classes had completely changed. The proletariat was the leader of the revolution, while during the Great French Revolution, it was the driving, nevertheless objectively a subsidiary force.

But owing to the backwardness of the Russian society, very large non-proletarian social elements joined the revolution. And precisely for this reason the struggle inside the revolutionary party was bound to be bitter and prolonged in the period of reconstruction. The proletariat with the help of the peasantry overthrew the bourgeoisie and captured political state power. This was but the initial state of the revolution. The capitalist state was destroyed, the bourgeoisie were overthrown from power; but the germs of capitalism, of bourgeois society, remained among the peasantry which constitute not only the overwhelming majority of the population, but an indispensable support for the revolution. Thus the class struggle was not over with the first success of the revolution. It continued, only under different conditions—the proletariat wielded the state-power as the weapon for exterminating the germs of bourgeois society, and build up the Socialist order. The periodical discussions inside the Communist Party, and the elimination of certain elements that resulted therefrom were the reflex of the class struggle taking place in the conditions of proletarian dictatorship.

The subsidiary Social elements, that participate in a revolution under the leadership of the revolutionary class, develop their particularist interests as soon as the initial victory is won. They strive to make their particularist interest predominate the interests of the revolutionary class. If the dictatorship of the revolutionary class does not permit the crystalization of these disruptive strivings into separate political party, as in the U. S. S. R., they find their expression inside the party of the dictatorship. The party of the proletariat, that leads the peasantry not only in the struggle against feudalism and capitalism, but maintains its leadership in the subsequent period of Socialist reconstruction, cannot avoid that the struggle between the classes it leads is reflected inside its own ranks. But the essential condition for the maintenance of the dictatorship of the revolutionary class is that the class character and composition of its party remains pure and unadulterated. The proletariat must make concessions to the peasantry in order to keep it attached to the revolution; But the least influence of the non-proletarian or semi-proletarian allies of the revolution inside the party of the proletariat should be ruthlessly suppressed. The elimination of Trotzky is caused by this iron necessity of the revolution.

Revolution must have its Guillotine. If it is slow in destroying its enemies, these will destroy it. It is comparatively easy to fight those openly hostile to the revolution. The most difficult and painful task is to extirpate the enemies of the revolution operating

inside the revolutionary camp, and often unconsciously. It is difficult, because these enemies are not easily found. It is painful, because, their inimical role is always not understood by the masses, and more so because it happens occasionally that some of these most dangerous enemies are outstanding figures of the revolution in a previous stage. It was so with Danton in the French Revolution and it is so with Trotzky in the Russian Revolution. An examination of the roles played respectively by Danton and Trotzky, of their similarities and dissimilarities is not our concern here. Here I compare Trotzky with Danton only as an objective danger for the revolution which in both cases had to be ruthlessly exterminated, should the party of revolutionary dictatorship be protected against the influence of outside elements.

Since the period of civil war was over and the revolution entered the stage of reconstruction, Trotzky objectively became inside the Communist Party the representative of the non-proletarian and semi-proletarian allies of the revolution. All sentimentality concerning his previous services, which should not be underestimated, must be discounted in judging the present role of Trotzky. Indeed, the tragedy of the whole affair is that Trotzky is convinced that he advocates a more revolutionary policy, although in reality the realization of his policy will be ruinous to the revolution. The essence of Trotzkyism is the under estimation of the revolutionary alliance of the proletariat and peasantry not only in the struggle for the capture of political power but also during a certain period of Socialist reconstruction. Application of the policy of Trotzky will inevitably disrupt the revolutionary block, the proletariat will lose its leadership over the peasantry, and consequently the latter will come under the influence of the germs of bourgeois social order still imbedded among them. This being the implication of Trotzky's policy, he objectively represents the still not fully exterminated germs of capitalism which given favourable conditions would fructify into a class striving to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat. Thus Trotzky becomes the ideologist of the new-born bourgeoisie which struggle with the proletariat for the leadership over the peasantry. Under the leadership of the proletariat in possession of state-power, the peasantry becomes a factor in the struggle for the realization of Socialism; but allied with the bourgeoisie, they constitute the bulwark of capitalism and the basis of a bourgeois democratic state.

His latest proposition, ostensibly made to fight bureaucracy, shows how directly the ideology of Trotzky is disruptive for the dictatorship of the proletariat and helpful for parliamentary democracy. Open vote by show of hands is a powerful weapon of dictatorship of the revolutionary class. Trotzky proposes its abolition in favour of secret ballot which is a specific feature of parliamentary democracy-organ of bourgeois dictatorship. Introduction of the

system of secret ballot will enable the enemies of the revolution to spread their influence over the backward elements in the working class and vacillating sections of the allies of the revolutionary proletariat. By this proposition alone Trotzky places himself clearly and definitely in the position of an enemy of the dictatorship—the organ of the revolution.

So, it was no longer possible to tolerate the disruptive activities of Trotzky without seriously injuring the revolution. But in the Russian revolution the leadership of the proletariat is so firmly established that there is no ground for fear. The Jacobins were afraid of Danton, and therefore executed him. The Communist Party, conscious of its power, simply throws Trotzky out of its ranks and out of the territory of proletarian dictatorship. The Parisian proletariat killed a Danton while the class he represented; namely the bourgeoisie, was full of the vitality of youth and therefore before long avenged the death of their ideologist. The Russian proletariat do not need a guillotine to deal with a Trotzky, because it has destroyed the class the ideologist of whose resurrection he is. Therefore, it simply discards Trotzky from its ranks, guaranteeing against the possibility of his doing any injury to the revolution.

ABDUR RAHMAN.

P. 1899 (E)

Superscription on the envelope.

Messers. Darbar & Co.,

P. O. Box 14,

Amritsar Punjab,

India.

Postal seal of:

Berlin, S, W,

20-3-29.

P. 1900 (C)

Confidential

Intercepted letter.

Name and address of the sender;—S. H. Jhabvala, Jony. Secy.

Central Labour Board,

Shetye Building Bombay.

Date of posting — 3rd November 1920

Language — English (typed).

Name of the addressee—Editor, "Kirti" Amritsar.

Date of receipt 8-11-28,

Detained or passed on— passed on for delivery.

Subject:—

(The writer in reply to the Kirti's appeal for an article sends one which he assure will acceptable. The following is the text of the article:—

MASS ORGANISATION THE ONLY PROGRAMME BEFORE THE COUNTRY.

(*By S. H. Jhabvala*).

I readily comply with the wishes of my esteemed friend, the editor of the 'Kirti' who has asked me for an article for his special number. To-day when we are in the midst of the Congress week the thoughts that readily rush into our mind are those pertaining to the success of the Congress in securing the largest possible measure of self-Government to India. Though for the last 52 years the Congress has assembled and passed resolutions pertaining to a variety of subjects which have become a common grievance, social political and economic in the country yet today we find that 28 crores of India's millions go to bed without any food in the stomach and their wives have to move about without anything like decent garments excepting perhaps one Sari extending from head to foot. Wherever I have gone I have heard deafening cries of poverty in this unfortunate land. Mahatma Gandhi has perhaps best understood the economic poverty prevailing in our country, for he has been refusing complete food or complete clothing to himself which is the actual condition of India, while on the other hand we find that several who belong to the superior or middle classes have a full share of food and clothings. This vast mass of human-beings have nothing on which to subsist. Even since the establishment of the British Govt, in this country, councils have met and Congresses have resolved, but still to-day millions are starving and we cannot be legitimately said to have advanced any further than half a century ago when the Congress took its birth.

Everyone will readily agree that the present ills are due to the wrong spokes in the wheel of Government machinery. Many men have tried to set them right, but they have failed and now the Congress must, having realised its failure, direct its attention to another legitimate sphere of activity namely the organisation of the masses, that is the 28 crores of India for self assertion and self determination. The failure of the Congress so far, is purely due to the gross neglect that practised towards this more important and vital questions. It is wonderful to think why mass organisation was not thought of by the Congress so far. Mahatma Gandhi was perhaps the first man that definitely laid down the organisation of the masses to be the principal plank in the Congress platform, but his idea of organising the mass on the revolution of the Charka has not universally appealed to the conscience of India and a new direction is required to be given and that is on the principle of trade unionism which will also include another programme of Congress activity mainly the Hindu-Moslim Unity. Thus organising the mass on the line of trade unionism will not only solve the question of communal unity but also definitely lay down the foundation of economic and political liberty of the country.

Russia in the day of the Tzarist Govt. was as poverty stricken as India, but organisation leading to the formation of 21 big industrial unions such as Railway, Docks, Textile, Post and Telegraphs, Metallurgy, Food-stuffs, Agriculture etc. rapidly speeded up the combination of the economic interests of that vast country into one united whole. These 21 regiments of labour army revolted about 12 years ago and was able to usher in the present happy and ideal form of Govt. in which the man who labourers honestly and righteously gets his full morsel and sleeps happily. The Soviet Govt. therefore redeemed Russia of its untold miseries under which the people were crushed for centuries past.

India is exactly in the same position. Political hopes such as Commissions are not going to give political redemption. The Nehru reports and Congress Constitution are not going to do much in that possible direction. What is the Nehru Report or the Simon Commission if it is not backed up by the United voice of the masses of India? Just as the Commission has fallen flat because the masses have not supported it the Nehru Constitution is not going to work unless the Masses support it. If we have advanced at all politically the advancement is under the sole control of bourgeois element in the country or even the superior classes but we do not want black or brown authority, just as we have protested against the white Bureaucracy. We demand that the starving struggling worker in the field or in the factory must have its full share of bread and all other amenities of life which are the

idle property of today of a section of imperialistic people who have grabbed the money of the State.

The unorganised masses today are capable of offering resistance which has struck wonderfully into the eyes of the world. For that I would draw the attention of the readers to Bardoli and to Bombay. One lakh and 30 thousand workers together with their families both women and children have resisted for six months together in the face of iron conditions of life without a single pie in their pocket and not relenting on any ground inspite of starvation. It has stirred up admiration in the minds of all Sallow, bloodless faces growing every day grim in our mass meetings during the mill-strike have still cheerfully agreed to resist the mill-owners up to the last drop of blood. This is India's redemption. Everybody in the town has been asking how these millions could have lived. The Moscow money that we have received was not more than 30 thousand rupees and all the amount of that money that we could give was perhaps 4 annas a head in the course of 6 months. How could then this vast mass of struggling workers have lived for so long a time? I am prepared to give the answer and say that these poor Indians have got immeasurable capacity for suffering and that helped them to hold out till the last. Only if all the 28 crores could be massed together on some golden demand which would perhaps save India and usher in peace, prosperity and happiness in the land such a millennium could be brought into our midst perhaps in a single day. But the Congress leaders have set out of their consideration the organisation of the peasants and the organisation of the workers. You stand at any street corner anywhere and proclaim the mission of unity and these workers bow down to your raised finger and even give a small amount of money monthly from their own lean pockets for the building up of the great national idea. It is foolish to say the masses are illiterate. What has illiteracy got to do with getting self-Government for the land? What is illiteracy? According to us, it is lack of knowledge of the English alphabet. The masses are sunk in illiteracy in as much as they do not know how to read and write. They may be illiterate but they have a greater capacity of tilling the fields and manufacturing goods and produce the wealth of the land which is most essential factor in the up keep of a nation. The idea of illiteracy as a deterrent to the progress of the nation must significantly be brushed aside.

The Congress must accept the workers and peasants party programme which is perhaps the only revolutionary programme that any party in India can claim to have. The programme attempts at complete over-throw of imperialism which is the prime force that ruins our unhappy country.

Sd/ S. H. Jhabvala.

P. 1901 (P).

THE WORKERS' & PEASANTS' PARTY, BOMBAY.

000—000

17 Dwarkadas Mansions.

Sandhurt Road.

Bombay 4.

2/10/28.

Dear Comrade Singh,

I am sorry that none of our group could go over to Lyallpur for your Conference owing to the situation in the strike here. Though subsequently negotiations have failed with the owners the time was such that none of us could be spared for Lyallpur. Anyway we are glad that you have conducted the conference, the details of which I should like to have for the Party here.

I had sent you some copies of resolutions for the forthcoming T. U. C. at Jharia by registered post, which I hope you have received. Please see that your group is present at the T. U. C. and that the Union which you will be representing supports the resolutions. Your suggestion for any addition or modification are welcome.

Your "KIRTI" in Urdu is much in demand. The Muhammadan section of the textile workers is much interested in the paper and have asked me often to see that they get copies of your paper. If you could for instance send copies to "MAZDOOR" Urdu weekly or say a few extra copies to this office I can distribute them. Please see that more copies are sent to Bombay. There is no need for the Gurmukhi copy for the present.

With greetings to all comrades.

Yours fraternally,

Sd/ S. V. Ghate.

Superscription on the envelope :—

Mr. Soban Singh,

c/o "KIRTI"

Amritsar.

P. 1902

Transcriptions in Urdu submitted by S. I. Arjan Singh of the Punjab C. I. D. of a speech delivered by Abdul Majid at the 2nd meeting of the Nau Jawan Bharat Sabha Conference at Bradlaugh Hall, Lahore, on 24-2-28.

P. 1903.

Transcriptions in Urdu submitted by S. I. Arjan Singh of the Punjab C. I. D., of a speech delivered by Sohan Singh Josh at the 2nd meeting of the Nau Jawan Bharat Sabha Conference at Bradlaugh Hall, Lahore, on 24-2-28.

P. 1904.

Transcriptions in Urdu submitted by S. I. Arjan Singh of the Punjab C. I. D., of a speech delivered by Sohan Singh Josh at the Jallianwala Bagh, Amritsar, on 24-1-29.

P. 1905.

Transcriptions in Urdu submitted by S. I. Arjan Singh of the Punjab C. I. D. of a speech delivered in Punjabi and also in Urdu by Sohan Singh Josh at Jallianwala Bagh, Amritsar, at a meeting convened by the Nau Jawan Bharat Sabha, Punjab, on 15-12-28, in connection with the Kakori Day.

P. 1906.

Transcriptions in Urdu submitted by S. I. Arjan Singh of the Punjab C. I. D., of speeches delivered by Sohan Singh Josh at the Kirti Kishan Conference, Lyallpur, on 29-9-28.

P. 1907.

Transcriptions in Urdu submitted by S. I. Arjan Singh of the Punjab C. I. D. of a speech delivered by M. A. Majid at the 3rd sitting of the Lyallpur Kirti Kisan Conference on 29-9-28.

P. 1908.

Transcriptions in Urdu submitted by S. I. Arjan Singh of the Punjab C. I. D., of the Resolutions passed at the Kirti Kisan Conference, Lyallpur on 28-29 and 30th of September 1928.

P. 1909.

2 posters—one in Urdu and the second in Gurmukhi—advertising the second Annual Conference of the Punjab Workers' and Peasants' Party, at Lyallpur on the 28th 29th and 30th September 1928.

The usual picture of a labourer with a hammer, and another with a red flag with the emblem of hammer and sickle on it, is seen in the centre of the poster.

P. 1910.

Transcriptions in Urdu submitted by S. I. Arjan Singh of the Punjab C. I. D. of the speech delivered by Sohan Singh Josh at the Jallianwala Bagh, Amritsar, on 5-8-28, at a meeting convened by the Nau Jawan Bharat Sabha, Amritsar.

P. 1911.

Transcriptions in Urdu submitted by S. I. Arjan Singh of the Punjab C. I. D. of the speech delivered by Sohan Singh Josh at Mahalpur Divan on 20-7-28.

P. 1912.

Transcriptions in Urdu submitted by S. I. Arjan Singh of the Punjab C. I. D. of the speech delivered by Sohan Singh Josh on 12-6-28 at a meeting called under the auspices of the City Congress Committee Amritsar and the Local Nau Jawan Bharat Sabha.

P. 1913.

Transcriptions in Urdu submitted by S. I. Arjan Singh of the Punjab C. I. D. of the speech delivered by M. A. Majid at the Jallianwala Bagh, Amritsar, on 15-5-28, at a meeting convened by the Nau Jawan Bharat Sabha, Amritsar.

P. 1914

Transcriptions in Urdu submitted by S. I. Arjan Singh of the Punjab C. I. D. of the speech delivered by M. A. Majid on the occasion of the Young Men's Conference, Amritsar on 12-4-28.

P. 1915 to P. 1924.

Being Bengalg speeches have been printed separately.

P. 1925.

Transcriptions in Urdu submitted by Mr. Abdul Lais Mahomed, Government Urdu Reporter, Calcutta, of a speech delivered by Babu Dharani Kanta Goswami, the Secretary of the Scavenger's Union, at the Deshbandhu Park on 4-3-28.

P. 1926 [1] & [2]

Transcription in Urdu submitted by Messrs Abdul Lais Mahomed, and Ghulam Husunain, Government Urdu Reporters, Calcutta, of a speech delivered by Muzaffar Ahmed at scavengers' meeting held at the Maidan near the Ochterlony Monument, on 20-5-28.

The portion marked P. 1926(1) is in the hand-writing of Ghulam Hussnain, while that marked P. 1926 (2) is in the hand-writing of Abdul Lais Mahomed.

P. 1927.

Transcriptions in Urdu submitted by Abdul Lais Mahomed Government Reporter, Calcutta, of a speech delivered by Shamsul Huda at the Dock workers Meeting at Halliday Park on 4-11-28.

P. 1928 (1) & (2).

Transcriptions in Urdu submitted by Messrs. Abdul Lais Mahomed and Ghulam Hasnain, Government Reporters, Calcutta, of a speech delivered by Muzaffar Ahmad at the Dock Workers' Meeting held under the auspices of the Workers' and Peasants' Party at the foot of the Ochterlony Monument, on 28-10-28.

The portion marked P. 1928(1) is in the handwriting of Ghulam Hasnain, while that marked P. 1928(2) is in the hand-writing of Abdul Lais Mahomed.

P. 1929 (1) & (2),

Transcriptions in Urdu submitted by Messrs. Abdul Lais Mahomed and Ghulam Hasnain, Government Reporters, Calcutta, of a speech delivered by Syed Shamsul Huda at the Dock Workers' Meeting held under the auspices of the Workers' and Peasants' Party, Bengal, at the foot of the Ochterlony Monument, on 28-10-28.

The portion marked P 1929(1) is in the hand-writing of Ghulam Hasnain, while that marked 1929(2) is in the hand-writing of Abdul Lais Mahomed.

P 1930 [1a] [1b] [2a] [2b].

Transcriptions in Urdu submitted by Messrs. Abdul Lais Mahomed and Ghulam Hasnain, Government Reporters, Calcutta of a speech delivered by Radha Raman Mitra, at a meeting at Ondal held on 23-5-28.

The portions marked P. 1930(1a) & (1b) are in the hand writing of Abdul Lais Mahomed, while those marked P. 1930(2a) & (2b) are in the hand-writing of Ghulam Hasnain.

P. 1931.

Transcriptions in Urdu submitted by Mr. Abdul Lais Mahomad, Government Urdu Reporter, Calcutta, of a speech delivered by Radha Raman Mitra at a public meeting at Ondal on 24-5-28.

P. 1932.

Transcriptions in Urdu submitted by Mr. Abdul Lais Mahomed, Government Urdu Reporter Calcutta, of a speech delivered by Radha Raman Mitra at a public meeting held at Ondal on 25-5-28.

P. 1933.

Transcriptions in Urdu submitted by Mr. Abdul Lais Mahomed, Government Urdu Reporter, Calcutta, of a speech delivered by Radha Raman Mitra at a public meeting held at Jhingri Mohalla, Asansol on 1-6-28.

P. 1934.

Transcriptions in Urdu submitted by Mr. Abdul Lais Mahomed, Government Urdu Reporter, Calcutta, of a speech delivered by Radha Raman Mitra at a public meeting held at Jhingri Mohalla, Asansol, on 2-6-28.

P. 1935.

Transcriptions in Urdu submitted by Mr. A. M. S. Raihan Ahmad, Government Reporter, Calcutta, of a speech delivered by Shamsul Huda at a Labour Meeting held at Halliday Park on 4-11-28.

P. 1936.

Transcriptions in Urdu submitted by Mr. A. M. S. Raihan Ahmad, Government Reporter, Calcutta, of a speech delivered by

Shibnath Banerji at a meeting in connection with the Lilloah strike held at Hari Sabha ground, Bijpore, Kanchrapara, on 29-4-28.

P. 1937.

Transcriptions in Urdu submitted by Mr. A. M. S. Raihan Ahmad, Government Reporter, Calcutta, of a speech delivered by Radha Raman Mitra, at a Labour Meeting held at the Maidan near the Ochterlony Manument on 19-1-29.

P. 1938.

Transcriptions in Urdu submitted by Mr. A. M. S. Raihan Ahmad, Government Reporter, Calcutta, of a speech delivered by Muzaffar Ahmad, at a Labour Meeting (scavengers' strike), held at Deshabandhu Park on 4-3-28.

NOTE: Some of the exhibits between P. 1939 and P. 2144 having been separately printed, they will be omitted from the serial list that follows.

P. 1940.

**The Workers' & Peasants' Party,
BOMBAY.**

To

Sir,

Enclosed please find a Programme as formulated by the above Party to be placed before the ensuing meeting of the All India Congress Committee to be held at Bombay on the 5th of May next.

I am sending you an advance copy of the same with a view to enable you to lend serious thought to it.

Messrs. K. N. Joglekar and R. S. Nimbkar, members of the A. I. C. C. and also members of this Party, are authorised to move the same in the A. I. C. C. Meeting and my Party do count upon your solid support thereto.

BOMBAY
April 24, 1927.

Yours fraternally
Shantaram S. Mirajkar
Secretary, The W. & P. Party
Bombay.

P. 1040. [1]

A printed copy of the Programme of the Workers' and Peasants' Party Bombay, to be placed before the meeting of the A.I.C.C. on 5-5-27.

(Vide Exh. P. 843).

P. 1941.

A cutting from the Indian National Herald D/- 25-4-27.

"REVOLUTION IS IN STORE FOR INDIA"

MR. SPRATT'S PREDICTION

"The embers of mass discontent are lying dormant beneath the structure of Indian society and are biding their time to blazon forth into a mighty conflagration. Revolution of a dual character—social and political—is in store for India. To make it successful, the workers and the peasants need to be arrayed under the banner of communism and organized on the lines of Trade unionism."

This was the substance of a lecture on "Revolutions and India" delivered by Mr. P. Spratt, of the British Labour Party, under the auspices of the Bombay Students Brotherhood at their premises, on Sunday evening.

Mr. Spratt said that revolutions were of two character, social and political or national. Social revolution presupposed the existence of class struggle, in which one section of society tried to exploit the other and benefit by its depressed position. Political or national revolution was brought about when one nation was dominated and exploited by another.

THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS.

The lecturer then described the salient features of the three revolutionary movements within the memory of the present generation; the Russian, the Irish and the Chinese. He also made a passing reference to the Mexican upheaval.

The Russian revolution, he said, was predominantly social, although there was behind it the element of political revolution as well, inasmuch as Britain and France had large capitalistic interests in Russia. The successful termination of the Russian revolution, which was a fight against heavy odds, was mainly due to Lenin who diverted the energies and attention of all his co-workers to wards the organization of the peasants and the labourers.

The Irish revolution was of a political character, and so was the present Chinese struggle. The Irish leaders had conducted their fight on socialist lines.

THE GENESIS OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION.

The genesis of the Chinese revolution was the resentment of the capitalist class of China against the British capitalists who in virtue of the concessions they had obtained and by their imper-

ialistic tactics had been preventing the former from exploiting the masses and depriving them of the plums of capitalism.

THE INDIAN SITUATION.

That, he said, was exactly the genesis of the Indian national movement also. The Indian capitalists, and the people of the higher social strata had not been allowed for years past to exploit the masses, while the British capitalism was taking full advantage of the situation. They were not only political non-entities but tools of British capitalism and instruments of imperial designs.

The upper or the capitalist classes therefore, started the national movement in India. In 1922, the situation reached its pitch: it was in fact the breaking point. But there was one great difference. What was intended to be a weapon against imperial capitalism, tended to go a step further and root out capitalism one and all, foreign as well as Indian.

INDIAN CAPITALISTS BETRAYAL

If the civil disobedience movement had been launched, the poor peasants, buried deep under the weight of 'Sahukar's' debts and 'Sarkar's' taxes would have rebelled against both, with the same vigour and desparateness. Then would have followed the seizure of lands and pastures, refusal to pay Marwaris exorbitant interests, enhanced wages and so on. But the capitalist leaders of India knew that that would be tantamount to undermining their own position, and hence they lacked out, and betrayed the movement. The Bardoli decision turned all tables. That opportunity was lost because the Indian national movement was not a mass affair but it was that of the wealthy and the educated few who could not divorce their national interests from capitalistic interests.

Speaking of party organizations the lecturer said the Communist party that had metamorphosied the Czarist Russia, was not like the loose, divided and undisciplined Swaraj party but it was a party of tried men who would stick fast to their principles against all odds. The Koumingtang party was also a disciplined group that could take risks.

Mr. Spratt emphasized the organization of a strong peasants' party and said that the material for revolution was present, discontent was keener than before, peasants were suffering under numerous disabilities and according to Dr Mann's economical survey, 80 per cent of the farmers had n't sufficient means to sustain themselves and their families. The average holding of a peasant's family was 5 acres. Workers' wages were very poor. Their conditions of life were the most miserable in the world. They were being doubly oppressed by foreign rulers as well as Indian capitalists. As such the elements

politico-social revolution were present in a marked degree. But India suffered from defective and divided leadership.

It was wrong to argue, he said, that the country was not prepared for non-violent civil disobedience. Although revolution was not synonymous with bloodshed yet a strictly non-violent atmosphere was a far off cry.

Every revolution in history was attended with bloodshed. The very idea that some blood would have to be shed ought not to deter India from launching the programme of civil disobedience.

In the end, Mr. Spratt hoped that the right lead would soon be forthcoming and India would witness one of the biggest revolutions recorded in history.

Mr. Meherally, Secretary of Students' Brotherhood, said that they were sorry Mahatma Gandhi had inadvertently and unconsciously played into the hands of capitalist leaders by being a party to the Bardoli decision which he characterised as "tactical blunder!" But he assured Mr. Spratt the Mahatmaji had honestly believed that the country was not prepared for civil disobedience.

With a vote of thanks the meeting ended.

P. 1942.

LENIN DAY OBSERVANCE IN BOMBAY.

Bombay City, S. B., January 24th.

Under the auspices of the Congress Labour Party (started in December by the Communist elements in the B.P.C.C.) such as Joglekar, Ghrie Firozedin, Sahah Lalji Pendse, R. S. Nimbkar &c. to do labour work with centres at different places in India, the Death Anniversary of Lenin of Russia was celebrated on the evening of January 22nd at the Marwadi Vidyalaya Hall. About 200 people attended. The photo of Lenin was kept on the dais with a red ribbon around it. In the absence of K. F. Nariman on account of ill-health, S. H. Jhabwalla presided.

K. N. Joglekar, Lalji Pendse, S. V. Ghate, S. S. Mirajkar, Firoze Din, S. V. Deshpande, Bhagwatiprasad Nigam, F. J. Ginwalla, R. B. Lotwalla, Parshottandas Tricumdas Merchant and C. G. Shah were present.

S. H. Jhabwalla said that Lenin was a great prophet of the modern world who had revolutionised the masses and had evolved a state of society and government for the salvation of humanity. He was like Gandhi of India. Whereas the latter remained an idealist-as most of his followers could not abide by his programme and policy. Lenin was able to put into practice the ideals for which he stood for the salvation of humanity. Britain, he said, was out for building a world Empire, *not* based on truth, honesty and justice, but to build it on commercial basis where the necessary virtues were wanting. India was being exploited by militarism and capitalism and a general revolt against the organised oppression was needed. In China the present state of affairs was due to persistent efforts of the Imperialists to put down the just aspirations of a civilised nation. During the period of 175 years of British Rule in India they were not able to make any satisfactory progress in education and illiteracy and miseries of about 27 crores of the people were due to the existing system of organised violence by the oppressor. A gradual revolution was needed to oust the present form of Government in the scientific sense. He was sorry that the Bombay citizens were regardless of the conditions of the labourers who were deprived of their legitimate rights. He suggested the adoption of Leninism against tyranny and oppression-whether capitalistic or imperialistic. Personally he was entirely despaired of the Government and the capitalists. He was glad to know that in Germany a League against Oppression in Colonies was started and their Congress would be held in February and that Pandit Motilal Nehru, George Lansbury and Mrs. Sun Yat Sen were respectively the Presidents elected for India, England and China.

Purshottamdas Tricumdas said that Bolshevism meant the rule of the majority and admired some of the principles of Lenin.

K. N. Joglekar paid a tribute to Lenin saying that Lenin was one who loved the whole humanity, and was the sponsor of a new theory by which the whole human machinery was the property of all individuals irrespective of caste or creed and whereby the producing elements began to control the products of the country. There were in India 700 Native States which were a form of medieval capitalism or landlordism. The people in India however were not realising that socialism was imperceptibly creeping into the body politic of India as could be seen for instance by the non-Brahmin movement against the Brahmins in India. Socialism was an instinctive inspired action for a better class of Society. He appealed to the audience to go beyond the arena of limited politics and cultivate the new doctrine of socialism as against landlordism and capitalism.

Lalji Pendse read a paper in Marathi on Leninism.

S. V. Deshpande speaking in Marathi spoke about the conditions of the working classes who, he said, ought to get the benefits of their labour.

The President moved a formal resolution placing on record the appreciation of the services rendered by Lenin for the salvation of humanity and the meeting ended.

A sum of annas 8 was privately demanded and collected from amongst the sympathisers of the meeting could be collected just to meet the expenses.

P. 1943.

A summons dated 14th March 1928 issued by the Presidency Magistrate, third court, Esplanade Bombay, against Abdul Hamid son of Abdul Karim, directing him to attend in person on 16-3-28 and answer to a charge of Desertion under Sec. 100 of the Indian Merchants' shipping Act XXI of 1923.

On the back of this summons, Abdul Hamid has signed his name in English and put the date 16-3-28 below it.

P 1944.

A quarter sheet of paper on one side of which the following entries appear:—

Summons No. 251/S of 1928.

Sd/- Abdul Hamid.

16-3-28.

Before me

Sd/- M.N. Desai 16-3-28.

P. 1945.

Case No. 25/s. of the Criminal Register for 1928.

Statement of the accused No. 1.

I state as follows:—

My name is Abdul Hamid Abdul Karim.

My Father's Name is

My age is about years

I am by caste

My Occupation is

I am an inhabitant of

I signed on the Elysia. I went on shore. I did not obtained the permission of the Captain or chief officer. But I asked the permission of the serang. I admit I did not return but I lost my way and when the ship had left.

I certify that this examination was taken in my presence and hearing that it contains a full and true account of the statement made by the accused.

Sd/- H.P. Dastur.

Bombay.

Presidency Magistrate

16-3-28.

III Ct. Bombay.

On the back of the statement the following further statement appears:

Next day I went to Br. Consul and informed him.

Sd/- Abdul Hamid (in Urdu).

P. 1947

A dairy book for 1927 found in the personal search of Philip Spratt on 15-9-27 when he was arrested in connection with a case under Sec. 124 A against him.

The entries in this diary book are presumably in the handwriting of Mr. Spratt.

P. 1948 (1)

A blank note sheet at the bottom of which the signature of D. Campbell appears.

P. 1948 (2)

Another blank note sheet at the bottom of which the signature of D. Campbell appears.

P. 1948 [3].

A third blank note sheet at the bottom of which the signature of D. Campbell appears.

P. 1948. (4).

A fourth blank note sheet with the signature of D. Campbell at the bottom.

P. 1949.

A note sheet with the following pencil notes written on it:—

1. Expose its real nature
2. Undermine its authority,
3. Overthrow it
3. Attitude of other parties the State, Democrats, Nationalists etc.
 - A. An impartial body.
 - B. Transformable
 - C. Capture through Parliament
3. The Proletarian State. Its functions and temporary character.
Books. Marx. Communist Manifesto.
Lenin. State and Revolution.
The Proletarian.
Stalin Leninism.
Dutt, Communism.

On the back of the sheet the following pencil notes are to be seen:—

1. International Unity.
2. Imperialist.
3. International
- 4.
5. Economic.

P. 1950.

BIRREL AND GARNETT.

ENGLISH AND FOREIGN BOOK-SELLERS.

30 Gerrard street.

LONDON ? W. 1

Francis Birrel

Ralph Wright

Graham Pollard.

As Mr. Philip Spratt is proceeding to India we agree to engage him as our agent, and to pay him a commission of 5 % on the gross value of all second hand books, English or foreign, sold through his agency. Furthermore we agree to pay him a certain proportion on new English books sold through him, subject to the conditions of the Net Book Agreement.

PP Birrell and Garnet,

Dec. 7th 1926.

Sd/- Graham Pollard.

P. 1960.

Jamshedji Edalji

Byculla.

Saklatwalla.

To

Dr. K.K. Dadachanji,

Corner Grant Road.

to introduce

Mr. P. Spratt

of the Labour Research Department.

London.

Sd/- Shapurji Saklatwalla.

P. 1976.

Party Training.

Lesson No. 1: What is Politics?

1. There is no static system of society and no universal form of Government. Progress has been made through;

- a) Tribal Communism.
- b) Slavery.
- c) Feudalism.
- d) Capitalism.

2. Complex Society throws up a diversity of economic interests; e. g. Master and Slave; Lord and Serf; Capitalist and Wage Worker.

Politics is the Struggle between the various conflicting Economic Groups and Classes.

3. History is a Record of these Class Struggles. The Nation or economic entity, and the classes and Parties therein. The Class and the Party.

Examples of Class interests and their Political expression.

- a) Finance Capital.
- b) Industrial Capital.
- c) Middle Classes.
- d) The Working Class.

4. What is a Nationalist Party?
Wherein does it differ from a Class Party?

What is the Limit of its Political functions and Aspirations.

5. General Summary of the Lesson.

Books to be read.

Marx, "The Communist Manifesto" Parts 1 & 2,
Dutt "Modern India" Part 7.

Syllabus for Elementary Training Group.

Lesson No. 1. *What is Politics?* Society and its groupings Nations, Classes and Parties. The Class Struggle. Give Examples of the various Parties. A Nationalist Party, its composition.

Lesson No. 2.

The Mode of Production as the *Basis of Society*. What is Political Economy? Economic Outline of History. The Material Conception of History. Economics of Capitalism. Contradictions of Capitalist Society. Imperialism. Future Organisation of Society.

Lesson No. 3.

The State, its origin and Function. The Modern State. The Imperialist State Attitude of the Party towards the State. The Proletarian State.

Lesson No. 4.

Working Class History. Evolution from Feudalism. Capitalism and the working class. The Role of the Trade Unions. Working Class in Politics. The Party of the Working Class. The Communist Party.

Lesson No. 5.

The Party. The Role of the Party. Adaptation of Party Policy to the General Struggle. Organisation of the Party. Comparisons. Principle of Party Tactics. Summary.

Lesson No. 6.

The Party and the Trade Unions. Party Policy Constant, application varied. Pre-revolution and Post-revolution relations between the Party and the Unions.

Lesson No. 7.

The Party and the National Struggle. The Party, the Working Class and the National Struggle. Instances of the National Struggle. National Struggle as a contributory factor in the Proletarian Struggle.

Lesson No. 8.

Present Political Situation. Proletarian in Power. Instances of the Struggle for Power. Capitalism Stable and Relatively Stable. U. S. A. Britain, Italy, France, Germany, India, China and Russia.

Lesson No. 9.

General Summary, of the Series. Indication of other phases of Party activity.

Bibliography.

Marx & Engels | Communist Manifesto.
" | Wage-Labour & Capital.
" | Value, Price and Profit.

- Lenin :..... State and Revolution.
 Left Wing Communism.
 The Proletarian Revolution.
 Imperialism.
- Stalin :..... Leninism.
- R. P. Dutt :..... Communism.
 Modern India.
- Bogdanav :..... Short Course of Economic Science.

* Other standard Works on specific Subjects e. g. Webbs, "History of Trade Unionism." Engles, "The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State. M. Pavlovich, "The Foundations of Imperialist Policy." etc, etc, should *be read subsequently.*

P. 1977.

2 Copies of the booklet in English entitled "Sacco and Vanzetti."

P. 1978.

Membership Card of the Workers' & Peasants' Party.
 Bombay.

No.....

Name.....

President: Comrade D. R. Thengdi.

Secretary: S. S. Mirajkar.

Points for you to remember :—

- (a) Pay in your subscription of the Party regularly.
- (b) Support the Party organ "Kranti".

- (c) Be an active member of your Trade Union.
- (d) Induce your friends to join the party.
- (e) Attend your meetings regularly.

In the inner fold of the card there are columns for entering the subscriptions from month to month.

P. 1979.

A manuscript copy of notes on "Revolution and India."

REVOLUTONS AND INDIA.

Apology etc. Did not mean to talk about it, but it is after all not a bad subject. It gives us scope to bring the experience of the outside world to bear on India—a thing which is uncommon, British experience is used, frequently rather blindly (e. g. T. U.) but owing partly to the activities of the Police Indians are as a whole not very familiar with outside events (of interest from a nationalist standpoint) Used to study Ireland a lot, have not read Kelkar's book. Important things are to be learnt from Ireland, and I hope to touch on that a bit. But there are other countries.

But after all the subject is "Revolutions & India". What relations have Revolution to India. The point is that India is in a revolutionary condition. Not in the mere ordinary sense that important changes are occurring or are imminent. That debases the conception of revolution. The meaning of the word I have in mind is one of violent upheaval of a political and military character revolution in the good old fashioned sense.

No. of condns for revn, must need no statement

(1) class division and exploitation.

Hence revs. divided into 2 types (1) subst. of one expl. class by another,

(2) overthrow of all expl. classes.

(1) examples (2) ex. Which is India? In 1922 because a revn. intended us (1) inevitably went towards (2), it was called off and revived. Ever since it has obviously been true that only a revn of (2) could occur.

Class divisions of India are :—

The efforts of the bourgeoisie to carry on struggle for one, when they dare not call up the masses to help, in fear of (2) have inevitably resulted in failure.

(Process similar to Irish, but there.... ..). (...Chinese.

Now what other condition for revn? For example let us take India in 1919: What motive influenced the various classes?

1st bourgeoisie. *Industrial development hampered; no voice in rule of country*, Both these are partly, and in prospect perhaps completely to be granted by the Reforms, the Industrial Commission etc. The Currency Ratio is a step in reverse direction, but a minor one. The bourgeois is no longer revolutionary even aside from fear of peasantry and working cl. It cooperates whether Swarajist, Responsivist, Liberal, Natn. or. But other classes? Peasantry. Dr. Mann's investigation. 80% odd in an "unsound" econ. posn. (Average holding under 5 acres per family for all India) Over 50% income in food. Debts, rents and taxes, take an enormous proportion of production—Permanent condition. The excitement due to rapid alteration in price levels during the war, outburst with other startling things, and Gandhi's leadership brought peasantry to the verge of revn. Are these conditions altered? No. The concession to the bourgeoisie have not altered them. Take the working-class. A little social legislation—limitation of hours, restriction on employment of women. Are conditions appreciably better? No. cannot be solved either by cons. to bourgeoisie.

Small manufacturers in villages etc?—worse owing to ordn. developm.

Small shopkeepers? pressure of popn and general poverty taxation (indirect) etc. Intellectuals? Professions (legal medical teaching) all overcrowded, and many thousand of univ-men unemployed. This keeps the rates of remuneration down for all except the most highly qualified. No substantial improvement, in spite of a certain Indianisation."

Thus far the mass of popn. the revolutionary conditions are not solved.

We may judge then that a revolution in India is still to come and it will be of type (2)

The most instructive analogies to take then are Ireland, Russia China. On these I propose to cons.

Considerable analogies, peasant problem. small but important working-class. Russia.

Assistance to other unions with funds and sympathetic strike.

Political Action & Pol, levy. (Contracting in)

Civil liability etc.

Picketing & intimidation (?) Girni Kamgar

Other Restrictions on use of funds. Mahamandal.

P. P. 88 & 90 *Slaves* & Registration, objects etc.

The following newspaper cuttings are attached to the above notes:—

(1) Herald D/- 25-4-27. Revolution is in store for India. Mr Spratt Prediction.

(2) Bombay Chronicle D/- 25-4-27. Leaders found wanting. Mr Spratt a Indian Freedom movement. A Revelation on Revolution.

(3) Times of India D/- 27-4-27.
Mr. Spratt on Non Violence.

(4) Times of India D/- 26-4-27.
The Gospel of violence.

(5) Working classes Must come into their own Mr. P. Spratt's observations on Workers' conditions in India.

Herald of 25-4-27.

(6) Bombay Chronicle D/- 9-5-27. Congress and Labour Party. Both fighting against British Imperialism. Mr. Spratt's Illuminating Address.

P. 1980.

MANUSCRIPT NOTES ON THE FOLLOWING SUBJECT:—

Contemporary Political Situation in India.

(August 1927).

The political life of India for the past few months has been and probably for a year or two will be dominated by one centre of interest the Statutory Commission. From the complacent attitude of acceptance of the Commission by the Loyalist & Moderate groups, through the vacillations and subterfuges of the Swarajists, to the emphatic opposition of the No—Changers—all the views of the various sections hitherto represented on the Indian political stage,

have been given expression. But a new group has recently made an appearance in Political life—the Labour Movement. What is its contribution to the discussion of this important subject?

The labour movement is distinguished from other political groups by several characteristics. It is essentially international in its outlook and sympathies, and further, lying as it does, so to speak at the base of the social pyramid, it has nothing to fear from a frank and exhaustive analysis of any political or economic situation. It can face all the facts.

Labour will therefore judge of the situation in which the Commission does its work, and of the probable results of its efforts, in a way which will be nearly if not quite unique in Indian politics. It will recognise that the Commission comes at an important juncture not merely in India, but in world affairs, that its results will be domestic necessities, and that in order to decide what attitude is to be adopted towards it, it is necessary to take all these facts into consideration.

The following is an attempt to assess the main feature of the situation especially in regard to the British Empire, with the international point of view of the labour movement in India, with a view to showing the necessary time factor of Indian labour in the present and immediate future.

It is universally recognised that the British Empire is in a very grave position though its real difficulties are not sufficiently appreciated. It is not too much to say, that unless something startling occurs to relieve things, the Empire, threatened by enemies both within and without, is heading for fairly early dissolution. The internal situation of Britain cannot have been worse for a century and shows a real sign of recovery. Taxation is per head the heaviest in the world, owing largely to the enormous national debt; Production has hardly yet exceeded prewar dimensions; unemployment remains almost steady at an appalling figure; the basic industry, coal in spite of last year's conflict, is still in as bad a state of crisis as ever; the much advertised boom in the heavy industries after the coal strike has proved a great disappointment.

Politically the situation is one of extreme and increasing tension. Power has passed definitely into the hands of the imperial financier group, with its allies the Fascist land-owners and army officers constituting the "right wing" of the Conservative Party.

At the same time this section is clever enough to support the "revival" of the Liberal Party, and arming middle class people in despair at the growing "extremism" of both sides seen inclined to follow the astute, but fundamentally policy-less group of Reading, Smauel and Lloyd George. Nevertheless this development, which

seems to many an indication of "returning sanity" and so forth, is fundamentally only an anti-labour manoeuvre. It is a step forward in the class struggle, not step towards conciliation.

The working-class, sullen after last year's defeats, is periodically stirred into new revolt by the systematic attacks of the capitalists. The Blanesburgh unemployment report, the expulsion of the Labour Boards of Guardians, the House of Lords Reform, the attacks upon China and Russia, and most of all, the egregious Trade Unions Act, determine a class-situation of unprecedented acuteness. While the official Labour representatives grow more and more timid and subservient it is patent to all that the real voice of the working-class comes from the "left" ten workers would follow look for one who would put his faith in MacDonald. Moreover it is probable that, far from being over and done with, as many say, the real crisis has yet to come. The Capitalist's measures, from the liberal revival to the Trade Union Act, are measures of preparation for future and greater struggle.

In the Empire, the situation is as bad with regard to the Self-Governing Dominions, Britain by means of frequent Royal visit and jingo propaganda, can keep the appearance of Empire, but only at the sacrifice of its reality. Canada is effectively part of the United States; Australia is already far gone on the same road; South Africa much more closely dependent on the Motherland, is nevertheless showing many signs of independence.

The other parts of the Empire, temporarily quietened after the War by a brilliant policy of mixed coercion and concession are already showing that this quiet is unstable. Egypt chafes under an independence which leaves her military and foreign affairs and the Suez Canal the upper Nile waters and the Sudan under British Control.

The Jewish Arab conflict which made Palestine safe for imperialism, is disappearing. The East African Colonies are perpetually in disturbance over the confiscation of the negro tribal lands. The Malay States are suspected of infection by the "views" from the Dutch East Indies, which appear to be in a state almost of open revolt. Even Ireland which after the Treaty seemed crushed for a generation, is showing some signs of reviving its century long fight against English dominance, which in spite of "Dominion Status" is nearly as irksome as ever. The Chinese revolution has at the moment experienced a serious set back, and recent state of things cannot continue for more than a short interval and in any case British Trade suffers while the existing confusion lasts. But the people have been so roused by recent events. But it is not only internal conflict which threatens the Empire. Although it has receded for the time into the background, the struggle with the

United States, for financing political and naval dominance of world still goes on. It is not however of immediate importance except in so far as the deadly competition for markets steadily reduces British trade and prosperity. And in fact Britain is to very great extent dependant in its current policy upon the friendly support, or at any rate naturalty of American opinion. But the most important cause of Britain's decline, is the rise of America and though it cannot be dealt with here is not to be forgotten. What is of immediate importance is the effort which Britain has been making to stabilise her power in the other directions, i. e. by action against the Soviet Republics. In the first place the overwhelming need for new fields for exploitation lower her to this policy. In the second the threat of her enormous Asiatic interests occasioned by the very existence of movements such as those in Russia and China has always led Britain to take the lead in oppressing them. Ever since the Border States in Eastern Europe were established by the Versaille Treaty, British interference has gone on among them. Poland and Lithuania have undergone revolution at British instance, in order to establish more ante-Soviet Governments. From Romania to Finland the chain is now complete. Locarno was an effort to establish a wider alliance, confessedly against the soviet, in which Germany was to be a very important factor. But the various interests of the European powers seem already to have broken up this compact, Nevertheless Britain is pushing on and the open provocation offered to the Soviet Government in the Peking and London Raids the furious propoganda campaign in the British Press' and the Official breaking of relations, seem to show that the long-drawn out preparation are nearing their consummation.

Many informed and intelligent cities of the liberal type, in England and America pooh-poooh this idea. It is incredible, they think that a sane British Government should undertake such a hair-brained scheme as an attack upon Russia. But the weight of evidence is against them. What other explanation is possible? All reports show that nothing short of was on the near future is to be expected. All Europe is preparing for War and is more than ever before an "armed camp" and the British Air Force, if smaller than the French, is the most efficient in the world. It has just been reported that the important Polish munitions industry is working night and day turning out war materials. The Soviet Government's fear of attack is quite obviously real, and the whole of continental Europe has been known and discussed of the scheme for years. The preparations on the North Frontier of India, the propoganda by the M. of Burdwan, Sir We Birdwood and others about a "Red menace", the visit of Sir Lang Worthington Evans, the alleged conflict between Simla and Whitehall, aiming at a more mobile (i. e. an attacking, instead of a defensive) force on the Frontier, all go to show that nothing short of war is intended, and that fairly soon.

(Marginal note:)

Such propaganda hardly needs to be exposed as utter nonsense. The Soviet Govt. has not the means for a serious war, and in any case knows that one certain method of losing its popular support at home and abroad is to launch a policy of international aggression.

The sceptical, augury on the general ground that such a war is "incredible" seem to forget that the British Government is in an unprecedented position. Was not the Trade Union Bill "incredible"? Was not the Arcoe Raid "unthinkable" by a traditional sane, staid, Tory Government? And, was not the war of 1914 thought to be "incredible" and "impossible" by all intelligent liberals—until it occurred.

It must be remembered that war *de facto* if not *de jure* has already started in China, and that once begun, it is the way of war to extend itself indefinitely. Further a direct attack from the West upon Russia is not necessarily the overwhelming task that it was in Napoleon's day or even in the days of Renthir and Koltchok. The Soviet has been spending too much on industry and agriculture and too little on armaments. And modern attacking force is composed not of infantry and cavalry but of tanks, aeroplanes and motor lorries.

It seems safe to conclude then, that (it is a big 'if') and when the British workers have had their impotence demonstrate and their spirit crushed once or twice more under the Trade Union Act, the attack will begin. It is not possible here to estimate the probable results of such an adventure. Though the difficulties from Britain point of view may not be as great as they seem at first sight, there is no doubt that the probability of failure is great - and failure means disaster.

This long though very inadequate excursion into world politics have seemed necessary in order to show that the situation in the British Empire, and its relation to the rest of the world is one of quite unprecedented gravity. Not only that, but it involves the early probability of war on a very large scale. It is strange that this is not at all adequately realised in India. The intellectual isolation of India is notorious and is no doubt responsible for this apparent neglect of world faction which are of great importance to this country as to any other. It is characteristic of a bourgeois national movement that unlike a working class nationalism, it is not also international in sympathy. The narrowness of outlook is no doubt also to a settled Government policy of suppression of "undesirable" literature, and limitation of education. The bearing of this upon India is obvious. India forms more than half the British colonial empire, but is essential to the retention of the enormous British possessions scattered all round the shores of the Indian ocean.

Britain cannot give up India. To give up India would be to give up all.

What then will be British Policy? It is clear that (1) India must be retained as a source of wealth and of man-power for Britain, (2) India must be rendered safe from internal disorder due to political and economic discontent. (This is particularly important, owing to the probable reaction upon India of Chinese events.) These necessities are to a considerable extent contradictory, but they can be satisfied, for a time, by a substantial grant of "self-government"—within the Empire. It is obvious on other grounds that "Dominion Status" is what Britain has been aiming at for some time, and in view of the urgency of the situation, it may well be vouchsafed by the Statutory Commission in 1929.

(At the same time, the perpetuation of the reality of British control, which will not escape notice in Europe and America, is countered by the fact that Great Britain is faced with the fact that the Statutory Commission has been promised and is eagerly expected, in 1929, just when the events which are here foreshadowed are likely to be maturing. It is obvious that India will play a very important part in British Imperial strategy. It supplied nearly a million men and enormous quantities of wealth in the last war. In the coming war, which will probably be fought very near Indian frontiers far more will be expected of it. And further there are to be remembered permanent facts of the situation in India.....

Now whether the events in question, the expected war upon Russia occur shortly, or, is for one or other of the unwelcome possible reasons, delayed, the British Government will act with that prospect in mind. The exact date of its occurrence is immaterial.

Continuance of the propaganda that India is unfit for self-government, c.f. Miss Mayo's book. It is not contended that "Mother India is actually the result of the British official "hidden hand". But it has promptly used just as if it were).

It is to be expected then that Dominion Status or something very like it will be granted to India. Military affairs will no doubt remain in British hands, and some kind of financial control will be maintained, but it would not be surprising if any liberal concessions in other directions were made. Britain however she may blunder over Ireland, or even Egypt, seldom makes a mistake in Indian policy, and she cannot but be aware that the present political quiescence is being prolonged solely by the expectation of substantial gains from the com. of 1929. Among great disappointment to India's existing leaders, the commission would be rapidly followed by an agitation which would be most dangerous to Britain in her precarious position.

In general terms this will mean that the Indian capitalist class will be won over. It will no doubt be given economic concessions (even, possibly, at the expense of minor British interest), a substantial degree of control through legislatures, admission of its sons on a much larger scale to the Services, and so on. The process begun by the Morely-Minto reforms will be completed. Indian capitalism will be substantially satisfied. British capitalism will retain at any rate the essentials which it requires in return for the protection it affords to the Indian upper classes against the lower.

It is this last fact which gives the key to the new situation which will evolve. More definitely ever than now, British and Indian Capitalism will be united in exploitation and oppression of Indian labour. The peasantry, whatever the results of the Agricultural Commission, will be used as a source of wealth for both, and will be objectively on the side of labour. The important middle class may perhaps expect some slight relief through increased Indianisation of the Services, but fundamentally it will remain outside Britain's extended embrace. However much the franchise may be enlarged, the reality of power will be with big capital and not small.

It is interesting to attempt a little more detailed prophecy, what will be the political reflection of these changes?

It can confidently be expected that the Swaraj Party will quickly disappear. Already halfway to cooperation and obviously ready to go further in return for representation in the Commission, it will collapse as a fighting body when its prominent leaders occupy the ministerial benches. As in Ireland, those who have hitherto been rebels will be on the position of administrators, and it can be expected, will do equally well in those positions. It will be amusing to see staunch Swarajists, like the late Mr. O'Higgins, imprisoning or executing their erstwhile political comrades for rebellion against the British connection!

But that, it is quite safe to say is what will occur. As Zaghul imprisoned the Trade Unionists who supported him to power, as Chiang Kai Sheh executed his allies in the Trade Union leaders and communists, as the present Irish Government has executed its Republicans so will the Dominion Government of India persecute those who persist in demanding independence, or advocate too vigorously to cause of the oppressed classes.

The class struggle in India will at last become clear without a possibility of doubt, and will probably fairly quickly take its place as the most important political issue, indeed as the essence of Indian politics.

That will be undoubtedly the most important immediate development. The class struggle will be greatly intensified, and owing to the clearing of the issues, the way will be open for a great increase in the class consciousness of Indian labour. The workers will begin to advance on the political field, as a class, against the capitalist class. What methods can be adopted by them—whether for example the franchise will be such that they can press their claims in the legislatures—is a detail theoretically of minor importance. It is impossible to predict with any confidence what conditions Labour will find to fight in. If the expected world war occurs fairly soon, the disturbance inevitably connected with such an event will immensely increase the hardships of the workers' life, as well as increase his possibilities for class action. Even if it does not, the inevitable rapid alterations in the economic structure of the world, and especially of the British Empire, and the development of political and economic events in China, will determine a period of disturbance and change. Indian labour cannot look forward to a long stage of slow growth and organisation, such as British and European labour experienced in the last century. Things move more quickly now a days, especially in the "unchanging East".

What however should be labour's tactics in the near future, before, during, and after the Statutory Commission? They will clearly be determined by the condition outlined above. It is assumed that while the capitalist class will be afforded important concessions, and will definitely and finally go over to the imperialist camp, no economic concessions of any importance can be vouchsafed to labour or the peasants, as by that, means the supply of profit to Imperialism would be checked. It is even doubtful if any effort will be made to conciliate labour by political concessions, such as the vote. The Government, if it is not the inventor of the famous catchword, "labour is still in its infancy", has adopted it with enthusiasm, and will probably act upon it.

Labour will therefore work on the following assumptions:

- (1) that what the Commission will grant it is probably valueless, and will in any case be determined without regard to its demands,
- (2) that the effect of the Commission will be to ally the British and Indian employing classes more closely and obviously, so that the class-struggle will become intensified, and will tend to replace the national issue as the central consideration on Indian politics,
- (3) the prospect in the next few years is one of great economic and political confusion, with more than a possibility of general war.
- (4) that labour's interests are opposed to war, especially war upon the only working-class state.

On this basis, it is obvious that labour should indicate clearly its opposition to cooperation with the Statutory Commission. This should be labour's attitude on grounds of general principle, and on the basis of the calculation that it can lose nothing by this course, and will gain in political stature and clarity. Further these assumptions will determine its attitude to internal politics. Big capital can be regarded more and more as an open political enemy. The middle class will as usual vacillate, and most of it will probably follow capital into the loyalist camp. But a substantial section, that e.g. represented by the Congress "no-changers", will remain in opposition. The peasantry so far as it is politically conscious, will be opposed to the Government, clearly then labour must first of all seek to ally itself as closely as possible with the peasants. (This will be the main item of its strategy throughout its future history. It will also seek to ally itself with as much as possible of middle-class.

The fate of the Congress organisation is a detail, but is of importance, since the Congress, with 50 years' tradition behind it, has considerable authority and influence in the country through its very name. It is at present dominated by the Swaraj Party, and if, as is expected the Swaraj Party goes over almost entirely to the Government camp, the Congress may follow it, and become an obstruction rather than a help. It is therefore important the labour, should seek as much representation in the Congress as possible and should ally itself with the irreconcilable petit-bourgeois section, the "no-changers" to oppose cooperation with the statutory Commission, and if possible, so to dominate the Congress that when the inevitable split occurs it is the capitalist section which breaks away, leaving the Congress machinery, with its material and moral resources in the hands of the opposition. If this is successfully done it is clear that the Congress organisation will have to be altered so that it may admit of affiliation of labour unions and peasants organisation and thus be transformed from its present individualist, i.e. upper and middle-class basis to a genuinely national representative character. If the Congress remains under bourgeois control it will be necessary to establish a new national organisation on these lines which will embody the alliance of the petit bourgeoisie the peasants and the workers.

Such appear to be the immediate prospects of political development in India, and the attitude which the labour movement should adopt towards them. Even if events do not proceed as rapidly as is here expected, it cannot be denied that the inevitable trend of developments is in this direction. The future leadership of Indian politics lies with the industrial working class, and the most important immediate task is to increase the strength of its economic and political organisation in order that they undertake that responsibility.

August 1927.

P. 1981.

Two Typewritten copies of the notes on the article

"Lesson 6. Trade Union Work".

(Already Printed. Vide Exh. P. 801)

Two Typewritten Copies of the article

"Trade Union Work".

(1) General. The trade unions play an extremely important part in the class struggle generally, and in the National movement also. They are the chief mass organisations of the industrial workers, in which the workers learn to realise class interests, to subject themselves in their own interest and in that of the whole to a class discipline, and through which they are introduced in the best possible manner to the realities of politics i. e. the class aspect. In addition, however to being schools in which the workers learn their political lessons, they are on occasions directly used as instruments of political struggle.

Our task in the unions is therefore twofold. We must use them to the fullest extent as a means of educating the members, and as a recruiting ground for the party (they are the most desirable type of members). And we must assume the leadership in action, even of the most partial kind, as a preparation for action on the whole front.

In the existing conditions, when the union movement is only partly developed, we must use that situation to introduce ourselves and secure an even firmer hold than would otherwise be possible, by undertaking organisation from the very beginning. Though this work is in itself hard, it will render our later work easier.

(2) Practical. We require (1) a programme of a political character, to be propagated in the unions and if possible forced upon the T. U. C. (2) a programme of an organisational character to be carried out by the Unions and the inter-union organisations including the T. U. C. (3) a programme of demands for particular industries and for general use. (4) agreed methods of work (5) immediate allocation of tasks to individuals (the work of the Trade Union Group).

(1) The unions and the T. U. C. must take their own definite political line, but must also seek to attach themselves as closely as possible to the Congress and the national movement. Their own politics consists of opposition to imperialism, on general and on political subjects such as China, and particularly the transport of

troops and munitions there. The T.U.C. must affiliate independently to the "League against Imperialism", and take the initiative in establishing an authoritative All India branch of it. Support for an All India W and P. P. must be continued. The T. U. C. must cease in accordance with its strength to cooperate with imperialism by nominating members to attend the I. L. O. conferences and to sit on the Councils and Assembly.

(2) Organisational points; to render the T. U. C. more democratic and more representative by moving on the lines of the constitution amendments drawn up by us for the last congress (b) all unions to affiliate to the A. I. and Provincial T.U.C.s and all unions and branches to the town committees (Central Labour Board etc) (c) industrial unionism one union for each industry, with proper but limited attention to sections. (d) *energising the unions* This means getting the real members to take an active part. Get regular and frequent meetings for discussion of business and political subjects. Make unions conduct educational work. Insist on efficiency in routine work regular collection of subscriptions etc recruiting campaigns. (e) make the actual workers act as delegates, committee members etc. Get regular formal election of all committee members and delegates and make them give formal reports to meetings of their constituents. (f) where possible workshop organisation should be encouraged i. e. making the unit of the union the workers employed in one works (mill, printing shop etc) (g) connection with the Congress by affiliation if possible, and by a systematic campaign to make workers join Congress (h) international unity (i) increased emphasis on the organising and political activities of the central bodies, especially the T. U. C., and in Bombay, the Central Labour Board. This must be made an active working body conducting propaganda and organising work for Bombay as a whole. It should have regular monthly delegate meetings with say two delegates for every thousand affiliated members (or more), so that the meetings are representative and large enough to carry influence and enthusiasm (remember that the C. L. B. will in the future play the same decisive part as the Petrograd Soviet or the Shanghai Trade Council) (j) social activities (tea parties etc. can do much to increase solidarity and enthusiasm.

(3) a programme of general labour demands has been drawn up and should be used. For particular industries the chief grievances must also be seized upon for organising and fighting purposes.

(4) General methods of work: agreement by the party members on policy before any board, committee, general or branch meeting, if necessary after consultation with the t. u. group secretary or if very important, with the E. C. Short written reports of meetings should always be given in. Programme adopted must be continually pushed with a view to its adoption by the body in question. Members must get influence in running Union journals etc., and in conducting

educational schemes. Party organ and other publications must be circulated. Lines of propaganda must be in accordance with the above suggestions and the party lead given from time to time and should also have a definite socialist complexion. Party lead should be followed in conducting special campaigns e. g. on May day or Chinese intervention or etc. Members should not hide the fact that they are working under party directions in fact the aim should be to establish confidence in the party as opposed to the individuals as a sound guide to the workers. It should here be emphasised that it is especially important in union work to avoid any suspicion of personal motives or under hand methods. Experience shows that in unions more than anywhere else such things are detected and very severely condemned.

All party members who are eligible must become members of their union and work in the manner outlined above. Those who are not eligible should obtain contact with the unions by becoming members of "advisory committees", and in that position much of the work can be done. It is especially important in such positions to overcome the members' suspicions by hard work. *At least* one evening per week regularly should be devoted to it.

(5) individual allocation. This is a matter for individuals to decide in consultation with the trade union group. General principles to be born in mind are that in our present weak state we must concentrate on the most vital industries, seamen, railwaymen, dock workers, cotton mill hands. We must make some effort to extend the range of our work at any rate to Kalyan, and later other industrial places in the province.

Above all remember that the T. U. C. is in November next. We have already wasted half the time at our disposal.

Therefore

BEGIN NOW

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

MANUSCRIPT NOTES IN ENGLISH PRESUMABLY
IN THE HANDWRITING OF SPRATT ON
"TRADE UNION QUESTION."

First the theoretical approach—What is the role of the T. U.'s in the class struggle generally, and in the national struggle in particular? It is somewhat variable in importance, but always we can say that the T. U. movement is the chief mass organisation of the working class, leading the members class-discipline and class interests, instructing them in Politics, being in fact, as Lenin summed it up "School of Communism." How far can they be active factors in the struggle? To a very large extent, e. g. General Strike, Councils of Action etc. In Britain and indeed elsewhere the organisational basis of the dictatorship will be a trade Union one, in the localities (Trades Councils) possibly even nationally, of the revolutionary crisis were to originate from a general strike.

In the national struggle; we know that the working class must take eventually a leading part. How can it do so? (1) by its party activity in the general nationalist party. (2) and by its T. U. action. In the case of Ireland both aspects are lacking. In China both are fulfilled. The Trade Unions are prominent, and at times lead the attack, e. g. in the Shanghai and Hong Kong general strikes of 1925 and the numerous general strikes of a politico—economic character in 1926 and 27. Hence again the T. U.'s are of enormous importance. They are at once active instruments of struggle, and fields for propaganda, the two aspects being closely inextricably intermingled. Hence our task in the T. U. movement though essentially one task, can be looked upon from these two points of view. We have to educate the members, and we have to lead them into action.

But this implies a formed and developed T. U. movement. Here we are confronted with the task of being not merely the agitators and galvanisers, but the originators, almost of the movement. This makes our task harder, but also easier. If we organise the unions, we have them under our influence.

Obstacles: defection of some unions or sections from the class struggle attitude through concessions or the influence of leaders. In some cases (railway men) a highly paid section remains aloof and thus weakens org: In other (dock workers) The only organised section is the favoured skilled one (Clerks) and hence the union is from the start under this influence. Education is the only weapon against this, and the pressure of the opinion of other sections.

TRADE UNION WORK.

Our T. U. group requires (a) a programme of resolutions, amendments to constitution, etc. which it wishes to urge upon the T. U. C.

(b) a programme of action for the Unions and T. U. C. for the advancement of their organisation and efficiency.

(c) A programme of demands, in general, (provided for by the general demands of the Party), and in particular for the different unions or industries).

(d) agreed methods of work.

(a) The resolutions etc. for T.U.C. have been drawn up, but lost again.

consists of (a) general resolutions, on industrial unionism?

International T. U.

Unity.

Opposition to Imperialism (declaring in effect, its opposition to political neutrality.)?

(b) amendments to constitution — these we have to draft ourselves. The most important are: Par. 12., delete "before the E. C. which may place all or any of such resolutions."

Par 15., to read "The president must accept and submit to show of hands a motion of closure, of proposed after four speakers have spoken on any motion.

(b) This is an important point. We should consider the development of the Central labour Board into the equivalent of a Trades Council a fighting organisation—on the British model. The points we have to insist on are (1) All unions to affiliate to the All-India provincial and if they exist, (if not should be brought into existence city or town committees. (2) Industrial unionism—one union for one industry, with sub-sections if necessary, with limited powers. (3) Workshop organisation—the unit of the union to be the members working in one mill, factory, railwayshop or what not. Where this is impossible, area branches must be the method. (4) Energising the unions—regular and frequent meetings for discussion of business and if possible relevant political subjects. Make unions conduct educational work. Promote efficiency of organisation—membership cards, e.g. (5) Representation so far as possible, of the rank—and—file. Get delegates to local conferences, committees who are actual workers in the industry—of course in agreement with our point of view if possible. (6) We should concentrate to begin with on the most vital unions—railwaymen, port trust workers, seamen in Bombay).

Particular programmes of demands

(c) Can be elaborated by those intimately acquainted with the trade in question.

(d) Methods of work.

Meetings of our members (and perhaps adherent) in the industry or union concerned. When the number becomes large, these must appoint officials of various kinds.

Work—propaganda on basis of above mentioned programme

Work as fractions in branch, committee, and other meetings.

get influence in running of union journals,

get control of educational classes etc. In general let the workers find that the Party members are energetic and reliable fighters for their interests—Party of leaders of the working class.

Circulate the Party organ and other publications.

The fractions and individuals at work in unions should give regularly, short but complete written reports to the T. U. Group secretary.

Take up the party lead in running campaigns etc. W. Party members should not be afraid to introduce political subjects into the union, and e.g. get it to pass resolutions on China, and such subjects. The educational value of a simple discussion on the working class significance of the Chinese would be very great.

The members should never hide their Party membership, nor take any precautions to hide fraction work. Though this should not be advertised, it will inevitably be seen, and should not be denied. It is obvious that fraction, and Party work in general, should be always justifiable before the other members of the Union it should never have any doubtful motives, personal, or what not.

P. 1983.

One manuscript copy and three typed copies of a review of C. G. Shah's book "Hundred Percent Indian." The Review runs as under:—

"Hundred Percent Indian" by C. G. Shah.

Mr. Shah has produced a fine pamphlet which all who are interested in modern India should read. It introduces a quite new way of thinking into Indian affairs, a way which, we believe, must be grasped and applied and acted upon before substantial advance can be made.

It is a pity that the style is a little difficult. Though well expressed, and sometimes almost epigrammatic, it is often obscured by the use of long phrases and difficult words. This, together with the fact that it is mainly theoretical in its treatment of the subject, and does not often touch "practical politics," make it perhaps unattractive, but it is nevertheless very enlightening.

It consists of a vigorous attack upon Gandhi's philosophy, as expressed mainly in "Indian Home Rule". By extensive quotations dealing with his views on modern technical appliances and methods, it is shown how reactionary Gandhi's outlook is. Thus "———India has nothing to learn from anybody else. Our ancestors saw that happiness is largely a mental condition——We have managed with the same plough as it existed thousands of years ago." And ; "Gandhi Raj is an ideal condition of which all the five negatives (No railways, no hospitals, no machinery, no army, no navy will represent a true picture".

It is obvious why, as the author says, "From the standpoint both of the emancipatory struggle of the Indian people, and the higher development of the human society and civilisation, Gandhism represents a classic obstacle.

There is no need we feel to argue the second point, that Gandhi is a reactionary influence from the standpoint of the higher development of human society and civilisation. Civilisation, as the author points out, is reared upon a basis, a basis of the technique of production. Society is advanced or retarded roughly in proportion to the advancement or backwardness of its productive resources, in the widest sense. To abolish the material foundation upon which we have separated ourselves from the savage, as Gandhi advocates, inevitably means in the end to reduce ourselves to savagery. Of course we shall in the future tend to lead a more natural life than we do nowadays. Towns and cities will probably disappear to a large extent, and people will live in the country as their distant ancestors did. But this can be done only on the basis of a very advanced technique of transport, such as is now becoming available to the richer classes in Europe and America. At the present moment, towns and cities represent a civilisation more advanced than that of the country.

From this very general point of view, Gandhism is thoroughly dealt with. The author further touches upon the general conceptions which he applies to the subject—the "materialist Conception of History" and in particular he deals with Indian

history from this point of view. These sections can only be described as brilliant, though they constitute only an outline sketch. It is a field which has not been tackled before by Marxian scholars, and it well deserves study.

The book is in no sense a political treatise, and this is perhaps a weakness. The argument is kept on a somewhat elevated philosophical plane and only in occasional obiter dicta does the author descend to practical affairs. Yet the connection with practical matters should be made. Why is Gandhi a reactionary, "from the standpoint *both* of the emancipatory struggle of the Indian people and of the higher development—"?

Gandhi's conception is that social perfection can be reached not through social effort so much as through the individual perfection of each member of society. (This is a typically petty-bourgeois idea). He feels that man becomes perfect when he uses to the best advantage all the powers with which he is naturally ordained. Machinery and technical development generally assist him to go beyond those powers. Hence these things are evil.

Moreover technical development involves social as opposed to individual activity. The individual tends to become more merged in, and more dependent upon, society. This again contravenes Gandhi's individualist principles.

We can then easily understand his practical political actions. He was confronted at Bardoli with a situation in which for social advancement it was necessary for the population as a whole to act. Some would be sacrificed, probably without their consent, for the common good. The individuals for whom he feels primarily, would retrogress in the ethical scale which he sets up, and would give vent to evil passions and hatred and violence, all for the sake of the *social* advancement which he fails to understand and appreciate. He would naturally draw back from such a situation, and use all his enormous influence to prevent things from developing in that way. He does not realise that social development works along such lines.

Individual ethical advance is an indirect by-product of social advance. And social advance takes place by devious roads, on which progress is sometimes slow, sometimes even backward, but sometimes fast, so fast as to be called revolutionary. We must not shirk any of these parts of the road, however unpleasant they may be.

But Gandhi does, and that is why he is a "classic obstacle". His weakness or his fantastic ideas play into the hands of those sections of society which do not want further advance. It is not too much to say that he is used consciously by the Indian bourgeois-

P. 1985.

One manuscript and one typed copy of the article "The Meaning of May-Day".

(Printed below).

One manuscript copy of the article "May-Day".

(Already printed Vide Exh. P. 497).

THE MEANING OF MAY-DAY.

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

May-day has been observed for many centuries in Europe, and is probably one of the feasts to celebrate the coming of spring. It was connected with the idea of fertility and the growth of vegetation, symbolised by the rebirth of the saviour (of Easter): Its characteristic sign is the May-pole an upright pole stuck in the ground, round which dances were performed, and this rite is still preserved to a certain extent.

Originally of course an agricultural festival, it sank into oblivion with the growth of industry in western Europe, and is now observed very little in its old form. But with the rise of the Labour movement, the day was seized upon, as having been essentially a popular occasion, to be Labour's Day.

This is its present significance. It is the day on which the whole of the industrial working class emphasises the solidarity which is forced upon it by the conditions of its existence. Perhaps the most important characteristic of the Labour movement is this conception of class solidarity and class feeling (It is in the writings of the theoreticians of the labour movement that we get, practically for the first time, any adequate analysis of, and emphasis upon, the role of social classes in history).

It is this class-solidarity which is the key-note of May-Day. "An injury to one is an injury to all" is the old British slogan which expresses it.

From almost the earliest period the organised Labour movement saw that the working class could not be confined within national boundaries. In about 1830 messages were first exchanged between some British Unions and some French workers on strike, and from that time the international character of the movement became more and more important. In the years before the war, when Labour became a political factor of the first magnitude, this internationalism was in theory well to the fore. May-Day, as preeminently the expression of class solidarity, bore a more and more marked international and anti-militarist character.

The hollow and superficial nature of those sentiments was revealed when the war, long prophesied and feared, actually came. It is significant that during the war May-Day was neglected, except for some feeble attempts in the few centres of class consciousness such as the Clyde.

But with the growth of a healthier Labour movement after the war May-Day achieved all its old importance and more. In the U. S. S. R. May-Day ranks with November 7th., the anniversary of the seizure of power by the Petrograd Soviet as the important festival of the year.

The growing class consciousness of the British workers is

shown in their May-Day demonstrations. Last year the Conference of Executives which took the decision to declare the General strike was actually in session on May 1st and enormous crowds of workers from all parts of London, none of them miners, marched past the hall shouting "Not a penny off—! Three cheers for the General Strike"

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

Britain which next to China is now the chief storm-centre of this world-wide conflict has in addition its own special concerns which are nevertheless the concerns of all. It is not yet adequately realised what a tremendously important event the Trade Union and Trade Disputes Bill is. Nothing but the most desperate need would make a sane Government, with all the traditions of British "moderation" to restrain it, take so serious a step. In declaring our solidarity with Chinese nationalism and our opposition to war, we should not forget the workers of Britain subjected to a savage attack by the same brutal power which bombards Nanking for three hours, and shoots down hundreds of its own subjects at Jallianwala Bagh.

The fact that the Indian workers are celebrating May-Day this year is a most welcome sign that they are acquiring the strength and solidarity and class consciousness which are essential before they can achieve the tasks which confront them. It has too long been a reproach that the Indian workers are the most backward in the world. They will soon cease to deserve that taunt.

P. 1986.

I, Motiram Gajanan Desai, do solemnly declare that I am the Editor and Printer of a weekly entitled the "SPARK" printed at the Shri Dattatraya Printing Press Khatav Wadi, Girgaum, and

published at Jariwalla Mansion, Sandhurst Road, Bombay.

Sd. Motiram Gajanan Desai.
Solemnly affirmed before me

Sd. H. P. Dastur.
Chief Presidency Magistrate.
Bombay.

Bombay, 25th January 1929.

Caste:—Hindu, Prabhu.

Age:—33.

P. 1986 (1).

No. 635 of 1929.

Chief Presidency Magistrate's Court

Mc
of
af

P. 1987.

In the Court of the Chief Presidency Magistrate, Bombay.

I, Shaukat Usmani, aged 28, do hereby declare, that I am the Printer, Publisher and Editor of the Urdu weekly PAYAME MAJDOOR to be printed at the Jahangir Alwi Press situated at

Bellasis Road, and published at the Aspar Building, Parel Bombay.

Declared this day

27th February 1929.

Caste :—Mahomedan.

Age :—28.

Sd. Shaukat Usmani.

Before Me,

Sd. H. P. Dastur.

Chief Presidency Magistrate,

Bombay.

P. 1987 (1).

No. 1310 of 1929.

Chief Presidency Magistrate's Court

Bombay, 2nd March 1929.

The accompanying declaration dated 27th ultimo made by Shaukat Usmani is forwarded to the Deputy Commissioner of Police Bombay for information, in accordance with the provisions of sec. 3 Act XXV of 1867.

Sd. Illegible.

For Chief Presidency Magistrate

Bombay.

P. 1988.

I, Hugh Lester Hutchinson, do hereby declare that I am the Editor, Printer and Publisher of a weekly entitled "NEW SPARK" printed at the Shri Dattatraya Printing Press, Khatavwadi,

Girgaum, Bombay and published at the NEW SPARK Office,
Krishna Building, Fort, Bombay.

Sd. Hugh Lester Hutchinson.

Solemnly declared before me.

Race:—British

Age:—Twenty-five.

Sd. H. P. Dastur.
Chief Presidency Magistrate.

Bombay, 3/ May/ 1929.

P. 1988 (1).

No. 4041 of 1929.

Chief Presidency Magistrate's Court.

Bombay, 28th May 1929.

The accompanying declaration dated 3rd instant made by
Hugh Lester Hutchinson is forwarded to the Deputy Commissioner
of Police, Bombay, for information, in accordance with the provisions
of sec. 3 Act. XXV of 1867.

Sd. Illegible.

For Chief Presidency Magistrate.

Bombay.

P. 1989.

1989 T. Rejected

A leaflet in Urdu with the following heading:—

Oh you labourers & the oppressed of the world be united.
Remember 21st January, the fifth anniversary of Lenin.

Below the heading there is a photo of Nicolai Lenin, & below the photo is given a short account of the blissful situation in Russia under the Bolshevik regime.

Then follows a notice issued by the All India Workers' & Peasants' Party (Bengal Branch) intimating that Public meetings will be held in Calcutta at Matiabruz & Mirzapur Park on the 20th. January 1929 in commemoration of Lenin—the Saviour of the Poor.

In the righthand margin of this leaflet the following entry appears presumably in Muzaffar Ahmad's handwriting:—

Print 1000 copies after a careful correction.

Sd/-Muzaffar Ahmad.

18/1/29.

P. 1990

A leaflet in Hindi with the following heading:—

Oh you Labourers & the oppressed of the world, be united. Remember 21st. January, the fifth Anniversary of Lenin.

Below the heading there is a photo of Nicolai Lenin, and below the photo is given a short account of the blissful situation in Russia under the Bolshevik Regime.

Then follows a notice issued by the All India Workers' & Peasant's Party (Bengal Branch) intimating that Public meetings will be held in Calcutta at Matiabruz and Mirzapur Park on the 20th January 1929 in commemoration of Lenin the saviour of the Poor.

In the left hand margin of this leaflet the following entry appears presumably in Muzaffar Ahmad's hand-writing:—

Print 1000 after correction.

Sd. MUZAFFAR AHMAD

18/1/1929.

P. 1991.

A leaflet in Bengali with the following heading:—

“Oh you Labourers & the Oppressed of the world, unite”
Remember 21st. January, the Fifth Anniversary of Lenin.

Below the heading there is a photo of Nicolai Lenin, and below that is given a short account of the blissful situation in Russia under the Bolshevik Regime.

Then follows a notice issued by the All-India Workers' and Peasants' Party (Bengal Branch) intimating that public meetings will be held in Calcutta at Matiabruz and Mirzapur Park on the 20th. January 1929 in commemoration of Lenin the saviour of the poor.

In the right hand margin of this leaflet the following entry appears, presumably in Muzaffar Ahmed's hand-writing:—

Print 1000 copies after correction.

Sd. MUZAFFAR AHMAD.

18/1/29.

P. 1992

A leaflet in Hind headed “An appeal to brother & sister workers and Peasants”, issued by the Bengal Workers' and Peasants' Party, 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

P. 1993.

1993.T Rejected

A leaflet in Urdu headed “An appeal to brother & sister workers' and Peasants” issued by the Bengal Workers' and Peasants' Party, 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

This leaflet is accompanied by a manuscript copy of the same in Urdu.

P. 1994.

INTERNATIONAL AFFILIATION.
OF THE INDIAN LABOUR MOVEMENT.

In a long letter addressed to the Trade Union Congress Mr. C. E. Andrews advises the Indian Labour movement to "become truly Swadeshi" and "to avoid entangling engagements." He had previously given the same advice. Concretely, he proposes that the Indian Trade Union Congress should affiliate itself neither to the Amsterdam nor to the Moscow International. In his letter to the Trade Union Congress Mr. Andrews advances reasons for this policy of splendid isolation. An examination of his reasons shows clearly that the Indian Labour Movement must reject the recommendation of Mr. Andrews, and free itself from the leadership of those who sympathize or solidarise with him. The Trade Union Congress has done so by declaring its adhesion to the International League against Imperialism. This has been done as a protest against the arbitrary arrest and expulsion of the representative of the League by the British Government. It is a step in the right direction. It proves that the international affiliation of the Indian Labour Movement will be determined neither by intrigues of the hateful Communists nor by the prejudices of others, but by the pressure of circumstances. Indian working class will inevitably ally itself with that section of the international labour movement which unconditionally supports it in its struggle. Any one, who recommends a contrary policy, is an enemy of the Indian Labour movement, and should be exposed and condemned as such. Perhaps Mr. Andrews is not conscious of the implication of his advice; but his possible ignorance of the implication does not render it any less dangerous.

Indeed, Mr. Andrews does not recommend a policy of splendid isolation. He would have Indian Labour Movement shun Moscow, Amsterdam, but tie itself to the International Labour Bureau of the League of Nations. He believes that the Indian Labour Movement will get into touch with the international situation by sending representatives annually to the League of Nations Labour

Conferences at Geneva. So, Mr. Andrews' objection to the Amsterdam Trade Union International is deceitful. If his objection to Amsterdam was sincere, he could not recommend Geneva. There is no difference between the two. In fact, Geneva represents the realisation of the official policy of Amsterdam, namely the subordination of the labour movement to the interests of capitalist and imperialist states. It is a very unconvincing argument that Indian Labour Movement should not go to Amsterdam because it is dominated by the labour-imperialists of Britain, but prefer Geneva which is an instrument of imperialism. How could we take Mr. Andrews' criticism of Macdonalds and Thomases seriously, when he proposes to hand over the Indian Labour movement not only to the same labour-Imperialists, in another place, but to Chamberlain himself? Indeed, subjected to critical examination, Mr. Andrews' Christian advice is discovered to be the desire to smuggle Indian Labour Movement into the Amsterdam International through the back-door.

A frank proposal for affiliation to Amsterdam would be unceremoniously rejected. Those making and supporting this proposal would be discredited in the Indian Labour movement. Owing to the openly imperialistic attitude of its leaders, Amsterdam International stands thoroughly condemned before the colonial working class. In his letter to the Trade Union Congress, Mr. Andrews himself gives evidence to this effect. Discredit of the Amsterdam International means the discredit of those leaders of the Indian labour movement who represent the spirit of Amsterdam namely, reformism. This being the case, the perspective is clear. It is that the Indian labour movement promises to develop in a revolutionary direction, nationally and internationally. The further it goes from Amsterdam the nearer it comes to Moscow; if we should put the case in terms of Geography. But be it observed incidentally that it is not geographical difference; it is a political distinction between imperialism and revolution. The more the Indian Labour movement becomes consciously anti-imperialist, the closer it allies itself with the revolutionary section of the international working class movement. Mr. Andrews' advice to the Indian Trade Union Congress is the result of this vision of this perspective. He wants to prevent that the Indian labour movement develops that way. Knowing that a frontal attack is sure to fail, he devices a stratagem, he recommends the policy of splendid isolation which, he hopes, will succeed by virtue of our nationalist prejudice. But he forgets that this very nationalist prejudice is, in the given situation, a revolutionary factor and, as such, will operate against his scheme of making Indian labour movement safe for the labour-imperialism of the Amsterdam International.

The basic fact that India is an oppressed country fighting for national liberation, largely determines the lines in which the labour movement in our country should develop. The affiliation of the

Trade Union Congress to the League against Imperialism is an example. There is reason to doubt whether this would have happened, except for the provocation of Mr. Johnstone's arrest and deportation. Imperialist oppression drives the Indian labour movement closer to the world forces of anti-imperialism. Indian labour movement is bound to affiliate itself with that International organisation which frankly, resolutely and unconditionally stands for the fight against capitalism and its outcome, imperialism. The difference between Amsterdam and Moscow is not geographical. It is precisely on this question, so vital for the Indian working class, while the International Federation of Trade Unions with its headquarters at Amsterdam at best, is an apologist of colonial system, the Red International of Labour Unions, which has its central office in Moscow, believes, that the exploitation of the colonial masses is a source of enormous strength for capitalism, and therefore, freedom of the colonial peoples is an essential condition for the overthrow of capitalism.

In spite of all difficulties, Indian working class are seeing this fundamental divergence between the two Internationals. Imperialist terrorism, propaganda of lies and the efforts of the misleaders have failed to keep them in perpetual ignorance. Proper appreciation of their task, overthrow of imperialist domination, helps them to distinguish between false friends and loyal comrades. This being the case, all the arguments of Mr. Andrews about Communist bloodthirstiness are irrelevant. The standard by which Indian working class, indeed, the entire oppressed Indian people, should judge their friends and allies is neither religious nor ethical; it is essentially political. Should we be guided only by the ethical prejudices of Christian gentlemen, as Mr. Andrews suggests, then the advices of Ramsay MacDonald and George Lansbury would be no less binding on us than that of Mr. Andrews. They are also devout Christians, and hate revolution and Communism apparently on religious and ethical grounds. Mr. Andrews, in his letter to the Trade Union Congress, says "I as a Christian have my own principles which, on no ground whatever, can I abandon." This cherished principle of Mr. Andrews "non-violence," and as, according to his understanding, Communist trade union policy is inseparable from violence, he advises the Indian Trade Union Congress against affiliation to the Red International of Labour Unions, and in favour of entrance into the imperialist Amsterdam International through the backdoor.

Neither religion nor ethical code is the determining issue. The Indian Trade Unions will eventually join the Red International, not because it advocates violence (as Mr. Andrews thinks) but because it offers unconditional support for the struggle against imperialism. So, for a serious consideration of the question, from

the point of view of material advantage and real community of interests, we could reasonably leave the bug-bear of violence aside. But as Mr. Andrews raises the issue, and opposes affiliation to the Red International exclusively on this issue, a few words must be said about it.

By opposing affiliation to the Red International on the ground that it advocates violence Mr. Andrews gives his case away. The emptiness of his objections to Amsterdam is revealed. It is not an accident that Mr. Andrews brings against the Red International exactly the same accusations as are brought by the leaders of Amsterdam and its sister organization the Labour and Socialist International. Mr. Andrews pretends to speak with an intimate knowledge of the conditions the Labour movement in the European countries. But what he talks about the "destructive role" of the Communists in the Trade unions, is learnt not from unprejudiced examination of facts, but from the reports of the Amsterdam International. Mr. Andrews' real objection is not to violence, but to class-struggle. Violence is not an end by itself. The Communists do not like violence any more than the devout followers of Jesus of Nazareth. The violence committed by the Communists cannot yet compare itself favourably with the barbarous cruelties committed by the Christian Church. Class-struggle is the stark reality of capitalist society, and violence is in the nature of class-struggle. The Communists advocate violent overthrow of the class-ridden society, in order to put an end to the perpetual regime of violence. As long as society remains divided into classes, one will suppress the other, and violence will be in the nature of things. Therefore, those who are ostensibly against violence, are really in favour of violence. The Communists propose to abolish the social order which is maintained by perpetual violence and will not shrink from temporarily adopting violent measures to end violence once and for all. Religious and ethical objection to violence, in the last analysis, is direct support for the existing capitalist society. By raising this objection Mr. Andrews advises the Indian working class to submit themselves to the capitalist and imperialist exploitation. And thus he is found to be in the same boat with the leaders of the Amsterdam International.

Had the implication of Mr. Andrews' advice been not so sinister, we could have overlooked it, sympathising with him as one caught in the horns of a dilemma. But as it is, it should be exposed. If Mr. Andrews gave his advice sincerely, he would withdraw it, now that it knows what it means. Otherwise, Indian Labour Movement will soon learn that there is much more in common

between him and Macdonald, Lansbury, Chamberlain, Birkenhead
etc. then Christianity.

Jan. 22. 29.

Sd. M. N. Roy.

P. 1994-E.

An envelope with the following address on it:—

Editor

The Forward

Calcutta

India.

P. 1995.

The Communist Party of Great Britain

Headquarters: 16 KING STREET, COVENT GARDEN, LONDON,

W. C. 2

Telephone

GERRARD 0877

The following statement has to-day been issued to the press
by the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Great Britain:—

BRITISH PROVOCATION IN BOMBAY

The British Government in India has always been maintained
by applying the principle of "Divide and rule". By fomenting race

hatred and stirring up religious fanaticism, the British Imperialists have again and again succeeded in making the Indians cut one another's throats instead of combining against their common oppressor. Yet since the war there have been many events which proved that there is no real enmity at bottom between the Hindu and Moslem masses.

The present fighting in Bombay is an outstanding example of deliberate provocation by the alien and tyrannical British Government in India. With the sanction of that Government (without) which it was impossible, backward and ignorant peasants from the hill districts the so called Pathans have been imported into Bombay in large numbers, to scab on the cotton operatives and the oil workers whose heroic spirit and solidarity in recent disputes will be remembered. The proletariat all over the world is familiar with such tactics. In the consequent disturbances, troops have been called out against the workers.

The British Imperialists aim is obvious. By provoking conflicts of this kind, they hope to get the chance of bloodily suppressing the militant trade union movement of India, and the Indian Communists in particular. At the same time, they hope that such events will finally drive the cowardly and treacherous Indian bourgeoisie into their arms. By sowing hatred between the workers and peasants and stirring up religious strife, they hope to prevent the formation of a united worker and peasants alliance which would be strong enough to drive British Imperialism out of India. Finally, the British capitalists hope by such means to justify their control of India in the eyes of the British workers, and retain the latter as their accomplices in its exploitation.

The Communist Party accuses the British Government in India of criminal provocation of the Bombay workers. It accuses the British Government in India of utilising the story about "Pathans kidnapping children" for the same blackguardly purposes as the Tzar in Russia used the lie about "Jewish ritual murder".

British and Indian workers and Peasants, unite against your common enemy British Imperialism

P. 1995 [E].

Superscription on the envelope:—

The EDITOR

Forward

CALCUTTA

India.

P. 1996.

Two search lists d/ 22-1-27 regarding property seized from the house of Kalidas Bhattacharji in connection with the arrest of Donald campbell. One of the items seized was a British Passport No. 85570 dated 19-6-25 with the photo of Donald campbell.

P. 2000.

A typed copy of a circular letter, d/ February 1928, issued by the Executive Committee of the Worker's & Peasant's Party, Bombay, to All the Trade Unions and their Executive Committees.

(Vide Ex. P. 828.)

P. 2005 (C)

106 GUILDFORD STREET,

W. C. I.

June 18th, 1928.

Dear Comrade,

I wonder whether you would be good enough &c.

(Vide Exhibit P. 654).

Sd. L. C. MELLONIE,

Address on envelope :—

Mr. P. SPRATT,

c/o KISHORILAL GHOSH,

1 Kantapukur Lane,

Calcutta,

India.

P. 2011.

CONFIDENTIAL DIARY.

CALCUTTA POLICE.

From Inspector P. C. Mandal

Calcutta Dated 23/8/1928.

DIARY.

1. S. Tagore, c/o Agnes Smedley, 11 Holsteineschestrass
36 Berlin, Wilmersdorf, (Germany).
2. Manger, Eastern and Colonial Dept. Krestintern, Moscow.
-Bojarski 5/8 (U. S. S. R.)
3. Farmer and Peasants International correspondent, Berlin
W. 10. Verlag Neues Dorf. (Luetzow Ufer, Germany).

4. Communist Party of Great Britain 16 Cing Street, London W. C. 2.
5. Zeitungs Vertrieb Gabruder Petermann, Berlin, Friedenau Rheinstrasse, 23 (Germany).
6. The Secretary I.F.T.U. 31 Tesselchades traef Amsterdam (Holland).
7. R. Palme Dutt, Boire 3, Ixelles 11 Brussels, Belgium.
8. Virgilio Verdaro Hotel Lux (Toerskaia). Kom 334, Moscow Russia, (U. S. S. R.)
9. A Hevesi, Moscow, Wosdwisch enko, 14 M. Inform buro des I. B. R. L. A. I. Russia U. S. S. R.
10. The Secretary Labour Research Dept. 162 Buckingham Palace Rd. London S. W. 1.
11. General Secretary National Minority movement 38 Great Ormond Street, London W. C. 1.
12. Mr. Tarini P. Sinha, The Indian Information Centre, 14-15. Drayton House, Endsleigh Garden, London W. C. 1.
13. Workers Welfare League of India 18 Featherstone Buildings, High Holborns London W. C. 1.
14. The Editor, The Workers Life 24. High Halborn London W. C. 1.
15. The Editor. The Labour Monthly. 162 Buckingham Palace Road, London W. C. 1.
16. M. N. Roy C/o the Executive Committee, Communist Internationals, Moscow U. S. S. R.
17. Professor Daud A. Dutt, Lecturer in Persian and Indian Languages Oriental Institute, 7-Maxemillianovsky Per known Leningrad, Soviet Russia.
18. The Secretary, The Plebs League, 162-A, Buckingham Palace Road, London S. W. 1.
19. The Editor, the worker, 376. Grays Inn Road London W. C. 1.
20. League Against Imperialism, International Secretariat, Berlin S. W. 48 21 Frieirichstrasse Germany.
31. The Institute of Economic and Statistics P. O. box 1116 and 1129, Moscow, Russia (U. S. S. R.)
22. The Editor, the Sunday, worker, 254. Grays. Inn Road London W. C. 1.

23. The Secretary, The Indian Seamen's Union, 88 East India Dock Road, London E.

24. U. S. S. R. Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries (Press Section), Moscow, 6 Malaies Nikitsstearga (U.S.S.R.)

25. The Editor, The New Leader 14 Great George St. London S. W. I.

26. Otto Harrassowitz Buchhandlung Und Antiquariat, Leipzig C. L. (Germany).

27. Bibliothek der Profintern Moscow, Russia Soljanke 12, Dwaretz Trade (U. S. S. R.)

28. Max Ziese, Berlin S. W. 48 Wilhelmstrasse Nr. 131/32 (Germany).

Sd/- P. C. Mandal.

24/8.

P. 2018-C.

Letter in Bengali D/24-7-28 from Gopal to Muzaffar Ahmed, 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

P. 2020-C'

Letter in Bengali D/31-7-28 from Gopal, Dhakeshwari Cotton Mill Workers' Union, 61 Nawabpur, Dacca, to Dharani Kanta Goswami, 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

P. 2023-P.

Letter in Bengali D/ 19-9-28 from Gopal, Dhakeshwari, Cotton Mill Workers' Union, 61 Nawabpur, Dacca, to Muzaffar Ahmed, Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal, 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

P. 2023-P. (E).

Superscription on the envelope:—

Muzaffar Ahmed

Workers & Peasants' Party of Bengal,

2/1 European Asylum Lane

Calcutta.

P. 2026-C

Letter in Bengali from Soumyendra Nath Tagore of Berlin to Muzaffar Ahmad, 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta, Post mark of Berlin S. W. dated 25-1-28.

P. 2027-C.

Letter dated 28th February 1928 from Soumyendra Nath Tagore of Berlin, to Muzaffar Ahmed, Office of the Peasants' and Worker's Party of Bengal, 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

P. 2028-(P)

Letter dated 17th April 1928 from Soumyendra Nath Tagore of Berlin,, to Muzaffar Ahmed, Bengal Peasants' and Workers Party 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta,

P 2028 [P] [E].

Superscription on envelope:—

Post seal of

Berlin

17/4/28.

Muzaffar Ahmad Esqr.

Bengal Peasants' & Workers' Party

2/1 European Asylum Lane

Calcutta,

India.

P. 2029-C.

Letter in Bengali dated 24th April 1928 from Soumyendra Nath Tagore of Berlin, to Muzaffar Ahmed, 2/1 European Asylum Lane, The Peasants' and workers' Party of Bengal, Calcutta.

P. 2032 (P).

Letter in Bengali dated 6th June 1928 from Soumyendra Nath Tagore of Berlin, to Muzaffar Ahmed, 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Office of the Bengal Peasants' and Workers' Party, Calcutta.

P. 2032 (P) (E).

Superscription on envelope :—

Muzaffar Ahmed Esqr;
2/1 European Asylum Lane,
Office of the Bengal Peasants & workers Party
Calcutta,
India,

P. 2033-P

Letter in Bengali dated 19-7-28 from Muzaffar Ahmed, The workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal, 2/1 European Asylum Lane Calcutta to Soumyendra Nath Tagore, c/o Miss Agnes Swedley, Holsteinische Strasse, 36 II, Berlin, Wilmersdorf, Germany.

P. 2033 [P] [E]

Superscription on the envelope:—

S. Tagore,

C/o Miss Agnes Swedley,

Holsteinischestrasse 36 II.

Berlin—Wilmersdorf.

Germany.

P. 2035-P.

Letter in Bengali dated 28th August 1928 from Soumyendra Nath Tagore of Berlin, to Muzaffar Ahmed, Bengal Workers and Peasants' Party's office, 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta, India.

Superscription on the envelope:—

Muzaffar Ahmed Esqr.

Bengal worker's & Peasants Party Office

2/1 European Asylum Lane,

Calcutta,

India.

Postal seal of

Berlin

Chaslottemburg

30—8—28.

P. 2037 [1]

A typed copy of the A. I. T. U. C. Resolutions :—
(Vide Exh. P. 549 (14)).

The following resolution appears in the typed copy in addition to what has already been printed in Exh. P. 549 (14) :—

10. Protest against the Public Safety Bill. This Congress Protests against the Public Safety Bill, as a great infringement by the Imperialist Government upon personal liberty and as a measure which has been and will be operated to the detriment of the Trade Union Movement.

P. 2037 (2)

A typed copy of "Resolution for Calcutta Congress,
December 1928.

(Vide Exh. P. 1373 (8 A))

P. 2037 [3]

A. typed copy of "Resolution for Calcutta.

A. I. C. C. 1928, October.

(Vide Exh. P. 1373 (8 B)).

P. 2038 [E]

Letter in Bengali dated 21st. November 1928 from Soumyendra Nath Tagore, Berlin, to Muzaffar Ahmed, 2/1 European Asylum Lane Calcutta.

P. 2038 [P] [B]

Superscription on the envelope :-

Muzaffar Ahmed Esqr.,

General Secretary,

Bengal Workers' & Peasants' Party,

2/1 European Asylum Lane,

Calcutta,

India.

P. 2048-G

A letter in Bengali d/. 5-8-28 from Gopal, Dacca, to Muzaffar Ahmed, the Editor, Ganavani, 2/1, European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

P. 2050 (1)

A typed copy of "Resolution on Organisation."

(Vide Exh. P. 832).

P. 2050 (2).

Typed copy of Resolution on "Youth."

(Vide Exh. P. 833.)

P. 2050 (3).

Typed copy of a " Resolution on Peasants."

(Vide Exh. P. 885.)

P. 2050 (4).

Typed copy of a "Resolution on the Trade Union Movement."

(Vide Exh. P. 831.)

P. 2050 (5)

Typed copy of "General Political Situation."

(Vide Exh. P. 523.)

P. 2050. [E]

An envelope with the following Superscription on it :-

To

COMRADE MUZAFFAR AHMED,

From
R. S. NIMBKAR,
Bombay 4.

European Asylum Lane,
Calcutta.

P. 2056 [P]

A letter in Bengali dated 20th. June 1928 from Soumyendra Nath Tagore, Berlin, to Muzaffar Ahmed, Office of the Bengal Peasants' and Workers' Party, 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

P. 2056 (P) (E)

Superscription on the Envelope :—

MUZAFFAR AHMED,

Office of the Bengal Peasants' & Workers'

Party,

2/1 European Asylum Lane,
Calcutta,

India.

P. 2059 (P)

A letter in Bengali, dated 3-12-28 from Gopal Basak, 61, Nawabpur Dacca, to Muzaffar Ahmed, Secretary, Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal, 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

P. 2059 (P) (E)

Address on the envelope :—

Com. MUZAFFAR AHMED,

Secretary, Workers' & Peasants'

Party of Bengal,

2/1 European Asylum Lane,

Calcutta.

P. 2062 (P)

Rejected

A letter in Bengali dated 30-11-28 from Sunder Ali, President, Narsingdi Peasants' and Workers' Party, Dacca, to the Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal, 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta, enclosing membership forms of 70 members.

P. 2062 (P) (E)

Rejected

Superscription on the wrapper:

PER BOOK POST.

Secretary,

FROM
President,
Workers' & Peasants'
Party of Narsingdi,
Dacca.

Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal,
2/1 European Asylum Lane,
Calcutta.

P 2069. [P]

34 Holland Hall

Allahabad

19 October 28.

My dear Comrade Muzaffar.

You snubbed me quite well. May be I am rather too jovial and optimistic. In my own way I believe you are too cautious and hesitating. The events before the Cawnpore Case may have impressed you rather too much and I believe psychologically you look at men and things from your bitter experience of those days. To my mind today things have changed materially. Opportunism stands

absolutely discredited. The empty bourgeois catch phrases do not capture the mass mind or of the petty bourgeois. The mass mind is no longer concentrated devoted but indecisive, disillusioned and willing to act to know-ready for a militant scientific lead. Thus it is nothing surprising that we find comrades in the districts who were in the Congress fold the other day and today acutely feel its impotency though yet sentimentally attached to the institution: I would give as an example, Comrade Gouri *Shankar, who since your Visit to Meerut now feels himself stronger and bigger. So are the comrades at Jhansi- They were first touched by Comrade Sak when he went there. To me they seemed quite true and honest as I had already written to you, they are sentimental and not scientific, but the saving point is, no prejudices bind them and they are willing and prepared to know. They are temperamentally anarchistic. It was in view of all these that I have been pressing you so hard for books which I would have undertaken to get translated, summarised and synthetised. How can any organisational work be carried on if it is not preached by scientific propaganda, and the mass mind has to be prepared to revive those ideas. I would not build a house of cards or recruit dummies. We would lose instead of gaining anything that way. Scientific training of the workers is at present the only and the greatest need here in U. P., and this has to be done as quickly as possible so that from the green room we may come to the actual stage.

I have organised a league of young comrades here as also at Jhansi and Meerut, I mean to begin by forming them into study circles. They are all inactive owing to a total absence of books. I had undertaken to guide them as best as I could from here by means of weekly letters. But we are all inactive. What can I ask them to read. I am not undertaking any serious organisational work here at present I am single-handed. Moreover, there is the urgent need of some pamphlets in Hindustani explaining the main ideas of our programme and I mean to study for them and look after the league. It is disappointing that except Comrade Spratt nobody else has sent me down pamphlets, nay, has not even replied to my letters in spite of reminders.

You will have received the first number of the Kranti Kari. The editorial is perfectly right but then they have no clear idea of our difficulties with the Congress and they have bungled there. I will write to Com. Editor today. They are all as I have written to you, willing to know and learn. I believe we ought to help them in all possible ways; they, at least stand nearest to us than to any other group, I do not know why you should hesitate to contribute to it when it has been made the party organ. It is for all of us to lead it towards the right path, and it can be done only by co-operating with them and not by standing aside. You will find that after

the Calcutta Conference they will become far more vocal and determined. I would again request you to write to them very soon.

I am going to Gorakpur day after (Thursday) night. I waited for you that week, and the next week the Convocation and its activities detained me here. I will write to you all I see at Dr. Mukherjee's and speak to him about the Conference finances.

It is a pity I have not yet heard from Comrade Gouri Shankar. I have no idea of what he is doing. How indifferent.

You have not yet sent to me the agenda of the Conference. How will all the business be conducted. I would insist on having on that occasion informal deliberations among the trusted and active delegates, and decide all the possible details of strategy, all that which would be matters of party discipline, decide very clearly cut party discipline-set up a highly centralised executive All-India body for propaganda, co-ordination and general leadership. We must have expert permanent subcommittees on the various fields of work and they must do research work and collect statistics on which Party policy be based. Is not the intellectual equipment of our leaders possible? Comrade Aftab would be going to Jharia for the Trade Union Congress and Lintend joining him there, and thence come to Calcutta. If however you want me to come here earlier I would do so.

With greetings

Fraternally

Sd/- P. C. Joshi.

Dear Comrade,

Thanks for your kind letter and the welcome treat. It is really very well done. It is so scientific, impassioned and yet highly popular. I am translating it into Hindustani and it will be out of the Press by the Calcutta Conference. I am also translating the British Workers' delegation Report on Soviet Russia. I wish I could also do the same with Purcell and Hallsworthe's report, but it is not available here. They would be ideal books for propagandists. I am anxiously awaiting your other pamphlet. I hope it will sell more if your name is there on it, so I would keep it there. If, however, for any reason you are strong on the point, you will please write to me immediately and I would not have it there. I am glad you think that of the importance of the Library and I hope you would hurry up with some thing.

I have been talking to the Railwaymen here. It is so hard to begin. The line base for the E. I. Railway can only be Calcutta you alone can give the push. By the way I would suggest a Party

Com. To draw a programme of immediate org—We must concentrate on strategic centres and strategic industries etc. Surely we are not social reformers and the time is so short, the experts see the next war within 3-5 years. I hope you must have written to Bombay Comrades about the tract and articles to the Kranti-Kari, and you must have sent them on yourself. How many of you are coming to the Trade Union Congress? I think I will benefit by watching things and men there.

With greetings.

Fraternally

Sd/- P. C. Joshi.

P. 2069 [P] [E]

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MUZAFFAR AHMED Esqr.,

Workers' & Peasants' Party,

2/1 European Asylum Lane

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THE INDIAN TRADE UNION MOVEMENT.

By PHILIP SPRATT

(The author of the following very informative article, who has made a first-hand study of the Indian trade union movement, has recently been committed for trial in Bombay as the alleged author of a pamphlet, "India and China," now declared seditious).

It is commonly said, indeed so commonly that the phrase becomes mechanical, that the Indian Trade Union Movement "is still in its infancy." The present writer has frequently had occasion to combat the use of this phrase, not so much because it is untrue, as because it is misused. Every kind of mistaken policy, sheer inactivity, sectarianism, abstention from politics, are all excused on the same plea. And, on the other hand, it conveys the idea that the only policy for Indian Labour is slow, patient progress on the present lines. It is not intended to deny the truth of what is meant by the statement, namely that Indian labour organisation is poor by Western standards. But the analysis of the situation implied by it is inadequate. It is the thesis of this article that Indian unionism is in its second stage, in which it will remain until there come into being the conditions necessary for the next stage. That these conditions will ripen fairly soon is also expected, and indeed the beginnings are already to be seen.

The broad facts of the present position have recently been given very completely by Mr. Joshi in his pamphlet, *The Trade Union movement in India*, and the figures in the table below are taken from it. Though necessarily based to some extent on guess-work they are as sound as can be obtained and are near enough in any case for the present purpose.

Of the population of just over 300,000,000, 138,000,000, are taken to be workers, divided according to occupations as follows: Agriculture, 100,000,000; industry, with mining, 15,517,000; transport, 1,900,000; commerce, 8,000,000; domestic, 2,500,000; public services, 4,000,000. The more detailed facts are arranged under columns: (a) estimated number of wage immediate. The possibility of Anglo-Turkish co-operation would have immediate influence, for example on Teheran. And, in the event of a Russian war, a Turkish alliance would be of incalculable value. It would give the fleet *de facto* as well as *de jure* right of entry into the Black Sea. It would open the air route from Mosul to Baku. With Turkey on our side or benevolently neutral, a Caucasus campaign would be a hopeful proposition: with her on the other side, it would be a desperately risky business.

Therefore the Foreign Office cannot abandon its hopes of "collaring" Turkey. But it can only succeed in this if it is prepared to guarantee the Turks against attack by Mussolini. And clearly you cannot do that and at the same time satisfy Mussolini's oriental ambitions by giving him Anatolia to eat.

The other alternative—Albania—opens up even more alarming prospects. For—to put it no higher—there is a chance that any definite Italian move into Albania would cause Belgrade to throw discretion to the winds and to try the gamble of "Balkan courage against Italian munitions." And if Belgrade did, and

Balkan courage were getting the worst of it, could France hold back? These possibilities are being discussed to-day just as seriously as fifteen years ago the possibilities of a Balkan War, and of the kindling by it of a European war, were discussed. That happened. So may this. And if it does, Heaven knows what would be the consequences and where they would stop. Clearly the Foreign Office is not, if it can help it, going to have any finger in stirring up a new world war, with all its underlying possibilities of a new world revolution just, to oblige the Duce.

Here, then, is a worrying situation for Sir Austen. He is—or was very, very anxious to be on the best of all possible terms with this friend Mussolini. But friend Mussolini persists (a) in carrying on a campaign of propaganda in the East, which, if organised from Moscow instead of Rome, would set the whole Conservative Party into convulsions; (b) in nurturing schemes (with appropriate military preparations) which if undertaken must be devil Sir Austen's whole policy.

I am not surprised that Sir Austen thinks of going to the Balearic Islands in order to avoid another heart-to-heart talk with his "Fascist Comrade."

earning employees, (b) wage-earners in organised parts of occupations, or such as can be organised in trade unions, (c) number of unions in existence, (d) total membership.

WAGE EARNERS AND TRADE UNIONISTS IN INDIA.

Occupation	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)
Agriculture	25,000,000	821,000 (plantations)	—	—
Industry	12,147,000	294,000 (mining)	1	1,500
		773,000 (textiles)	18	34,000
		169,000 (metal)	8	11,000
		82,000 (glass, &c.)	1	—
		(printing, engineering, general)	5	6,000
		100,000	5	1,000
		wood, leather, chemicals, food clothing, building, gas, furniture &c.)	20	15,000
Transport	1,500,000	155,000 (construction)	—	—
		800,000 (railways, shipping, docks &c., tramways)	25	50,000
			6	20,000
			6	3,000
			6	2,000

Commerce	4,000,000	100,000	6	5,000
Domestic Public	2,500,000	500,000	1	—
administration	4,000,000	500,000	60	50,000
Totals	49,147,000	4,727,000	164	196,500

The distribution by provinces is also important. In 1925 the numbers of workers in factories subject to the Indian Factories Act were: In Bengal, 551,342; Bombay, 370,460; Madras, 123,563; Burma, 97,346; U. P., 78,942; Bihar and Orissa, 73,461; C. P. and Berar, 67,104; Punjab, 53,533; Assam, 48,697. Others, 30,330. Total, 1,494,958.

Government employees, railwaymen, &c., will be distributed roughly according to population. The number of trade unionists by provinces is more difficult to state, but is approximately as follows; Bombay (June, 1927, 76,000; Bengal, probably 50,000; Madras, about 25,000); others up to a few thousands each. The total number of unions affiliated to the All-India Trades Union Congress is now 60, with 125,000 members.

It is also necessary to show roughly how the present situation is related to the past. Organisation on a large scale practically began in 1918, and at the first All-India Trades Union Congress, in Bombay, October, 1920, sixty unions were affiliated, having 140,000 members, while it was claimed that the total membership of unions expressing sympathy, &c., was 500,000. At the second Congress, at Jharria, November 1921, it was stated that 1,000,000 affiliated members were represented. It is doubtful if these numbers were actually even approached, but it is certain that there was a very big fall after 1922. At the end of 1924, only eight unions were affiliated, but by the time of the fifth Congress, in Bombay, February, 1925, there were thirty-one unions with perhaps 80,000 members. The number has risen steadily from that time.

The more exact figures compiled by the Labour Office for the Bombay Government show the same tendency. There were in the Presidency in June, 1922, twenty-two unions with 58,000 members; September, 1924, nineteen unions with 42,000 members; September, 1924, twenty-one with 47,000 members, and since then a fairly steady rise to the present figures: sixty-six unions with 76,000 members.

The Bombay Government commented on these facts in its criticism, dated January, 1925, of the draft Trade Unions Bill.

It cannot be denied that the progress of Trade Unionism in this Presidency is at the best stationary at the present moment.....the movement seems to be able to show solid progress

only in Ahmedabad. The quarterly review.....is a tale of lassitude and disillusionment. The present slump in the movement is due largely to falling prices and rising wages.

The "slump" in the movement after 1923 would be better shown by statistics of industrial disputes. The period, 1919-22, saw a very intense "strike wave," which fell away almost to nothing by 1924. In the character of the Congresses also, a similar contrast is to be seen between those days and the present. The first two Congresses were practically huge demonstrations. At Jharria there were several thousand delegates, and a strike was held specially for the occasion in the local coalfield. Many of the best-known political leaders of the country were present at both Congresses, and took active part. In the Trades Union Congress, which the present writer attended in March this year, the number of delegates was under fifty, not more than ten of whom were workers. Perhaps a score or so of members of the public were present while as the place was Delhi, a few Congress leaders "dropped in," but said nothing.

Mr. R. K. Das. in his book *The Labour Movement in India* (1923), remarks that, while in the first years of intense activity the unions were mainly industrial in type in the later period in which he was writing, craft unions also began to appear. This is an important observation, for though the unions which were then making their appearance, and by this time are the predominant type are, not craft unions in the strict sense, they do closely resemble craft unions in many ways. The figures of unions for the whole country, and especially for the Bombay Presidency, show a large increase recently in the number of unions, but a fall in the average membership, and this is characteristic.

The union movement of 1919-22, and that of 1924-27, are really quite distinct in organisation, composition, and aims, as well as in magnitude and methods. The difference has been compared plausibly with that which came about in the British movement between the 'thirties and the 'sixties of last century. The former movement was the product of a period of universal instability and excitement, and was fundamentally a revolutionary response to a revolutionary situation. The economic circumstances were enough to bring about universal discontent and protest. But the workers were also undoubtedly affected by the political excitement of the time. Thus, during the famous pilgrimage in 1921 of the primitive and ignorant plantation "coolies" of Assam and Bengal, some hundreds of them were suddenly and brutally cleared out of the Chandpur station yard at midnight by armed soldiers. They made no resistance, but shouted "*Mahatma Ganhi, ki jai.*" The revolutionary consciousness was of course generally extremely dim, but there can be no doubt that it was present. Strikes took place in

every part of the country in all kinds of occupations. There was in most cases no organisation before the strike, but some kind of union was often established afterwards. All grades of workers took part. Frequently the demands of the strikers were not formulated until they had been out of some days, and they were than of an "extravagant" nature. The chief concrete demand was nearly always for wage increases, with reduction of hours a close second, but there were others often not of an economic character. The unions then formed were what would be expected from the circumstances of their origin. They were industrial in type, but usually covered only a restricted area. They often had no regular membership, payments, &c., and have been, in fact, accurately described as "little more than strike committees."

There are now few remnants of those days. The present movement operates in conditions of economic stability and political quiescence. Only in Bombay in the last two or three years has the depression in the cotton industry brought about a general tendency towards worsening of conditions. But the pressure has only sufficed to give a spurt to organisations of the present type.

The present movement, as has been remarked, while not strictly a craft unionism¹ is similar in several respects to a typical craft movement, such as that in Britain in the middle of the last century. It is mainly a movement of the upper grades of workers for extremely limited aims. The organisation is fairly thorough, but narrow as regards activities, the classes of workers involved, and the areas from which they are drawn. There is little inter-union organisation or solidarity, little class-consciousness, and a general avoidance of political activity.

It is proposed here to describe the trade union movement as the writer has hitherto seen it in a little greater detail, in the hope that it will be of interest to Western readers, and will give some idea of present conditions and possibilities of development. The writer's observations are limited to the Bombay Presidency and the Punjab, but conversations and published reports enable it to be said that statements applicable to those Provinces are fairly sound in regard to the rest of India apart, perhaps from Madras.

There are several unions which aim at covering the whole of India. They are mainly of long standing, contain only upper,

¹ Practically the only pure craft unions, apart from the Mechanical Engineers' Association of Akola, which could almost be called a professional association, are those constituting the Ahmedabad Textile Workers' Union. It is significant of the atmosphere in which this union and, indeed the movement generally, works, that craft unionism having been introduced some workers demand more of it than their officials are willing to give them.

grade workers, and remain practically aloof from the general movement.² The All-India Postal and R. M.'S. Association and the All-India Postal and Lower Grade Staff Union are loose federations of provincial and local unions. In some places one or other is split, so that in these towns there are three Postal unions with perhaps not more than one or two hundred members each. Poona and Baroda are examples. The Association was founded in 1906, and is well established, with nearly 40,000 members and a fund of perhaps a lakh of rupees. The Union arose from local unions founded in 1918 and later. Both are recognised by the Government.

The All-India Telegraph Association was founded in 1928, and has about 3,000 members and substantial funds. A split occurred in 1923, when the All-India Telegraph Union was formed. The Association contains all the Anglo-Indian and European members, while the Union has only Indians. The lower grade employees have several separate local unions.

There are other All-India federations such as that of the Currency Office Associations.

The Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants of India and Burma has 2,250 members, almost all Anglo-Indians and Europeans (drivers, guards, &c.). It was founded in 1898, and is thus the oldest union in India. It is strictly non-political and tends to separate its members from other railway employees. It tried, successfully, to keep its members at work during the N. W. Railway strike of 1925. There should also be mentioned the All-India Railwaymen's Federation founded in 1925, after similar attempts had been made in 1921. It includes most of the Railway Unions, but its existence is only nominal. During the N.W.R. strike of 1925 it sent its secretary to the scene of action, but according to Mr. Miller's report, he confined himself to mediation, and when that failed, to delivering defeatist speeches. During the B. N. R. strike of this year the federation was entirely inactive.

The G. I. P. railway has at present four separate unions, all situated at Bombay. One is for the Bombay shops, two for the headquarters clerical staff, and one for the suburban station-masters, clerks, &c. The total membership is 5,000 to 6,000. The railway employs in all over 100,000 men. It is perhaps not an accident that the shop union, while perhaps less successful than the others in remedying grievances, &c., is the only one affiliated to the T. U. C. or the Central Labour Board, and has recently established a

²Only the Bombay section of the Postmen's Union has been affiliated to the T. U. C., and has recently withdrawn because of the protest made by the Delhi T. U. C. against the dispatch of Indian troops to China. About the same time the Department of Posts and Telegraphs announced that unions of its employees must not affiliate to the T. U. C., as the latter is a political body.

branch at Kalyan. The B.B.C.I. Railway has three separate unions, one with about 2,000 shopmen at Bombay, one with 6,000 members of all grades at Ahmedabad, and one at Ajmer. Even the N.W.R. has had separate unions at Karachi and Sukkur, but these are dying out. A separate union of railway clerks has recently been formed at Lahore, but it adopted Mr. Miller as its president, and is the result rather of discontent with the old union than of sectarian aims. Other militants, headed by Miller, have also recently broken away from this union and begun to organise a new one.

The N.W.R. union, at one time probably the most powerful union in Asia, really requires separate treatment. It began to organise in 1920, and in the same year fought a long and successful strike. The membership soon afterwards reached 85,000, out of about 125,000 then employed, and included all grades, among them a substantial proportion of the Europeans. It has fallen since then, with a temporary revival in 1925, owing partly to the general stabilisation of conditions, but also because of the special measures taken against it on account of the strategic importance of the line. Mr. Miller was imprisoned, other leading members were suborned, "tame" rival unions started, and so on. The paying membership of the existing recognised union is about 2,000.

Unions are now in most cases confined practically, if not formally to upper or skilled grades of workers. Thus, the Bombay Port Trust has three unions (with a purely theoretical joint committee), one for the 600 men on the Port Trust Railway, one for the 1,000 workshopmen, &c., and one for the 1,600 tally clerks, shed superintendents, &c. And this last is the most successful, and is the only one "recognised." But the 2,000 or more dock labourers are entirely unorganised. Even in these unions the upper grades are more strongly represented than the lower. The same thing applies in a less degree to the railway shop unions, and to others.

Thus, the Bombay Port Trust Docks Staff Union shows the following composition (May, 1927) :—

Grade	No. Employed	No. in Union	Wage rates (Rs. per mth.)
Minor officials....	120	105	125, 175, 225 (3 grades)
Senior clerks	200	175	85—110
Junior clerks	350	300	50—85
Menial staff	900	550—600	18—30

Similarly with the G.I.P. Railway Workmen's Union which has the following membership (roughly) in the Matunga shops :—

Grade	No. employed	No. in Union	Wage rates (Rs. per mth.)
Foremen	25	-	260—

Chargemen	250	10	140—190, 200—260
Mistries	100	25	86—140
Workmen	4,000	1,500	50—86
Smiths	700	500	50—86
Assistants	2,000	500	30—40
Apprentices	100	50	16—32
Coolies	1,000	100	23—29

This is partly the result of the natural tendency of the unions to fall into the hands of the more literate members, who in present circumstances do not urgently require the strength to be derived from the solidarity of the lower grades. It is one aspect also of the general difficulty of organising the more illiterate workers, which is exemplified by the failure yet to establish a really successful union in the Bombay textile industry. There are here two unions, the Bombay Textile Labour Union, founded January 1, 1926, which has about 7,500 members, and the Girni Kamgar Mahamandal (Mill Workers Association), founded 1923, with about 3,000. The total number employed is about 150,000. Even the Ahmedabad Textile Workers' Union, with all its resources and Traditions, is finding it difficult to keep its members. Though 20,000 strong in 1922, and successful in regaining nearly 15,000 members in two years after the strike of 1923, it is now losing members, and has about 11,000 (out of over 50,000). Similarly the textile unions at Broach and Sholapur have disappeared, though on the other hand one has been recently established at Indore. The migratory character of mill labour, of which much has been said, is decreasing, and is no longer of much importance, at any rate at Bombay.

Many other classes of workers of similar skill and education remain practically or wholly unorganised—in Bombay, building, oil, gas, tramway, and other workers, and generally miners, jute workers, &c. Even when organised, either in their own or in predominantly upper grade unions, workers of this kind tend to form a "floating population" in the union. All textile unions say the same thing. The Bombay Textile Labour Union had in January, 1926, 6,000 members. It increased to over 9,000 by the end of the year, but again fell to just under 7,500 in June, 1927. The Girni Kamgar Mahamandal speaks of a "steady stream of members through the union."

The aims of the present movement are very limited. Though petitions and memoranda are continually being presented on general grievances, such as wages and hours, they are almost always unsuccessful, and there are not the spirit or material resources necessary to conduct a struggle for improvements. Strikes occur

fairly frequently, mainly on account of attempts to worsen conditions, or victimisation, which is very common. Employers and managers are almost always arbitrary and provocative in their attitude, except when dealing with superior grades.

The efforts of unions are, therefore, directed mainly towards the remedying of individual complaints, and in this the upper grades are markedly more successful than the lower. The usual complaints are excessive fines, arbitrary dismissals, irregularities in promotions due to bribery and favouritism, &c.

There is a general sentiment in favour of benefit funds. The older unions, especially the A.S.R.S., have them in plenty, but the new unions and the customary contributions (1 to 8 annas per month) are too small to make them generally successful. Many unions already have Death Benefit schemes, and voluntary benefits with special subscriptions are becoming more common.

A few unions conduct educational classes for their members, the Girni Kamgar Mahamandal, the Bombay Postal and Lower Grade Staff Union, and the Ahmedabad Union in particular. (The last-named runs also temperance work, a research department, a hospital, &c.). But the education provided in all cases the "three R's" (*plus* religious instruction at Ahmedabad). Mr. Joshi has attempted an inter-union class in the history and principles of Trade Unionism, but without great success.

The organisation of unions is commonly good for the very limited purposes. The proportion of actual to possible members is often high, at any rate for upper grade workers. A committee is appointed in the early stages, usually representative of all grades, and is re-elected at annual meetings. (It is not unusual, after the first month or two, for the annual meetings to be the only occasions on which the mass of members meet or take any part, save payment.) The active officers, owing to the danger of victimisation, are often "outsiders." The union has an office, usually a small room with a typewriter. These are sometimes shared with another union, especially in Bombay, where unions are numerous and rooms expensive. The older and bigger unions have permanent officials, and many of the newer unions in Bombay employ for part of their time the paid servants of the Social Service League or the Central Labour Board. The committees in most cases meet regularly and conduct the small amount of routine business. Rules and reports are published, in many cases in vernacular and English editions. The older unions publish journals, which rival their European counterparts in dullness, and some of the newer ones publish occasional bulletins. Contributions are usually collected at the place of work by committee members, and receipts are passed. A few unions adopt the system of membership cards. The books are in most cases well kept. In short, "Strict Business" might be the motto of Indian Trade Unionism.

A warning should at once be uttered against accepting this as a picture of the movement as a whole. It is correct of those unions of the upper grade type, which are active, as nearly all the Bombay unions are at the moment. But in a few cases there, and in many elsewhere, when demands are temporarily satisfied, or further advance is found to be impossible, or a severe defeat has been suffered, stagnation sets in. The union may simply cease to work, or if individuals try to keep it going, members drop away. There is little or nothing, material or moral, to keep them together.

It is typical of social conditions generally that women's organisation hardly exists. Women are employed in large numbers, but as lower grade workers. The Girni Kamgar Mahamandal has about twenty women members, and there are a few organised in Ahmedabad and Bengal (jute workers).

Inter-union organisation is not of importance. The All-India T. U. C. contains a majority of the organised workers, though not of the unions. It and its subsidiary bodies, the Provincial Federations (in Bengal, Bombay and Madras, and in a nebulous form in the Central Provinces and the Punjab) exist mainly because they are the representatives of the labour movement officially recognised by the Central and (sometimes) by the Provincial Governments. Owing to the great distances and the general poverty of the movement, meetings can seldom be held between Congresses, and the work done is mainly of a routine character. The members of the unions take little interest in its doings, and if they send delegates they do not usually receive reports.

There is only one body in the country which can in any way be compared to a Trades Council, the Central Labour Board of Bombay.³ And that is solely because of its constitution. It does not work as a Trades Council. It, or rather Mr. Jhabvala, organises separate unions, and sometimes conducts temperance propaganda. The former he does as provincial organiser for the T. U. C., the latter as secretary of the Central Labour Board.

There is commonly great solidarity among members of the same union, especially of the same grade, and strikes often result from this. But general class-consciousness is seldom to be noticed, except among lower grade workers. It may be mentioned that the writer was present at a meeting of railway workers at the time of the agitation against the dispatch of Indian troops to China, and although

³ The Provincial Federations of course tend to become in practice confined to Madras City, Calcutta &c. And there is in Rangoon a general labour union with 10,000 members from different industries. It appears to be an unusually successful lower grade organisation, and is probably in practice nearer to a genuine Trades Council than any other.

the men in question have grounds for grievance against the Chinese, who are employed in the railway on the same work for higher pay, they brought forward a young Chinese worker and cheered him loudly, as a demonstration of class solidarity.

The first-May day demonstration was held in Bombay this year, and was attended mainly by municipal, mill, and railway-men, i. e., by lower and middle grade workers. (It is possible that the upper grade men were kept away by their characteristic petitbourgeois "respectability complexes.") It should be said that men of the lower grades, though generally unorganised, have some knowledge of what the Labour Movement means. Every worker in Bombay appears to know and respect Jhabvala, just as all Punjab workers know Miller.

A word should be said on the difficulties in labour organisation arising from differences of language, religion, &c. They are no doubt obstructions, but are not as important as is commonly thought in Europe, even in the Punjab, where communal feeling is at its worst⁴. The chief difficulty of this nature is due to the relatively large differences in the wage rates of various grades (see tables on page 613.) It comes about through the greater effectiveness of upper grade workers in pressing their claims, through the scarcity of persons with elementary or technical education, and partly, no doubt, through a deliberate dividing policy.

The influence of "outsiders" as officials and leaders is a delicate question, and one of great importance. They are certainly necessary, especially for lower grade unions, because of general illiteracy and the risk of victimisation. Only one such union, the Girni Kamgar Mahamandal, is carried on nominally without outside helpers. They tend to be eliminated for practical purposes by upper

⁴ Efforts are occasionally made by employers to arouse communal passions, e. g., recently in the Bombay Port Trust Docks Staff Union, and previously in the N. W. R. union. Neither had any success. In fact, only three cases have come to the writer's notice. The Moslems have recently withdrawn almost *en bloc* from the Ahmedabad Weavers' Union. The Punjab Press Workers' Union is said to have collapsed last year from this cause, but it was in any case a feeble body. The Indian Seamen's Union, Bombay, has split nominally on this ground. Many of the saloon crews (Indian Christians, mainly Goanese) have withdrawn to form a new union, as the old one also contains engine and deck hands (non-Christians, mainly Mohammedans). Communal feeling is present, but the split was promoted by the shipowners and brokers, because the old union was opening its doors to the other crews, and was trying to extend its activities beyond the traditional limits of a mere employment bureau. The differences which often separate Indians from Anglo-Indians and Europeans are economic. The latter are invariably privileged, and often paid much higher rates.

grade unions, when the need for them disappears. But it is the writer's impression that the present "outsiders" as a whole deserve their bad name. Many enter the movement with interested motives, and though they may promote efficiency they are not to be replied upon. A notorious case is that of the B. N. Railway strike of this year. Even if, as is often the case, their motives are purely unselfish, they generally strengthen the sectarian and otherwise reactionary tendencies to which the movement is so prone. The Ahmedabad Union is perhaps the worst case. Here the President is an ordinary humanitarian, a member of a mill-owning family, and a conscious advocate of class-collaboration. Other officials, though they see something of its dangers, allow themselves to be completely led by Gandhi, whose policy is (in most respects, but not all) the same.

Bombay is blessed with disinterested and not unprogressive leaders. The Punjab is not so fortunate. The policy of the officially recognised body is one of sheer servility. Bengal has officials of both kinds, and has for years been divided by quarrels, which have more than once split unions, probably of purely personal origin. Many of the unions seem to be of the type described by Mr. Tom Johnston in his report on the jute industry. Three out of the four unions in that industry were bogus, and served merely to advertise their presidents. Madras has leaders who do not commit the usual error of abstaining from political activity, but their politics is not that of the working class. A Labour Party has been established which runs candidates in local elections. These make the grave mistake (in present circumstances) of opposing Congress candidates. The Party in fact seems to be entirely for electoral purposes, which are of very minor importance for labour at the present stage, and to have been organised in support of the reactionary remnants of the Home Rule League.

The acknowledged national leader of the trade union movement is Mr. N. M. Joshi, the General Secretary of the Trade Union Congress. With all respect it must be said that he is as much out of place in his position as, let us say, Mr. Sidney Webb would be as Secretary of the Miners' Federation. He carries on his work with the same disinterested care that Mr. Webb would no doubt devote to the position suggested, and undoubtedly does the best that is possible along his lines. But his function is observation, research and the drafting of Bills, not leadership.

Enough has now been said to give some idea of the movement as it stands. It is clear that the most important circumstances determining the present phase are the economic stability and the political deadness—the slow collapse of bourgeois nationalism, and the continued paralysis of the petit-bourgeoisie.

India can expect on general grounds a prosperous industrial future. But Indian industry and economics generally are still very closely dependent upon Britain, which is becoming more and more a broken reed in these matters. And it is almost certain that the immediate political future of the British Empire, and Asia generally, is a stormy one. It seems in any case safe to prophesy that the decades of peaceful progress, which many Indian leaders apparently on the example of Britain appear to expect, will not materialise. But it is even safer to predict that the present political quiescence in the country will not last for more than a year or two. The petit-bourgeoisie in the national movement are beginning to revolt against the bourgeois leadership the, last remnants of which are fast going over to the Imperialist camp, in preparation for the Statutory Commission. It is to be expected, in view of the generally difficult position of British capitalism, that they will not be disappointed. Substantial concessions, probably "Dominion Status", &c., will be offered, and obviously the whole of the bourgeois political school will accept them thankfully. All pretence of Swarajist opposition will probably disappear fairly quickly. The mantle of nationalism will fall upon the shoulders of the petit-bourgeoisie, who will be forced to seek the assistance of the Labour Movement. (The example of Ireland must not be taken, too seriously, as there the civil war upset the "normal" course of events). The emergence of the workers' and Peasants' Parties, of which four,⁵ counting the Young India Society of the Punjab, now in existence, shows this tendency. They have already made some impression upon the Labour Movement. Owing partly to their influence the T. U. C. at its last session carried a resolution in favour of industrial unionism. Unfortunately, a last-minute amendment by a railway representative was accepted, substituting "federations of unions" for "unions." Thus the resolution, which might have had some little effect, was rendered absolutely useless, by the action of the industry which stood most to gain, at the moment, from its application.

In Bombay in particular, the Workers' and Peasants' Party is carrying on propaganda for greater activity in the unions (some unions have now commenced monthly general meetings) and for the transformation of the Central Labour Board into a genuine Trades Council, &c. It is clear from what has been said above that they will have largely to depend upon what has here been called "lower grade" labour, and the solution of the still unsolved problem of the

⁵ In Bengal, Bombay, Rajputana (Ajmer) and the Punjab. The Punjab Society was the first to organise a May-day demonstration in India, in Lahore in 1926. The Bombay Party has established itself as leader of the opposition in the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee. It organised the May-day demonstration this year, and is leading the present (end of August) strike of protest against the attempt to make the weavers, in some mills work three looms instead of two.

organisation of the great mass of Indian Labour probably lies with them.

There is a general realisation in political circles of the future importance of the Labour Movement, and though nothing is done, Congress leaders speak more frequently than ever of Labour work. At the Delhi Congress, two leaders, Mr. Chaman Lal and Lala Lajpat Rai, who had been out of touch with labour for some years, reappeared. The former rejoined the movement because, after three years of Swarajist politics, he realises that bourgeois nationalism is dead, and that the future conduct of the struggle will depend upon Labour. The latter came for exactly the contrary reason, that he saw the future danger, for the bourgeoisie, and wished to check it in time.⁶ The struggle between Nationalism and Imperialism for the possession of the Labour Movement has begun. When it has fully opened out, the next great stage in the history of Indian Labour will have commenced.

⁶ Cf his remarks in the *People* (Lahore, March 20, 1927) on the Delhi session of the Trades Union Congress: "It (the Labour Movement) is a tender plant which requires careful nursing—careful watering and protection from the rigours of the climate. . . . What the Indian worker wants is not dogma, but help in organising, and in the redress of his grievances against the Government and the employers. To feed him on doctrines . . . is to lead him astray."

P. 2076-[]

A registered cover No. R.A. 184 from D. Chamanlal M.L.A
Lahore

Lahore to the address of Philip Spratt, 2/1 European Asylum Lane
Calcutta containing the following:—

- (i) A typewritten letter dated 6-12-28 signed by Philip Spratt.
- (ii) A type written note on the Functions of the Subcommittee.
- (iii) A typewritten note entitled "Draft of Statement by the Trade Union Congress on the Nehru Committee's Report and constitution."

(Vide Exh. P. 545 (3)).

P. 2088

Receipt for T.M.O.

No. D 1 1571

Date of issue: 11-10-28.

Office of issue: Meerut City.

Payee: Muzaffar Ahmed.

2/1 European Asylum Lane.

Amount: Rs. Thirty five only Rs. 35/-

Received the sum specified above.

Postal Seal on-

12-10-28

Sd/- Muzaffar Ahmed.

Park Street

Calcutta

12 Oct. 28

Money Orders.

2079 P.P.E. Rejected

2082

2083

2087.

P. 2090:

Indian Money Order.

Amount: Rupees fifty only.

Payee: Philip Spratt.

2/1 European Asylum Lane Calcutta.

Dated 5-5-28.

Sd/- S.V. GHATE.

Signature of remitter.

P. 2091.

Receipt for T. M. O.

No. NP 2664.

Date of issue: 5-5-28.

Office of issue:

Bombay, Girgaon.

Payee:

Phillip Spratt, 2/1 European Asylum
Lane, Cal.

Amount: Fifty only Rs. 50.

Received the amount

Postal Seal of:—

Specified above.

Park Street

Sd/- Muzaffar Ahmed

Calcutta

for Phillip Spratt.

5 May 28.

10-5-28.

Money Orders.

P. 2098 (P).

A letter in Bengali dated 8-11-27 from Soumeyendra Nath
Tagore, Berlin, to Muzaffar Ahmed.

P. 2098 (P) (E).

Address on the envelope:—

Muzaffar Ahmed Esqr.

Ganavani office

2/1 European Asylum Lane Calcutta.
India.

R	Berlin 15 956 n.
---	---------------------

Postal Seal of:—

Berlin W.

8 - 11 - 27.

P. 2103.

Transcriptions in Urdu submitted by Mr. Mahomed Abdul Wadud, Government Reporter, Calcutta, of a speech delivered by Shibnath Banerjee at the Lilloah Striker's Meeting at Rashmoni Ghat, Titagarh, on 28-4-28.

P. 2104

Transcriptions in Urdu submitted by Mr. Mahomed Abdul Wadud, Government Reporter, Calcutta, of a speech delivered by Radha Raman Mitter, at a Strike Meeting of the Scavengers at the foot of the monument on 8-3-28.

P. 2105

Transcriptions in Urdu submitted by Mr. Mohamed Abdul Wadud, Government Reporter, Calcutta, of a speech delivered by

Dharani Goswami at a Strike meeting of the Scavengers at the foot of the monument on 8-3-28.

P. 2106.

Transcriptions in Urdu submitted by Mr. Mahomed Abdul Wadud, Government Reporter, Calcutta, of a speech delivered by Shibnath Banerjee, at a meeting at Bakshim Bazar, Asansol, on 10-7-28.

P. 2107.

Transcriptions in Urdu submitted by Mr. Ghulam Hasnain, Government Urdu Reporter, Calcutta, of a speech delivered by Radha Raman Mitter, at a meeting held at Ondal on 26-5-28.

P. 2108.

Transcriptions in Urdu submitted by Mr. Ghulam Hasnain, Government Urdu Reporter, Calcutta, of a Speech delivered by Radha Raman Mitter, at a meeting held at Ondal on 27-6-28.

P. 2109

Transcriptions in Urdu submitted by Mr. Ghulam Hasnain, Government Urdu Reporter, Calcutta, of a speech delivered by Radha Raman Mitter, at a meeting held at Ondal on 28-5-28.

P. 2112 (1)

Rs. 132-6-7.

Calcutta 5th Dec. 1928.

Received from the chartered Bank of India, Australia and China, the sum of Rupees One Hundred thirty two 6/7 only, equivalent to £ 10-0-0 @ 1-6½ as per wire instructions from the chartered Bank of India, Australia and China London of 27th inst.

(Sd), Radharaman Mitra.

P. 2112-2

Rs. 132-6-7

Calcutta 5th Dec. 1928.

A duplicate copy of the above receipt.

(Sd.) Radharaman Mitra.

P. 2113.

Chartered Bank of India, Australia and China.

Rs. 133-5-4

Calcutta 5th Dec. 1928.

Debit London Exchange a/c.

Amt. paid to Radhe Raman Mitra, Secretary Jute Worker's Union, Bauria, as per London tel. of 27th Nov.

£ 10 @ 1. 6½.

Rupees one hundred thirty three annas five and pies four only

Rs. 133-5-4.

(Sd) Accountant.

On the back of the Debit slip the following endorsement appears:—

Received Rupees hundred and thirty two Six annas and Seven pies only.

(Sd). Radharaman Mitra

5-12-28.

P. 2115.

Bombay 14th Dec. 1928.

Received from the Netherlands India Commercial Bank the sum of Rupees Five Hundred only being amount of Telegraphic Transfer advised by their Calcutta office in our favour.

Rs. 500/-

(Sd.) B.F. Bradley.

Mr. B.F. Bradley.

Apollo chambers,

Tulloch Street.

P. 2117

A visitors Book of the Continental Hotel, Calcutta, registering the arrival and departure of visitors during 1927. The following entry appears to be important:—

Name.	From	Date of arrival
51 P. Spratt	Benares	12-12-27 7-40 a.m.
Room No.	Nationality	
53	English.	

P. 2118.

Visitors' book of the Continental Hotel Calcutta, registering the arrival and Departure of visitors during 1926. The following entry appears to be important:

Name	(From	Date of arrival
36. D. Campbell	Bombay	22-11-26 10 a.m.
Room No.	Nationality	
24	British	

P. 2120-P.

Rejected as P.
D. G. Ghosh.

A letter in Bengali dated 16th May 1928 from Soumyendra Nath Tagore, Berlin, to Muzaffar Ahmed, The Bengal Peasants' and Workers' Party office, 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

P. 2120-P. (E).

Superscription on the envelope:

Muzaffar Ahmed Esqr.

The Bengal Peasant's and Workers' Party office

2/1 European Asylum Lane

Postal Seal of: Calcutta, India

Berlin

24-5-28.

P. 2121 [P]

A letter in Urdu D/ 29 December 1926, unsigned, to Muzaffar Ahmed.

A letter in Urdu not dated, from Mahomed Ali to Muzaffar Ahmed.

P. 2121 (P) (E) (1)

An envelope on the back of which the following post mark appears:—

Bara Bazar

Calcutta

5. Nov. 26.

P. 2121 (P) (E) (2).

2 envelopes with the following superscription on it:—

(i) M.A.

(ii) Muzaffar Ahmed.

(B) P. 2122

Muslim. — Caste.

33 years. — age.

No. 141/26.

I, Muzaffar Ahmed, son of Munshi Mansur Ali of village Musapur, P. S. Sandvip. Dist. Noakhali, at present residing at 37, Harrison Road, Calcutta, declare that I am the printer and publisher of the periodical work entitled the "GANAVANEE" printed at the Cosmopolitan Printing Works at 7, Maulavi Lane and published at 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 AHMED,

Acknowledged before me at the

Calcutta Police Court, this

24th. Day of August 1926.

Sd. MUZAFFAR AHMED,

Sd. ILLEGIBLE,

Chief Presidency Magistrate,

and justice of the Peace.

P. 2122-(1.)

To

the Chief Presidency Magistrate,

Calcutta.

Application for the declaration of the Bengali Periodical

"GANA-VANEE."

Sir,

I, Muzaffar Ahmed, son of late Munshi Mansur Ali of village Musapur, P. S. Sandvip. in the District of Noakhali and at Present residing at no. 37, Harrison Road Calcutta, do hereby solicit your kind leave to declare myself as printer and publisher of the Bengali

periodical "GANA-VANEE" to be printed at the Cosmopolitan Printing Works at No. 7, Maulavi Lane Calcutta, and published at No. 37, Harrison Road, Calcutta. I do undertake to publish the name of the editor in the column of the said periodical. Pray that you will be graciously pleased to accord your kind sanction to it.

Sd. MUZAFFAR AHMED.

Calcutta,

The 28th. July 1926.

THE COSMOPOLITAN PRINTING WORKS?
ART AND GENERAL PRINTERS.

7 MOULAVI LANE,

(Off Collin Street.)

CALCUTTA,

19-7-1926.

I have authorised Mr. Muzaffar Ahmed of 37, Harrison road, Calcutta, to print his Bangali periodical "GANA-VANEE," at the above named press. I shall not hold myself responsible for any thing published in the said periodical.

Sd. MOHIUDDIN.

Keeper, The Cosmopolitan,

Printing Works.

P. 1939 (P)

Telegram No. 299 dated 18th September, 1928, from S. H. Jhabwala, Bombay to the Central Komitee Textilarbeiter, Moscow. The message runs as under :—

"Thousand fifty nine through Allrussische Mill workers Bombay received."

P. 1946

From,

S. S. Mirajkar, (Communist)
Bombay.

To,

Sir John Simon, K. C.,
Chairman, Statutory Commission,
Poona.

3th October, 1929.

Sir,

Herewith I am sending you copy of a telegram I addressed you yesterday. The Bombay Telegraph Office refused to transmit this message because they considered it objectionable as it contained the frank sentiments of the Masses towards you and your colleagues in the Commission. From this incident it will be quite clear to you how letters and telegrams containing praises showered upon you are promptly despatched and delivered to you and how telegrams expressing frank opinions about your commission are being suppressed.

This is how the reception of your commission is stage-managed by the Beauracritic Executive and I shall be very much pleased if this letter together with the copy of telegram simply reaches you.

Yours truly,

S. S. Mirajkar.

P. 1946 (1)

SIR JOHN SIMON
CHAIRMAN, STATUTORY COMMISSION
POONA.

Revolutionary Indian Masses are determined achieve complete Independence they no longer need exploiting Britishers in this land no inquiry therefore needed please stop the farce and go back to England all those that have come forward to co-operate with you are traitors and enemies of the masses and they shall be properly dealt with when time comes the cry of the masses today is down with British Imperialism do not delude yourselves into blind belief that the Kikabhoy Shankarans and other crowd of knights around you have the least influence with the Indian Masses the best course for you therefore is to close your inquiry firm in India and attend to your lucrative practice at home our frank opinion about your commission is that it is a gang of Robbers.

S.S. MIRAJKAR
COMMUNIST

(12/10/1928.)

P. 1951

LABOUR RESEARCH DEPARTMENT.

Chairman : W. H. Hutchinson.
Vice-Chairman : George Hicks.
Hon. Treasurer : A. L. Bacharach.
Director of Research : R. Puge Arnot.
Secretary : Emile Burns.

162, BUCKINGHAM PALACE RD.
WESTMINSTER, LONDON S. W. I.
Telephone : Victoria 1046. 13-12-26.

My dear Chaman Lall,

I want to introduce to you Mr. Philip Spratt, whom I have known very well ever since I made his acquaintance at Cambridge in 1921. He is in India on business, but he told me before he went that he would be very glad to do whatever work he could for the Labour Research Department. For the last few years, both when he was at Cambridge and when he came down he has done a great deal of voluntary work for us, and he is fully conversant with all the method of research. I have asked him to get into touch with as many Unions as he can find time, and to act as our representative in securing the affiliation of those Unions. He will be able to

explain the utility of affiliation, both from the point of view of the Unions, and also from our point of view which is primarily not the small affiliation fee (though money is always welcome), but the constant supply of accurate information about Labour events and Labour movements in India.

The effect of having a number of affiliations will be in the first place to put us in the position of being able to correct many of the misrepresentations that appear in the English press, sometimes even in the Labour press. While on the other hand I hope it may have the effect of getting the Indian Trade Unions to take an eager interest in research, both for its own sake and for the benefit it will be to them. I do not see why the Unions which I hope Spratt will induce to affiliate to the Department should not themselves take part—after they have had an experience of what it means—in some research work on the spot. On this Spratt would be best equipped to advise.

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

Yours fraternally,
R. Page Arnot,
Director of Research.

P. 1952

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P. 1946 (1)

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CHAIRMAN, STATUTORY COMMISSION
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P. 1952

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Department and in almost every section of it. I have no hesitation, therefore, in asking him to act as our full representative in India, and to undertake the following work in so far as he has the leisure :

First, to explain—especially to Trade Unions—the advantages of a connection with the Labour Research Department, and to ensure that a full supply of Indian Trade Union documents of all kinds are sent to us in London.

Secondly, to arrange for a similar though more restricted supply of political party documents.

Thirdly, to arrange for the supply of Government papers, Blue books and records of the Legislative Assembly.

Fourthly, to explain in a manner which he is well qualified to do, the utility of Labour Research work for the movement in India.

I have in mind the extraordinary advance made in Japan in the past few years, where not one but several Research Institutes have been founded. We are in communication with these Institutes, and one of them was moulded after the pattern of the L. R. D. It would be a very good thing if such an institution could be built up in India. I do not myself think it is something that can be done straight away. Unions and other bodies have to become accustomed to the use of research, a school of research workers has to grow up, and finally in the early stages it would be almost impossible to get any work done unless the institute were endowed. For social research like any other research, while it may pay in the long run, does not yield immediate results.

I hope you will be able to give Mr. Spratt the necessary facilities by introducing him to those you think would be interested in research work or to the leaders of the Trade Unions. I suggested to Mr. Spratt that if he had the time he ought to try and get to understand something about the political currents of parties in India, as they would throw a certain light on the Labour movements. Perhaps you might introduce him to those in political circles whom it would be interesting and instructive for him to meet.

I am,

Yours sincerely,

R. Page Arnot,
Director of Research.

P. 1953

BIRELL & GARNETT

English and Foreign Booksellers

30 GERRARD STREET

LONDON, W.1.

*Francis Birrell
Ralph Wright
Graham Pollard*

TELEPHONE

Regent 3587.

16th February, 1927.

Dear Philip,

Thanks for your activities on my behalf but I am afraid they have not yielded very much so far. I have sent back that book on Indian Art as it seems to me too expensive and also somewhat difficult to sell from its subject. Du Prel books all seem quoted to us at over a pound, so I am afraid that Mr. Whats-his-name may not be enthusiastic. I hope that your other order will materialize; can't you try elsewhere than in that town which gives you such a mysterious itching on your leg? But still, I live in hopes of your building up a terrific export business for me.

With best wishes for everything,

Yours,

Graham Pollard.

Philip Spratt, Esq.
Y. M. C. A.
Woodehouse Road.
Bombay.

P. 1954

Y. M. C. A.
Woodehouse Road,
Bombay.
18-2-27.

Dear Robin,

Although still rather busy with the works of the firm and so on, I have been able to make some progress in the L. R. D. field. I

have now collected a good deal of information about the Trade Union movement of Bombay, but it is still too scrappy to be of any use. Documents are particularly hard to get, especially in duplicate, because of the carelessness of those who have to deal with them. My collection is increasing, though, and while they say very little, many of them are instructive.

I spoke hopefully of the prospect of setting up an office. The possibility is now greater as I have obtained the definite promise of a substantial grant for that purpose from a trust fund. With this basis I can more easily get assistance from the regular labour bodies, and in fact have begun to do so.

I think it advisable to begin the routine work as soon as possible, and I may perhaps get a room and commence the collection of periodicals etc. within a week or so. The formal agreement of the T. U. C. cannot be obtained yet of course, but there is no objection to starting, and establishing a sort of fait accompli simply on the strength of their unofficial approval.

I have recently assumed the new role of fraternal delegate, and have appeared in that capacity at several Trade Union meetings. After one performance, at an annual conference, a garland was hung about my neck, and a bunch of roses, sprinkled with scent, put in my hand. Thus arrayed I photographed myself, and if it comes out I will send you a copy. I should add that in the press on the following day it was reported that "Professor", or even "Prof. Spratt" addressed the meeting.

Actually some of the meetings were important. At one was established a Press Workers' Union for Bombay, with an initial membership of about fifty. Another was a delegate conference of the three Port Trust unions, which set up a joint working committee, with a single paid organiser, so that in future these relatively strong and important unions are one. A third which I attended yesterday, was an Extraordinary General Meeting of the G.I.P. Railway Workmen's Union, and it decided upon "support in every possible way" to the B.N.R. strikers, and a levy of As. 4 per head for their support.

This letter sounds, I am afraid, a little queer. You must put that down to the heat combined with a cold.

Yours,

P. 1955

Y. M. C. A.
Wodehuse Road,
Bombay 10-3-27;

Dear Robin,

I enclose a selection of cuttings on the second "Campbell Case", which will be of interest to you. I think they cover every stage of importance in the proceedings. The legal points at issue, namely the question of jurisdiction and the right of the Indian Legislature to limit the right of a British subject to enter any part of the British Empire, are well worth considering I think. We should get a sound legal opinion on both points.

I write this in a great hurry as I am dashing off to Delhi in about two hours from now for the Trade Union Congress, which is being held unexpectedly this week end. Not many delegates are expected, and the business is not of much interest, so far as I know. In fact a protest will be raised I hear, against its being held as an annual session at all. It is being done solely on account of Saklatvala.

To return to Campbell. I saw him a good deal while he was here on bail, in fact he stayed with me at the Y. M. C. A. all the time. He seemed not to be frightfully depressed by the sentence, as he was expecting something far worse. I gather, too, that he can expect a considerable remission for good conduct. He said he had met you, and wished to be remembered to you.

Yours,

P. 1956

Y.M.C.A.
Wodehuse Rd.
Bombay.

31/3/27

Dear Robin,

I can now forward the exact texts of the resolutions which I sent in rough last week. I need not emphasise that what the T.U.C. decides and passes here really matters very little, as there is no definite system of representation or voting, at any rate in

practice and in my experience no reference to those represented. I am prepared to swear that up to now I am the only delegate present at Delhi who has given any sort of report to his constituents. I made some kind of statement last week and am giving a more complete report this afternoon.

I had promised myself to send this week what you asked for months ago, a fairly complete report on the seamen and dock workers at Bombay. But it is not yet ready. I will send it without fail next week.

I have had a rather unsatisfactory chat with Chaman Lal, but shall be seeing him again in better circumstances shortly. The only definite thing I got from him was a request that I should order for him, through you, all the publications of the Labour Publishing Company since September 1925, especially the book on Mexico. I don't know if the C.O.D. system applies to India, if so it might be done.

P. 1957

Y.M.C.A.
Wodehouse Rd.
Bombay.
25/3/27

The Superintendent,
Yerroda Jail, Poona.

Dear Sir,

I understand from his lawyers that Mr. Allison is now under your charge. It was Mr. Allison's request, before his conviction that I should send him certain toilet requisites etc., and these I am now forwarding in the hope that you will allow him to use them.

I wish further to ask if I shall be allowed to visit Mr. Allison during the first week of April, when I shall be in Poona on business.

Yours faithfully,

P. 1958

Y.M.C.A.
Wodehouse Rd.
Bombay.
30/3/27

Dear Comrade,

I must apologise for the delay in sending you the books as I promised. It was mainly due to a fruitless search for a more suitable address than the above. I will send you such an address as soon as I get one.

Perhaps the best of the pamphlets to begin on is "Scientific Socialism", which gives a plain and elementary account, which you probably will not like. It will do, however as an introduction better than the others. Next "The development of Socialism" and "Communism", while for application of the principles in question to the colonial problems Modern India" is almost the only book, and should be read when those principles are familiar. I should not neglect the classic statement the "Manifesto", while the thing is approached from a slightly different standpoint in "The Working Class."

I find after all that I cannot give you any very valuable advice about reading them. They are all instructive, including Shah's thing, which you will find amusing though it contains some important truths well stated.

If you want any more copies, or any of the other things advertised in them, the two pink ones and the grey one can be obtained from the publisher. For the others write to me or Shah, whose letters, I should add, are also opened.

Yours.

P. 1959

THE

PEASANTS' & WORKERS PARTY OF BENGAL

ORGAN
GANAVANI
(**BENGALI WEEKLY**)

37, HARRISON ROAD,
CALCUTTA.
54-1927

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Dear Sir,

I understand from his lawyers that Mr. Allison is now under your charge. It was Mr. Allison's request, before his conviction that I should send him certain toilet requisites etc., and these I am now forwarding in the hope that you will allow him to use them.

I wish further to ask if I shall be allowed to visit Mr. Allison during the first week of April, when I shall be in Poona on business.

Yours faithfully,

P. 1958

Y.M.C.A.
Wodehouse Rd.
Bombay.
30/3/27

Dear Comrade,

I must apologise for the delay in sending you the books as I promised. It was mainly due to a fruitless search for a more suitable address than the above. I will send you such an address as soon as I get one.

Perhaps the best of the pamphlets to begin on is "Scientific Socialism", which gives a plain and elementary account, which you probably will not like. It will do, however as an introduction better than the others. Next "The development of Socialism" and "Communism", while for application of the principles in question to the colonial problems Modern India" is almost the only book, and should be read when those principles are familiar. I should not neglect the classic statement the "Manifesto", while the thing is approached from a slightly different standpoint in "The Working Class."

I find after all that I cannot give you any very valuable advice about reading them. They are all instructive, including Shah's thing, which you will find amusing though it contains some important truths well stated.

If you want any more copies, or any of the other things advertised in them, the two pink ones and the grey one can be obtained from the publisher. For the others write to me or Shah, whose letters, I should add, are also opened.

Yours.

P. 1959

THE

PEASANTS' & WORKERS PARTY OF BENGAL

ORGAN
GANAVANI
(BENGALI WEEKLY)

37, HARRISON ROAD,
CALCUTTA.
5-4-1927

Dear Comrade,

Your letter together with cuttings of the Indian

National Herald reached me yesterday. I thank you very much for the trouble you have taken. I do not know whether you received my previous letter or not. GANAVANI is going to be re-issued from the 13th instant. Please write an article for some of its issue if not for the first issue.

Yours
Muzaffar Ahmad.

P. 1961

Jamshedji Edalji
Saklatwalla.

BYCULLA BOMBAY.

April 8/27.

Dear Mrs. Gupta,

This is Comrade Spratt. He belongs to our Labour Research Department. I strongly commend him to you for any assistance you can give him and I am sure you will find him useful in your Labour Work.

Yours fraternally,
Shapurji Saklatwala.
Mrs. Santosh Kumari Gupta,
28 Doctors Lane,
Calcutta.

P. 1962 (1)

The Bombay Students' Brotherhood.

(Registered under Act 21 of 1860.)

President
Mr. M. R. Jayakar,
B.A.L.L.B., BAR-AT-LAW.

Sandhurst Road, Girgaum.
BOMBAY, 13th April, 1927.

Dear Mr. Spratt,

You will recollect that Mr. Saklatwala introduced me to you, on the day he met the members of the Young India Society. You

will also remember that at the time you were good enough to agree to a lecture at the Bombay Students' Brotherhood. If Sunday, 24th inst. at 6-30 p. m. would suit you, I should be happy to arrange the function.

At the present moment all the Colleges are closed for the Long Summer Vacation, and so many of our members have gone out of Bombay. Some few who remain, are working hard for their examinations. I should therefore ask you to *reserve* some more days for us, after you return from Calcutta, say in June, when the colleges will reopen, so as to meet a larger circle of young persons.

I should be obliged if you will please let me know whether the date I have suggested would be convenient to you.

Yours truly,
Yusuf J. Meherally.

R. S. V. P. to
Yusuf J. Meherally,
Naik Cottage,
Andheri.

P. 1962 (2)

Y. M. C. A.
Wodehouse Road
Fort.
16-4-27.

Dear Mr. Meherally,

I shall be very glad to see you again, though the prospect of lecturing does not please me so much. Sunday the 24th. will suit me very well, and I suppose the place will be Sandhurst Road ?

Then about the lecture, I suggest either some general subject, such as Marxism, Imperialism, Revolutions, Trade Unionism, or some historical subject such as The Russian Revolution, Britain at the present day, International Socialism, China, or I might venture to say something about the recent past and the future of India. That, before an Indian audience would be rash, but I might hope to gain more by the experience than from talking about other subjects. In any case what I have to say would be concerned in some degree with India.

Perhaps you could let me know what you would like, whether one of these or something else.

Yours truly,

P. 1962 (3)

THE BOMBAY STUDENTS' BROTHERHOOD.

(Registered under Act 21 of 1860)

President :—

SANDHURST ROAD, GIRGAUM.

MR. M. R. JAYAKAR,
M.A.L.L.B., BARR-AT-LAW.

BOMBAY, 21-4-1927.

Dear Mr. Spratt,

Many thanks for your letter. I have sent press notifications for the lecture. The subject is "Revolutions and India," and I trust you will fully approve of the title. Time 6-30 p. m. (S.T.)

We *do* want to hear something about India from you—because we know that whatever you will say will come from a sincere friend.

Our Hall is situated at the junction of Sandhurst Bridge, French Bridge, Kennedy Bridge, just opp. the Royal Opera House.

Trusting that you are enjoying your stay in India.

Yours truly,
Y. J. Meherally
Jt. Hon. Sec.

P. 1963

THE PEASANTS' & WORKERS' PARTY of BENGAL

ORGAN
GANAVANI
(BENGALI WEEKLY)

37, Harrison Road.
CALCUTTA.
24. 4. 1927.

My dear Comrade,

Your letter and articles reached me in time. Being hand pressed by work I could not reply to your letter any earlier, and hope you will excuse me for the same. One of your articles the review of books has already appeared in "Ganavani". The second one is going to appear next week. The Bengali translation of Modern India is also going to be published in Ganavani.

Please let me know how you are faring at present.

With greetings.

Yours,
MUZAFFAR AHMAD.

P. 1964

THE
PEASANTS' & WORKERS' PARTY OF BENGAL

ORGAN
GANAVANI
(BENGALI WEEK)

37, HARRISON ROAD,
CALCUTTA.
13-5-1927.

My dear Comrad

I have not heard from you for sometime past. Please write to me to say how you are faring with your health. "Ganavani" is being published regularly. But as there is no fund I am working very hard on it. I can not get the services of other people for want of funds.

The articles you had sent were translated and published in the paper. Please do try to send some more articles. Would you mind to write a criticism of "Hundred-Percent Indian" by Mr. C. G. Shah? In any way some articles are required from your pen. Please reply soon. I shall be anxiously awaiting for the same.

With greetings,

Yours fraternally,
Muzaffar Ahmad.

P.S. You wrote to me that you would be coming to Calcutta in April last. Why did you not come? Are you coming at all?

M. A.

P. 1965

Cawnpore.

Dear Spratt,

Your Letter

I finished my programme at Lucknow and feeling a little indisposed returned to Cawnpore. I mean to stay here till 7th or 8th and then proceed to Benares, Nagpur, Bombay. The information required by you for your visit to Cawnpore will be very gladly kept ready for you. Of course, there are many intricacies and under-currents in Cawnpore public life. The best thing for you will be to see Mr. Jog with whom I am putting. His measure of men and matters is, in most respect, nearer to facts than that of other men. There are practically no labour-leaders and no labour movement.

There is one Ramzan Ali, formerly a mill hand, now a labour organiser, who has seen the jail several times. But his greatest handicap is his want of knowlege and literacy.

Another man, Harihar Nath comes from the Tilak School of Politics of Lala Lajpat Rai. He is an intellectual and a nationalist and belongs to Mr. N. M. Joshi's labour-ideals. He does some work but more in co-operation with the mill owners.

Another man worth seeing is Mr. Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi of the "Pratap" a nationalist Hindu Paper.

Mr. Jog will find time to arrange your seeing these men. Rest you will manage.

Since you are with Chamanlal you must be having a casual talk on the affairs of a coming session of the Trade Union Congress. I hear Lajpat Rai wants to capture it and that Chamanlal wants to oppose Lalaji. What do you scent? What do you say to a plan of our Bombay group taking it in by joining hands with Chaman Lal? Is it worth the trouble? Probably there will be three groups, Lalaj's, Joshi's and Chamanlal's. And if Giri returns from Geneva he may form a fourth one. I am not yet decided whether to plunge into this fight or not. In the meantime you will do better to scent Lahore opinion.

I think, I am likely to meet Muzaffar in Benares. Shaukat Usmani will be released from Dehra Dun jail by the end of August.

I wanted to write to Saklatwala, but I do not know his address. I want one to which most people generally write. Can you give me one?

I think there is not such an urgent necessity of seeing me, since it means expenditure and hampering work on hand.

I will write you when leaving Cawnpore.

C/o G. G. Jog,
Meston Road,
Cawnpore.

I am
Yours
S. A. Dange,
5-7-27.

P. 1966

Benares.

My dear Spratt,

Just to-day I saw a copy of the Kranti and an appeal in it. The appeal was made by Muzaffar and Ghate for money to support Mr. Usmani, when he would be out. In the text it is stated that Usmani has got tuberculosis and requires rest. True, Rest he does require. But I understand from a friend who saw Usmani, last week, in Dehra Dun that he is not suffering from T. B. The Cawnpore people too are much interested in him and I think it was hasty and unwise for these men to have issued an appeal without consulting Cawnpore or inquiring into facts. Appeals for money are very much distrusted now-a-days. Some of the men in Cawnpore, parading themselves as communists and opposing the Cawnpore congress in 1925 December with questionable tactics have damned the communist name without gaining anything. Every where I go I am greeted with questions reg. that scandalous affair. I hope to enlighten you more, when we meet.

When you go to Cawnpore you will be better advised to see Messrs. Vidyarthi and Jog first.

Hope we meet soon. I am leaving for Bombay tomorrow.

Yours

S. A. Dange.

Benares.

12/7/27.

P. 1967

C/o D. Chaman Lall

Golf Road

Lahore.

14/7/27.

Dear Dange,

I received both your letters, but I am afraid I failed to reply to the former. To take your points in order :

Personally I think it would be a good thing for the Bombay and other "forward" groups to ally with Chaman Lall in the next

T.U.C. There is no doubt that Lajpat Rai is trying to capture the T.U.C. He is personally a scoundrel, I believe, and is in any case a link with MacDonald and "Amsterdam". It would be very serious if he were to succeed. Further, even if there were no immediate danger of the sort, groups such as that at Bombay would be well advised to make as much public noise as possible, even if it belies their real strength. They cannot neglect the T.U.C. Sessions. And finally whatever Chaman Lall's past record may be, he is at the moment working and thinking in a way which I can only agree with. There is considerable conflict in Punjab Labour circles (there is no labour 'movement') and his line is, I think, sound,

The only address I know of for Saklatvala is the House of Commons, London. That will reach him quite safely.

About Usmani, I am glad to hear that he has not got T. B. I certainly thought he had, but probably Ghate told me. I don't know how the impression got about (Majid shares it), if it is untrue. I agree that it is not conducive to popularity to issue appeals for money, Ghate and Muzaffar stand for about the most unpopular cause one could name. Still, it is their affair.

I should like to hear more of the incident at the Cawnpore Congress. Begerhotta once told me something about it, but from the point of view of a participant in the opposition. Arjun Lal Sethi also took part I think. Begerhotta struck me as a somewhat irresponsible person for the Secretary of the Communist Party of India, and his exploits at Cawnpore certainly seem to have created a bad impression.

Ramchandrar.

The labour situation here is disheartening. After several attempts a Federation for the Punjab was established about two years ago, called the Punjab Labour Board. It has never been recognised by the T.U.C. and whatever it may have done in the past, it does practically nothing now. The Secretary M.A. Ghani, Bar-at-Law, is a nominated Labour M.L.C., and is extremely "official" in his outlook. The affiliated bodies are almost all Government Servants Unions, Patwaris, Sub-Assistant Surgeons (literally) etc., and though some of these may have existed in the past, it is almost certain that the only relic of them now is their headed note-paper. The N.W.R. Union is united at the moment, but it is quiescent. The Secretary told me it had 25,000 members, but Miller says that 25 would be nearer. The income seems to show a membership of 4 or 5 hundred. Miller and M.A. Khan are still officials of the Union but do nothing, being systematically kept out by a hostile majority in the Committee. In addition to these there are the branches of the various Telegraph and Postal Unions, 3 (1) of the former and 2 of the latter. I am engaged in negotiations to make the Punjab Labour Board all inclusive and efficient, but my efforts are obstructed by Ghani, who is

personally an offensive man, very suspicious, and ambitious. He is afraid, I think, that if the Board does anything he will not be nominated to the Legislative Council again.

I am told that one Ramchandra, whom I met at Delhi, is to be, or has been, arrested for sedition (or waging war against the King or something) in connection with the "Mihnatkash", of which he is editor. He seemed to be an enthusiastic young man, and is generally well thought of. It would be a pity if he were given a serious sentence.

The political situation here is as everywhere, dull. The Congress is inactive. Lajpat Rai is still the "Lion" but is apparently being shone of his glory pretty quickly. I move about mainly with Chaman Lall of course, but I have heard practically no one express any sentiment towards him other than contempt. The "communal tention" is quite superficial, but is being vigorously worked upon by a few fanatical journals. Allone Huxley said that if he were an Indian Millionaire he would have all his money to found an atheist mission. I agree.

You might give Mirajkar & Co. my love.

P. 1968

LAHORE
21-7-27

Dear Robin,

I am sorry I have not written to you for so long. It is partly because I have been very busy, and partly because I have had nothing to say.

Chaman Lall invited me to Lahore to assist him in finishing his book on Indian Labour. I came, and am staying with him. The book, far from finishing, requires almost to be begun, but I am still hopeful about it. It should be useful if it appears.

The Labour situation in the Punjab seems to be extremely bad. Whatever there may have been in the past, there is practically not a union in existence now. I have met nearly all the labour organisers. They quarrel among themselves, and are a less admirable type than those of Bombay. Miller is an amiable and honest man, but lacks intelligence. He has the reputation of a fighter, but is extremely vacillating and feeble in his ordinary conduct. He is

still an official of the N.W.R. Union, but is not paid (he has no income at all) and is opposed by a hostile Committee. But for his great popularity with the railwaymen he would have been kicked out. M.A. Khan, who is an extremely able man, has a foot in both camps. He also is unpaid at the moment, but edits the Union journal (which I hope you are getting). He is generally rather suspected. The Union is united, but has a membership of only a few hundreds, and is in the hands of an officially-minded clique.

I enclose a copy of the Rules etc., of the Punjab Labour Board. You will see what kind of body it is from the Unions affiliated. M.A. Ghani, the Secretary is a nominated M. L. C., representing labour, and it is usually said that he set up the Board and the alleged unions for that purpose. This is probably not quite true. He has been interested for longer than that story could lead one to think, and has actually published "The Labour Leader" for over six years. (I hope you are getting it). Its content, I gather is poor. It is officially the organ of the Patwaris' Union, probably the only one of these unions which has had a real existence. He claims that it has a membership of over 5000 (out of about 10,000 in the Punjab) and has achieved wage-increases etc. I suspect the statements, and inspite of promises, he has not yet shown me any evidence.

The actual history of the P. L. B. is difficult to discover. About 1920 a Punjab Labour Fedn. was set up by Chaman Lall, but did nothing, and shortly afterwards another with a different name was established but again it did nothing. In 1914 or 5 the P. L. B. began, with one Ramchandra as Sec. (He calls himself a Communist, and is an active man. A warrant is out against him, for inciting to disaffection, at the moment.) Sometime afterwards, apparently, a sort of coupdetat was carried out by Ghani, who made himself secretary, and in their absence appointed Miller, Ramchandra, etc. to other offices. The ejected ones established their own "Labour Organising Board", which soon collapsed, and they merged into the P.L.B. Just afterwards Ghani became M.L.C. Some of the ejected ones, Ramchandra, Majid and Derveshi two of those who have returned from Russia, own a paper the "Weekly Mihnatkash", which I hope you are getting. They are very keen, but suffer from lack of funds and education.

They succeeded in starting a Press Workers Union, which had about 60 members, but it has now been dead for 6 months or more.

In spite of its professions the Tilak School of Politics seems to do very little work of any kind except advertise Lajpat Rai, and in particular no Labour work. Lajpat Rai had apparently given up labour, until quite recently. He then sent one of his men to Bombay to learn under Joshi, and this man has now gone on to Cawnpore, apparently to prepare things for the T. U. C. in November. I am told by Dange who has recently been to Cawnpore, and by Chaman

Lall, that he is making a serious effort to capture the T. U. C. It sounds very credible in view of the new activities of the I.L.P. etc., in connection with India—see the enclosed T. U. C. circular. You probably know more about the scheme than I do, just from these documents. How far has it made progress? It will be discussed in November at Cawnpore, and probably Joshi's view will be accepted. I pointed out to Chaman Lall the probable results of it, and he agreed partly, but seems undecided.

Nothing seems to happen nowadays in India. I sent a telegram last week to the S. W. I hope it appeared. I and shall in future send wires about anything interesting. The officials at first allowed us Press rates, (4 as. per word) but after much thought and reference they insisted on ordinary rates (4½ as. per word). At the end of almost an hour, I emerged from the office a wreck.

We have just had a comic municipal election in Lahore, which has occupied a good deal of time. For one ward three candidates put up, one at first on a "Labour" programme. He is a lawyer, of course, and an honest man, while his opponents are certainly rogues. But after a day or two he forgot his programme and concentrated on the intrigues which are considered necessary to win an election here. At the game on of his opponents was clearly superior, and spent more money. But his malpractices became so flagrant—he is said to have registered over 100 false votes out of an electorate of under 1000—that on the 2nd day of polling, the "labour" candidate gave up, and filed an election petition.

The Sikh movement also seems dead. The paper "Kirti" which Burton mentioned to me, is conducted from Amritsar, by some of the ex-Canadian Sikhs. The editor died a few months ago. A memorial number of the paper appeared, and I hear that it is being continued. Its influence is not very widespread, I think. The language "Gurmukhi" or Punjabi written, a modified Revanagan script, is read only by Sikhs. I have not been able to gather anything about the contents.

The temperature has been high in Lahore, until this week, when rain has fallen a little. I am afraid I have got a bit of dysentery, which has given me a good deal of trouble in the past few weeks. It is better now, fortunately. Please excuse my inkography. My typewriter is too full of Punjab dust to be

Yours

PHILIP.

P. 1969

The Peasants' & Workers' Party of Bengal.

ORGAN
GANAVANI
(**BENGALI WEEKLY**)

37, Harrison Road.
CALCUTTA.
2. 7. 1927.

Dear Comrade Spratt,

Excuse me please for my delay in replying to your letter. To speak the truth I was not keeping well and again there was this Police affairs. Our office was again searched for "India & China" which has been forfeited to His majesty by the Bombay and Madras Govts. The Govt. of Bengal had not issued any notification to that effect. Yet, the police searched our office and two other bookshops, here in Calcutta. I was really vere sorry to known that your coming to Calcutta was postponed for some days to come. I do not know why you have engaged yourself in such a manner with Diwan Chamanlal. No real work can be done by editing a paper like "The Nation" of Lahore. Then again Lahore is very very hot at this time of the year.

I received two letters for you. I send them here with. I had opened one of these letters to know if there is any urgent message. If was after I have heard from you. Please do not mind it.

I shall write to you about the Congress and Trades' Union activities herein my next. This much you can note that the Bengal Congress has now been captured by the people who are were much influenced by the Hindu Sabha. They have elected me a Member in the Council of the B. P. C. C. this time. But being quite alone I have no voice there.

With greetings,

Yours fraternally,
MUZAFFAR AMHAD

P. 1970

The Peasants' and Workers' Party of Bengal

ORGAN
GANAVANI
(**BENGALI WEAKLY**)

37 HARRISON ROAD.
CALCUTTA.
12. 8. 1927.

My Dear Spratt,

Your letter of the 7th, instant was to hand duly. I am really very sorry about the difficulties you are undergoing. Yes, I read

in papers a short note from Lahore about the case of Fazal-i-Ilahi. I read it for the first time in your letter that he has been sentenced to five years' imprisonment. Just imagine how we are to pay a heavy price here in India. Then again the matters of the N.W.F.P. are not generally given any publicity.

I have not seen Shringarpore for the last few days. Most probably he went out of Calcutta. He came to my place yesterday while I was not in. He left a chit saying that he would leave Calcutta this evening.

For the last few days I have not been faring well with my health. It is going down again. I am thinking of going to Jhansi once from where the last of my co-accused Com. Usmani is going to be released in a week or so. Please take every possible care for your health. With greetings.

Yours fraternally

MUZAFFAR AHMAD.

P. 1971

C/o. D. CHAMAN LAL
1 Golf Road,
LAHORE.

24/8/27.

Dear Muzaffar,

I enclose a copy of an article I have just written for Shah's paper the "Hindustan" (Divali Edition). You will notice that it was hastily composed and therefore has many faults of style. I am sending it to you, not because I think it is of any use (it is too long anyway) but because I wanted to ask you what you think of it, and to bear comment from your point of view. (1) Is it true? (2) Is it useful to say things of that sort nowadays? Personally I think both. I am still stuck here, doing something, but not very much. I am now down to my last few Rupees. But I hope to borrow money or receive some in some way or other soon. The machinery has broken down, so that the "Nation" is not coming out. Chaman Lal is now at Simla, and has characteristically forgotten to come back here for one or two important Trade Union Meetings, which he promised to attend. I am pleased to be able to say that Miller is reorganising the N.W.R. Union, and is getting good results. We are also trying to set up a Union at the New Egerton Woolen

Mills at Dhariwal, with about 1, 500-2, 500 employees. The Company has replied by establishing its own "Council".

Are you going to see S. Usmani when he is released? I believe Majid is.

Yours

P. Spratt.

I had prepared all the materials for the first issue. Perhaps it is just as well.

P. 1972

A post card of 20-6-27 from Dange to Spratt. It is addressed C/o A. Majid, Mehanat Kash, Lahore. Its contents are as under:—

Bombay
20-6-27.

My Dear Mr. Spratt.

I have started for Cawnpore I will be there on 23rd. Next step and place will be wired to you from Cawnpore. Inform when coming to Cawnpore? Write me C/o. G.G. Jog. Arya Samaj Mandir, Cawnpore.

Yours
Sd. S.A. Dange.

P. 1973

A post card addressed to Mr. Spratt C/o. the Mehanat Kash Lahore. The contents are as under:—

Cawnpore.

My dear Spratt.

I am here saw report of your Ahmedabad speeches in "Times". Am seeing people here. Wire when coming here.

C/o. G. G. Jog.
Arya Samaj Mandir
Meston R.D.

Yours.
S.A. Dange
24-6-27

P. 1974

Y. M. C. A. Wodehouse Rd.

Bombay.

6-5-27.

Dear Robin,

I suppose the first thing I ought to do is to apologise for not having acknowledged the receipt of the Dept. publications you sent. This I hereby do. I have been sending recently a miscellaneous collection of books and pamphlets, including some of the few Trade Union documents I have been able to get. I hope you have received them all right. I was surprised to hear that you are getting no Trade Union journals from Bombay. I have asked that the few that are published should be sent, but I am aware that for procrastination and similar virtues most Indians can beat even me hollow. I thought too that Saklatvala had fixed it up with the Ahmedabad Textile people. I must go there and see them.

It was a distinct surprise to receive by this mail a letter from Burton. Apparently he is in touch with the Dept. again. I had not heard of him for months of course, so please give him my love and tell him I will write to him as soon as possible.

If you see the Indian press at all nowadays you will notice my name splashed about rather a lot. Please disbelieve all reports, espacially one about my telling a policeman on May Day that "Blood is red all over the world or something. Actually he asked me for a leaf let which was being distributed, and some one else gave him one. All I said was "Oh all right," and this was skillfully exaggerated by one of my reporter friends into the melodramatic story you will probably see.

I am afraid that I sent you a somewhat optimistic account of the prospects for a Labour Research institution here. I was really very hopeful a few weeks ago, but nearly all promises have melted away on examination. There are still possibilities of course.

I am sending one or two more books this week, and some leaflets which were distributed on or before May Day. I enclose some cuttings also which should delight you. The demonstration this year was the first in the history of Bombay and was quite successful in view of that circumstance. The demonstrators were enthusiastic, and in the absence of singing, kept up a continual shout of "ki jai's." Mahatma Gandhi was unfortunately the chief hero celebrated in this way, but Jhabvala Sahib got a good showing, and I am afraid Mr. Spratt Sahib did also. The real meaning was appreciated of course, as shouts of "Kamkari ki jai" showed.

Yours,

P 1975.

C/o D. Chamanlal
Golf Rd.

Lahore.

Dear Burton,

I promised to write to you months ago, and at last am doing so. I enclose such facts as I could get about a case, which I attended recently with Chman Lal. I thought they would interest your legal mind. The judgment seems to me rather scandalous. (An appeal is being lodged). I have not got copies of all the evidence, indeed Chaman Lal not got even this before the hearing took place. That accounts for some of his misstatements. His carelessness is no doubt responsible for others and any reporting for the rest. But his argument is all right. The general incoherence of the evidence is due to the very bad typing of the official copyists, whom I however have followed almost exactly.

You might get the Department to send me this year's "Circulars". I have seen only one or two of them. And the "Agriculture" "West Africa", and "Imperialism" and any other recent publications. The Y. M. C. A. Fort Bombay is the best address. Things sent there reach me in the end (I hope.) If there are any other recent books of interest I should be pleased if you could send them along. Practically nothing reaches here. Especially the much discussed "Ple's" History of the Genl Strike. Scott Nearing also has a book on it, I think, and one on the "Law of Social Revolution." If they are obtainable and reasonably cheap, I should like to see them.

I can gather little from the ordinary telegraphed news from England in the Indian Press, even supplemented by an occasional "Herald" and "Times." But I imagine that the labour movement generally is going through a fairly severe slump. It seems to have taken the T. U. Act pretty quietly any way. That is to be expected after such a year of defeat as 1926, I suppose. Things seem to be going pretty badly in China too, though of course one can't rely on Reuter. Are there any recent books or pamphlets on this subject? (You may have noticed, if you see the Indian Press, that a booklet called "India and China" was recently suppressed here. The authorities are obviously nervous about the subject.)

I am getting S. B. Miller to write an article, with the "Labour Monthli" in view, on the N. W. R. Union. I have also asked C. G. Shah of Bombay, a young and very learned Marxist, to write on Indian politics. Although a Marxist and calling himself a Communist, he is an arm-chair sort of bird. I think real communists would repudiate him as a "Menshevik,"—though he can be eloquent on the fallacies of Menshevism.

Miller has just started a new campaign to form a red N.W.R. Union. The "recognised" Union had such almost to nothing, and obstructed progress. It is interesting to see the enthusiasm with which the men assemble when he blows his bugle. There is no scruple here about "splitting" an organisation.

I may be going to Simla in a few days. Chaman Lall is there now, for the Session. I should like to see an official or two. But I want to push on to Cawnpore and Calcutta.

. 1997-C.

To

The Editor,

Khilafat,

BOMBAY.

Moskow's Invitation to Bombay Workers.

Municipal Workers send Fraternal Greetings.

An invitation having been received from the Central Committee Municipal workers' Union of Moscow by the Bombay Municipal workers to participate in the deliberations of the 7th. All U. S.S. R. Congress of the Municipal workers. The above Union at its manging committee passed a resolution expressing its inability to participate in the same owing to the Union leaders having much work to do in India itself in spite of Moscow's hearty offer of defraying all expenses incidental to travelling etc. It also passed aonther resolution sending hearty fraternal greetings to Russian workers and wishing them success in their Congress.

Sd/ R. S. Nimbkar.

Secretary.

For favour of public ation.

Note:— The post mark on the envelope was 28- 2-28.

P 1998. (P)

League Against Imperialism

AND FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

Paris Office: 55, Rue Fauburg Montmartre 24.
Ligue contre l'Imperialisme
et pour l'Independence Nationale

International Secretariat
Friedrichstrasse, Berlin SW 48

Cable Address: Ankolina, Berlin

Telephone: Donhoff 6061

Liga gegen Imperialismus
und für nationale Unabhängigkeit

HONORARY PRESIDENTS :

Professor Albert Einstein, Germany
Henri Barbusse, France
Mme. Sun Yat Sen, China

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Workers' International, France

Prof. Theodor Lessing, Germany

Prof. Alions Goldschmidt, Germany

Georg Ledebour, Germany

Dr Helene Stocker, Germany

Prof. Nejedly, Czecho-Slovakia

Berlin, December 5th, 1928.

Dear Friend,

We have already telegraphed to you as follow under yesterday's date: "Greetings cabled stop League statutes posted Joshi stop attend also National Congress and Independence League Conference as our delegate stop mandates posted wire result - Ankolina Berlin".

We are sending you today herewith enclosed three mandates.

One for the National Congress.

One for the Independence of India
League

One for the Workers' and Peasants'
Party Conference

In our telegram yesterday we omitted the last mentioned organisation and are therefore telegraphing you again in a couple of days informing you that you are delegated by us to attend that Conference. We are not sending any messages directly from the office because, as you are our delegate, your speech at each conference must be considered as the official message of the League. Will you please write up your speeches if possible before delivering them and send us the manuscripts, or at least as accurate a report as possible of the speeches made by you on the various occasions

We wish you complete success in your work there and hope that we may receive a good report of the possibilities of organising an Indian Section of the League.

With sincerest greetings,
Yours fraternally

League against Imperialism

International Secretariat

Berlin SW 48, Friedrichstr 24

Willi Munzunburg. V. Chattopadhyaya.

P 1998. (P) (1)

League Against Imperialism

AND FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

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Workers' International, France

Prof. Theodor Lessing, Germany

Prof. Alois Goldschmidt, Germany

Georg Ledebour, Germany

Dr Helene Stocker, Germany

Prof. Nejedly, Czecho-Slovakia

Berlin, December 5th, 1928.

CREDENTIAL

Comrade W. J. JOHNSTONE is hereby
authorised to attend the

FIRST ALL-INDIA WORKERS' & PEASANTS' PARTY CONFERENCE

in Calcutta on December 21st. to 23rd. as
a fraternal delegate of the LEAUGE
AGAINST IMPERIALISM,

League against Imperialism

International Secretariat

Berlin SW 48, Friedrichstr 24

Willi Munzunburg. V. Chattopadhyaya.

Secretaries.

P 1998. (P) (2)

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AND FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

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Prof. Alios Goldschmidt, Germany

Georg Ledebour, Germany

Dr Helene Stocker, Germany

Prof. Nejedly, Czecho-Slovakia

Berlin, December 5th, 1928.

CREDENTIAL

Mr. W. J. Johnstone is hereby autho-
rised to attend the next session of the
INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
in Calcutta on December 25th. to 28th as
a fraternal delegate of the LEAGUE
AGAINST IMPERIALISM.

League against Imperialism

International Secretariat
Berlin SW 48, Friedrichstr. 24

Willi Munzunburg. V. Chattopadhyaya.
Secretaries.

P 1998. (P) (3)

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Prof. Aliens Goldschmidt, Germany

Georg Ledebour, Germany

Dr Helene Stocker, Germany

Prof. Ne edly, Czecho-Slovakia

Berlin, December 5th, 1928.

CREDENTIAL

Mr. W. J. Johnstone is hereby autho-
rised to attend the Conference of the
INDEPENDENCE FOR INDIA.
LEAUGE at Calcutta on December 24th
and 25th. as a fraternal delegate of the
LEAUGE AGAINST IMPERIALISM

League against Imperialism

International Secretariat

Berlin SW 48, Friedrichstr. 24

Willi Munzunburg. V. Chattopadhyaya.

Secretaries.

P. 1998. (P) (E)

Einschreiben

W. J. Johnstone Esq.

C/o Hotel Continental

Calcutta.

India.

Berlin 11 487 W.

Place of Posting

Date of Posting

P. 1999. (P)

J. W. Johnstone

Aden on Board the
Slanship aqulya hound
for Genova

Jan. 8. 1929-

My dear Gosh :-

I have written three long letters to you dealing with the particulars of my case, this is merely a note relating to the personal effects I left at Jaharia. I assume that they are in the hands of some one. They are not very valuable and it is not important if they are lost, still if it is possible and not to much trouble I would ask you to see that they are sent to me to the following address. J. W. Johnstone I. West 15th Sheet New York City U. S. A.

I am purposely leaving out all politics so that those government officials who may read this, may let it go through to you. Best regards to yourself and the friends that I made while in India.

Fraternally

J. W. Johnstone

P. 1999. (P) (E)

Mr. S. Gosh.

1. Kantupooker Lane

Bagh Bazar

Calcutta

India.

P. 2001.

12/12/28.

Kishorilal Ghosh.

1 Kantapukar Lane.

Bagh Bazar,

Dear Comrade,

I am enclosing with this note a copy of a letter addressed to the All India Workers and Peasants Party Conference in Calcutta.

You would be doing a great service if you would make sure that Phillip gets this letter with the least possible delay as I do not know how to send it to him.

Thanking you in anticipation,

Yours Fraternally

"C".

P. 2001 (1)

An article in English entitled "To The All India Workers' & Peasants' Party Conference, Calcutta," Sent as an accompaniment to

(Vide Exh. P. 478).

P. 2001 (E)

An envelope having the following Typewritten address on it:—

Mr. Kishorilal Ghosh,
I Kantapukar Lane
BAGH BAZAR.
CALCUTTA.
INDIA.

P. 2002-C.

August 2nd, 1928.

Dear Phillip, (Spratt)

I should be very glad to receive news from you. Have you not thought of publishing any report of your investigations into labour conditions etc? All the trade union and political labour leaders seem to have come out with their impressions, on a far less acquaintance than yours must by now be. The most interesting and informative is the report of Furthwangler, the German Textile Union representative. Perhaps you have already received a copy of this book. Let me know if not, and I will make certain a copy is send.

Have you any knowledge about a couple of fellows in *Manchester, Rhuden and Uke-Rhug?* There are also two more whom you are likely to know. I ran across them the other day, and I would very much like to know if they have any authority, and whether you would place any confidence in them. Tell me anything of interest that you can about them. Are there any others that you know of, for instance, in regard to next month, to what is the general position? I am told that you have written an article for the first number of the revived paper. I have not had a chance to study it yet, but you can be sure that I will study it with interest and attention. Nothing much is happening there just now, but we expect things will get much more active very soon.

I hope you are keeping well.

Accept my most sincere salutations

Sd/-J.

P. 2002 P E

Kishorilal Ghosh Esqr

1 Kantapukar Lane

CALCUTTA.

INDIA.

London S. W. 1.

Aug. 2.

3-45 P. M.,

1928.

P. 2003. P

Dear S

Herewith please find copy of a letter I received from Girwala in answer to one of mine.

It was decided here that you should see him with regard to the last item—his bill.

First of all ascertain if all the documents mentioned in the first par. have been sent on. Then suggest to him that it is unlikely that I will be able to meet his bill for a long time—if ever. Remind him that there was a tacit understanding that he would do the job for out-of-pocket expenses, and try and get him to agree to that now.

I understand that you are in Calcutta, but you might get somebody to do it for you in Bombay.

I presume that my Kit will have arrived by the time this reaches you.

Best Wishes,

G. A.

P. 2003 P 1.

Rustamji and Ginwala
Solicitors.

Telephone No. 22777.

Old French Bank Building
(Opp. Rajabai Tower)

107, Esplanade Road, Bombay.

Dear Mr. Allison,

I have received your letter of the 27th ult. duly.

As regards your request to despatch all the documents in connection with your trial and the Civil Action against the "Daily Mail" including the list of books etc. arrested from your house at Calcutta, the same will be sent to you in due course.

As regards your kit, Mr. Spratt is arranging to forward the same to you. No sooner the arrangements are made, you will be informed of the same.

As regards your suggestion for sending the account, I have to inform you that my out-pocket.....expenses have been covered, but so far my professional charges have not been paid. I shall therefore thank you to let me know what you propose to do in the matter. On hearing from you I shall send my bill of costs.

Yours sincerely,

P. 2003 P E.

MR. PHILLIP SPRATT,

1, Kantapukur Lane,

Calcutta

India.

Place of posting—London.

Dated 13 Sept. 1928.

P. 2004 P.

Rejected

Please forward

January 10, 1929

Dear Philip,

I was very sorry to hear from your last letter now already some time back that you have been suffering from bad health. The symptoms that you described sound rather alarming and I hope that you are taking all possible precautions. You must have had a very strenuous time recently and I hope that as soon as the hot weather comes this year you will be able to go into the hills and take a real well earned rest. This might also give you an opportunity to do some writing and I am sure that in that way alone you are in a position to confer an inestimable benefit on your fellow men. I would like to speak to your parents about this. What do you think about it yourself?

We are anxiously awaiting your account of the many different congress in which you must have taken part recently. Not a word has appeared in the newspapers here of what was decided at the T.U.C. not to speak of the other meetings which were held in conjunction with the National Congress. It is essential that you should give us a real first hand review of events.

So far as I can judge from British newspaper telegrams, the reactionaries seem to have carried off the victory if a barren one in the Congress. The effect is that nothing will be done in the way of getting a move on for another year. In effect the decision about the Nehru report does go back on the independence resolution. Still, nothing very much is to be expected from a movement led by the petty bourgeois crowd. Their inner desire is to take the wind out of the sails of the W.P.P. but in practice they will only expose themselves in so doing. Of course we cannot blame them for not really understanding the situation, not even for being direct representatives of Indian capitalism, as seen, for instance, in the remarkable (and windy) programme of the Bengal Independence League, but we can blame them if they do not even take action on their own programme or if it definitely represents a piece of bluff like the talk about abolition of landlordism.

There was an article in the G.V. a little while back (about October) on the trouble at the root of Indian trade unionism. It was astonishing to find that this dealt not with the fact of outside leadership but with the character of the leaders and actually declared that the main task of the W. P. P. was to warn the workers against the wrong type of leaders. It puts forward the old argument that the workers are afraid of victimisation and therefore will not take responsible positions, but instead of concluding that the task must be to get this issue of victimisation fought

out and won, it merely concludes "hence up to the present we cannot do without outside help." This seems to indicate that more fighting on this issue is necessary, if such statements can be made by a responsible organ. The reasons are different but the conclusion in the article is much the same as that of the reactionaries, for instance Shiva Rao recently on the necessity of outsiders.

The results of the conference of the W. P. P are awaited with the greatest expectancy. The way forward here is full of difficulties and they are not made less by the attempts of the Independence Leaguers. Nevertheless I think that there is a very real danger of the petty bourgeois elements getting hold of the W.P.P. in its form so far and I sincerely hope that the working class elements at the conference did find some means of combatting this danger.

Please write to me on this and also let me know about your health. I am still wanting to hear your suggestions about arranging for a supply of telegraphic news to the press over here. I hope that you will get this letter but I do not know to what address I ought to write.

Best regards.

The address on the envelope is as under:—

Mr. P. Spratt,
C/o Kishorilal Ghosh
1 Kantapukur Lane
Calcutta.
INDIA

Place of posting—London W. C.

Date of posting January 10-6-15 P.M.

P. 2006 P.

2/1, European Asylum Lane,
Calcutt.

4. 2. 29.

Dear Desai,

Here is some sort of article on the public Safety bill. You gave me an awful subject. Still, I am sorry it is so late. I am afraid too, that it is rather long. Cut it if you like, of course.

We received No. 1 today. Quite bright and soon I thought. Please send Nos. 1 and 2 and V. P. for a year to :

(1) D. P. Godbole, 2 Durgadas Lane, Kidderpore, Calcutta.

(2) Aftab Ali, 7 Ekbalpore Lane, Kidderpore, Calcutta.

(3) G. C. Basak, 61 Nawabpur Road, Dacca.

You might also send a specimen copy or two, and then later a V. P. to: (1) Suresh Nandan Sahai, P. O. Khagaul, Dinapore, Patna. (2) Ram Sharen Sharma, 161, ? Gate, Meerut, I can't find this address. (3) S. N. Chakrabarty, Sobjibagh, P. O. Bankipore, Patna.

I can think of no more addresses at the moment, Muzaffer will no doubt be writing to you regarding sales here.

Yours-

P. Sprat.

P. 2006 P 1.

"PUBLIC SAFETY BILL"

A new wave of revolt is sweeping over India. Almost at the same time we hear of the arrest or conviction of hundreds of working-class strikers in Madras, Calcutta, and Bombay, a crop of arrests for sedition and political murder in Punjab, a series of prosecutions for sedition in Bengal. The Simon Commission tours round the contry leaving behind it a trail of broker heads. The Assembly is presented simultaneously with three startling new essays in repression--the Trade Disputes Bill, the Public Safety Bill and the Press Bill.

In India, the Magistrates' Court, even better than the legislature, serves as a thermometer of public affairs. At the moment both are rising rapidly. There can be no doubt that the political cauldron is well on the way to boiling point.

The most striking feature of the present political movement, as contrasted with the last great wave of the national revolution in 1921, is its working-class character. The workers themselves are being savagely attacked; it is members of the workers' and peasants, party who were arrested in Calcutta during the boycott demonstrations, on account of the radical (revolutionary) posters they were

carrying: and again workers and peasants' party members who are arrested for the Sander's murder (and then, in the absence of any evidence, tried for seditious speeches); two out of the three Government Bills are simply for the purpose of suppressing working-class propaganda and activity.

In 1921, the petty bourgeoisie, and even the bourgeoisie to some extent, led the movement, drawing the masses behind them. In 1929, already the working class is in the front rank. This is shown in the most striking manner by the propaganda of Imperialism. Fear of Communism (i. e. of the working class) it is no exaggeration to say, is the leading note of all the recent imperialist speeches, from Col. Gidney to the Viceroy, the European candidates to the Bengal Council, and the president of the Jute Mill Owners' Association, Mr. Langford James, at the European Association Conference summarised all these warning and pronouncements.

" In this Association there are no two views, I think, on the subject Bolshevism, we regard it as the most imminent and the most dangerous menace which this country has to face at this moment. "

Such statements suggest two questions. In this fear genuine? and is it justified? There is no doubt that it is difficult to see reason for the panic of these spokesmen in the actual strength and organisation of the movement. It is often suggested therefore that this propaganda is a pretence, a scare, like the Zinovieff letter, and is used at this ticklish time, when the new reforms are coming into force, to dissuade the Indian bourgeoisie from indulging in any unnecessary opposition.

It will suffice to reply that the Zinovieff letter was in no way a false alarm from the Imperialist point of view. The Government (which) it helped into power smashed the General Strike, Crushed the miners, and passed the Trade Union and Trade Disputes Act of 1927--not to mention a host of minor outrages upon the working class. The letter was a fake, but their fear of the British workers was genuine.

Is it justified then? A theory is gaining currency among wide sections of the population which certainly would deny it. Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar for example argues from a mass of data that India is two generations behind industrial Europe. Banking finds itself " numerically, functionally, as well as morphologically, somewhere near the level of world progress attained by the pioneers of modern industry and commerce, say about 1886 or even 1870 ". The first Indian Trade Union Act (1926) is to be compared with the legislation of 1871-6 in England and of 1884 in France. Even the ideology of present day India is that of Europe in the ' 60 ' s and ' 70 ' s .

This is the theory of the Indian bourgeoisie. For it points to the future they desire—one of rapidly growing industry and rapidly swelling profits. And as usual, the theory of the bourgeoisie is also that of the labour reformists. Professor Sarkar puts it clearly for them :

"1927-28. The Peasants' and Workers' Party of India is established. The strikes, trade union movements, Factories Act amendments, advances industrialisation and the growth of joint stock concerns, together with intensive international intercourse on all fronts as well as the political events of the past war decade enable socialism to become a mentionable category for the first time in the organised public life and thought of India. For comparative chronology it is necessary to remember 1875 when the German social Democratic Party was established, and 1881 when the American Federation of Labour came into being, or 1886, the year of the establishment of the National Federation of Syndicates in France. The Indian movements have hardly "arrived" at these institutions of some fifty years ago, but bid fair to be approaching these Eur—American Consummations."

This is the theory (if they have a theory) of the Indian Labour reformist school. They are looking forward to a generation or two of peaceful progress, on the lines of the European Labour movements from the '70's onward. The Trade Dispute Bill is only a temporary difficulty like the German anti-socialist Laws. Labour leaders will be concerned not with the seizure of power, but with election to Parliament; they will sit, in the Workers' Soviets, but in Royal Commission on the grievances of the working classes.

The answer to these conception is not very far to seek. It is familiar to all concerned with the cotton industry. Hear it also at the Annual Dinner of the mining and Geological Association of India :

"Turning to the "black spot" of the mineral industry, Mr. Chartres said the coal trade was suffering from the same complaint as many of the industries in England today—a capacity for over production and the consequent low sale-price of the product. The remedy was in rigid reorganisation to cut production costs". (Statesman 18-1-29).

Not much room for peaceful expansion here!

There is no need to discuss the subject any further. Lenin did so quite adequately fourteen years ago. He emphasised that imperialism was the period of *World-wide* crises and decay of capitalism. Capitalism has extended its rule and system over the whole earth, and the process of collapse of capitalism necessarily involves in one way or another all countries, including India.

Indeed there seems to be a certain reversal in the order of

progress. The most highly developed capitalist countries, although they show in some cases very clear signs of decay, are not the first to undergo political transformation. Their long-accumulated strength still maintains them. Russia was backward compared with Europe as a whole; yet Russia saw the first successful proletarian revolution. China shows the same possibility. It was the undeveloped, numerically insignificant working-class of China which led the great national revolution. So it will probably be in India—whether the subsequent history, of betrayal and destruction of the movement by the bourgeoisie will be the same, is for us to guard against.

The theory of capitalism, and of reformism is thus unsound. The path of progress for the workers, and the path which they will be forced to follow, is that of militant struggle, not merely for reforms, but for power. In the course of their struggle there will be repression, foreshadowed only dimly by what has gone on up to the present. They will be attacked by enemies from all sides—the Government, the bourgeoisie, the reformists (the reformists are already talking, if not organising, to split the workers' ranks).

Communism is however, no foreign importation. It has sprung up in the working class of India; and is already deeply rooted among them. It will be more than any Government can do to purge them of it. And in the light of communism, the working-class will be able in spite of all opposition, to perform the tasks which are before it.

That why the Government and its spokesman are alarmed about communism, and why they are bringing in among other things, the public safety Bill. Their alarm is both genuine and justified. For not only the reforms are coming within the next few years. The second great world war, and with it the second stage in the world-wide crisis of Imperialism, will be upon us.

P. 2006 P E

Mr. M. G. Desai

Jariwalla Thansion

Opp. Parikh Hospital

Sandhurst Road,

Bombay 4.

Place of Posting Calcutta,

Date of Posting Feb. 1929

P. 2007-C.

No.667.

From

Dr. Biswa Nath Mukherjee,
President, Gorakhpur Kisan and Mazdur Sabha
Gorakhpur

Dear Muzaffar Ahmed,

Received your letter dated 9-2-28. I have gone through your programme and I am agreed. You can have me as your representative from U. P. I shall also open a branch here in the Province as soon as possible and then inform you accordingly. When the branch is organised I shall try to get it affiliated to the All India Party. You can propose my name to the Provisional Committee if you think I shall prove useful.

With greetings

Fraternally yours

Sd. Bishwanath Mukherji
President.

Dated

22-2-28

To

Comrade Muzaffar Ahmed.
2/1 European Asylum Lane
Calcutta.

Address on the envelope:—

Muzaffar Ahmed Esqr.

The Peasants and Workers Party of Bengal
2/1 European Asylum Lane
Calcutta.

From

President The Kisan and Mazdur Sabha,
Safra Bazar
Gorakhpur

P. 2008

Translation of a letter in Bengali from *Soumyendra Nath Tagore*, Berlin, to *Kishori Lal Ghosh*, 1, Kantapukur Lane, Calcutta, dated Berlin, the 1st of August, 1928.

My dear friend,

I received your letter dated the 24th of May, in due time. I say that in this sense that the letter reached Berlin in due time. I got it about a month later, because feeling extremely run down, owing to the pressure of various kinds of business. I had been enjoying some rest, and had been outing for a month. On my return I got your letter. Viewed from one standpoint what you say about the Indian Trade Union Movement, appears to be correct, but from another standpoint it does seem to be reasonable. You write that "it is suicidal to the All-India Trade Union Movement in the tail of the 2nd or the 3rd International". I, on my part too, am extremely unwilling to connect mechanically any movement in our country with another movement in a foreign country. I do not differ with you on this point. But this also must be borne in mind that it is imperative that the leaders of Trade Unions in our country should critically analyse "the *ideology* represented by the 2nd or 3rd International". The 2nd International stands out to agitate for securing better wages, better housing accommodation, and better condition for the labourers. Their view is that let there be a compromise between Capital and Labour and let both thrive, each in its own way; in short it means that let exploitation and plundering go on, only let some more bits of meat fall from the plate of the master to the plate of the servant. The 3rd International stands for removal of the fundamental causes of the dispute; exploitation and plundering must cease to exist and the axe must be laid at the root of Capitalism. Man must be delivered from the shame and misery of being exploited by another man. One is the *ideology* of compromise, while the other is the *ideology* of strife. Without hiding anything from you. I say clearly that personally, I believe in the second view that is destruction of Capitalism. If we take destruction of Capitalism as our object, then it is my desire to give the Trade Union that structure "organisationally and *ideologically*" which it is necessary to give it to achieve our purpose. I do not see any necessity to get in to the 2nd or 3rd International, but should we on that account, refuse to take the experience of the world Labour Movement? I have no respect for any peculiarly Indian line along which Indian Labour Movement must proceed. Everything must be adjusted according to the present state of our country. It is known to everyone that it will not do to take anything from Europe in all its entirety and graft it in India, but there is no difference in the fundamental considerations; the fundamental must be achieved by different means adopted to suit the different objective conditions. The enemies of the Labour Movement in our country are reformists like Joshi, Chamanlal Andrews and others, they are the cringing supporters of Capitalists; they want to direct the entire strength of the mass on the line of non-political pure trade unionism. The enemies from outside are scoundrels like Purcell and others of the British Labour Party. It is up-hill work

to keep alive the new Labour Movement in our country, and to keep it just on the fighting line; my whole-hearted desire is that you will take up this difficult task. I have collected and will collect money from Europe for the movement in our country, and I can assure you that those who have given the money do not want to have any control over the movement. I would not have accepted their money, if I had seen in them any bad intention of exercising any authority. They only want this guarantee from me that the money will not be misspent; will be spent for the labourers, and will not be spent in personal quarrels and disputes about personal interest of the labour leaders. I will tell you frankly what my object is in having papers for sectional trade unions. It is my desire to start Trade Union Papers about the "keyindustries", such as jute textile, Tata's Steel Industry, and save these from "reformist leadership". I do not want to have a separate paper for each and every one of the small industries, but I think that there is necessity for having papers (Magazines) for those industries in which millions of labourers work; these papers will discuss the problems particularly affecting those labourers, their wants and their complaints. The paper of the Federation or any other central organ of that type cannot discuss details of every industry. The function of the central organ is quite different. Its function is to collect materials from different industrial papers draw general conclusions and direct the papers. I wish that Union papers be established in all the principal unions of jute, textile, seamen, railwaymen, Posts and Telegraphs, Press employees, etc., and that these papers work in subordination to the central organ. If it is arranged like this, we will not have the danger of sectional organ which you apprehend, while we will have the benefit of it. I shall be obliged if you will kindly let me know the policy you intend to pursue in conducting the paper on behalf of the Federation. I shall try to procure money here. I have written to you before about my desire to open a Labour Bureau in Berlin on the receipt of mandates from different Unions. I am waiting for the mandates. I have already written two letters to you, discussing in detail about the Press Service. I do not know if you received them or not. Agnes was saying that though ample materials about China were given to you and other facilities were also given, yet you made no use of it. Agnes was saying that she had arranged it with the Free Press and had written to you long ago to make arrangements for Press Service, but you did nothing, while a Madrasi named † Nambiar has made arrangements with the Free Press. Free Press will pay him £50 to send message from Europe. I had made all the arrangements that I could make about the Press Service and was waiting for your reply. I will be expecting your reply. Write all the details to Agnes. Your article about the Indian Trade Union has been published in a paper here. I will send it to you later on. I remain anxious to know what you think about the

proposals in my letter. I suppose you are very busy about the strikes. Hope you are keeping well.

With regards

Yours

Sd/- Soumendra Nath

Tagore.

* Smedey Sd/- B. B. M. 21. 8. 28.

† Brother-in-law of Sorojini Naidu recently Moscow with Fyri Sd/- B. B. M. 21. 8. 28.

P. 2009

TELEGRAM

Dated 23rd Nov. 28.

No. 231

DAKC 20 BERLIN 140 22 VN — LCD PRAESIDENT
ALL INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS JHARIA—

LEAGUE AGAINST IMPERIALISM SENDS
SINCEREST FRATERNAL GREETINGS TO ALL INDIA
TRADE UNION CONGRESS JHARIA AND WISHES
FULLEST SUCCESS IN TRADE UNION STRUGGLE
STOP LATEST EVENTS ESPECIALLY SIMON
COMMISSION SHOW ENORMOUS IMPORTANCE
INDIAN WORKINGCLASS STRUGGLE AGAINST
IMPERIALISM STOP DEFINITE ECONOMIC POLITICAL
STRUGGLES OF INDIAN WORKERS UNDERLYING
FACTOR ANTI IMPERIALIST ATTITUDE OF INDIAN
NATIONAL CONGRESS STOP DESPITE DIFFERENT
EUROPEAN LABOUR LEADERS ATTEMPTS TO
COMBAT LEAGUE INFLUENTIAL EUROPEAN
SOUTH AFRICAN LATIN AMERICAN TRADE UNIONS
ARE AFFILIATING STOP ON BEHALF AFFILIATED
TRADE UNIONS LEAGUE DECLARES FULLEST
SOLIDARITY WITH INDIAN WORKERS AND INVITES
HEARTILY INDIAN TRADE UNION CONGRESS TO
PARTICIPATE ANTI IMPERIALIST WORLD CONGRESS
JULY 1929 AND AFFILIATE TO LEAGUE STOP FOR
GENERAL COUNCIL MADAME SUNYATSEN CHINA
EDO FIMMEN HOLLAND MAXTON SAKLATVALA
GREAT BRITAIN BALDWIN SCOTT NEARING USA

HENRY BARBUSSE MADAME DUCHENE FRACE
MARTEAUX BELGIUM GOLDSCHMIDT HILITSCHER
GERMANY MUSTAPHA CHEDLY NORTHAFRICE
MUENCHENBERG CHATTO PADHYAYA SECRETARIES

P. 2010.
TELEGRAM.

No. 275.

Date 23 Nov. 28.

JCD

L861 Leicester 40 21 2151

Dlt Joshi Trade Union Congress Jharia

Worker welfare league sends fraternal greetings best wishes for
successful Congress congratulates Indian Workers upon determined
spirit shown in efforts to maintain Labour standards Trust Congress
effort will secure greater unity organisation Potter Wilson

P. 2012. P.

Telegraphic address : GANAVANI Calcutta.

THE FIRST ALL-INDIA

WORKERS' & PEASANTS' PARTY CONFERENCE

2-1, EUROPEAN ASYLUM LANE, CALCUTTA.

Ref. No.

November, 8, 1928.

The Secretary.

The Pan Pacific Trade Union Secretariat,
Shanghai, China.

Dear Comrade,

I wish to inform you that there will be held in Calcutta on
December 21st-23rd next the First All-India Workers' and Peasants'

Party Conference. It will be the first Conference of its kind ever held in India and is intended to establish the Workers and Peasants Party of India by a fusion of the existing provincial Parties in Bengal, Bombay, Punjab and United Provinces with some groups and unions in other parts of the country. The Conference will also decide the general policy of the Party especially in relation to recent developments, both in the Trade Union Movement and in the National Movement. It has been decided to ask Comrade Sohan Singh Josh of Amritsar, the Director of "Kirti" to preside.

You will see that the Conference is a very important one, and, we therefore desire that you will send a fraternal delegate who will express the international nature of our movement and will give us the benefit of his knowledge and experience, and will also convey to you some account of the movement in this country.

Yours fraternally
D. K. Goswami (in rubber stamp.)
Secretary,
Reception Committee.

P. 2012 P E.

To

The Secretary

The Pan Pacific Trade Union

Secretariat Shanghai
China.

P. 2013

JNHH/3

24th November, 1928.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
SCAVENGERS' UNION OF BENGALI (CALCUTTA),
2-I, EUROPEAN ASYLUM LANE.

Dear Comrades,

The Central Committee of the Municipal Workers' Union

of the USSR, having heard of the existence of your Union, sends fraternal greetings on behalf of the 250,000 municipal workers lined up in our organisation.

Desiring to set up fraternal connections with all associated trade unions in the various countries, we should like to set up contact also with yourselves.

The Municipal Workers' Union of the USSR embraces workers and employees engaged in municipal enterprises, and on town welfare work, namely, tram service, water supply, canalisation and sewerage street cleaning, gas works, town fire-brigades, domestic workers, bath workers, laundries, hairdressing establishments, street lighting, town boulevards and parks, cemeteries and undertaking establishments and likewise all the workers employed in the municipal offices.

From the organisational point of view the structure of our Union is as follows:

Every enterprise or institution employing 25 workers have Local Committees, which are elected at general meetings of the workers in the given enterprise or institution for a period of one year. The Local Committees are composed of from 3 to 9 members, dependent on the total number employed in the enterprise or institution. In those enterprises or institutions where less than 25 are employed. TU representatives are elected for a similar term who have all the rights and obligations of the Local Committee. The Local Committees or TU representatives work under the leadership of the District Executive of the Union (when coming within the province of the district centre) and the Provincial Executive or the Union (coming within the territory of the given provincial centre).

In the district towns there are Executives of the Union which are elected at general meetings of all the union members in the given town or at a Conference (Congress) for a period of 12 months.

To guide all the activities of the Union on a provincial scale, the Provincial Executive of the Union is elected at a Provincial Conference for a term of 18 months, which conducts all its activities on the basis of the decisions taken by the Provincial conferences, the All-USSR Congresses, and in accordance with the directives of the Central Committee of the Union.

The Central Committee is elected at the All-USSR Congress of the Union for a period of 2 years (biennial elections), the Central Committee being composed of 35 members. The CC is the highest leading organ of the Union throughout the country and between the All-USSR Congresses conducts activities in accordance with directives laid down. All the decisions of the Central Committee

in advancing the resolutions of the All-USSR Congress, are obligatory for all the local organs of the organisation.

The foregoing is a brief description of the structure of our organisation and we shall be glad to let you have more detailed information directly you inform us what questions are interesting you.

The Central Committee of the Municipal Workers' Union of the USSR requests you to be good enough to forward the following information with regard to your Union.

1. When was your Union organised, what is the membership what is the structure of the organisation and the mutual relations existing between the various sections of your Union (that is, between the Local and Central bodies) ?

2. For what kind of workers does your Union cater, how many members of your Union are there in each enterprise, how many are enrolled of other unions, what kind of unions are these and how many workers are still unorganised.

3. What is the size of your entry fee and membership dues (whether monthly or weekly).

4. How are the funds collected from membership-dues distributed and for what needs do they cater.

5. What methods are you using to defend the interests of the members of your Union and to improve their position.

6. What are the aims and objects of your organisation (if the Rules of the Union are in print, please be good enough to send us a copy).

7. What wages are being received by various categories of workers embraced by your organisation and how do you regulate the wage rates.

8. What is the working day and the working week? Are the workers allowed vacations, if so, after what period of time; and how many days are granted, and also whether any Government legislation exists regarding the protection of labour and social insurance against unemployment, sickness, and injury. etc., for workers.

9. Are there any unemployed members in your organisation? How many are unemployed? What is the reason for the present unemployment and what measures are you using to combat it, and do you grant unemployed members any benefits?

10. What Congresses has your Union held, and if possible will you please let us have the decisions taken.

11. If you have anything in print—reports, etc.,—kindly let us have same.

The Central Committee of the USSR Municipal Workers' Union trusts that you will be good enough to let us have this information and material in the very near future and that all measures will be taken to set up close fraternal connections between our two unions.

Please address your letters:

Central Committee,
Municipal Workers' Union,
Room 538, Fifth Floor,
Palace of Labour,
Solyanka 12,
MOSCOW 11.

Kindly let us have your address in full.

In anticipation of your early reply, we remain,

with fraternal greetings.

Chairman:

CENTRAL COMMITTEE
MUNICIPAL WORKERS' UNION USSR

P. 2013, (E)

Recommdee

To the Executive Committee

Scavengers' Union of Bengal

Calcutta

2—I, European Asylum Lane.

P. 2014
LEAGUE AGAINST IMPERIALISM
AND FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

Paris Office: **International Secretariat** Cable Address: Ankolina,
55. Rue Faubourg Montmartre Berlin
24, Friedrichstrasse, Berlin SW 48 Donhoff 6061

Ligue contre l'Imperialisme
et pour l'Independence Nationale

Liga gegen Imperialismus
und fur nationale Unabhangigkeit

HONORARY PRESIDENTS:

Professor Albert Einstein, Germany
Henri Barbusse, France
Mme. Sun Yat Sen, China

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

President:

James Maxton, M.P., Great Britain

Vice-President:

Edo Fimmen, Holland

Secretaries:

Willi Munzenberg, M.P., Germany

V. Chattopadhyaya, India

Members:

Jawahar Lal Nehru, India

Mohamed Hatta, Indonesia

Liau Hansin, China

Mustapha Chedli, North Africa

Mme. Duchesne, France

S. Saklatvala, M. P., Great Britain

Dr. A. Marteaux, M.P., Belgium

R. Bridgeman, Great Britain

Roger Baldwin, U. S. A.

Diego Rivera, Mexico

GENERAL COUNCIL:

Chen Kuen, All-China Labour
Federation

Professor Koumenyou, China

Sen Katayama, Japan

Ismael Martinez, Trade Union Cartel
of Tampico

Julio A. Mella, Peasants' Federation
of Mexico

Dr. Jose Vaconcelos. Late Minister
of Education in Mexico

A. Alminiana, Philippines

Mohamed Hafiz Bey Ramadan, M.P.,

National Party of Egypt

Hadj-Ahmed Messali,

Berlin, December 5th 1928

To the

Secretary

Reception Committee

ALL INDIA WORKERS' AND
PEASANTS' PARTY CON-
FERENCE

2-1, European Asylum Lane

Calcutta.

Dear Comrade,

We were delighted to receive your letter of November 8th. informing us that the first All India Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference is to be held on December 21st. to 23rd. and that an All India Party will be established as a result of the Conference. We regard your Conference as one of the most important that have been held in India and we need hardly say that you have the fullest support of the International League Against Imperialism as well as its affiliated and associated organizations.

In order to express the solidarity of the Executive Committee of the League Against Imperialism we have deputed Comrade W. J. Johnstone as a fraternal delegate to your Conference and he will convey in suit-

North African Star
 Daniel Colrairie, South African
 Trade Union Congress
 A Semaoen, Indonesia
 Kin Fa Lin, Korea
 Ahmed Assadoff, Persia
 Manuel Gomez U.S.A., All American
 Anti-Imperialist League
 Fenner Brockway, Independent
 Labour Party of Great Britain
 S. O. Davies, Miners' Federation of
 Great Britain
 Harry Pollitt, National Minority
 Movement of Great Britain
 Henriette Roland Holst, Holland
 Georges Gerard, Belgium
 P. S. Spaak, Belgium
 Charles Plisnier, Belgium
 Victorio Verri, Italy
 Guido Miglioli, Italy
 Albert Fournier, France
 Leon Vernochet, Educational
 Workers' International, France
 Prof. Theodor Lessing, Germany
 Prof. Alfons Goldschmidt, Germany
 Georg Ledebour, Germany
 Dr Helene Stocker, Germany
 Prof. Nejedly, Czecho-Slovakia

able terms the message of the inter-
 national revolutionary working class
 which constitutes the back-bone of
 the League in the world-wide strug-
 gle against imperialism. We shall
 be very grateful if you will extend
 to him all the help he may need du-
 ring his stay in India. He has also
 been instructed to bring back to us a
 detailed report on the position of the
 anti-imperialist struggle and the con-
 dition of the workers and peasants of
 India.

With sincerest greetings,

we remain, Dear Comrade,

Yours fraternally

League against Imperialism

International Secretariat

Berlin SW 48, Friedrichstr. 24

Willi Munzenburg.

V. Chattopadhaya.

Secretaries

P. 2014 (1)

December 5, 8.

CREDENTIAL

Comrade W. J. JOHNSTONE is hereby authorised to attend the
FIRST ALL-INDIA WORKERS' & PEASANTS' PARTY
CONFERENCE

in calcutta on December 21st. to 23rd. as a fraternal delegate of the
LEAGUE AGAINST IMPERIALISM.

League against imperialism
 International Secretariat
 Berlin SW 48, Friedrichstr. 24
 Willi Munzenburg. V. Chattopadhaya.
 Einschreiben

P. 2014 (E)

Place: Berlin

Date: 5-12-28.

To the

Secretary
Reception Committee

ALL INDIA WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' PARTY CONFERENCE
2/1 European Asylum Lane
CALCUTTA

INDIEN

P. 2015 (P)

L. N. Kadam

Municipal Commissioner,
Secretary, G. I. P. Railwaymen's
Union, Workers' and Peasants'
Party and District
Congress Committee.

Gudri Bazar,

Jhansi. 25. 11. 1928.

My dear Mr. Muzaffar,

With reference to the date fixed for the Peasants' and Workers' Conference to be held at yours, I have to say that the session of the Congress will commence from 28th December.

Under the circumstances who wants to attend the Congress too will have to stay there for a week, therefore I would request you to change the dates and fix 25th and 26th or so, so that peoples may not stay in vain.

Yours sincerely,

Sd/- L. N. Kadam.

P. S.

Please send me all the necessary information regarding conference etc., for publication in U. P., Workers' and Peasants' Party paper named "Krantikari" newly started here.

P. 2015 (P) (E)

Address on envelope:—

Posted on 29 11 28

To the General Secretary
Workers' and Peasants' Party
2/1, European Asylum Lane,
Calcutta.

P. 2016 (P)

To The General Secretary.
Bengal Workers' and Peasants' Party
Calcutta.

Dear Comrade,

We in a meeting, held on the 8th June have formed a branch of our party at Calcutta the report of which is attached herewith.

Please acknowledge the same and recognise us as your branch.

With best love and greetings,

Yours fraternally
Sd/- Gopal Chandra Basak.

The Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal, Dacca Branch.

An advisory meeting was held on the 8th June, at 6. 30 P.M at 61 Nawabpur House with Moulavi Abdul Quader in the Chair. A resolution to form a Branch at Dacca, of the Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal was unanimously passed in the meeting. The object of the party is the attainment of complete Independence from the British imperialism through Democratisation of India based on economic and social emancipation and political freedom of men and women. The office of the Party at present is located at 61 Nawabpur Road Dacca. An executive Committee of the Branch Party is formed with the following:—

Chairman- Moulavi Nayasuddin Ahmed Vice-Chairman-
Moulavi Abdul Quader (acting) General Secretary:— Gopal
Chandra Basak Sectional Secretary: Labour- Mr. Abdul Mazid
(Shahityaratna)

Peasant:— Moulavi Zahidul Huq Chowdhury (Editor-Dharadhi.

Treasurer: Dibendra Bijoy Guha Members:— (1) Abdul Quader (2) Nabindra Sen Gupta (both in-charge of publicity works (3) Mhd: Nural Islam (4) Hari Nath Guha (5) Surindra Chandra Mazumdar (6) Ganesh Chandra Chatterji.

Constitution:— (1) Name: The name of the party is "The Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal, Dacca Branch" It will be styled in Bengali Krishak O Sramik Dal- Dacca Branch.

2. Object as usual 3. Means- as usual 4 extent- The activities of the Party will extend to the entire district of Dacca. 5. Membership- Any person not below the age of 18 years who will subscribe to the object, Constitution and programme of the Party and who has been elected by the young workers League (to be formed within a week) in its annual conference (after one years training in the study circle class attached with the League) may be taken as the individual member of the Party subject to the- approval of the Executive.

(c) as usual. 6 (a) and b as usual. Management a b c f g deleted. b There shall be a Branch executive Committee consisting of 12 members — i j k. (1 deleted) 9 Rules c adopted.

P. 2016 (P) (E)

Albert Library, Dacca.

(Book-selling and Publishing Firm.)

Nagpur

Dated 9th June 28

Muzaffer Ahmed

General Secretary.

Bengal Workers and Peasants Party

2/1 European Asylum Lane.

Calcutta.

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

P. 2017-C

Rejected

A letter addressed to Muzaffar Ahmed, Bengal Workers' and Peasants' Party, 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta by Gopal, Dakeswari Cotton Mills Workers' Union, 61 Nawabpur. Dacca, dated 23. 6. 28. The post mark of the place of posting is "Nawabpure Dacca 23 June, 28" Received at the Park Street Post Office on 24. 6. 28.

Dear Comrade,

Received your second issue of *Ganabani*. Kader did not meet me at the Station. Please let me know where he is now whether at Asansol or at Chandni Chowk. Inform me please while replying, whether you can manage to send *Ganabani* reaching us by Thursday. I write so because a paper under the style 'Prabhaha' is going to be printed, in our press on Friday and as regards publication my uncle has got something to do in that connection. Please send an article criticising the present Congress bourgeois leaders for the paper and also ask Kader to send a poem in the *Prabhaha*.

I see in papers that Com. Faizuddin has managed to make the Mymen (?) Municipal authority to come to terms. Please keep me informed about the situation at Liloah and Asansol so that I may know when you may possibly come. Tomorrow I will send some of our men to Dakeswari, today we may see scavengers.

I see in your second issue in *Ganabani* the report of our branch party in that the name of one member of the Executive is dropped through mistake. The name is Moulavi Asimuddin Paikani.

I am arranging for the sale of *Ganabani* at N. Gan and Mushiganj. So I think we will require more copies. I will let you know within a day or two how many numbers we will require and where to send.

I went today also to meet Nazrul Islam but could not find him-he is starting tomorrow positively. I meet also Miss Nesa M.A. She is ready to join us.

With best love and good wishes

Sd/-Gopal

P. 2019-C

A Post card addressed to Muzaffar Ahmad Workers and Peasants' Party of Bengal, 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta by Gopal, Dacca Dt. 28.7.28. The post mark of the place of posting

is "Nawabpur, 28 July, 28 Dacca." Received at the Park Street Post office on 30. 7. 28.

Dear brother,

I come to know from Kadir that you don't care to read any article of any unimportant person, not even his letters. Is it true? I did send some reports of scavengers' organisations and some articles discussed in our study circle. You have also Kadir's some translation of Bakunin at your place will you please care to inform the fate of those? In a meeting of Dakeswari Workers' Union they have adopted the following proposals:—

(1) Resolved that this Union be henceforth declared as "Bengal Textile Workers' Union Dakeswari Branch.

(2) Resolved that Pandar Sandh (?) be elected as president in place of N. Chakrabraty resigned.

(3) Resolved that the Secy. be asked to enquire into and arrange for the compensation of the two weavers of the Union who have lost their hands, so that they may get their compensation.

Will You please allow a short space for this news. If you don't publish our articles, please send them back and oblige.

Sd. Yours GOPAL

P. 2021-C

A letter addressed to Phillip Spratt Esq 2/1 European Asylum Lane Calcutta by Gopal Chandra Basak, 61 Nawabpur Dacca Dt/-21-8-28. Postmark of the place of posting is not legible. Received at the Park Street Post Office on 22-8-28.

Dear Comrade,

The next day as I reached Dacca I attended the Railway Employees' Conference and passed a resolution there protesting against the Trades Dispute Bill, but as regards the line of action that was proposed by circulars of our party, could not be adopted by the Conference, the rules and regulations of which do not allow any of such things. Mr. I. B. Sen, the President elect assured me that he was trying to change the Rules and Regulations, and he hoped that its reactionary phase would soon pass. I have a problem

here as regards what I can do with workshop workers. The Employees' Association has got as members some of the pointsmen and station menials but no workshop workers; whereas at N. Gunj and Dacca there are only two hundred workers in all. However you let us know about it.

Regarding Dakeswari Mill I shall write now to Kishori Babu or Kishan Babu and Joshi both (?) What do you advise ?

Just you left at Mymensingh that evening I had talks with many of the students and other workers, our intellectual workers there and at Dacca, are very eager to go to Atia.

Here at Dacca I had talks with many people including even some officers of Forest Dept regarding Atia; I understood that really there we can find atrocious doings of the Foresters—they are really oppressing them. The Foresters here argue about it to impress me with their innocence and tell that our report is exaggerating.

However I think, we should start for Atia within a week. Your presence there will be I think, essentially necessary—what do you think ?

If possible, you will come with one of our comrades for proceeding thitherto.

Yours fraternally
Sd/-Gopal Chandra Basak

P. 2022-C

A letter addressed to Muzaffar Ahmed 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta, by Gopal Chandra Basak, Dacca Dt/- 23-8-28. Postmark of the place of posting is "Nababpur, 25 Aug, 28". Received at the Park Street Post office on 26-8-28.

SUBSTANCE IN ENGLISH

Dear Comrade,

In pursuance of your "Cirulation letter" we held a "Condemnation meeting" of the Trades Dispute Bill at the Coronation Park yesterday. At that meeting many Common folks of Dacca as well as many workers of various classes came. On going out to invite the masses we had proofs of the propaganda against us by the

intellectuals i. e. by leaders of the Congress and other Bourgeois institutions pleaders and Mukhrars. You came surreptitiously and slipped away like that with wicked intentions you mixed with the students and by taking advantage of the immature mind of them you did some heinous propaganda on behalf of the Labour Party of England-so you had no courage to have straight talk with MohiniDa, Manojranjan, Srish Atul Sen and other persons. Though wanted to hold a public meeting at the North Brook Hall, no such meeting was held etc. These are some of the matter of propaganda. So on the river-side meeting no pleader Mukhtar etc came. But some of the Munshigunj, Narayan Ganj, Dacca Jute Press and other labour institutions joined the meeting. However it is a matter of regret that no presently released friends on hearing the above came to the meeting and partly supported the versions of the pleaders.

K. D. Basu of Lilooh and people like us had to address the gathering. The meeting was successful. Hope that you will come to Dacca with Dange and others. At that time I shall be able to produce many working class youths before you. Some of the new members of the Party work but the old ones have slackened. So there is no relief in my work. Though I called the general meeting of the party on the three consecutive days I could not hold it. However, if the work can be commenced thoroughly, this lithargy of them will disappear.

I have asked you to send written appeals addressing the Mehtars and scavengers, Jute Press workers and Dhakeswari Textile workers—the first two in Hindi and last one in Bengali. I have not yet received them. Please send them positively. Please deposit a few copies of Hell Found with the Book company which may cover the price of their paper. As a result of the enquiry regarding my Passport application at my house (my relatives) have denied knowledge of it. So I have been asked to file an affidavit saying that I won't be a destitute in Foreign countries. I shall show my income as the proprietor of Vanguard Co. There may be an enquiry at your address. Thus far are the news of this side. You were to write about Atia. You did not inform it. If you send immediately the portion of my article sent to you, I may rewrite it and send it through publicity. About the information of our meeting, I had to make arrangement with the publicity (Free Press). You please tell Majid at least to actively help in the work of the party. Thus far today. Accept my love.

Sd/--Gopal Chandra Basak.

P. 2024-C

A letter dated the 9th of April 1928, from S. V. Ghate, Secretary, The Peasants' and Workers' Party, Bombay, 17, Dwarkadas, Mansions, 1, Sandhurst Road, Bombay; to the General Secretary, The Peasants' and Workers' Party of Bengal, 2/1, European Asylum Lane, Calcutta. Postmark of the place of posting illegible. Intercepted at the Park Street Post Office on 12-4-28.

Dear Comrade,

Referring to your letter of the 4th instant, I am glad to inform you that the Executive Committee at its meeting yesterday, elected three representatives for the Provincial Committee of the All India Workers' and Peasants' Party in accordance with a resolution passed at the annual Conference of this Party. The names are: P. Spratt, S.A. Dange and S.V. Ghate.

Please communicate with this Office any decision arrived at by the Subject Committee with regard to the formation of the Workers' and Peasants' Party of India.

Yours fraternally,
(Sd) S. V. GHATE, Secy:

2025 (P)

THE WORKERS' & PEASANTS' PARTY, BOMBAY.

Dwarkadas Mansions,
Sandhurst Road,
Bombay, 4.

8-12-28.

To

THE SECRETARY, RECEPTION COMMITTEE,
All-India Workers' and Peasants' Conference.

Dear Comrade,

Herewith I have pleasure in forwarding to you the names of the Delegates that will represent our Party at the Conference.

1. K.N. Joglekar.

2. D.B. Parandore.
3. S. V. Ghatе.
4. C. G. Shah.
5. S. S. Mirajkar.
6. R. S. Nimbkar.
7. B. F. Bradley.
8. S. A. Dange.
9. P. Spratt.

Yours franternally,

(Sd.) S.V. GHATE.

Hon: Secretary.

P. 2025 [P] [E]

Address on envelope:—

Mr. Dharani Kanta Goswami,

Secretary, Reception Committee,

I All-India W. & P. Conference,

2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

Postmark:—

Park Street Calcutta.

12 Dec. 28. 12—Noon.

P. 2030

Ligue Internationale contre l'Imperialisme

et pour l'Indeppendance Nationale

24, Friedrichstrasse Berlin Sw. 48

BERLIN,

April 25th 1928

COMITE D'HONNEUR:

Professor A. Einstein.
Henri Barbusse,
Mme. Veuev Yat Sen,
General Lou Tsoun Lin

COMITE EXECUTIF

J. Maxton, M.P.,
George Lansbury, President
Edo Fimmen, Vice-President
Liau Hansin,
Lousi Gibarti, Secretaries
Lamine Senghor, Colonies Francaises
Mohamed Hatta, Indonesia
Jawahar Lal Nehru, Indes
Willi Munzenberg, Allemagne
Dr. A. Marteaux, Belgique
Manuel Ugarte, Argentine
Roger Baldwin, Etats Unis
Robert Bridgeman, Angleterre

CONSEIL GENERAL

Chen Chuen, Conseil central de la
Federation des Syndicates Chinois
Professor Koumenyou, Chine
Sen Katayama, Japon
Ismael Martinez, Cartel des syndicats
de Tampico, Mexique
Julio A. Mella, Federation Paysanne
de Maxique
Dr. Jose Vaconcelos, ancienminister
de l'instruction publique,
Maxique

A. Alminiana, Philippines
Mohamed Hafiz Bey Ramadan,
Party National de l'Egypte
F. Messali, Etoile Nordafricaine
Daniel Colraine, Congres des Syndi-
cats de l'Afrique du Sub
A. Semaoen, Indonesia

Muzaffar Ahmad, Esq.,

General Secretary Worker's and
Peasants' Party of Bengal

2/1, European Asylum Lane,

Calcutta.

Dear Comrade,

We are very much obliged to you for your letter dated April 5th, enclosing a copy of the resolution relating to the League against Imperialism passed at your recent Annual Conference. We very much appreciate the spirit of solidarity, and we should be greatly obliged to you if you could ask your Executive Committee to decide to affiliate your organisation with our League and to send us a formal letter informing us of the affiliation.

We thank you for the report you have sent us on your organisation and shall be at all times

Kin Fa Lin, Coree
Manuel Gomez, Etats Usni
Fenner Brockway, Independent
Labour Party Grande Bretagne
S. O. Davies, Federation des Mineurs
Anglais
Harry Pollitt, Mouvement Minoritaire
de la Grand Bretagne
S. Saklatvala, M. P., Grand Bretagne
Henriette Roland Holst, Pays-Bas
Georges Gerard, Belgique
P. S. Spaak, Belgique
Charles Plisnier, Belgique
Victorio Verri, Italie
Guido Miglioli, Italie
Mme, Duchene, Ligue Internationale,
des Femmes pour la Paix et la
Liberate France
Albert Fournier, Depute, France
Leon Vernochet, Internationale des
Travailleurs de l'Enseignement,
France
Prof. Theodor Lessing, Allemagne
Prof. Alfons Goldschmidt, Allemagne
Georg Ledebour, Allemagne
Dr. Helene Stocker, Allemagne
Prof. Nejedly, Tchecoslovaquie

happy to receive your publications.

With sincerest greetings,

Yours fraternally,

League against Imperialism,

International Secretariat,

Berlin S. W. 48, Friedrichstr, 24.

V. Chatoopadhaya.

P. 2030. E.

Via Marseilles.

Muzaffar Ahmad, Esq.,

General Secretary,

Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal,

2/1, European Asylum Lane,

Calcutta.

Indien.

P. 2031-C

A typed p. c. addressed to Muzaffar Ahmed 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta by "Yours Frat" Sadar Tram Terminus, Delhi dated 28-5-28. The Post Mark of the place of posting is "Sadar Bazar, Delhi, 28th May, 28, 6-15 p.m. Recd. at the Park St. P. O. On 30-5-28.

My dear Muzaffar,

Assure Com. Spratt that his book has reached Bombay as I was not sure about his presence in Calcutta.

My book about the Russian Revolution is ready. Let me have your suggestion about its publication. My idea is that it should appear in some newspaper. Better if some paper can pay me on it; otherwise its publication is my first concern.

Hope that you will reply soon as I have not much time to wait

Greetings to all the comrades,

(Sd.) Yours Frat.

P. 2034 (P)

A letter in English dated, Berlin the 19th June 1928, from Max Ziese, to Muzaffar Ahmad, Bengal Peasants and Workers Party, 2/1, European Asylum Lane, Calcutta, India.

Dear Friend,

I was ordered to send telegram as follows:—"Three months money for Jute Workers Paper wire receipt, Tagore."

However, I found it very critical to wire this wording, and therefore I send it by letter.

About the amount I have written you separate, and I am awaiting your receipt.

With greetings.

(Sd.) Max Ziese.

P. 2034 (P) (E)

An envelope for the above. The address runs thus—

Muzaffar Ahmad,

Bengal Peasants' and Worker's Party,

2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta, India.

P. 2036 (P)

A letter Dt/ 19/9/28 from Max Ziese, Berlin, to Muzaffar Ahmed.

Dear friend,

In answer to your letter of 19th July 1928 I have written to the Post Office Government there referring the money sent by me. I am sending the copy of this letter, and ask you after receipt of this to reclaim at your Post Office because I can not think that the money shall not have arrived there. I think the mistake is only at your Post Office. If this enquiries have no result please will you inform me, therewith I can propose for repa----- all events I ask you to do all in your efficacy befor for repayment.

Awaiting your answer, I remain
with greetings,
Max Ziese

P. 2036 (P) (I)

A letter to P. M. Calcutta which Max Ziese wrote to the P. M. enquiring why £ 60 sent on 3 occasions have not been delivered to the addressee.

Berlin, 19th September 1928.

To

The Post-Office Government

CALCUTTA.

Indien.

The undersigner of this was sending to the following address:

Muzaffar Ahmed Bengal Peasants Workers Party, 2/1 European Asylum lane, Calcutta. On the date of 23rd May 1928 by post money order the amount of 20 Pounds, on 19th June 1928 also an amount of 20 pounds, and on the 30th June 1928 a further amount of 20 Pounds. Altogether the amount of 60 Pounds were sent on the three declared dates to the above receiver.

Under the date of 19th July the above person addressed wrote me that the money has been received by him nor it could be traced in the Post Office. I find no explanation for this information, because the documents referring to this are all in my hands. Before I claim at the authorities of this place I ask you to make exact enquiries if the sent amounts not yet have arrived there, because I never can think that all the three amounts have been lost. A copy of this letter I have sent to the person addressed, in order he may inquire at the Post Office there.

Hoping that my letter will attain the payment of the 60 Pounds sent by me to the above-receiver,

I remain

Max Ziese,

Berlin S. W. 48

Wilhelmstrasse 131/132

P. 2036 (P)(E)

An envelop for the above with the following typed address on it:—

Muzaffar Ahmad,

General Secretary

Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal

2-1 European Asylum Lane

CALCUTTA

Indien.

R. Berlin, 137 d.

P. 2039 P.

Zeitungs-Vertrieb Gebruder Petermann.

Postscheck-Konto:
Berlin 24143.

Bln-Friedenau,
December 5th 1928
Ronnebergstr. 3.

To

"Ganavani"
Calcutta.

P/H

Dear Sirs,

Please stop sending of your paper to our address with January 1st 1929 and forward *1 copy* directly to the following address for our account :

Institute for Economics and Statistics P. O. B. 1116. Moscow.

Let us know by turning mail which money we still must send you for this copy to Moscow for the time from January 1st to June 30th, 29.

Your sincerely, •

Zeitungsvertrieb

Gebr. Pettermann

Berlin-Friedenau,

Ronnebergstr 3.

(Signature Illegible)

P. 2039 P. E.

Address on envelope :-

Einschreiben.

To the Publishers of

"Ganavani"

2/1, European Asylum Lane,

Calcutta, Indien.

Registered No :-

R. 834 Berlin-Friedenau, 1. g.

P. 2040-P

Berlin, 11th Dec. 28.

Muzaffar Ahmead,

Bengal Peasant Workers Party

2/1 European Asylum Lane,

CALCUTTA.

Dear Friend,

enclosed you will find a duplicat of my letter to the Post Office at this place. Please will you take notice of them.

P. 2040 P E.

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

Mr.

Muzaffar Ahmed

Bengal Peasant Workers Party.

2/1 European Asylum Lane,

Calcutta.

INDIA

P. 2041 (C)

A letter addressed "Comrade Muzaffar ahmed, 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta", by Shaukat Usmani, The Oriental Information and the Publicity Bureau, Sadar Tram Terminus

Delhi, dated 29, 4. 28. Received at the Park St. P. O. on 1. 5. 28.
The postmark of the place of posting is not legible.

Dear Muzaffar,

Inspite of the fact that you don't reply my letters, I am constantly pouring in letters to you. Although I do not attribute any motives, yet I have reasons to do so. I excuse you because of the strikes in Calcutta.

I have made up my mind to go to Com. Singaravelu where I wish to take up organising work as well as to study in his library and assist him in his paper.

On my way to Madras I wish to come to Calcutta and stay for a week there. But let me tell you please, you have to make separate arrangement for my lodging. I can not live muddled together being of very delicate health these days,

If you are in a position to lend me some money, then do it. I shall repay you.

Reply soon. B. G. to Halim and other comrades.

Yours

Sd. SHAUKAT USMANI.

Most urgent.

I require and require very badly facts and figures of strikes in Bengal and near abouts in this year. Do please mention the causes of their occurrence.

If you do not send them within a week you will be doing me an unimaginable harm. Be generous Muzaffar.

Yours

Sd. SHAUKAT USMANI.

P. 2042 (C)

A letter addressed to Com. Muzaffar Ahmed, Esq., 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta, by Shaukat Usmani, The Oriental Information and Publicity Bureau, Sadar Tram Terminus, dated 4. 5. 28. Received at the Park St. P. O. on 7. 5. 28.

Dear Muzaffar,

Received your letter dated 2.5.28. Really am pained to learn about your failing health and mental worries. Biography of sincere pioneers is the history of trials and vicissitudes. It is only the opportunistic scalp that thrives under the Raj of Capital. Muzaffar, we are in the same boat. Have patience and confidence in one another; the better days are coming.

As to the date of my reaching Calcutta I can not tell you definitely as I have to get down at so many places viz Cawnpore, Allahabad and Benares. However I shall try to inform you in due time.

Don't take any of my remarks too seriously because whatever I might have written to you or others about you, complaining against you, it was all in a friendly strain. I never meant to harm you. I know you are sincere and that is sufficient for me to understand you.

Yours

Sd. SHAUKAT USMANI.

B. G. to Halim and others.

Sd. USMANI.

P. 2043. (C)

A typed letter, addressed to Com. Muzaffar Ahmed, 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta, by Shaukat Usmani, Oriental Information and Publicity Bureau, Delhi, dated 7th June 1928. Postmark of the place of posting is not legible. Received at the Park St. P. O. on 9. 6. 28.

Dear Muzaffar,

I am leaving Delhi today for the long contemplated tour. After staying at Cawnpore for two days, Allahabad another two days and Benares 3 days I hope to reach Calcutta. As I am not sure of the date of my reaching Calcutta it would be just needless for you to take the trouble of coming to the station.

I intend to stay in Calcutta for a week, then to proceed to Madras.

Best compliments to Comrade Spratt. Greetings to all.

Yours Frat.
Sd. SHAUKAT USMANI.

P 2044. (C)

A letter addressed to Mr. Philip Spratt, C/o Bengal Workers' and Peasants' party, 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta, by K.L. Ghose, Bengal Trade Union Federation, dated 21-3-28.

My dear Mr. Spratt,

Lest you should forget this is to remind you of your promise to be at the Howrah Station near the B.N.R. Booking Office at 2-15 p.m. on Saturday, the 24th instant so that you may attend the meeting to be held at Chengal. I would further remind you that you are to give me the Prospectus of the Labour Research Institute on Sunday when you call on me between 9 and 10 a.m. and on which day you will tell me when you would be ready with your paper on the subject to be read at a public meeting to be held under the auspices of the Federation.

P. 2045 (C)

An envelop addressed to Muzaffar Ahmed, Esq., 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta, containing two typed letters, addressed to (1) Muzaffar and (2) Spratt, by M.A. Majid, The Weekly Mehnat Kash, Lahore, dated 23rd July 1928. It is posted at "Shahami Gate dated 23 July, 28". Recd. at the Park at the Park P.O. at 4 p.m. on 25-7-28.

(1)

Dear Comrade Muzaffar,

I am in receipt of your letters but I intentionally keep silence. Now we are decided to hold Workers and Peasants' Party Conference at Lyalpur during the month of September and I hope that I shall be able to supply you the rules and regulations of the party immediately.

As regards the Calcutta meeting I regret to say that at present none of us could attend the meeting but if you are willing, we can send the name of our representative.

Gohar Rahman Khan is at home (Darwaish Haripur Hazara)

Yours

Sd/- M. A. Majid.

(2)

Dear Comrade Spratt,

Since long I heard nothing from you and I am very anxious at present to have full information above (about?) your energies.

We have organised the Workers' and Peasants' Party in the Punjab, the conference of which shall take place at Lyalpur in September. Comrade Dange has been appointed as a president and invitation cards are being sent to different part of the country and I hope that you shall also receive the same shortly and please us by attending the conference.

With comradely greeting,

Yours

Sd/- M. A. Majid.

P. 2046. P

"UNION IS STRENGTH"

G.I.P. Railwaymen's Union—Shetye Buildings Bombay No. 14.

No. G/S/346.

12th October, 1928.

President:

F. J. Ginwala, M.A., LL.B., M.L.C., (Solicitor).

Vice-Presidents:
B.F. Bradley,
D.B. Kulkarni.
V.B. Purandare.
Hon: Gen: Secy.
S H. Jhabvala B.A.

Organising Secy.
K.N. Joglekar B.A.

Head Office:
Bombay,

Branches:
Kalyan, Igatpuri,
Manmad,
Bhusawal,
Wardha, Murtiza-
pur, Nagpur, Amla
Itarsi, Khandwa,
Bhopal, Bina,
Damoh, Mahoba,
Jhansi, Jubbul-
pore, Lonavla
Poona, Dhond
Bholpur,
Shahabad.

Dear Comrade,

Re YOURS OF THE 9TH.

I could not reply it earlier, owing to my engagements out of Bombay. I am sending you a copy of the resolutions. Please try to get them forwarded from different Unions to the Secretary, A.I.T.U.C. We are also doing the same from Bombay.

I have put you on our Sub-List of the Railwayman, and copies will be sent to you regularly. The back numbers called for by you are also sent.

Hoping to hear from you more often and excepting a rough report of your Trade Union activity for the record of the T.U.C. group.

Yours Fraternally,

(Sd). K.N. Joglekar.

Organising Secretary.

P. 2046. (1) (P)

A copy of certain resolutions to be moved at the A.I.T.U.C.
(Vide Exh. P. 549 (14)).

P. 2046 P E

An envelope containing the above, with the following address on it:—

To

P. Spratt Esqr.

2/1 European Asylum Lane Calcutta.

P. 2047. P

A letter dated the 8th December 1928 from S. V. Ghate, Hon. Sec. The Workers' & Peasants' Party, Bombay, 17 Dwarkadas Mansions, Sandhurst Road, Bombay, 4, to Mr. Dharani Kanta Goswami. Secretary, Reception Committee, All-India W. & P. Conference, 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

To

The Secretary,
Reception Committee,
All-India Workers' & Peasants' Conference.

Dear Comrade,

Herewith I have pleasure in forwarding to you the names of the Delegates that will represent our party at the Conference.

1. K. N. Joglekar.
2. D. S. Purandare,
3. S. V. Ghate.
4. C. G. Shah.
5. S. S. Mirajkar.
6. R. S. Nimbkar.
7. B. F. Bradley.
8. S. A. Dange.
9. P. Spratt.

Yours fraternally,
Sd/-S. V. Ghate.
(HON. SECRETARY).

P. 2047. P E

An envelope for the above with the following address on it:—

Mr. Dharani Kanta Goswami
Secretary, Reception Committee
I All India W. & P. Conference.
2/1 European Asylum Lane
CALCUTTA

P. 2049 (C)

A typed letter, addressed to the President, the Peasants' and Workers' Party of Bengal, 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta by R. S. Nimbkar, Bombay Municipal Workers' Union, Bombay, dated 26th of March, 1928 received at the Park Street Post office on 29-3-28.

Dear Comrade,

I have received your kind invitation dated March, 19, 1928 to attend the Annual Conference of the Peasants' and Workers' Party of Bengal on the 31st of March at Bhatpara. Due to the various engagements here and also due to the indifferent health, I very much regret, I cannot attend the Conference. I very much wish I ought to be in Calcutta by this time. However, I wish the Conference a great success and request you to convey fraternal greetings to Comrades there.

As regards the resolutions, the Worker's and Peasants' Party of Bombay, which I have the honour to belong, has adopted at its last meeting and I hope, you will do the same in Bengal. Along with this, I send you also the fraternal greetings of my Union, the Municipal Workers' Union of Bombay.

Yours comradely,

Sd/-R. S. Nimbkar.

Secretary.

P 2051. C

A typed letter addressed to Mr. Muzaffar Ahmed, 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta by Sohan Singh Josh, General Secretary, Workers' and Peasants' Party, C/o Kirti, Amritsar, dated 14th July, 1928. Post mark of the place of posting is 'Amritsar, 14 July, 28, Sat 2', Recd. at the Park St. P.O. on 16-7-28.

Dear Comrade,

Your letter to Com. M. A. Majid, dated Calcutta, May 23rd, 1928, has been handed over to me to inform you officially about the formation of the W. and P. Party in the Punjab. The party came into being on the 12th April 1928. The constitution of the Party is also complete. We are arranging now to hold a conference

of the Workers' and Peasants' of the Punjab at Lyalpur on 28, 29 and 30 September, 1928 along with the Provincial Political conference. We want to invite Mr. P. Spratt, Mr. Bradley and you to the conference. We intend to make Mr. S. A. Dange, Bombay the President of the Session. We hope you will, along with your friends, attend the Conference if it takes place. Besides we invite you to suggest ways and means of making it a complete success. We will send our representatives to the All-India body when you ask us to do so. For any other information you may write to me on the address given below. Hoping to get your valuable suggestions very soon.

Yours in liberty.
Sd. Sohan Singh Josh.
General Secretary,
Workers' and Peasants' Party,
C/o Kirti, Amritsar.

P. 2052 (P)

A typed letter addressed to Mr. Muzaffar Ahmad, 2/1 European Asylum (Lane) Calcutta, by Sohan Singh, General Secretary, the Workers' and Peasants' Party, Punjab, Amritsar dated 14th September 1928. On the printed note paper of "Kirti", "The only Labour Organ in Punjab", Received at the Park Street P. O. on 16-9-28. Postmark of the place of posting "Amritsar, 14 Sep. 28".

Dear Comrade,

Yours to hand. The success of our conference depends upon your arrival in time. If you don't come, the whole thing will go to the dogs. We, therefore, request you wholeheartedly and with the force that we command that you should and must come down to Lyallpur, happen what will, on 28th, 29th and 30th September.

Financial difficulties are the same everywhere, but we have to overcome them, somehow or other, and do the thing that we stand for. Please come, do come, for your not coming, will put us in a fix.

With best greetings,
Yours fraternally,
Sd. Sohan Singh.
General Secretary,
The Workers' and Peasants' Party,
Punjab.

P. 2052. (P) (E)

An envelope of the above with the following address on it:—

To

Mr. Muzaffar Ahmed,
2/1 European Asylum Lane
Calcutta.

P. 2053. (P)

A letter dated 10. 11. 28 from Sohan Singh, Amritsar, to Muzaffar Ahmed, 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta. Written on the Printed paper of the "KIRTI". Postmark--Amritsar, 10. 11. 28.

—oOo—

Dear Comrade,

You promised to contribute an article to us. As we are going to bring out the January issue of the "KIRTI" on the 15th of December on account of the Calcutta Sessions of the Congress during Christmas, you are requested once again to fulfill your promise at your earliest and oblige.

Kindly ask Mr. Spratt also to contribute one article at least. Don't forget to send us the promised poem.

I am putting before the peasants' & workers' party the question of financial help tomorrow. Shall write to you later on.

P. 2053 (P) (E)

An envelope of the above with the following address on it:—

To

Mr. Muzaffar Ahmed
2/1 European Asylum
Calcutta.

P. 2054-P

Telegrams : Ganavani, Calcutta.

The Peasants' and Workers' Party of Bengal

Organ :
'GANAVANI'
(Bengali Weekly)

2-1 European Asylum Lane
CALCUTTA—8-12-27.

Dear Comrade Tagore,

After Coming back from Cawnpere where I had gone to attend the session of the All-India Trades Union Congress, I received your letter of the 8th November. I do not know whether you received my letter written to you from Bombay. I scarcely receive your letters. But all other people are receiving regularly. In all, I received three of four letters from you since your departure from India. The letter along with two articles of course reached me. One of the articles was published then and there. But after that "Ganavani" was not published at all on account of financial troubles. I had issued printed appeal to the people who are interested in the cause of the masses for funds. As soon as I can procure some help the paper will begin to re-appear. The financial embarrassment has been sucking the very blood of my life. By changing to a new house the expenditure has been increased. The house rent is now Rs. 45/- a month. With the electric charge it will come to more than Rs. 50/- a month. But I do not know how to manage. This time we have undertaken the organisational work seriously. We are soon going to form a Scavengers' Union in Calcutta.

Now as regards the offer of the German labour comrades, we are going to accept it quite gladly. I hope you have sufficiently convinced them that we belong to the Radical School of thoughts. This I mention because the German Trades Union circles are perhaps a little yellow. According to your instruction I have sent to you a wire to the address you had given. We agree to the proposal of three papers. But the help must be regular. We should get at least some months' help at a time. Otherwise it will not be possible to proceed with the work at all. All these points you should settle with those helping Comrades seriously. As regards the pictorial magazine, you will have to make arrangement for sending pictures of European Workers' life. Without this, magazine cannot be published.

Yes, there was difference of opinion with Kali Babu. But it was not on account of my fault. Some people encouraged him from behind the screen. He is a man who can be led astray quite easily. But now, it seems that he has understood his mistake.

The Bengal Jute Workers' Association has now been affiliated with the Peasants' and Workers' Party of Bengal.

We received telegraphic invitation from the Federation of Russian Rural Co-operatives, to send our delegates to attend the anniversary celebrations of U. S. S. R. We sent them telegram, saying that we elected you our delegate. There was no time for sending delegate from here. The case of Passport was also a very doubtful one. We sent one wire to your address also at that time requesting you to go to Russia. But I do not know if the wire at all reached you. Please send us a detailed report of your stay there.

Both Halim and myself are not faring well with our health.

With greetings—

Yours fraternally—

Sd/- Muzaffar Ahmed.

P. S.,

If any wire is to be sent, please send it to "Ganavani" Calcutta. This is the registered address of the party.

I have just been elected a member of the All-India Congress Committee.

P. 2054 (P) (E)

Address on envelope:—

Herr S. N. Tagore,

Jagow Strasse -44- B/ Arnheim, Berlin N. W., 87.

Redirected to Moscow hotel, Bristol.

P. 2055-C

A registered letter dated the 27th of February 1928, from S.V. Ghate, 757, Girgaon Road, Bombay 4, to Muzaffar Ahmed, 2/1 European Asylum Lane Calcutta.

My dear Muzaffar,

I received your letter of the 21st instant only today-after six days. I don't quite see why you are so furious against us here. You certainly can't hold me responsible for your not having received the packet. If you want me to send it over again, I have to get it typed again, which I shall do and send you the same soon. I don't know why your Calcutta Police should have held up my two letters, and this registered packet. It is really tragic of course. I should have given you the registration number of the packet, but Dange being out at Deihi and the receipt being with him, I can't do so at present. Any way, another copy of the resolutions will be sent to you in a few days. Dange will send you the balance copy of "Hell Found" for printing, but I can't say when, as he is at Delhi.

Did you hear from Habib? He and Shafique wanted to hold a C.P.I. Conference at Delhi, and I wired to him saying that it was not possible to hold it now and we sent Osmani with detailed instructions. Dange must have explained to them by now. Spratt also is at Delhi at present. I thought Bagerhotta was responsible for working up Habib and others. Any way it does not matter.

We have not received Tagore's letter referred to by you and hence we cannot have known what it contained. You say that the information he requires on Textile Industry should be with him by the 1st of March, and today is the 27th of February. The latest date for the mail to leave Bombay will be the 2nd of March. I shall be sending him that information by this mail.

We have postponed our annual meeting for the 18th of March and not the 4th of March. The E.C. will be meeting on the 7th of March.

Nimbkar is going to Khargpur on Thursday, the 1st instant.

How is Halim getting on, and Gossain also.

With greetings.

Yours affectionately.

Sd/- S. V. Ghate.

27-2-28.

P. 2057 (P)

A post card from Moscow which runs as follows :—

Dear Comrade,

For a history of the labour movement please you send me :

(1) *The data (year and month) of foundation of the workers and Peasants Party of Bengal (before Iwaraday Labour Party?) and of the others W. and Labour Parties (Bombay, Punjab, Rajputana).*

(2) *The year and month of foundation of the first Socialist Party (Calcutta 1922 ?) and of the Hindustan Mazdur and Kishan Party Madras (1923 ?)*

(3) *the PROFESSION (intellectual or workers) of the Executive of the C. P. of India (Muzaffar Ahmad, J. P. Begerhotta, S. A. Derveshi, K. S. Iyangir, S. A. Danghe, S. V. Ghate, J. H. Mistry, M. Singaravelu Hazrat Mohani, R. S. Nimbkar, M. A. Majid, K. N. Joglekar, S. N. Tagore, C. A. Halim, S. D. Hasan), the Conference of Calcutta May 1927 was the last?*

Fraternally yours

Virgilio Verdaro

Hotel Lux (Trerskaig)

Kom 334

Moscou (Russia).

P. 2057. (P) (E)

The address on the Post Card is as follows.

Workers and Peasants Party of Bengal

Central Office

2-1 European Asylum Lane

CALCUTTA

(British India).

Kacrkymma

P. 2058-C

A letter addressed to Com Dharani Kanta Goswami, Labour Secretary, Workers and Peasants' Party of Bengal, 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta by Gopal Chandra Basak, Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal, Dacca Branch. 61 Nawabpur Dacca dated 22-10-28. Received at the Park Street Post Office on 23-10-28.

—o—

Dear Comrade,

Every day I was expecting either some news from Comrade Kali Babu or his arrival at Dacca with other comrades. Yesterday I was thinking of attending steamer at N. Gunj as our Pt..... Chandra? informed that Nirod has the possibility of coming to Dacca. However we found that he has not come here.

Please inform when our comrade from Calcutta coming to our places. I went to Dhamgaur the other day and arranged a general meeting (of course the meeting was not well attended). However we are asked to see them by tomorrow at N. Gunj and not at Dhamagaur such is the situation. The workers have passed a resolution electing a representative to the Enlarged Executive Committee of the Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal. The copy of the resolution is attached herewith.

The full account of the Bengal Textile Workers' Union (Dhamgaur) has been prepared but as our auditor Mr. Suren Sen has not come from Calcutta, it is not audited. We hope that he will reach N. Gunj by today mail. I will go to N. Gunj tomorrow both to meet Mr. Sen and the Dakeswari Workers. I think you have heard from Com. Kali Sen about the Jute workers. I was asked by some jute workers on the day before yesterday about that meeting and I had to ask him to wait for another week—So, I think you should try to send our comrades at the earliest possible time.—and if they reach Dacca within this Puja holiday, I will also be able to devote my times, as my firm is also closed in this occasion for 12 days.

This much to-day. Please inform also about Com. A. Roy.
With best greetings.

Yours in comradeship,

(Sd.) Gopal Chandra Basak.

Copy of the resolution of the General meeting of the Bengal Textile workers' Union (Dhamgaur) held on the 16th October, 1928.

"Resolved that comrade Gopal Chandra Basak be elected to represent our Union in the Enlarged Executive Committee of Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal.

(Sd.) Kalipada Mukharji,
Chairman of the Meeting.

16-10-28.

P. S. Some two or three scavengers are coming to us now regularly. I hope to hold a meeting in their bustee in a few days.

(Sd.) G. C. B.

P. 2060. P'

DAKESWARI COTTON MILL'S WORKERS UNION.

Head Office :—61, Nawabpur, Dacca.

Your Ref.....

Dated...7...12...1928

Our Ref.....

A letter dated 7. 12. 28., G. C. Basak, 61, Nawabpur, Dacca, to Comrade Dharani Kanta Goswami, Secretary, Reception Committee, The First All-India Workers' & Peasants' party Conference, 2/1, European Asylum Lane, Calcutta. Postmark of the place of posting - Dacca Court, 7th Oct. 28.

Dear Comrade,

Thanks to receive your circular letter. I expect to send the names of 10 bonafide peasant delegates from our branch within a week. Three of our comrades are now in the mofussil working for the coming Conference - Comrade Santosh Mukherji at Narsinghdi, and Comrade Surendra Mazumdar and Ganesh Chatarji at Munshiganj and other Vikrampur villages. We shortly expect a Namasudra Conference in Vikrampur. I am trying that we can arrange it after Party's Conference when you too can take part there. I am informed in a letter from Sundar Ali - he thinks it wise to also hold a Conference of peasants and labourers of their part after the Conference; he is after making huge conf. at Narsinghdi. He further informed that he will attend our Party Conference, when he will contribute any sum on behalf of the Narsinghdi branch. I think he has sent a list of some hundred members. Besides that I have given an idea of other members at Dacca 23 industrial labourers

and the following intelligensia members as adopted in an Executive Meeting of our Party on the 3rd December 1928 :-

1. Comrade Surendra Chandra Mazumdar.
2. Abdul Kuader
3. Abdul Majid
4. Gopal Chandra Basak
5. Harinath Guha
6. Debendra Bijoy Guha
7. Profulla Guha (Worker in E. B. (Railway))
8. Ganesh Chandra Chatarji
9. Nurul Islam
10. Sundar Ali
11. Vilayat Hossain.

I learn from your circular letter, the Workers' & Peasants' Party of Bengal can send some hundred delegates. Please let me know what will be the district quota - can the above members (declared intelligensia) be taken as delegates from Dacca? If so, please confirm it.

With greetings

Sd/- G. C. Basak.

P. S.,

I am trying collect some money. I just let you know that (Sj Pratul (?) Ganguly has paid Rs 2/- for the R. C. membership; expect others will follow.

Sd/- G. C. B.

Today I send two of the group photos taken at Cawnpore, for Muzaffar. Further copies I can supply at Rs 2/10/- each..

Sd/- G. C. B.

Rough Translation of a chit inside the letter :-

Dharani Goswami,

Dear Comrade, you did nothing about what I wrote about Radharaman there. An amount of money could be got in the work of the library in my hands. I could also give something to you. Please draw up an account of my donation soon. Let Radharaman Babu write to me immediately.

P. 2060 P E

An envelope with the following address on it :-

Com. Dharani Kanta Goswami
Secretary, Reception Committee
The First All-India Workers' & Peasants'
Party Conference.
2/1 European Asylum Lane,
Calcutta.

P. 2061 (P)

A Post Card from Gouri Shankar Sharma, Mazdoor Kishan Sangha Office, Meerut, to Muzaffar Ahmed, Secretary, Workers' and Peasants' Party, 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta, Postmark of the place of posting- "Meerut Sudder, 5. 11. 28."

Dear Comrade,

Received your kind communication of the 30th ultimo as well as the one which preceded the receipt of the 100 Membership Forms despatched by you. We are working enthusiastically we have printed a thousand copies, in the form of pamphlets of the resolutions passed at the last Session of the Kishan and Mazdoor Conference held at Meerut, and are going out for their distribution in the villages. We contemplate setting up candidates for the local Boards at the coming elections. Comrade Joshi left Meerut a week ago and our vigorous campaign has been delayed by the unfortunate absence of Comrade Ram Chandra whom we expect back within a couple of days. Thereafter we shall proceed on for money-collection business, and I am confident that we shall raise the amount we have promised to subscribe to your funds.

Kindly convey my greetings to the Comrades with you at Calcutta, particularly to Comrade Spratt.

Please note that letters for me are not to be addressed at "Anad Math" Meerut, but to my Office address.

With greetings-

Yours fraternally

Sd/- Gouri Shankar Sharma
Mazdoor Kishan Sangha Office,
Meerut.

P. S. Kindly despatch at your earliest convenience the Hindi and Urdu pamphlets promised by you.

Sd/- Gouri Sankar.

P. 2063

Dear Philip,

3-1-29.

It is a very long time since you had a letter from me and also very long since I heard from you. I hope that from now we shall be able to keep closer in touch with one another as I am very desirous of hearing your opinion on things in general, and am equally ready to tell you about anything in which you may be interested over here.

At the moment my thirst for news must be greater than yours could possibly be for we are just getting the Shippets of telegraphic information about the happenings in Congress week which appear in the ordinary Press here and just serve to whet the appetite without satisfying it. It is a greater pity that you could not arrange to let us have telegrams for our Press as just now there is a keen desire to know what is the situation and our Press has nothing to go on.

It is already January 3rd and I have not seen a single report as to what happened in the A. I. T. U. C., to say nothing of the later meetings. Could not something be arranged about such things? Would you not please really go into the matter carefully and let me know what could be done, and whether financial assistance from the Press here would be required and how much and who would undertake to send the messages (say to S. W) and what exactly stands in the way of anything being done?

I regret to say that copies of the long statement arrived at after a full discussion of the colonial question at Manchester are not yet out of the Press. In a few days at most I hope that it will be possible to let you have copies and I hope also that you will let me know when you have received them.

As you will have gathered from the Press, the party is having a very difficult struggle just now. While the new policy already meets with heavy opposition in the Labour Party and can only make headway by energetic action, the party has to meet at the same time a furious offensive in the trade unions. The debate on the question of paying the political levy will be waged very fiercely at the coming Congress, and the question of the Left Wing also will demand a thorough re-examination. The difference of opinion on these two subjects alone is an indication how little firmly established the new line is as yet.

I hope you are keeping in touch with events over here.

Yours-

Sd/- "C".

P. 2063 (P) (E)

Address on envelope:-

P. Spratt

2/1. European Asylum Lane.

Calcutta, India.

P. 2064-C

Two letters in a cover addressed to Muzaffar Ahmed 2/1. European Asylum Lane, Calcutta by P. Spratt and Dharani, E. I. R. Union Ondal, Dated 25. 5. 28. The letter is posted at Ranigunj dated 25. 5. 28. Received at Park Stree on 26. 5. 28.

Ondal, 25. 5. 28.

Dear Muzaffar,

The work shopmen struck here this morning. That is all we have to report. Except that we are well and what not.

But we want one or two mass men, Nirod said he could come in a day or two. So send him, if you can, or Halim, and some of the Bengali literature with him.

Do you want me to write anything for Ganavani? Or Dharani? If so, please say what and how long and I shall do my best. We are, at this moment, in a better place than we had at Chengail and perhaps I shall be able to do some writing.

Yours,

Sd/ P. Spratt.

E. I. Ry: Union, Ondal

25. 5. 28.

Dear Muzaffar,

Remember the case of the Scavengers. Instruct Pyari to conduct the same if the scavengers are alright. Have 3 or 4 Rupees from Nirod and manage it anyhow. Whenever you require me, wire at once to me in the above address send a few copies of our party programme this year report and other important papers necessary for propaganda. We are getting nice response from the Youngmen here. Of course these youngmen are all factory workers.

Yours

Sd/ Dharani.

P. 2065 C.

A letter addressed to Muzaffar Ahmad 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta, by P. Spratt, 17 Dwarkadas Mansions, Bombay, 4, Dated 23-2-28. Received at the Park Street Post Office on 26-2-28.

Dear Muzaffar,

I am leaving for Delhi to night and am in a great hurry. I have just received a letter from Delhi again asking you to write an article on Political persicution in India for the Labour Monthly. Will you do so if you can?

My money has not come yet and so I am still doubtful about coming to Calcutta. The Delhi meeting is important, especially

for me and so I have had to contrive to get there. I hope at the same time to recover my goods. I shall come to see you as soon as it can be managed.

Yours,
Sd/- P. Spratt.

P. 2066 (P)

A letter addressed to Mr. Muzaffar Ahmad, 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta by P. Spratt, E. I. R. Union, Ondal, dated 31-5-28.

Dear Muzaffar,

I am sorry I have not yet finished the article. I will do so as quickly as possible and send it on.

The position here is satisfactory. We had a fairly good meeting yesterday at Asansol, in spite of rain and a dust storm. Our plans for the immediate future I do not yet know.

I have received another letter from Cook's. I wish to write to them this afternoon, saying that you will pay them, as I cannot send a cheque and so on. Will you send them a P. O. therefore? The amount is Rs. 43/14/- an awful sum. I should have removed the things before.

(That reminds me. Have you yet heard when D. Campbell is to be released). He reminds me also that I owe Nirod Rs. 100/-. Will you pay him? I gather from Dharani that he is short of cash.

Sd/- P. Spratt.

P. 2066 (P)(E)

Envelope for the above, having the following address:—

Mr. Muzaffar Ahmad

2/1 European Asylum Lane

Calcutta.

P. 2067 (R) 4 PE

Rejected.

A regd. cover addressed to Phillip Spratt Esqr, 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta, by F. J. Ginwala, 107 Esplanade Road, Fort, Bombay.

(1) Phillip Spratt Esqr., 2/1 European Asylum Lane Calcutta.

Rustamji Ginwala
Solicitors
Telephone No. 22777

Old French Bldg.
(Opposite Rajabai
Tower) 107,
Esplanade Road
Bombay 4th July,
1928.

Dear Mr. Spratt,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 1st inst. duly. I learnt from the Police that Mr. Allison was deported after his release and was not allowed to take away anything. The Deputy Commissioner of Police, however, informed me that they will be glad to forward all his articles at Govt. expense to Mr. Allison. Please therefore let me know whether Mr. Allison's articles should be handed over to the Police for being forwarded to him. The receipt of Thomas cook and son is in my possession along with your letter to them. Please let me know whether I should hand over the letter and receipt to Mr. C. G. Shah.

I send you herewith two promisory notes of Mr. Parvate in your favour and to letters addressed to Messrs Paravate and Joglekar. Please acknowledge receipt.

Yours Sincerely
Sd/- F. J. Ginwala.

P. 2067 (1) P

Arthur Road Prison,
Bombay. 15-11-27.

Dear Joglekar,

You will remember that in April or May last, I lent you, for Mr. Dange, sums amounting to Rs. 250. I should be much obliged if you would let Mirajkar have the money on my account, and accept his receipt for mine.

Yours
Sd/- P. Spratt.

P. 2067 (2) P

Arthur Road Prison,
Bombay, 15-11-27.

Dear Parvate,

I am rather in need of money at the moment, as you can imagine, and I have therefore given Mirajkar the two promisory notes I had from you in the hope that you will be able to let him have the money.

P. 2067 (3) P

On demand, I promise to pay Mr. P. Spratt or order, the sum of Rs. 100/- (Rupees hundred only) for value received in cash.

12th June, 1926.

Sd/- ^{T/} N. Parvate.

P. 2067 (4) P

I promise to pay on demand Mr. P. Spratt or order the sum of Rs. 100 (One hundred) only for value received in cash. 23rd May, 1927.

Sd/- ^{T/} N. Parvate.

P. 2067 P E

Envelope for the above with the following address on it.—
Regrd with A. D.

R. 222 Church Gate St. Bombay.

Phillip Spratt Esqr.
2/1 European Asylum Lane,
Calcutta.

From
F. J. Ginwala
107 Esplanade
Road
Fort
Bombay

P. 2068

THE SUNDAY WORKER

254 Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C.1

TELEPHONE: TERMINUS 5371 (2 lines)—

TELEGRAMS: SUNDAWORKA KINCROS LONDON

P. Spratt, 20th August 1928.
2/1 European Asylum Lane,
CALCUTTA,
INDIA.

Dear Comrade,

Thanks for your account of the situation in Atia, which provided us with a very interesting article. I enclose, herewith, cuttings, and hope that you will be able to keep us well supplied with similar interesting material.

Yours fraternally,
Walter M. Holmes
EDITOR.

P. 2068 (E)

P. Spratt,

2/1 European Asylum Lane,

Calcutta

INDIA.

Date of posting 21 Aug. 28

Place of posting London W. C.

P. 2068. 1

Peasants Who Are Being Exterminated by

JUNGLE, WILD ANIMALS

AND

MALARIA...

AN INDIAN GOVERNMENT ATROCITY.

*and the Forest Officials Are Helping
the Exterminators*

A special correspondent in Calcutta sends the SUNDAY WORKER a terrible story of how Government officials in Atia are being used by local princes and landowners to prevent the cultivation and clearing of jungle land which for years has been in the possession of the villagers. The result is that the jungle, wild beasts, and malaria are allowed to rage unchecked. The peasants are not allowed to defend themselves and are being gradually exterminated.

Much attention has been paid to the struggle of the Bardoli peasants against increase in their tax assessments, and the treatment, which is being accorded to them in consequence. It is curious that nothing has yet been heard of the sufferings of the peasants of Atia, in the Mymensingh district, who are at least equal in numbers to those of Bardoli, are threatened with far more intolerable injustice, and in their resistance are subject to the same kind of persecution.

Mymensingh is a large district, with about 5,000,000 inhabitants, in the North-Eastern part of Bengal about 300 miles from Calcutta. Its inaccessibility shrouds its internal affairs from the eyes of the world. Atia, a sub-division with about 100,000 inhabitants distributed among 104 villages, is among the remoter parts, which can only be reached by boat and horseback from railhead.

Merciless Expropriation.

The inhabitants of this region are being subjected, not merely to increased exploitation, but to a gradual, but merciless, process of complete expropriation, of ejection from their holdings by the agency of encroaching jungle, malaria, and wild animals, under the protection of the officials of the Forest Department.

They have been given no formal notice of eviction; they have not failed to pay their rents or dues. They are merely prevented, under pain of fine or imprisonment, from conducting many of the agricultural operations necessary to preserve their holdings and themselves against the attacks of nature.

Many have gone to jail, many have been fined, many have died unnecessarily from fevers and the attacks of animals. All are being rapidly impoverished by the deterioration of their holdings, and the prohibition of fishing and ordinary commercial activities.

Those who are left are faced with the alternative of death or migration: death from starvation or the rgency of nature: or abandonment of their holdings, the results of years of hard work.

Peasants Invited.

Until fairly recently, the whole region was under forest—part of the jungle of Madhupur. It was economically valueless, there being no market for the timber or other products which might have been obtained from it, and was practically uninhabited.

About forty or fifty years ago an invitation was issued by the zemindars, whose property it was, to anybody who was willing to do so to clear the jungle and cultivate the land. The pressure of population in the neighbourhood was by this time considerable, and many undertook the work.

As a result certain usages and customs became fixed. Once clearance or cultivation had been begun the right was established to ownership of the land in question, from which no eviction could take place. The right was also established to clear the surrounding land to any desired extent. Periodic surveys were made, the rent fixed by the ordinary local machinery, and rights over the jungle land recognised.

Changed Minds.

A few years ago it seems to have occurred to some of the zemindars owning the land, that more profitable use could be made of it if, instead of being cultivated, it were again forest. But the tenants were now in possession, and could not be legally evicted. So an ingenious method was decided upon.

Under the Indian Forest Act of 1878, in areas which have been officially declared "Protected Forest" or "Reserve Forest," it may be forbidden by proclamation to cut down certain kinds of trees, to kill animals, to graze cattle, to catch fish, or to transport certain goods without permits.

The zemindars in question include some prominent and influential men: The Raja of Santosh (President of the Bengal Legislative Council), Nawab Ali Chowdhuri Bahadur, C. I. E. (Member of the Governor's Executive Council), the Nawab of Dacca, Sir A.K. Ghuznavi (ex-Minister of the Bengal Government), Wajid Ali Khan Pani (a prominent Congressman), and so on. These people naturally had no difficulty in coming to an agreement with the Government of Bengal, and accordingly in the year 1925 action was taken by the Forest Department.

"Protected Forest"

A series of notifications appeared at intervals from 1925 in the "Calcutta Gazette." First the area specified, consisting of a large number of plots scattered over the lands of the 104 villages was declared "Protected Forest," "but not so as to abridge or affect any existing rights of individuals or communities."

Next, some months later, the same area was declared "Reserve forest" under the Act, and this has been declared again this year. Some officers were then appointed to inquire into the rights of others over the lands in question, but almost at the same time rules were published declaring ten different kinds of trees "reserved," and prohibiting many necessary operations, such as clearing or breaking of land, burning charcoal, removing jungle produce, quarrying stone, grazing cattle, and killing any wild animals and pests.

In order to enforce the regulations, a large number of guards of the Forest Department have been kept in the neighbourhood since the first notification in 1925. They have very seriously molested and harassed the villagers. They prevent the grazing of cattle, the catching of fish, the cutting of branches of trees and shrubs of all kinds, and other essential operations, so that the encroachment of the jungle upon cultivation is allowed to go on, the area under crops is decreasing, malaria is becoming prevalent, and dangerous animals and pests are on the increase.

Passes For Carts

The guards insist that villagers must obtain passes if they carry any goods along roads, whether personally or in carts, and exact heavy penalties for omission to take out passes. Similarly boats are prevented from going along the rivers. Many have been arrested and fined or imprisoned for breach of the regulations, and much money has been extracted from the villagers by bribes to the officials.

When this regime began, an association, the Atia Rayat Samiti, of the villagers of the whole region was formed, for mutual protection and legal defence etc. Although the declared objects of the Samiti were to do these things "by all legal and constitutional means," all the office bearers were immediately arrested for conspiring to paralyse the work of the Forest Department, and bound over.

Three of the cases against villagers, in which they were given heavy sentences, have gone on appeal to the High Court, which has in each case acquitted the accused, and declared the rules and notifications illegal, and maintained that the Forest Department has no right to prevent the villagers from carrying on their customary pursuits. Nevertheless, the persecution has continued without alteration.

Villagers' Case

The legal case of the villagers is briefly as follows:—

(1) The plots in question are not forest or waste land within the meaning of the Act, and cannot therefore be declared Protected or Reserve Forest.

(2) The villagers, and not the zemindars, are the owners of the land within the meaning of the Act.

(3) Such notification as the original one of February 16, 1925, declaring the land "Protected Forest" cannot be made by Government without first ascertaining the rights of the private persons and Government to the land in question. No investigation was made. If the Government has rights in the land it may, under certain sections of the Act, take this action, but in fact the Government has no rights in this region.

(4) To declare land simultaneously "Protected" and "Reserve" Forest is illegal.

(5) The whole procedure required by the law in such cases has been neglected. No record of rights in the land was prepared, no order has been published, and no notification has been made to the villagers; all these things being required by the Act.

The peasants have no funds left to fight cases in court, and have simply to submit to superior force. They are being steadily driven from the land which they or their fathers brought under cultivation, and are forced to seek employment elsewhere.

Mass Arrests

Mass arrests, apparently for alleged intimidation, have taken place, peasants' homes have been burnt down (and no recompense paid), and their cattle have been taken away only to be returned on payment of a large fee.

The police have no need to go beyond the law, which is quite drastic enough. Section 26 of the Indian Forest Act, for example, lays it down that a man who is found with matches, in his possession, or whose cattle are untethered, or who defends himself or others against wild animals (tigers abound in Atia), even with a stick, may be punished by a fine of fifty rupees, or with imprisonment for six months, and must in addition pay any damages the Forest Department likes to charge.

The Atia Rayat Samiti, after some time, having met with no success, decayed, and the members became despondent. But recently a branch of the Workers' and Peasants' Party has been formed there, which is trying to put some life and direction into the resistance of the peasants, and is arranging to conduct propaganda in India and in Britain. The Party proposes, in addition to propaganda, to conduct a campaign for non-payment of rents, and to get support among the other peasants of Mymensingh, among whom it has already some influence.

P. 2068 2

Terrorism Against Workers'

Shooting and Arrests by Imperialists : More Threats.

STRIKES EXTEND

Nizam's Railway Workshops Held up : "Back to Villages"
Say the Bombay Strikers.

*An exclusive "Sunday Worker" picture of women demonstrators
at a Bombay strike meeting.*

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT)

Bombay, Saturday.—Terrorism is the method applied by the Imperialists and capitalists, British and Indian, to the workers who

are now engaged in the most critical struggle in India's industrial history—and yet more terrorism is their threat.

The end, for which they had hoped, of the Bombay mill strike has not come. Instead, the workers, at meetings held this week, took up the slogan, "Back to the villages."

LEAVING CITY

The mill workers being, as in the early days of the cotton industry in Lancashire, workers recruited from the land, have friends and relatives in the villages. Rather than submit to the starvation to which the employers sentence them, they are preparing to desert the city for the countryside from which they came.

The Tata Steel Company has made another threat to attack the miserable wages of its workers. The threat is couched in the typical cant phrase, that it cannot "make further concessions without serious economic consequences."

The struggle on the railways, despite the violence used against the strikers on the South Indian line, is extending. A strike has begun in the workshops at Lallaguda of the Nizam of Hyderabad's State Railway. Threequarters of the workmen in the locomotive running sheds have joined the strike.

The reply of the capital press agents to these developments is the demand for the

arrest of all "known agitators," and that "Bolshevik agents" should be "seized and dealt with to the utmost limits of the law."

Arrest and shooting has been, as the SUNDAY WORKER has already reported, the regular method of combating the South Indian Railway strike. Police guards on blackleg trains fired on strikers. The leaders of the union were arrested, the union offices searched, and books and papers seized.

"Special" constables, familiar to English strikers, were recruited to extend the campaign of terrorism.

To their aid came the reformist leaders of Indian Nationalism not workers, but members of the class whose interests lead them to co-operation with the British Imperialists. Of this category is S. V. Aiyar, President of the M. & S. M. Railway Employers' Union, who declared that the strike would "bring discredit on the Labour movement." An example of sabotage by outsiders is given by Dr. H. V. Naidu, who appeals to the workers, goaded and battered by the thug of capitalism, to 'disown disturbing elements'.

STRUGGLING ON,

Yet, despite the whip of the taskmaster and the stap of the traitor, the Indian workers are struggling patiently on. The mass

which is heaving its shoulders against the burden of Imperialism grows ever greater, is slowly learning its strength.

In the new critical phase which is rapidly approaching, more and better leadership, and financial aid, are the practical needs. For such aid the Indian workers look first of all to their British comrades.

WHERE TO SEND

The Workers' Welfare League of India telegraphed £40 to the South Indian Railway strikers when the fight began. Funds are still needed. Send now to the League at 320 Queen's Road, New Cross Gate, London, S. E. 14.

P. 2070. P

A letter addressed to Muzaffar Ahmed, Workers' and Peasants' Party, 2/r European Asylum Lane, Calcutta, by P. C. Joshi.

My dear Comrade Muzaffar,

Yours to hand. Please give these orders to the bookseller and ask him to send the book as soon as possible and inform me too of the books sent. Now about Gorakhpur and Dr. Mukherji. I was there last week-end. Dr. Mukherji is a man of very sincere and serious type. Has immense practical experience, but as it seems to me lacks breadth of outlook. He has, however, a real hold over the Railwaymen and peasantry. He has been working there in quite a businesslike manner. In his Office I saw 4 clerks working from morning to evening and peasants and Railwaymen coming there with their grievances; they hold their regular meetings. I will relate to you a significant incident. When I left him at the Railway Station, I found myself in company of the local munsif and tahsildar, and when the train had whistled off one of them said: "This doctor is growing into a nuisance. I did not leave them free; I had my bites at them; The membership of the Railway Union is 7th he said, and of Peasants' Unions 4th. He has been able only for the last 3 or 4 months to balance his budget, he said, so this is all very satisfactory.

I am glad to tell you of a new recruit to the Party. He is an exceedingly intelligent boy. He reads here in the B. A., II year and got a first class and stood first in the Province in the High

School and Intermediate. He is very sincere boy with very highly developed civic sense. He believes in Direct Action, viz., of Workers & Peasants, and is on the way to recognise the fact of class war-till the other day he was so arduous a Swarajist-an expression of the transitional psychology of the Nation. He will come round since he is so true. I will bring him with me or he will follow me-2 of us will be from Alld. 4 from Jhansi, 3 from Meerut, and 4 from Gorakhpur. These various centres will be writing to you in greater detail.

I hope you must have heard from Jhansi comrades by now. Com. Kadam writes to me to ask you to change the date. I think it is not desirable. We must meet before the Congress and must have an interval for the committees, and must be fully consolidated to clarify the issue, especially so since our own party members have no scientific idea of the programme. Please keep the whole time engaged and make it all a business affair. I will try to reach there in the end of the second week of December.

I am going to Moradbad tomorrow to talk to the Railway Union people there and will be back on the 5th. Then with Dr. Mukherji on deputation to two prominent people. I am told that there are some peasant workers at Rae Bareilly. We will see them too. I have launched the Youth Movement here and must be here for a week to organise it, and then I come straight to you.

I too, have not heard from comrade Gauri Shankar, except a post card from Gorhmukteshwar Fair. He is having a Conference there without even caring to inform me of it. It must have been farcical. I am writing to him again today. He is so unbusiness-like and self-centred. I have not been hearing from Com. Mansoor either. You will please send me his address. With greetings.

Faternally,

Sd/- P. C. Joshi.

P. S.,

He may order them from abroad and then send them on. I will be booking some more orders for the book Company through you, and it will be the same set- he can conveniently get some more.

Whom are you proposing for the presidentship of the Conference? How many copies do you think of Comrade Spratt's pamphlet-"The Power of Labour"-could you manage to sell there immediately? Write about Hindi, Urdu and English versions separately. We must know it immediately. If you do not particularly require it, you will write to me accordingly.

Please write to Gauri Shankar whether our proceedings will be in English or in vernacular.

To Ram Saran Vidyarthi, Anandmath, Meerut, one copy of each of:-

1. Price. My Experience of the Russian Revolution
2. Reed. Ten Days that Shook the World.
3. Bukarin. A,B.C. of Communism.
4. " Historical Materialism.
5. " Economic Theory of the Leisure Class.
6. Radik. Causes of the Russian Revolution.
7. K.T. Shah. Russian Experiment.
8. Lenin On the Road to Insurrection.
9. Trotsky. In Defence of Terrorism.
10. " Where is Britain Going?
11. Palme Dutt Communism.
12. Lenin. Imperialism—The State and Revolution.
13. Kropotkin. The Conquest of Bread.
14. Palme Dutt. Empire Socialism.
15. " Meaning of General Strike.
16. " The Two Internationals.
17. M.N. Roy. India in Transition.
18. " Future of Indian Politics.
19. " One Year of Non-Co-operation
20. " Aftermath of do.
21. " Open Letter to Ramsay Macdonold.
22. Holston. Evolution of Capitalism.
23. B. Russell. Future of Industrial Civilisation.
24. C. G. Shah. Hundred Per Cent India.
25. Letorgne. Evolution of Property
26. Marx & Engels. Communist Manifesto.
27. Marx. Value, Price and Profit.
28. Vanguard Press. Soviet Russia series-all the volumes- Dr. Bishnu Nath Mukherji, Gorkhpur B. N. Railway.

Russian Year Book 53.

Price: My Experiences of the Russian Revolution.

- Reed. Ten days that Shook the World.
- K. T. Shah. Russian Experiment.
- Lenin. On the Road to Insurrection.
- Trotsky. In Defence of Terrorism.
- Bukharin. A. B. C. of Communism.
- Palme Dutt. Communism.
- Bukharin. Historical Materialism.
- Trotsky. Where is Britain Going ?
- Vanguard Press - Publications. Studies of Soviet Russia 50 cents each,--All the volumes yet published in the series.
- Lenin. Imperialism-The State & Revolution.
- Kropotkin. The Conquest of Bread.
- Palme Dutt. Empire Socialism.
- " Meaning of General Strike.
- " The Two Internationals]
- M. N. Roy. India in Transition.
- " One Year of Non-co-operation.
- " Aftermath of do.
- " Open Letter to Ramsay Macdonald.
- Holson. Evolution of Capitalism.
- Stalin. Leninism.
- Labour Monthly.
- B. Russell. Future of Industrial Civilisation.
- Manager, Hindu Mitra Press Gorakhpur.*
- Palm Dutt. -Modern India-10 copies.
- Price My Experience of the Russian Revolution 2 copies.
- Reed Ten Days that Shook the world 2 copies.
- Bukharin. A. B. C. of Communism 6 copies.
- Radik. Causes of the Russian Revolution 2 copies.
- K. T. Shah. The Russian Experiment 2 copies.

- Lenin. On the Road to Insurrection 2 copies.
- Trotsky. In Defence of Terrorism, 2 copies.
- " Where is Britain Going ? 2 copies.
- Palme Dutt. Communism. "
- Lenin. Imperialism-The State & Revolution 5 copies.
- Palme Dutt. Empire Socialism-2 copies.
- M. N. Roy. Indian in Transition "
- " One Year of Non-co-operation 3 copies.
- " Aftermath Non-co-operatton 3 copies.
- " Open Letter to Ramsay Macdonald 3 copies.
- B. Russell Future of International Civ. 2 copies.
- Letargne Evolution of Property 2 copies.
- C. G. Sal Hundred Per Cent Indian 2 copies.

Secretary, Municipal Board, Jhansi U. P.

The same as books to Meerut except (7) K. T. Shah, (11) Palme Dutt (26) Marx & Engels.

Add-Fullip Miller-Mind & Face of Bolshevism.

P. 2070 P E

Address on the envelope:—

Muzaffar Ahmad

Workers' & Peasants' Party

CALCUTTA

P. 2071. P

A Post Card dated 11th November (December) 1928 intercepted at the Park Street P. O. on 13th December, 1928, from P. C. Joshi, 34, Holland Hall, Allahabad, to Muzaffar Ahmad, Workers' and Peasants' Party, 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

Dear Comrade,

I have not heard from you though I did from Comrade Goswami. I leave this for Calcutta on the 16th or 17th, by mail unless Dr. Mukerjee directs otherwise. I have not heard from him. So it seems I cannot go to the T. U. C. Please arrange to get 3 seats as delegates for Sindh or Andhra for the National Congress for my friends so that they may have a nice seat—they will pay the fees as soon as they reach there.

2 or 3 may be Party Delegates from Allahabad. I have written to all the Branches and they must have informed you about themselves.

By the way would you not get the Party Conference cinematographer at least by a Pathe Cinema. It is quite cheap.—200/-. It will help us immensely in propaganda or you should arrange with Pathe Cinema Camera Company to take the film and then buy it straight. I do not know if your friends allow that or if it appeals to you.

Please write back to me if it is necessary for me to reach Calcutta straight or it is worthwhile dropping at Jharia and whether Comrade Aftab Ally is going there.

With greetings

Fraternally,

Sd. P. C. Joshi.

P. 2072-P

A typed letter dated the 22nd November 1928, from Biswanath Mukerji, President Divisional Kishan and Mazdur Sabha, Gorakhpur, to Comrade Muzaffar Ahmed, Peasants' and Workers' Party of Bengal, 2/1, European Asylum Lane, Calcutta. (Postmark of the place of posting—Gorakhpur, dated 23-11-28.)

Dear Comrade Muzaffar,

I duly received all your letters and *pamphlets* that you were so kind to send me. Mr. Joshi and myself will now tour throughout the whole province and bring into existence a *strong party of the peasants and workers* here. I regret I could not reply to some of your letters, and acknowledge receipt of *booklets* that you have sent to me. I am trying to reach Calcutta by the first week of December and want to stay with you in order to have an idea of the method of work that *you have adopted*. Will you not move a resolution about my assault in your All-India Session at Calcutta? You must know the landlords, who were ready to attempt upon my life, were doing so simply thinking that our Kishan organisation were not affiliated to any All-India body; so by moving a resolution about me in the All-India Session you will be giving such landlords a challenge that our organisations at Gorakhpur do not stand alone, but have the support of the entire organisations of the country at their backs.

Today I have received *certain copies of Urdu pamphlets from your place which I have got stuck to the walls of buildings standing in the prominent parts of the town.*

Hoping to hear from you soon—

Yours in true comradeship,
Sd. Biswanath Mukerji, President
Divisional Kishan and Mazdur Sabha,
Gorakhpur, dated 22-11-28.

P. 2072. P E

Address on the envelope :—

To
Comrade Muzffar Ahmed
Peasants' and Workers' Party.
of Bengal
No. 2/1 European Asylum
Lane:
Calcutta.

P. 2073-P

A letter dated the 17th of October 1928, from L. N. Kadam, General Secretary, Reception Committee, The Bundelkhand Peasants' and Workers' Conference, Jhansi, to Muzaffar Ahmad Esq., 2/1 European Aston Road, Calcutta; posted at Jhansi City on 18th October '28, received at the Park St. P.O. on 20-10-28.

Dear Comrade,

The Bundelkhand Peasants' and Workers' Conference will be held here on 28th and 29th October 1928 under the Presidentship of comrade S. H. Jhabwala along with the U.P. Provincial Political Conference to be held under the presidentship of P. Jawahar Lal Nehru.

The Reception Committee therefore requests you to kindly grace the occasion with your presence.

Yours faithfully,
Sd/- L. N. Kadam,
General Secretary,
Reception Committee.

P. 2073 (P) (E)

An envelope having the following address on it:—

Bundelkhand Workers' and Peasants' Conference Jhansi.

To

Muzaffar Ahmad Esqr.,

2-1 European Aston Road;

Calcutta.

P. 2074

National Minority Movement

Hon. Chairman: TOM MANN Hon. General Secretary HARRY POLLITT

National Treasurer : GEO FLETCHER.

National Industrial Sections:

Miners' Minority Movement Transport Workers' Minority
Movement.

Metal Workers' Minority Movement

Building Workers' Minority Movement

Gen. Workers' Section Printers' Section.

Address All Communications to Hon. Secretary,

TELEPHONE : MUSEUM 6708

Room 14, First Floor,

Reference.....

38 GREAT ORMOND STREET,

(Please quote when replying)

LONDON W. C. I.

SEAMEN'S SECTION.

4th December, 1928.

Muzaffar Ahmad, General Secretary.
Workers and Peasants Party,
2/1 European Asylum Lane.
Calcutta India.

Dear Comrade.

Your letter dated 15th ult., also acknowledgement of our publications "International Seafarer" Etc., We have received a package registered "Ganavani" which will be distributed among Indian Seamen employed on British ships.

We should like very much to have addresses of all Seamen's Unions in India, so that we may communicate with them and send our literature as it is imperative that inter communication be maintained in order that British and Indian Workers co-ordinate their activities to the common good.

Regarding the point you need information upon. I am glad to inform you that the Transport Section of the M. M. with its various sections for different industries, is affiliated to the Red International of Labour Union (R.I.L.U.) which accepts affiliation from all militant unions (that accept the principle of the "Class Struggle") in all parts of the World.

Their is another organisation known as the "Pan Pacific Trade Union Secretariat" with the headquarters in Shanghai. This organisation is responsible for its linking and co-ordinating militant Trade Union activity in the Pan Pacific Area and this should be the organisation to which all Indian Trade Unions become affiliated. Individual unions who desire better relationship to exist among workers within the Area and are considering the possibility of World Unity, must recognise the value of such advantages as the Secretariat offers to this end.

Under separate cover we have sent you direct to the office a pamphlet published by me in the year 1927 which contains an accurate picture of present day situation also others that may be of interest to you and your fellow comrades. We are also testing by sending you a number of the I.S. for November. Please let us know if they arrive.

I shall be glad to know if you receive this parcel of 250 copies of the November issue besides the single copy.

For your information, should any organisation (T.U.) desiring to communicate with the I.P.C. of Transport Workers, can do so through this office as an International Secretariat member is responsible for such correspondence. This is more reliable way to correspond with safety.

With Comradely greetings and best wishes for the Workers and Peasants Party.

I remain,

Fraternally yours,

Geo. Hardy.

Secretary.

P. S.—Perhaps you know a comrade who comes to London per boat as a seaman.

P. 2074. (E)

Address on the envelope:—

Mr. Muzaffar Ahmad.

No. 88o Asylum Lane Post Office,

Calcutta, India.

P. 2077-P

EAST INDIAN RAILWAY UNION.

(Recognised by the agent E.I. Ry. on 12 March 1928)

Head office—Khagaul (Patna).

From

General Secretary

Camp—Lilloah (Howrah)

Ondal 6-6-28.

Dear Muzaffar,

Here is the article at last. Hope (a) that it will reach you (b) that it will do so in time, (c) that it is suitable. Dharani thinks of writing an article also.

We shall probably be back in Calcutta in a few days'

Yours

(Sd). P. Spratt.

P. 2077 (P) (1)

A manuscript article on "The Role of the Workers' and Peasants' Party". accompanying the above letter.

(Vide Exh. P. 526 (41)).

P. 2077. (PE)

Envelope for the above, having the following address:—

Mr. Muzaffar Ahmed,

2/1 European Asylum Lane,

Calcutta.

R	159
Audal	

P. 2078. (P)

A letter No. SC/5, dated the 30th November, 1928 from Joglekar, of the G. I. P. Railwaymen's Union, Shetye Buildings, Poibavdi, Parel, Bombay, addressed to Phillip Spratt, 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

Comrade,

Very soon we shall meet in Jheria. The fight of our Union over the Bhusawal demands is drifting fast towards the crisis. We sent you herewith copies of this month's Railwaymen which will give you a clear indication of what is contemplated in the near future. "Progress of the Union" will be a guide in this respect. I am sure you will bring from Calcutta good contingent for fraction work at Jheria. You must not fail to be watchful about the A. I. R. F. Which meets two days prior to A.I.T.U.C. If possible we have to thrust the policy of United front on all Railways at the Federation meeting. Therefore don't fail to take proper precautions about getting yourself and other fraction elements on the executive of the Federation through Calcutta Railway organisations. Similar precaution you will have to take about getting sufficient fraction men through all possible Unions in Calcutta for the T. U. C. Work.

You will agree that the fight between right and left has begun. It has assumed far too bitter complexion on this side and we have practically to exert to the point of exhaustion to keep ourselves up against the all sided attack from the nationalists, moderates and trade-union reformers. With fraternal greetings to Mujafer and other comrades.

Yours fraternally

Sd/-K. N. Joglekar.

P. 2078 P E

An envelope with the following on it:-

P. Spratt Esqr.

2/1 European Asylum

Calcutta

CALCUTTA

P. 2079 (P)

"KIRTI."

The only Labour organ in Punjab.

Dear Comrade,

Yours to hand. The success of our conference depends upon your arrival in time. If you don't come the whole thing will go to the dogs. We, therefore request you whole heartedly and with the force that we can command, that you should and must come down to Lyallpur, happen what will, on 28th 29th and 30th September.

Financial difficulties are the same every where, but we have to overcome them somehow or other, and do the thing that we stand for. Please come, do come for your not coming will put us in a fix.

With best greetings,

Yours fraternally,

(Sd.) SOHAN SINGH,

General Secretary,

The Workers' and Peasants' Party Sangh.

P. 2079. (P) (E) *referred*

Envelope for the above, having the following address on it—

To

Mr. Muzaffar Ahmad,

2/1 European Asylum,

Calcutta.

Posted at Amritsar on 14th Sept. 1928.

Received at Park Street Post office on 16-9-28.

P. 2080.

A letter addressed to Muzaffar Ahmed, Editor, Ganavani, 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta, by S. S. Mirajkar, 2/3 Khandke Buildings, Dadar, Bombay No. 14, dated the 5th May 1928. The post mark is "Bombay, date no legible" Received at the Park St. P. O. on 9-5-28.

My dear Muzaffar,

I have seen the cutting of the Bengali daily "Vote Ranga" and its nasty criticism. I do not know how this "Vote Ranga" happened to fall upon us. I think my acquaintance there one Mr. Haripada Mahlanabis must be responsible for it. We intend to serve a legal notice upon that paper and teach them a lesson upon decent criticism of public men and their activities. Kindly let me know what you think about it.

What is happening to Com. Spratt? The Police Commissioner of Bombay, the other day, casually told us that he was suffering from dysentery. I however, feel that was a lie and a bunk. He is busy about Lilloah Strike as we subsequently read about it. I also saw his speech on Monday delivered at Calcutta. Please let me know if he was at all ill as the Commissioner Mr. Kelly told us.

How is your health as well as Com. Halim's? Please write in detail as to how go the activities of the Party there in general and Trade Union activities in particular.

We are all busy at present in connection with the Textile general strike. The mill owners are carrying on vigorous propaganda against us as being communists. Every day some one or other of that gilded gentry has been issuing a statement or an interview wherein we shall be picked upon for condemnation; and our chief fault is that we are Communists. The workers are enthusiastic and they seem to be determined to fight to the finish. The demands of the strikers are formulated and they are presented to the Mill Owner's Association. Only this morning we have received a letter from them that they were not prepared to negotiate with the strike committee as it is constituted at present. They are willing to open negotiations with Joshi's Union which is the only registered Textile Union. The discussion on this point is going on.

In the meantime we have decided to start picketing and get the essential services such as Oilmen, Firemen, Coalmen withdrawn so that an additional pressure will be brought upon the Mill Owners since the machinery is likely to get rusted if the services are withdrawn. Things have reached the crisis and we watching the further development with anxiety.

By the bye, the Nationalists, in Bombay have spread a

rumour that Mr. Bradley is an agent of the Lancashire Mill owners and he is in India to create Labour trouble in the Textile Industry. How funny ! I should think that this is enough for the present and hence I conclude.

Yours fraternally,

(Sd.) S. S. MIRAJKAR.

P. 2081 P

A letter dated the 13th of December, 1928, bearing post mark of the place of posting "Calcutta G. P. O. 13th Dec. 28," addressed to P. Spratt, Esq., 2/1, European Asylum Lane, Calcutta, by the Accountant, Nederlandsche Indische Handelsbank (Netherlands India Commercial Bank), 26 & 27 Dalhousie Square West, Calcutta.

Dear Sir,

In accordance with your application of date we herewith beg to inform you having despatched at your risk and without any responsibility on our part, an urgent telegram to our office in Bombay to pay Rs. 500 to Mr. B. F. Bradley, Appolo Chambers, Talloch Street, Fort.

The cost of the T. T. (including message Re. 1-8) is at the rate of exchange Re. 1 Commission Rs. 502-8-0 for which amount we duly received your cash.

Yours faithfully,

Nederlandsche Indische Handelsabank,

(Netherlands India Commercial Bank).

(Sd.) (not legible),

(Accountant)

P. 2081 P E

Address on the envelope is as follows:—

Nederlandsch Indische Handelsbank
26 & 27 Dalhousie square West
Post box No. 2338 Calcutta.

P. Spratt Esqr.
2/1 European Asylum Lane,
Calcutta.

P. 2082

Rejected.

Telegram No. A. N. 2015 from S. V. Ghate, to Ganavani,
Calcutta. The message runs as follows:—

Latest Developments prevent Departure Muzaffar Spratt
Wanted Here Immediately Important.

Ghate.

P. 2083

Rejected.

Telegram No. A. N. 164 from S. V. Ghate, to GANAVANI
Calcutta. The message runs as follows:—

Absolutely Essential! Start Bring More Copies Dange's Book.

Ghate.

P. 2084

Telegram No. 00536 dated 28 August 1920, from Muzaffar Ahmed to Ghate. The message runs as follows:—

Ghate,

17 Dwarkadas Mansions,

Girgaon, Bombay.

Reach Calcutta wednesday Fifth Try Bring Dange.

Muzaffar Ahmed.

P. 2085

Telegram No. 1007 dated 30 Nov. 28 from Spratt to Workers Welfare League, London. The message runs as follows:—

Worker's welfare League,

162 Buckingham palace Road,

London.

Please Arrange Help, Bauria send Care Workers And Peasants Party.

Spratt.

P. 2086

A TELEGRAM CONTAINING THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE:- PD JHARIH INDIA V MOSCOU C18 634 21 M INDO

RECEPTION COMMITTEE ALL INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS JHARIA INDIA—

CENTRAL COUNCIL TRADE UNION USSR SENDS YOUR CONGRESS AND ENTIRE PROLETARIAN INDIA WARM FRATERNAL GREETINGS BEHALF OF WHOLE

SOVIET TRADE UNION MOVEMENT STOP ALTHOUGH WORKING CLASS OF YOUR COUNTRY AND YOUR TRADE UNIONS HAVE LITTLE CONTACT WITH WORKING CLASS AND TRADE UNION MOVEMENT OF USSR COMMA WE SEPARATED BY GREAT DISTANCE AND INSUFFICIENT CONNECTION PURSUING SAME PROLETARIAN CLASS AIMS AND TASKS STOP THE GREAT STRIKES OF WORKERS INDIA SHOW THAT INDIANS PROLETARIAT COMMA NOTWITHSTANDING UNITED OPPOSITION OF BRITISH IMPERIALISTS AND INDIAN EMPLOYERS COMMA HAS TAKEN DECISIVE ACTION TO PRESS ITS

100

CLASS DEMANDS STOP THIS ACTION OF BROAD MASSES OF INDIAN PROLETARIAT HAS PERTURBED BRITISH IMPERIALISTS AND INDIAN EMPLOYERS AND TOGETHER WITH THEM THE AGENTS OF INTERNATIONAL CAPITAL COMMA EUROPEAN SOCIAL REFORMERS WHO ARE ATTEMPTING TO SUBJECT LABOUR MOVEMENT IN YOUR COUNTRY TO THEIR INFLUENCE AND LEADERSHIP STOP DELEGATIONS WHO CAME

150

IN RECENT TIMES FROM BRITISH LABOUR PARTY AND GENERAL COUNCIL OF TRADE UNIONS PARENTHESIS GRAHAM PAUL COMMA TOM SHAW COMMA PURCELL COMMA HALLSWORTH PARENTHESIS BEING AGENTS OF BRITISH IMPERIALISM COMMA HAD AS THEIR TASK TO DEVERT WORKING CLASS YOUR COUNTRY FROM THIS STRUGGLE AND SUBJECT LABOUR MOVEMENT INDIA TO REFORMIST

200

INFLUENCE AND GUIDANCE STOP NONE OF THESE DELEGATES TOOK STAND FOR INDEPENDENCE OF INDIAN PEOPLE COMMA NONE DARED TAKE A STAND AGAINST BRITISH IMPERIALISTS COMMA THESE OPPRESSORS OF INDIA FOR CENTURIES STOP ALL THESE DELEGATES CALLED YOU TO AMSTERDAM INTERNATIONAL COMMA PICTURING

YOUR ADHESION TO THAT INTERNATIONAL AS
STEP TO

250

STOP BUT YOUR JOINING AMSTERDAM INTER-
NATIONAL WILL NOT ADVANCE CAUSE OF UNITY
STOP AMSTERDAM INTERNATIONAL IS ORGANISER
OF SPLIT SPLIT IN TRADE UNION MOVEMENT IN
ALL COUNTRIES AND OBEDIENT TOTAL IN HANDS
OF ROBBER LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND CARRIES
OUR ON INTERNATIONAL SCALE SAME POLICY OF
CLASS COLLABORATION AND TREACHERY

300

WHICH LEADERS OF BRITISH TRADE UNION
MOVEMENT ARE PURSUING STOP PARAGRAPH
INDIAN WORKERS SOME TIME AGO SPOKE IN FAVO-
UR OF ANGLO RUSSIAN UNITY COMMITTEE WHICH
THESE SAME PURCELL TOM SHAW HALLSWORTH
AND OTHERS COMMA HAVING BETRAYED THE GEN-
ERAL STRIKE COMMA HEROIC STRUGGLE OF
BRITISH MINERS COMMA HELPING BRITISH EXECU-
TIONERS STRANGLE WORKERS

- 350

WHO ARE CARRYING ON REVOLUTIONARY
STRUGGLE FOR THEIR EMANCIPATION COMMA
TORE UP IN INTEREST OF BRITISH BOURGEOISIE
AGREEMENT OF BROTHERHOOD AND FRIENDSHIP
CONCLUDED WITH USSR CCTU STOP THESE PEOPLE
PURSUING WITH REGARD TO TRADE UNIONS OUR
COUNTRY SAME POLICY WHICH CONSERVATIVE
GOVERNMENT OF BALDWIN CARRIED OUT WITH
REGARD TO SOVIET

400

WORKERS GOVERNMENT COMMA THEREBY
ARE AIDING CAPITALISTS IN PREPARING NEW
IMPERIALIST WARS AND FIRST OF ALL ATTACK
UPON PROLETARIAN STATE USSR STOP HAVING
DONE ALL THIS BEFORE EYES OF WORKING CLASS
OF WHOLE WORLD THESE AGENTS OF BRITISH

62

CAPITAL HAVE AUDACITY TO ASSERT IN INDIA
THAT BREAK UP OF ANGLO

450

RUSSIAN COMMITTEE OCCURED AT FAULT OF
TRADE UNION MOVEMENT OF USSR STOP PARAGR-
APH SOVIET TRADE UNION MOVEMENT FOLLOWS
WITH GREATEST ATTENTION GRAVE STRUGGLE
OF INDIAN PROLETARIAT AGAINST FOREIGN AND
LOCAL EMPLOYERS STOP IN ORDER TO CONQUER
IT IS NECESSARY GREATE POWERFUL REVOLUTI-
ONARY TRADE UNIONS AND STEADILY CARRY ON
STRUGGLE AGAINST

500

IMPERIALISTS AND THEIR AGENTS IN MIDST OF W OR-
KERS STOP WE KNOW HOW DIFFICULT YOUR STRUGGLE IS
AND HOW STRONG YOUR ENEMIES ARE STOP IN THIS STRU-
GGLE YOU CAN COUNT ON FRATELNAL SOLIDARITY OF WHOLE
SOVIET TRADE UNION MOVEMENT STOP PARAGRAPH ORGA-
NISED TRADE UNION MOVEMENT OF USSR WILL BE GLAD WE
COME

REPRESENTATIVES INDIAN PROLETARIAT ON TERRITO-
RY USSR STOP WE HOPE YOU WILL PARTICIPATE IN PACIFIC
TRADE UNION CONFERENCE SUMMONED BY PANPACIFIC
SECRETARIAT EARLY AUGUST NINTFEN HUNDRED TWENTY
NINE AT VLADIVOSTOK WHERE TOGATHER WITH REPRESENT-
TIVES OF USSR CCTU YOU WILL DISCUSS ALL QUESTIONS
WHICH INTEREST LABOUR MOVEMENT ON PACIFIC COAST
AND WHOLE

600

WORLD STOP DOWN WITH BRITISH IMPERIALISM STOP
LONG LIVE REVOLUTIONARY CLASS TRADE UNION MOVEMENT
INDIA STOP LONG LIVE FRATERNAL ALLIANCE OF WORKERS
INDIA AND USSR STOP LONG LIVE INTERNATIONAL PROLE-
TARIAT AND UITY OF WORLD TRADE UNION MOVEMENT STOP

PRESIDIUM USSR CCTU DOGADOV SECRETARY

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DFD NEWYORK 4 50-33 NIL WU INDO
LCO ALL INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS
SANDHURST ROAD GIRGAON BOMBAY

AMERICAN WORKERS MASS MEETINGS THROUGH-
OUT COUNTRY DEMAND RELEASE JACK JOHNSTONE
ARRESTED IN JHARIA PROTEST TERRORISM AND
SUPPRESSION INDIAN MASSES BY BRITISH GOVERN-
MENT INFORM YOUR ACTION RELEASE JOHNSTONE
CABLE ANTIPER

US SECTION ANTI IMPERIALIST LEAGUE TRADE
UNION EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE INTERNATIONAL
LABOR DEFENSE

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Telegram No. 39 Dt. 11 Oct. 1928. which runs as follows:—

To..... Calcutta.

DI 1571 Gaurishankar Anand Math Thirty Five 35/
Muzaffar Ahmed 2/1 European Asylum Lane.