

19 - 11

ENGLISH - - -

- TRANSLATIONS.

OF

BENGALI EXHIBITS

ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF SEARCH LIST.

Details of Property seized by Police-officers acting under the provisions of section 103 or 165, Criminal Procedure Code.

1. Date and hour of search— 20-3-29. from 5 a. m. to 6-25 p. m.
2. Name and residence of persons whose house is searched—Sirimati Sudhira Sarkar w/o Babu Hemanta Kumar Sarkar.
3. Name and residence of witnesses to search, { (1) Jatindra Nath Biswas of Kushtia Bazar.
(2) Saliendra Nath Bose of Amlapara Kushtia.
and so on. Jôhan Maharali of Kushtia Bazar, Kushtia, Nadia.

Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial.)	Description of articles seized.	Description of place where article seized was found.	Name, father's name, residence, etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized.	REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>mattalika</i> , and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt paper etc.
1.	Manuscript copy of "Sara Bangla Krishak Sammilani 1st session and "Muragachha Sabha" etc - 4 sheets. (All Bengal Peasants' conference, 1st session and Muragachha meeting)	Found in the south facing Jagaran Press room.	Proprietress :— Srimati Sudhira Sarkar w/o Babu Hemanta Kumar Sarkar, Amlapara Kushtia Nadia. Manager :— Babu Nishi Kanta Patra S/o Late Bipin Bihari Patra—at present Amlapara Kushtia, Nadia.	Babus Hemanta Kumar Sarkar and Nishi Kanta Patra refused to sign the search list and abruptly left the house without taking any copy. (Sd.) G. K. Chakrawartti 20-3-29.
2.	A Manuscript named "Aobhan" (call) by Dwijadas Dutt of Comilla - 6 sheets.	Do.	Do.	
3.	Manuscript copy of "Krishak Andolan" (Peasants' movement) 9 pages.	Do.	Do.	
4.	One letter of 21.4.23. to Bijoy, written by Hementa Da'.	Do.	Do.	
5.	Comite Pro-Hindon Paris le 1. 1. 25 -2 pages.	Do.	Do.	

Serial No (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial.)	Description of articles seized.*	Description of place where article seized was found.	Name, father's name, residence etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized.	REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>mallalika</i> , and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt paper, etc.
6.	Nikhil Bharatiya Krishak -o- Sramik Dal Sammilam (All India Peasants' and Workers' Party Conference) written by General Secretary 2 sheets.	Do.	Do.	
7.	"Paradhinatar Karan and (Cause of dependence) Banglaya Krishak Andoran" (Peasant Movement in Bengal) 4 sheets. written by Hemanta Kumar Sarkar.	Do.	Do.	
8.	" Zemindar Savatta Ain". (The law about the rights of landlords). Written by Hemanta Kumar Saikar - 2 sheets.	Do.	Do.	
9.	Resolutions unanimously passed at the All Bengal Peasants' Conference. 14 sheets (12 manuscript and 2 printed.)	Do.	Do.	
10.	Tenancy Act & Naogaon Ryot Conference in manuscript-1.	Do.	Do.	
11.	Manuscript copy of " the first All India Peasants' and Workers' Conference written in Bengali by Dharani Kanta Goswami."	Do.	Do.	
12.	Do printed one copy with names of some office bearers written in hand.	Do	Do.	

13.	Manuscript copy of the object and Programme of work of the Peasants and Workers' Sangha and the resolutions proposed by Hemanta Kumar Sarkar & accepted at the first Calcutta Session of the All India Peasants and Workers' Sangha.	Do.	Do.
14.	Manuscript copy of the Presidential address of the All Bengal Peasants' Conference by Moulvi Osimuddin Ahamad M. L. C. 9 sheets.	Do.	Do.
15.	All Bengal Praja (Tenants') Conference 2nd Session at Krishnagar (Manuscript) 3 shee.s.	Do.	Do.
16.	Manuscript copy of notice of the 2nd Session of the Bengal Peasants & Workers' party written by Soumyendra Nath Thakur. 1 sheet.	Do.	Do.
17.	1 letter of 5. 1. 27. written from Madhupur by Hemanta to Nishi.	Do.	Do.
18.	An article named one eyed dear in Bengali Manuscript by Hemanta Kumar Sarkar. 3 sheets.	Do.	Do.
19.	A notice of the Bengal Provincial Conference Exhibition on agriculture and arts.	Do.	Do.
20.	A manuscript notice of the Bengal Peasants' Sangha (union) written by Hemanta Kumar Sarkar.	Do.	Do.

Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial.)	Description of articles seized.*	Description of place where article seized was found.	Name, father's name, residence, etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized.	REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>mallalika</i> , and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt paper, etc.
21.	One printed copy of article "Kalyaner Path O Swadhinata" (way to welfare & freedom) written by Hemanta Kumar Sarkar.	Do.	Do.	
22.	One printed article named " Bharat Swadhinata Sangha" (Indian independence league) by Hemanta Kumar Sarkar.	Do.	Do.	
23	One printed article named "Banchibar Dabi" (A claim to survive) written by Narain Chandra Lahiri.	Do,	Do.	
24..	One printed copy of All Bengal Peasants' Conference 1st session.	Do.	Do.	
25.	One printed notice of the meeting of the All Bengal Peasants' Conference.	Do.	Do.	
26.	One page of a printed receipt book of the All Bengal Peasants' conference.	Do.	Do.	
27.	One post card d/ 19-1-27 written to Nishi Kanta Patra by Satish Ch. Dass Gupta.	Do.	Do.	
28.	One post card having post Mark d/	Do.	Do.	It bears the impression of the seal of the Peasants and Workers Party Bengal.

	6-6-27 written by M. A. Khan to Nishi Kanta Patra.		
29.	One post card d/ 7-3-28 written to Nishi Kanta Patra from 40 Mirzapur Street.	Do.	Do.
30.	One post card d/ 29-10-26 written to Saroj Ranjan Acharjya from Mirpur.	Do.	Do.
31.	One letter d/ 9-5-27 written from Kishnagur by Bishwamohan Dada to Nishi.	Do.	Do.
32.	One letter d/ 26-3-27 written by Bishwamohan Dada to Nishi	Do.	Do.
33.	One letter d/ 7-1-27 written from Goari by Tarak to Nishi.	Do.	Do.
34.	One letter d/ 14-2-27 written from 59 A. Bag Bazar Street Calcutta by Hemanta to Nishi.	Do.	Do.
35.	One letter d/ 2-3-29 written from Nadia district Congress Committee by Khatish Chandra Mukerji to Editor, Jagaran.	Do.	Do.
36.	One post card d/ 14-5-27 written from Po. Sankalipara, Dst. Noakhali by Bhupatish Chandra Sen to Nishi Kanta Patra.	Found in the Jagaran Press Office room.	Do.
37.	Circular letter No. 5 d/ Kiran Sankar Roy.	Do.	Do.

Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial.)	Description of articles seized.	Description of place where article, seized was found.	Name, father's name, residence, etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized.	REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>maltalka</i> , and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt paper, etc.
38.	One Universal Exercise book.	Do.	Do.	
39.	One list for the year 1927 of the Kushtia Congress Committee.	Do.	Do.	
40.	One notice d/ 6-3-28 with the Signature of Kiran Sankar Roy.	Do.	Do.	
41.	One cutting from an English newspaper Post Revolutionary Russia.	Do.	Do.	
42.	The students' Exercise book.—1	Do.	Do.	
43.	Letter copy book of Jagaran—1	Do.	Do.	
44.	Correspondence book—1	Do.	Do.	
45.	An account book of the Nadia District Congress Committee.	Do.	Do.	
46.	One letter copy book.	Do.	Do.	
47.	Jagaran Diary Book—1	Do.	Do.	
48.	The universities exercise book with account of N. K. Patra.	Do.	Do.	

49.	Jagaran Accounts 1335 B. S. from Bysakh to 23rd Asadh.	Do.	Do.
50.	Account Book 1335 B. S. from Asadh to 30th December.	Do.	Do.
51.	Draft account—I from January to 28th February.	Do.	Do.
52.	Jagaran dated 13th March.	Do.	Do.
53.	Jagaran dated 20th February.	Do.	Do.
54.	One letter copy book for Jagaran.	Do.	Do.
55.	One check (Bill) Book from 6-7-27 to Bill No. 700.	Do.	Do.
56.	One booklet containing the Programme of the Kushtia Congress Committee for 1926.	Do.	Do.
57.	One receipt book of the Nadia District 'Praja' (Tenants) Sammilani Nos. 101 and 102-used.	Do.	Do.
58.	Receipt books of the Indian National Congress from 6726 to 6750 of one book, from 6751 to 6757 of another book used and one book containing Nos. from 64351 to 64375.	Do.	Do.
59.	One exercise book with "Letters to advertisers" written on it.	Do.	Do.

serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial)	Description of articles seized.*	Description of place where article seized was found.	Name, father's name, residence, etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized.	REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>mallika</i> and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt paper, etc.
60.	Some printed, typed and hand written addresses—7.	Do.	Do.	
61.	Some typed and hand written addresses—4	Do,	Do.	
62.	Some addresses with names written on the back of the printed bill form No. 760.	Do.	Do.	
63.	Name and address of one Haridas Chakraborti of Bera with "wants to be a subscriber to the Ganabani".	Do	Do,	
64.	One post card dated 16-1-29 written to Nishi Kanta Patra by Samshu (S. Ahamed) C/o A. Sen Gupta 7/1 St. James Square, Calcutta, written from Brisal.	Do.	Do.	
65.	Two printed copies of the Presidential address of the All Bengal Peasants' Conference.	Do,	Do.	
66.	Register Book of Subscribers Jagaran 1332 to 1334.	Do.	Do.	
67.	List of subscribers to Jagaran Patrika from 1335 B. S.	Do.	Do.	

68. Attendance Register of the Jagaran Press.

Do.

Do.

69. Jagaran Press-Daily attendance Daily progress, pay sheet, Service Book Register—1

Do.

Do.

N. B.—This form must be signed by witnesses.

* Articles seized, numbered and labelled should be attested by signatures of witnesses and Police-officers.

Permanent marks, such as cuts, etc., must not be made.

(Sd.) F. P. PRIOR.

S. Police Nadia 20-3-29

(Sd.) GIRIJA KANTA CHAKRAWARTTI.S.I.

(Sd.) RABINDRA NATH ROY.

20-3-29 D. I. B. Inspector.

(Sd.) PRAN DHARAN GHOSH.

Inspector of Police, I.B. C.I.D. Bengal.

Police-officers conducting the search.

Date 20-3-29. Place Kushtia.

(Sd.) JOHAN MEHAR ALI.

(Sd.) JATINDRA NATH BISWAS.

(Sd.) SAITENDRA NATH BOSE.

20-3-29.

Signature of witnesses with date.

Signature by the accused (optional)

*Signature with date of
the person whose property,
is seized if present at the
search*

SEARCH LIST.

Details of Property seized by Police-officers acting under the provisions of section 103 or 165, Criminal Procedure Code.

1. Date and hour of search— 20/3/29. 6-40 p. m.
2. Name and residence of person whose house is searched—Srimati Sudhira Sarkar w/o Babu Hemanta Kumar Sarkar of Amlapara, Kustia Nadia.
3. Name and residence of witnesses to search, {
 - (1) Jatindra Nath Biswas of Kustia Bazar.
 - (2) Sailendra Nath Bose Babus Suresh Chandra Chatterjee Gouranga Sunder Sarkar and Indu Bhusan Samyal of Kustia. and so on.

Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial.)	Description of articles seized*.	Description of place where article seized was found.	Name, father's name, residence etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized.	REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>maltika</i> , and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt paper, etc.
1	"Jagaran Press" sign board—1	Found on the wall of the Jagaran Office—on the left side of the entrance to the office.	Proprietress — Srimati Sudhira Sarkar w/o Hemanta Kumar Sarkar of Amlapara Kushtia.	
2	"Office" sign board"—1	Found on the wall of the office room on the right side of the entrance to the office.	Manager—Babu Nishi Kanta Patra S/o Late Bipin Bihari Patra of Amlapara, Kushtia Nadia.	

Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial.)	Description of articles seized.	Description of place where articles seized was found.	Name, father's name, residence, etc. of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized.	REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>mallalika</i> , and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt paper etc.
3.	"Jagaran" Office Kushtia (Nadia) " sign board—1.	Found on the top of the door of the Jagaran Press.		

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Signature with date of the person whose property, is seized if present at the search

N. B.—This form must be signed by witnesses.

* Articles seized, numbered and labelled should be attested by signatures of witnesses and Police-officers.

Permanent marks, such as cuts, etc., must not be made.

(Sd.) F. P. PRIOR.

S. Police Nadia 20-3-29

(Sd.) GIRIJA KANTA CHAKRAWARTTI.S.I.

(Sd.) RABINDRA NATH ROY.

D. I. B. Inspector.

(Sd.) PRAN DHARAN GHOSH.

Inspector I.B. C.I.D. Bengal.

Police-officers conducting the search.

Date 20-3-29. Place Kushtia.

(Sd.) GOURANGA CHANDRA SARKAR.

(Sd.) INDU BHUSAN SAMYAL.

(Sd.) SURESH CHANDRA CHATTERJI.

(Sd.) JATINDRA NATH BISWAS.

(Sd.) SAILENDRA NATH BOSE.

20-3-29.

Signature of witnesses with date.

Signature by the accused (optional)

P. 619-[T].

All India Conference of Peasants and Workers' Parties.

The all India Conference of peasants' and workers party will meet in the third week of December next at Calcutta. A reception Committee has been formed under the lead of the Bengal peasants and workers' party to carry out successfully the work of the Conference. Peasants' and workers' parties have been formed in Bengal, Bombay and Punjab. Besides there are other small bodies in different parts of India. The aim of the all-India Conference is to unite all these parties and groups and form them into a workers' and peasants' party of India. Only the Peasants' and Workers' party is the party of the masses, i. e. of the exploited & persecuted peasants, workers and lower middle class people. The aim of this party is to secure full independence for India and establish therein the authority of the peasants, workers and lower middle class men to rule. All the other political parties in this country are guided by the interests of the exploiting class. These parties have nothing even to do with the masses except to exploit and rob them. It is for this reason that the masses have had to form their own political party—i. e. the workers' and Peasants' party.

All peasants and workers may become members of the party, either in their individual capacity or through the intermediary of their association or union. Middle class and lower middle class men will also if they believe in the party programme and policy and are ready to act in accordance there with, be eligible for membership. For other information write to the following address :—

General Secretary

Bengal Peasants' and Workers' Party.

2/1 European Asylum Lane

Calcutta.

Sd. K. B. Roy.

P. 620-(T).

This is the press copy in MSS of the printed leaflet (Ex. P 621), from which latter, a few unimportant lines at the bottom which appear in the press copy are missing.

Sd. K. B. Roy.

16-10-29.

P. 621-[T].

FIRST ALL INDIA CONFERENCE OF PEASANTS' AND WORKERS' PARTIES.

The first All India conference of Peasants' and Workers' Parties will meet at Albert Hall, 15 College square on the 21st 22nd 23rd December next. This meeting will be held with the Peasants' and Workers Parties of Bengal, Bombay the Punjab and Agra & Oudh in Conference.

A reception Committee has also been formed through the efforts of the Bengal Peasants' and Workers' Party to transact the business of the Conference. On the occasion of this conference, the four Parties of Peasants and Workers before mentioned would-unite into-one All India Peasants' and Workers' Party.

The Peasants' and Workers' Party is the Party of those exploited persecuted masses who produce everything with their body and brains and on misappropriation of whose labour, factory owners, zamindars and Mahajanans etc. are fattening their bellies. The condition of the Peasants Workers and exploited educated classes in the country is daily worsening. Under pressure of debts to the Mahajans and the landlords, land is gradually passing out of the hands of the peasant workers though labouring very hard in the factories, Ships, Railways etc. cannot get two square meals a day. The ruling authority in the country is in the hands of a few hundred English capitalists. Among the indigenous population it is only the landlord and capitalists who have some little share in this ruling authority. At the present time the foreign capitalists having joined hands with indigenous capitalists and landlords are exploiting the masses of the country i. e. the peasants workers and lower middle

classes educate men who are without property. It is because the exploiters are possessed of political power that whenever the masses have wanted to raise their heads against exploitation the police and the soldiery of the capitalist rulers have come and suppressed it. So oppression is certain to be committed on the exploited and oppressed peasants workers and lower middle class educated community until they can get control of ruling authority in this country. Further the sorrows and woes of the masses will not at all be reduced, if even the ruling power in the country passes from the hands of the foreigner wholly to those of the indigenious landlords and capitalists. Securing complete freedom from the hands of foreign exploiters the peasants workers & exploited educated classes in the country will have to assume ruling authority themselves. Over land, the big factories, shipping, railways and all the other means of producing wealth, it is the masses of the country who are to have full rights. The upper classes of society have built up society in an artificial form for their own convenience. With the cooperation of the exploited lower middle class educated community, the peasant and workers, breaking up existing society, will build it up an end, in a form suitable to the masses.

It is in order to carry out the above objects, that is to attain the political, economic and social emuncipation of the masses of the country that the workers and peasants' party has been constituted. For the present the workers' and peasants' party will assemble the exploited and oppressed peasants under a common flag, with the object of getting the demands mentioned below fulfilled:—

IMMEDIATE DEMANDS

(a) political demands

- (1) All men & women above 18 to have the vote.
- (2) There should be full liberty of press, of speech and of association. In particular there are to be no obstacles to forming labour Unions.
- (3) There are to be no racial or colour distinctions of any sort.
- (4) All are to have the right to bear arms.

(6) ECONOMIC DEMANDS.

- (1) The zamindari system and in Oudh the Talukdari system is to be abolished out right and no compensation is to be paid to any zamidar or Talukdar on this account. Peasants must fight in an organised fashion to put a stop to this exploiting system, they must also carry on a no--rent movement.
- (2) Lands for cultivation may only be in possession of cultivators. In order to better their economic condition rents are to be reduced,

and assessed at a minimum fixed rate. Other taxes too are to be reduced. No one should be allowed to snatch away land for cultivation from the hands of the cultivators. If the land of the cultivator is mortgaged to a mahajan, such mortgage is to be null and void.

(3) State co-operative, Banks are to be started by Government to lend money to peasants. The rate of interest of the Bank should never exceed 7 per cent.

(4) All indirect taxation should utterly cease.

(5) Peasants must be taught cultivation on upto date scientific methods.

(6) Mines, Railways, Tramways, Telegraphs and steamers etc engaged in internal navigation are to be regarded as public property. They are to be worked not for profit but for the public convenience.

(7) The hours of employment of workmen in factories, Railways, shipping etc. should never exceed 8 a day and 44 a week.

(8) The law should regulate minimum wages for workers; this should be sufficient for them to be well-fed well-clothed and well-housed.

(9) Legislation should provide for pension for workmen in old age and during sickness and unemployment.

(10) There should be measures taken to secure adequate compensation if a worker while employed is injured and loses the use of a limb by any accident.

The present WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION ACT is not at all satisfactory. This law should be made suitable for workmen.

(11) Appliances to prevent accidents should be installed in mines and factories.

(12) There should be a system of weekly payment of wages to workmen.

SOCIAL DEMANDS

(1) Illiteracy must be wholly removed from amongst the masses. For this purpose free and compulsory education will require to be introduced.

(2) Hospitals and Health centre should be established for peasants and workers and homes for their women folk for the ante-natal period.

(3) Healthy houses must be provided for workmen.

The rents for these must never be beyond the capacity of the workmen to pay.

(4) Female and boy labour should never be employed in any hard and dangerous employment.

(5) Boys under 14 should never be made to work.

(6) Women like men are to possess full social economic and political rights.

These demands will not be satisfied if merely they are put down on paper. The peasants, workers and oppressed educated community must fight for the purpose in an organised way. At the present time, the exploiters also are exploiting the producers in an organised way. So the producers also i. e. the peasants and workers must fight against this exploitation in an organised fashion. Unless they organise, i. e. unless they form parties, their woes and misfortunes will never end. There can never be any friendship on the part the peasants, workers and other exploited and oppressed classes with the exploiters, foreign or indigenous. The interests of the exploiters and the exploited can never be the same. All will be able to realise the truth of this statement of mine from the way to which in connection with the amendment of the Tenancy Act in the Bengal Legislative Council, zamindar members who belong to congress or members who are subservient to zamindars have gone against the interests of the peasants. It is on the basis of class-conflict that the peasants' and workers' movement has to be carried on. The plain meaning of this is that everything will have to be secured from the exploiters and robbers only after a fight. It is with this object that the peasant's and workers' party has been constituted. This party will create their own leaders from amongst the peasants and workmen. This party will go on explaining to peasants and workmen how by forming associations or unions, the fight will have to be carried on. Brother workmen and peasants though they may be members of their own respective unions, will be eligible for membership of the peasants, and workers party. They will have to pay a minimum subscription of annas-4/-per annum. Other classes of members will have to pay a minimum subscription of Re 1/-. In every case and specially in the case of the educated community, the executive committee of the party will carefully ascertain whether or not those seeking membership are prepared really to accept the policy, aims and programme of this party and to work in accordance therewith.

The conference will be a wholly new thing. After deep consideration the programme will be decided on the occasion. The special work of the conference will be to decide what path we are to travel if we are to gain success. The proceedings will be in English Urdu and Hindi. So no one will find any difficulty in

following them. Let brother peasants and workers attend the conference in very large numbers. Those educated brethren who have a revolutionary mentality may also come to the conference and see how well established on a scientific historic and revolutionary basis is, the path adopted by the workers and peasants party. To carry out the work of the conference, (some lines are cut out here) .

Dharani Kanta Goswami,

Calcutta.
Nov. 19. 1928.

}

Secy. Reception Committee
2/1 European Asylum Lane,

Calcutta.

Office bearers of the Bengal Peasants and Workers' Party.

President : Atul Ch. Gupta M. A. B. L ,

Vice President: Naren Ch. Sen Gupta M, A. D. L.

General Sereetary: Muzaffar Ahmad.

Secy. of the workmen's Section.

Dharani Kanta Goswmi.

Secy. of the Peasants Section.

Hemanta Kumar Sarkar M. A.

Accused in the Cawnpore Boishevik case, surrounded by Police guards.

HERE IS A
PICTURE

From left to right.

1. Nalini Gupta.
2. Muzaffar Ahmad.
3. Sripad Amrit Dange.
4. Shaukt Usmani.

“ The spring comes in the month of Falgum, floating on the flood of the southern breeze. Thou didst not sit waiting, counting the days for it to come, thou didst sound the flute prematurely.”

Rabindra Nath.

Members of the Executive Committee.

Kali Das Bhattacharjya.

Nikhil Ray.

Gopendra Chakravarti.

Abdur Razzak Khan.

Abdul Halim.

Akhtar Ali.

Nirod Kanta Chakravarti.

Peary Mohan Das.

Sudhindranath Chakarvari.

Sd. K. B. Roy.

5-10-29.

P. 622 [I].

37, Harrison Road.

Tuesday.

Respectfully submits :—

You have been elected a member of the Executive Committee at the second annual sitting of the Bengal Peasants and Workers' Party. The first meeting of the Executive Committee will be held at No. 37 Harrison Road in the Ganavani office at 6 P. M. next Sunday. On that day, the future party programme will be discussed. You are earnestly requested to present on Sunday evening.

Sd. K. B. Roy

17/10/29

(Sd) Soumyendra Nath Tagore,

Secretary Bengal Peasants' and

Workers' Party.

P. 625-[T].

My Salutations.

21st July 1928

Since you left here you have not sent us any news. Nothing at all is known as to whether or not a suit has been instituted. Unless regular correct news is available, how are we to carry on agitation? At least one letter a week should be written. Really there is great slackness. Questions will be put about you in parliament, we have sent the papers upto Shapurjee Saklatwalla, M. P. The papers in England also will discuss your case. Steps have been taken also to have your case discussed in the Indian Press. But how are to act unless regular information is available? Kindly send full news. What have you done for the Ganavani? The paper is being sent regularly to the 81 men whose names you gave. It is necessary to collect the subscription from them and remit the money. You went away saying that you would secure more than 200 subscribers.

What are you doing about it? Send a reply early.

Yours,

Muzaffar Ahmed,

Secretary Bengal Peasants'

and Workers' Party

The attached cover is addressed to Munshi Pear Mohammad,
Madarjani Kauljani, P. O. Mymansingh.

Sd. K. B. Roy

5-10-29.

P. 626-(T)

11th Agrahayan,

1335 B. E.

Munshi Pear Muhammad Sarkar, Secretary, Peasants' and Workers' Party Atia-Tangail branch.

I respectfully submit:—

No replies are being received to letters written to you. Reports of your activities should constantly reach our office. But in spite of repeated reminders you are quite silent. Please give me

the following information, immediately on receipt of this letter, let there be no delay in any circumstances.

(1) The names of the President, Secretary, and Members of the Executive Committee of the Atia-Tangail Branch of the Peasants' and Workers' Party.

(2) How many people have enlisted as members in this branch till now? On what basis are subscriptions being collected from them?

(3) What progress has there been with the lawsuit? A conference of the all India Peasants' and Workers' Party will meet in Calcutta on the 6th, 7th and 8th of next *Paus*. This conference will draw up a detailed programme of the lines on which the Peasants' and Workers' movement is to be conducted. It is we who are making such an effort for the first time in India. It is very necessary that delegates from amongst you should attend this conference. Because in that case, you will be able to go away, seeing and understanding everything. Let me know immediately you get this letter how many persons will come on your behalf. The margin of time available is very small. No reply will be possible. Only those who are members there will be eligible to be delegates. It is necessary that a very large number of men should come over from your place. Send me names, immediately you have read this letter, I have already written to you about all these.

This conference will cost a large sum of money. Help was sought from you. You gave no reply at all. We were ready even to go up, on receiving intimation from you. How can the work of the conference be carried out unless help is received from you?

Accommodation will be provided for those who will come down in connection with the conference.

Write out a reply without delay. Some money lent last year is due from you. It would be useful if you could repay it.

Obediently,

Muzaffar Ahmad,

General Secretary

Sd. K. B. Roy,

4-10-29.

Bengal Peasants' and Workers' Party

P. 627-[T].

2/1 European Asylum, Lane,

Calcutta.

May 1st. 1928.

I respectfully submit

I could not come up myself owing to a serious obstacle. The bearers of this letter are Munshi Piyar Muhammad and Azimuddin Sarkar—belonging to the *Atia pargunnah*. I have already informed you about them. Our branch there has been constituted with these people. After listening to all that they say, kindly offer them some advice.

Yours

Muzaffar Ahmad.

Sd/- K. B. Roy

4.11.29.

P. 628-[T].

20th June 1928.

Please accept my salutations :—

I have received your letter of the 21st May. For various reasons there has been delay in sending a reply. I trust you will not mind. Thanks for the sympathy you have expressed for the oppressions of the Forest Department, in the *Atia Pergannah*. Having started a branch of the Bengal Peasants' and Workers' party here, we are carrying on an agitation. In the future also, we shall only follow the path indicated by the Bengal Peasants' and Workers' Party. If, accepting the policy of that party, you join it, we are prepared to collaborate with you. We do not favour the starting of different parties. It is only if all force is concentrated on one point that we shall be able to secure victory in our fight.

You have written about paying Rs. 200/-. The *Ganavani*, the organ of our party has again come out. If it is possible for us to render monetary help, it is our duty to help the *Ganavani*. M. Mahiuddin was introduced to us by Daizuddin *Sahib* of Mymansingh

If he now treads a different path, we cannot work with him together. It is doubtful if Amar Babu will be able really to help us. It is with the Zamindars that he is on very friendly terms. Besides he is also tainted with communalism.

Piyar Mohammad

Secretary Bengal Peasants' &

Workers' Party

Atia-Tangail Peiganah.

Sd/- K. B. Roy

5/10/29.

P. 629-[T]

Conference of all India Peasants' and Workers' parties.

The first conference of the All-India Peasants' and Workers' parties will be held at the Albert Hall, 15 College Square, Calcutta on the 21st, 22nd and 23rd December next. Delegates from Peasants' and Workers' parties from Bengal, Bombay, Punjab and Agra and Oudh will assemble at this Conference and prepare a considered programme of work to carry on the agitation of the persecuted and oppressed masses. This is the first attempt of the kind in India. Our appeal to the exploited and oppressed peasant, worker, small shopkeeper, office clerk, workman and other lower-middle-class brethren is that they make it, a point to join this. Different Workers' and Peasants' parties of India combining at this Conference will be transformed into an All-India peasants' and workers' party.

It is the man in the community who by their labour produce all things, who have to pass their days in starvation and semi starvation. It is the men who do no work at all or work only to deprive others of the fruits of their labour who enjoy all the comforts and conveniences of the world. It is because this class of men have been able to keep in their hands lands which yield crops, and factories and mills and other appliances of production that they are able at will to exploit the masses, i.e. the peasants, workers and the exploited lower middle classes. It is to carry on the fight of the exploited against the exploiters that the Peasants' and Workers'

party has been formed. About 97 per cent of the country's population are the exploited. The All-India Peasants' and Workers' party will be of this 97 per cent. So in the near future, it will be the most powerful party in the country. It is to exploit our country that foreign merchants are now ruling it. Their interests are gradually coming to coalesce with those of our indigenous exploiters. In plain language, the power of Government is at the back of all classes of exploiters—both foreign and indigenous. So, in order to bring all kinds of authority into the hands of the exploited masses, it will become our unavoidable duty to secure full freedom for India from the hands of British exploiters. The Peasants' and Workers' party want that it is the tiller who should be the proprietor of the soil, that it is the labourer who should get food, and that all should have an education. These matters will be solemnly debated at the Conference of All-India Peasants' and Workers' parties.

Peasants' and Workers' parties of Bengal, Bombay, the Punjab, Agra and Oudh may send delegates to this Conference. Those who personally are members of the Peasants' and Workers' party or any of its branches before the 15th December will have also the right to attend as delegates. Peasants' & Workers' parties or other bodies affiliated to the four Peasants' and Workers' parties above named may also send delegates to the Conference.

Peasants and Workers may personally become members of the Peasants' and Workers' Party by paying a minimum subscription of 4 annas in the year, the amount being one Rupee in the case of others. The Executive Committee of the party will admit as members those who want personally to be members, with the assurance that they accept the policy, aims and programme of the party.

Delegates are to secure Delegates' tickets for a fee of 4 annas.

Visitors' tickets will be sold for Rs. 5, Rs. 3, Rs. 2, and As. 8 respectively. Students may have Visitors' Tickets for 4 annas. Peasants and workers will receive visitors' tickets for two annas. Tickets are available at the office of the Reception Committee of the Conference at 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

The Albert Hall will accommodate only a thousand people. Those who want to join the Conference will kindly inform the Reception Committee in advance. Accommodation will be provided for those who come from outside Calcutta.

But each must arrange for his own boarding. Visitors and delegates will kindly each bring with them their bedding, quilts, mosquito-nets and the like. On receipt of intimation of arrival,

our volunteers will escort them all from the station. The Telegraphic address is "Ganavani", Calcutta.

Resolutions and addresses at the Conference will be drawn up in English, Hindi, Urdu etc. So nobody will have any difficulty in understanding. Peasants and workers who understand will make it a point to attend the Conference. They will be able to see and learn many things at this Conference. Mr. Sohan Singh Josh, editor, of the well-known *Kirti* (labour) paper, in Gurmukhi and Urdu of Amritsar has been elected Chairman of the Conference

Large expenses will be incurred for the Conference. Well-wishers of mass agitation are requested to make the Conference a success by helping it with funds. 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta, December 3, 1929.

We subscribe ourselves—

Atul Ch. Gupta,

President, Bengal Peasants' and Workers' Party.

Muzaffar Ahmed.

General Secretary, ditto.

Pulin Bihary Dinda.

Chairman, Reception Committee,

Dharani Kanta Goswami,

Secretary, Ditto.

Sd. K. B. Roy.

23-5-29.

P. 630-(T).

THE PROGRAMME OF THE BENGAL PEASANTS'
AND WORKERS' PARTY.

(1)

The exploiting Imperial Government established in India is not guided by the wishes of the masses in Great Britain. The sole purpose of keeping up this exploiting Government is to help in the exploitation of the Workers, Peasants, and lower middle

class people for the benefit of the capitalist class in Great Britain. So nothing is being done by Government which is conducted in the interest of the capitalist class of Britain for the uplift of the Peasants, Workers and lower middle class.

(2)

The Indian National Congress and the parties affiliated thereto and the Liberals, Independents etc. occasionally do indeed say a thing or two for the welfare of the masses, but practically they have never paid heed to the economic & social demands & needs of the Peasants and Workers. Rather, by their conduct it has been proved that they defend the interests of the Capitalist class, foreign and indigenous.

(3)

The majority of the inhabitants of India are peasants—Pressed down by excessive taxation and dues from all sides, and by debts due to usurers, their life is a hard one indeed. They are pressed down, as things are, by this oppression, and besides, they are illiterate. So they can make no headway at all in the struggle for freedom.

(4)

There is no law to preserve the interests of workmen in factories and because what there is, there is no means of enforcing, they are being subjected to serious exploitation. So far they have not been able to throw themselves into any struggle, further they have been forced to leave the Trade Union Movement to a large extent to the middle class. This class have been utilising these unions for their political, religious and personal interests.

(5)

Though there are different classes among the masses in this country, though the interests of these classes are not identical, still, fundamentally, they are not opposed each other—economically, they are all being exploited—they have been kept in fetters all alike. Indian capitalists and alien administrators have not allowed them to make any social or educational progress.

(6)

For these reasons, the need of a political party for peasants workers and the lower middle class has been urgently felt. The members of this party, going into the Indian National Congress will make the demands of the exploited peasants, workers and lower middle class the real question there and organising Labour Unions will rescue them from the clutches of opposing parties. Basing

itself on the economic and social necessities of the peasants, this party will organise Peasants' Unions and stand up against Government firmly, and, incidentally, will work for the social, economic and political uplift of the workers and lower middle class.

No final redress will be possible for the exploitation and subjection of the peasants. Workers and lower middle class, until all ruling authority in the country passes into their hands. The supreme aim of the Peasants' and Workers' Party is to establish a Federated Republic in India under which production, distribution and exchange will be controlled by the masses and be regulated by the society.

(A list of "Immediate Demands" follows which is identical with those translated with Ex. P—621).

Inasmuch as the sole means for carrying out this programme is for India to attain full national freedom from the clutches of British Imperialism, the peasants' and workers' party will not shrink from working jointly with other parties which held this view and are prepared to work for this purpose.

(This programme was unanimously accepted at the 2nd Conference of the Bengal Peasants' and Workers' Party on Feb. 20th 1927.

Published by Soumyendra Nath Tagore from 37 Harrison Road, office of the Bengal Peasants' and Workers' Party and printed by A. Mahiuddin, at the Cosmopolitan Printing works, 7 Manlor Lane, Calcutta.

Sd/- K. B. Roy

4/10/29

P. 634-[T]

A Meeting.

A meeting will be held this afternoon at 5 P. M. at the local Town Hall, with Babu Surya Kumar Som in the chair. The meeting will be addressed by Mr. Philip Spratt representative of the Labour Research Department in England, Mr. Muzaffar Ahmeri, connected in the well-known Cawnpore Bolshevik Conspiracy Case and Mr. Dharani Kanta Goswami, Secretary of the Bengal Mehtars and Dhangars' (Sweepers') Union, on the subject of the National

Movement of the Masses.

All are requested to attend the meeting in proper time.

16-8-28.

Faizuddin Husain,
Secretary, Peasants and
Workers' Party,
Mymansingh.

Sd/- K. B. Roy.

4/10/29.

P. 680-[T].

Ganavani, June 30, 1929.

Muzaffar Ahmad, one of the editors of the *Ganavani* is a communist. He has undergone imprisonment in connexion with the Cawnpore Communist Conspiracy Case—so why instead of living on the second storey on Harrison Road, does he not live in a tiled hut in a *Bustee* in the town, why does he not carry loads, why does he not pull *Rikshaws*, why does he wear shoes,—these questions are being asked by people who regard themselves as omniscient saviors of the country. Before answering these questions, I put a question in return for the questions,—since they have utterly lost the capacity to understand any thing thoroughly, why have they not all this time committed suicide ignominiously? Communism is not the same as Ghandhi's reactionary views. Communists want to increase for all the standard of living—not like the *Gandhiwalas* to reduce it for the majority in the interest of the minority. It is not the ideal of communism to live in huts, and wear and eat inferior things. They want all men to be well fed, well clad and well housed. Communists are never social parasites who regard the producing classes of society as inferior men and with contempt. Rather they dismiss claims to the status of *bhadralo* as a despicable claim always to be abjured. Before a thing is discussed, we should know what it is. But these wise fools of ours do not hesitate to discuss a thing without knowing anything at all about it. To pull a Rikshaw or carry loads is not degrading work—it is degrading work to conspire against Rikshaw wallas and coolies and deprive them of their rights. These wise fools having developed as parasites on the social body have

today come to regard real society itself with contempt. They regard with contempt the very men on whose blood they have [fattened, they do not understand that they also will have to be equally humbled as they. We tell them this status and claim of *bhadralok* will not much longer be allowed. Having passed the I. A. and the Metriculation, they have begun to serve as Tram Conductors, very soon they will have to work as Jute Mill Workers. Nothing is gained by being blinded by false pride and dreaming false dreams. Let them know for certain that Swaraj will not come for *bhadralok* only—Swaraj will be gained for and by the masses. Our well wishing friends do not like us, since we speak frankly. But we cannot understand why for that reason they show their folly by talking at random. They cannot tolerate us (of course for self interest), and hence find fault with us in every thing.

Sd/-K. B. Roy.

26/10/29.

P. 681 [T].

Appeal to brother Peasants and workers of Atia Pergana and Tangail.

Brethren,

We are very glad to hear that you, peasants and workers of Atia Pergana and Tangail have organised yourselves to prevent the acts of highhandedness which are committed on you in various ways. In these days it is very difficult to live on earth, unless to save oneself from highhandedness, one fights it in an organised fashion. The peasants and workers create all the fine things on earth but very little of them are available to them for enjoyment. Too many *Zamindars*, *Mahajans*, *Bunniahs*, lawyers, and priests are always on the lookout to have a share of the wealth produced by the peasant. As a result, the peasant, through whose labour all kinds of crops are produced, himself suffers from constant want of food. We have only to turn over eyes to the villages, to find that every year, hundreds of peasants are becoming landless. Zamindars and tenure holders are freely robbing the peasant of the wealth produced by his labour. Usurers are draining off the heart's blood of the peasant. Lawyers, fomenting litigation among the peasants without justification, are effecting their ruin. The Zamindars and the big tenure holders have no right to come in between the state and

the peasantry. They have fattened themselves on the peasants' shoulder without justification. These zamindars and big jotdars and Talukdars who are social parasites are not content merely with collecting rents from the peasants at fixed rates, they exact from them various illegal cesses. These men exact from the peasants even the cost of their Saradh ceremonies, weddings and religious observances. In order to bring land into Khas possession from their hands, zemindars and big jotdars and talukdars are perpetually scheming in various ways to destroy rights to the land which have accrued to them according to long standing usage. A short while ago, the zemindars took a ruinous step to evict peasants in many villages in the Atia pargana from their homes. Without consulting the peasants, by entering into a contract with Govt., they have transferred these villages to the Forest Department. The peasant who cultivated the land, dug the soil and brought forth crops on it in a word, who used up all his life on the soil- it was not thought necessary either by Govt or the zemindars to ask a word of him. The peasant is not the master of the soil, though he clings to it, yet the zemindar who has done nothing for the soil and passes his whole life in idleness is the owner of the soil. We are filled with great hope to find that unable to put up with these oppressions you, the peasants of Atia pargana, are preparing for organised struggle.

The Bengal Peasants' and Workers' Party has been formed to get rid of the slavery of the masses, especially of the peasants and workers. Our zeal to serve you has been considerably magnified because you, the peasants of Atia Parganas having accepted the programme of this party, are prepared to work under its advice. The strength will be generated by your combining into a party will add to the strength of the Bengal Workers' and Peasants' Party. Many Raiyats' Unions, Tenants' Unions have been formed in the country. But in most cases, the peasants are not in touch with these unions. These have been formed of big *Talukdars* and *Jotdars*. They do indeed what to fight the zamindar to secure their own interests, but they do not want by any means to benefit the actual cultivator. In many cases the Jotdars and talukdars who have framed these unions also drain away the peasants' blood. In your work, you must be particularly on the lookout to see that these selfish people do not enter your party. Those who hold large areas of land, who earn a thousand rupees a year from land, though they are *Raiyats*, are no friends of yours. Your interest and theirs can never be the same. Often times men also enter Peasants' Unions who make a profession of it. These do not desire the welfare of the peasants. Their business is to collect money from the peasants and fill their own pockets. You should always be careful about this class of men as well. I hear that a union named the Atia Raiyats' Union was formed amongst you. You subscribed some funds toward it also. But it is said to have been destroyed,

for want of honesty on the part of certain people. You have all now learnt by bitter experience. So please keep a sharp watch on the work, all of you. All of you should become members of this party and pay subscriptions at a fixed rate. If any individual passes all this time in work for your party, fix a salary for his maintenance. This will free him from anxiety and he will not misappropriate the party funds. You should form an Executive Committee of picked men from amongst yourselves to carry on the work of the party. The strength of this Committee should preferably not exceed 20. This Committee is to carry on the work of the party on behalf of all of you. If it becomes difficult for the Committee to decide of any important item of work, it will summon all of you to a general meeting for consultation. The Committee is to have a President, a Vice President, a Secretary, one or two Assistant Secretaries and a Treasurer. All moneys are to be deposited in the Postal Savings Bank or some other bank. The maximum deposit permissible in the Post Office Savings Bank for a party or Association is Rs. 10,000. Never imagine that you have formed your organisation only to decide the conflict with Zemidars and Government which has arisen at present in connexion with the Forest Department. The lawsuit will be decided before long, but the highhandedness being committed on you will not cease with the end of the lawsuit. Your fight against oppression has just only commenced. Peasants must organise themselves every where in the country to secure rights and proprietorship. Otherwise, peasants will not be able to survive in the country at all. There are four big causes of your misfortune. The first is, there is very little land in the hands of the cultivators. The second is, the methods of cultivation followed are very old and antiquated, it is not carried on, an upto date and progressive lines. Cultivation on advanced scientific lines is not possible only because the holdings in the hands of the cultivators are small in size. Excessive indebtedness is the third cause of your misfortunes. And the fourth is excessive burden of taxation. There is no hope of salvation for the peasant, unless these are removed. The land question is the great question for the peasant. Unless the cultivator is the proprietor of the soil, his woes will not end and for this purpose the Zamindari system must wholly be abolished. Those who have possessed themselves of large holdings and have become proprietors of the soil their estates are to be confiscated and distributed among the landless peasants. As cultivators are reaping large profits by cultivating land with with the help of machinery in progressive countries of the world at the present time, exactly similar methods must be adopted by the peasants of this country, as well; so that they can make profits. The peasants' illiteracy must wholly be removed. In other words free primary education must be introduced and peasants given an education. State cooperative Banks should be started to lend money to cultiva-

tors at nominal interest. Railways, Steamers, Telegraphs, Tramways, etc. instead of being profitable businesses, should be worked for the public convenience. The people are to enjoy religious liberty.

These things are possible only when the peasants struggling on in an organised fashion, will assume all kinds of ruling authority in this country in their own hands. The peasants and workers will never be able to secure their rights, if the country is under foreign rule. For the radical aim of foreign rule is to exploit the peasant and the workman. The woes of the peasant and worker will increase rather than dwindle if authority comes into the hands of the capitalists and zamindars of the country. For the existence of the capitalist and the zamindar can only be rendered possible by exploitation of the peasant and the workman. For this reason, as it is necessary to secure national freedom, i. e. to free the country from foreign rule, so it is equally necessary for the peasants and workers to take into their own hands all kinds of ruling authority. Peasants and workers have really to struggle only to provide a decent maintenance (for themselves) But, unless ruling authority in this country comes into their hands, they will not be able to get rid of their difficulties about food and clothing. All this work in the country in future should be carried on by what is called in English a Constituent Assembly with full powers elected by adult suffrage, male and female.

There are no communal differences in the struggle being carried on by Peasants and workers for food and clothing. The interests of Hindu and Moslem peasants in this matter are the same. When the zamindar or Mahajan robs, he makes no distinction between Hindu or Moslem, so Hindu and Moslem peasants must unite and work as a Common party. Notice of your lawsuit about the Forest Department has already been served on the Collector of Mymensingh District. Copy of the petition in the case has also been forwarded with this notice. May you win your case. May your newly constituted Peasants' and Workers' party be a model union and may peasants and workers elsewhere be animated by your example.

We shall communicate with the press in different countries about your condition. Continue informing us of any highhandedness committed on you at any time.

The war-cries of the peasants should be:—

May the country secure
complete independence:

May the zamindari
system be destroyed!

The workman is master
of food.

The peasant is proprietor
of the soil

Let education be universal.

Let there be adult suffrage, irrespective of sex. Let a national constituent Assembly be formed with full powers, to decide everything.

Office

2/1 European

Asylum Lane,

Calcutta,

March 1, 1928.

Sd/- K. B. Roy.

5/10/29.

Atul Ch. Gupta,

Advocate, Calcutta High Court.

President

Bengal Peasants' and Workers'

Party.

P 682-(T).

Visit of Peasants' and Workers'

Leaders to Mymansingh.

At 4.54 A. M. on the morning of Thursday the 14th. August next, Mr. Philip Spratt, representative of the Labour Research Department in England, Mr. Muzaffar Ahmed, editor of the Ganavani and Mr. Dharani Kanto Goswami, Secretary of the Sweeper's Union will arrive at Mymansingh by the Dacca Mail. All are requested to go to the station in time and accord the leaders a cordial welcome.

A meeting will be held at the Town Hall enclosure at 5 P. M.

Pramatha Ch. Bose,

President.

Abdul Hakim,

Vice President

Faizuddin Husain

Secretary

Peasants' and Workers' Party,

Mymansingh.

Mymansingh

13-8-28

Sd. K. B. Roy

4/11/29.

P.683-(T).

Is the same as P. 234

Sd. K. B. Roy

6-11-29

P. 684 [T].

All India Peasants and Workers'

Party.

(Reception Committee).

2/1 European Asylum

Lane,

Calcutta, Dec. 9.1928

Humbly submits:—

The first sitting of the All-India's Peasants' and Workers' Parties Conference will be held at the Albert Hall, College square, on the 21st, 22nd and 23rd December next. Members of different Peasants' and Workers' Parties in their individual capacity can join this Conference as delegates. You are a member of the Bengal Peasants' and Workers' Party in your individual capacity. You

are requested to make a point of attending this Conference as a delegate. This Conference will decide the future policy and programme of the party. So leaving aside all other work, please attend this important conference.

In order to join the Conference, you have to buy a delegate's ticket for 4 annas only. Of course, if your subscription for 1928 is still in arrears, you will have to pay it up before buying your delegate's ticket.

Please inform me in advance of your coming. Telegrams, if necessary, might addressed to

Ganavani, Calcutta.

Dharani Kanta Goswami,

Secy. Reception Committee

Sd. K. B. Roy

4/10/29

P. 687 [T]

Is the same is Exh. P. 234

Sd. K. B. Roy

6/11/29.

P. 688-(T)

All India's Peasants' and
Workers' Party,
Bengal Branch,
2/1 European Asylum Lane,
Calcutta.

March 2, 1929.

Dear brother,

You have not so far paid in any subscription for 1929. A

subscription of Rs. 3/- was fixed at the last All-India Conference for members of Peasants' and Workers' Party in their individual capacity. This has to be paid in 4 instalments. But if you like you can pay in one lump sum. Kindly remit to this office your subscription (either -/12/- for the first instalment or Rs. 3/- for the whole year) immediately on receipt of this letter. A "membership card" will be issued to you after your subscription has been deposited in this office. On production of this card only, you will be allowed to join the Annual meeting of the Bengal Branch of the Peasants' and Workers' Party.

Obediently yours

Muzaffar Ahmed

Secretary

Sd. K. B. Roy,

4. 10. 29

(Addressed to Mr. Faiz Uddin Husain,
Masjid Lane, Mymansing).

P. 689 (T).

Calcutta, May 7, 1926

I humbly submit :—

You did not attend the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Bengal Peasants' and Workers' Party, and have not written any letter either. It has become extremely necessary to start a press for the party, without it, no work at all is possible. It has been decided that M. Kutab Uddin Ahmad and Srijut Soumyendra Nath Tagore are to move about in the mufassil, in order to organise peasants' parties. It has been decided first to visit Mymansingh. If you can make all the arrangements, they will go even before the Krishnagar Conference. Send a reply to this letter immediately on receipt of it. The cost of a press has been estimated for the present at Rs. 6000/- Rs. 4000/- will be (?) from outside. Kutabuddin Shaheb is ready to pay Rs. 2000/-

Yours

Muzaffar Ahmad.

Sd/- K. B. Roy

4/11/29

P. 691 (T).

SEARCH LIST.

Date and Hour of Search.

20. 3. 29. from 6 A.M. to 7 A.M.

Name and address of person whose house is searched:

Office of Chengail Jute Workers' union, Chengail.

Name and Residence of witnesses to search:

- (1) Sadhon Ch. Bhar of Kalsaha.
- (2) Idris Md. Kazi of Sijbaria.
- (3) Abdul Samad Shah of Sijbaria.
all of P. S. Uluberia.

Description of place where articles seized were found:

Found on the bench on the west in the office room of the Chengail Jute workers' union.

Name etc, of person ordinarily occupying the house in which the articles were seized.

The Chengail Jute Workers' union office.

DESCRIPTION OF ARTICLES SEIZED.

1. 1. copy of the Ganavani newspaper of the 21st. June 1928
2. 1. copy of notice of a monster meeting at Bauria on the 15th. June 1928.
3. 1. copy of notice of a meeting at Burikhali on the 8th. July 1928.
4. 1. copy of notice of a meeting at Beltola on the 19th August 1928.
5. A telegram from Raniganj dated 25. 5. 28. to Bankim Mukerji.
6. A Bengali letter written from the office to Radha Raman.
7. A letter written by Kisori Ghosh to Spratt, Dt. 8. 5. 28. on the reverse of which is a Bengali letter to Bankim Babu.
8. A Bengali letter by Kisori Ghosh addressed to Bankim Dt. 25. 6. 28.
9. A letter Dt. 12. 6. 28. written by Kali Das and addressed to Bankim.

10. An English letter Dt. 28. 6. 28. written by the B.N.R. employees' union to Bankim.
11. A letter Dt. 13. 6. 28 written by Hemanta and addressed to Bankim Mukerji.
12. An English letter written by P. Spratt and addressed to Kisori.
13. A letter Dt. 6. 5. 28. written by G. Chakravati and addressed to Secretary Chengail Union.
14. A letter Dt. 1. 5. 28 from Bhupendra and addressed to Bankim.
15. A Bengali letter Dt. 23. 4. 28. written by Kisori Lal Ghosh and addressed to "Dear brethren".
16. A file containing the names of members of the Union, members of the Executive committee and draft Resolutions, etc.

Sd. K. B. Roy.

4. 10. 29

P. 692 (T).

Is included in P. 519.

Sd. K. B. Roy.

6. 11.

P. 693 [T].

A Monster Meeting.

Under the auspices of the Bengal Trade Union Federation, a meeting will be held at 4. P. M. on Friday the 15th. June next,

at the Bauria Kerbela fields to explain to Jute mills workmen the utility and need of Unions. The Jute mills workmen near Buaria and specially the workmen of the Fort Gloucester mills are particularly requested to be present. Babu Mrinal Kanti Bose president of the Bengal Trade Union Federation, will take the chair at this meeting. It is hoped that Mr. Spratt, the friend of labour, Babu Radha Raman Mitter, vice president and Moulvi Latafut Husain M. L. C. Secretary of the Chengail Jute Workers' Union, Babu Bankin Ch. Mukerjee, Mr. K. C. Roy Choudhary M. L. C. President of the Kankinara Labour Union, and others intimately acquainted with the labour movement will address the meeting.

Kisori Lal Ghosh,

Secretary

Bengal Trade Union Federation.

Federation office,

34, Bow Bazaar Street,
Calcutta.

Sd. K. B. Roy

4/10/29.

P. 694 (T).

Notice.

Workmen of the Bauria Fort Gloucester Mills are hereby informed that under the auspices of the Bengal Trade Union Federation, a meeting of Jute Mill Workmen will be held at 3/30 P. M. on Monday, the 8th July next, at the Kanai Mochan field at Buri-Khali, Babu Mrinal Kanti Bose, President of the Bengal Trade Union will take the chair at this meeting. Jute Mill Workmen are specially requested to attend this meeting.

Kisori Lal Ghosh,

Secretary,

Bengal Trade Union

Federation.

34, Bow Bazaar Street,

Calcutta.

3-7-28.

Programme of Business at this meeting.

- (1) The aims, necessity and efficacy of Unions.
- (2) Steps to establish a union at Bauria.
- (3) Discussion of wants and grievances.

Names of speakers.

- (1) Babu Mrinal Kanti Bose.
- (2) Mr. Spratt.
- (3) Mr. Latafat Husain, M. L. C.
- (4) Babu Kalidas Bhattacharya.
- (5) Babu Bankim Ch. Mukerji.
- (6) Babu Indu Bhushan Sarkar.
- (7) Mr. Miyan Jan.
- (8) Babu Radha Raman Mitter.

Sd. K. B. Roy

16/10

P. 1414 (B).

Is the same as P. 621.

Sd. K. B. Roy

6/11/29.

P. 1865 [1] [T].

Bombay

Sept. 8, 1928.

Dear Sir,

On receipt of a wire from Bombay, Spratt and myself come up to Bombay on Wednesday last (Sept. 5), We are discussing here the future programme of our party. The discussions have not yet ended. As soon as they are over, we two will return to Calcutta. I have not had letters from you for a long time. I do not know

why you have stopped writing letters. Immediately you get this letter, let me know everything in detail; you are writing ever so many letters to your relations. If you do not find time to write to me, you might at least write something through them.

The full report of our party has been printed off. We have published the report in book form, under the name "A CALL TO ACTION". This report contains the theses and resolutions adopted at our conference. No such report has been published ever since the party was constituted. I have sent the report to you twice in succession. I have sent one to Miss Agnes Smedley also. Besides, I have sent it to other addresses in Europe also. Let me know if any paper there reviews it or not. Also let me know what your friends think. The *Ganavani* has come out again. I have been sending it to you regularly also. You have not so far let me know whether or not you are getting it. It is more than 3 months since the paper has been coming out. An acknowledgement of receipt from you should have been forth coming by this time. I am trying hard so that the paper may not stop publication this time. I do not, of course, know how far I shall succeed. Money is badly wanted. The publication of a Hindi weekly, entitled the "Red Flag" has been notified. The declaration etc. have all been put in. I do not venture (to bring it out) because I have no money with me. If we had not come to Bombay, it was to have come out this week. But my visit here has entailed considerable expense. So I do not know if I shall be able to bring it out on my return from here. The suspension of the issue of the *Ganavani* for a number of times has distinctly led to a dwindling of the public faith. No body wants to pay money and become a subscriber. Because the paper is irregularly issued, advertisements too, are not forthcoming. Many, again, do not wish to insert advertisements, because it is the organ of the peasants' and workers' party. Indeed there is no end to difficulties on all sides.

No money sent by you has come. I informed you in this sense long ago. You asked Max Ziese, your Berlin friend to send a wire in my name. But he did not send any wire. He has informed me of the purport of the wire by a letter. Probably you entrusted to him also the duty of sending money. But he has not carried out your request. He did not send money through a bank. Nor did he send £60/-either. He has written to me that he remitted £40 in two instalments of £20 each. Needless to say, he has written about sending it by post. I have got all his letters, but I have not got the money. The post office here cannot afford any information at all. Nor do Govt. say that for certain reasons, they have deemed it necessary to withhold payment from us. We cannot make any complaint against Government either, for we have no documents in our possession. If the money has gone back in the interval, can

you send me a certificate in that sense from the Berlin Post Office? It we get a proof of that kind, we can put up a fight once. But what are we to fight on the strengths of, when, to start with, our position is weak? There is now no means at least of exposing Government. The Bombay party also have not got any money. Can you once ask your Berlin friend why instead of remitting money direct through a Bank, he sent it by post? Comrade Dutt once remitted 10 roubles from Leningrad for the Ganavani through a Bank. We had no difficulty at all in getting that money. All the trouble has arisen in the case of your friend.

You must certainly be reading the Indian newspapers. The Public Safety Bill has come up before the Assembly. This effort is intended to expel Spratt and Bradley. There is not the slightest doubt that the Bill will be passed into law. The Trades Dispute Bill also will come up before the Assembly this session. There is no dearth of laws to punish us either. What about your returning home? Are you coming?

It is proposed to convene a conference at Calcutta in December to constitute an All India party. Under the auspices of the party which has been organised in the Punjab, a Conference will meet at Lyallpur this month. Dange has been elected president.

You have written a number of times about Kutbuddin. I forget every time to make a reply. We have no documents in our possession to justify us in saying that he has joined Government or that he was friendly with the police from the outset. But family troubles have forced him to leave the party and accept service. I at least cannot say any thing more than this. It is not at all proper to call a man a police spy &c. without evidence, especially a man who at one time helped the party generously.

I sent a bill for Rs 150/- as subscription to the party, to you long ago. You have not let me know whether or not you have got the bill. How greatly it would help, if saving this sum of Rs 150/- from your expenses, you had remitted it.

I hear that 4 or 5 men from India have gone to Europe. If they seek to join any labour movement there on our behalf, enter a strong protest in our names. We did not at all want them to go to Europe. There is plenty of work to be done in India,..... they have gone abroad to do mischief. They did no work at all in this country. I am speaking of work for the labour movement only. Of the 4 men, one is a man of very suspicious character. That is not unknown in labour circles in Europe.

Let me know how you are. Send articles for the *Ganavani*.
Procure articles from there and send them also.

Yours

Muzaffar Ahmad.

P. S. In connexion with the Lilloah strike, Sib Nath Banerji and Gopendra Krishna Chakravarti of our party were sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment. Both have been acquitted on appeal to the district Judge. In connexion with this case, the "Sunday Worker" has referred to Sib Nath Banerji as a member of our party. Sib Nath is not directly a member of our party. But he is a member of a union affiliated to our party—

M. A.

Sd. K. B. Roy.

4-11-29.

P. 1892. (F)

(Included in Bengal speeches Q. V.)

P. 1893 (1 & 2 & 3) T

(Included in Bengal speeches Q. V.)

“ Workers and persecuted brethren of the world, unite ” .

Monday, the 21st January.

The fifth Anniversary of the death of Lenin.

Brother Workers,

do not forget this day by any means.

(Here is a picture of Nicolai Lenin). Lenin was the foremost leader of the Bolshevik party in Russia and of the Bolshevik revolution in Russia in 1917. He was foremost among those through whose thoughts and efforts the rule of the oppressive Czars and the capitalists and zamindars who drank up blood, disappeared from Russia and the political power of the workers and peasants was established there. Organising the international body known as the Communist International, he has arranged to link together peasants and workers all over the world. He went to jail, suffered the pains of exile and was even shot at by White Guards who were opponents, in seeking to establish the authority of peasants and workers.

He was born in 1870. He died on the 21st Jany. 1924. In memory of Lenin, meetings will be held on the 20th January at the following places:—

- (1) Mirzapur Park, 4 p.m.
- (2) Motia Bruz, Kerbela *Maidan*, 3 p. m.

All-India Peasants and Workers' Party, Bengal Provincial,
Branch.

2/11 European Asylum Lane.

January 18. 1929.

“ Mohammad ” Press,

29 upper circular,

Road, CALCUTTA.

Sd. K. B. Roy

4/11/29

P. 1996 [T].

Search List

Date and Hour of search

From 10-40 A. M. on 22-1-27

To 11-30 A. M. on 22-1-27

Name etc. of person whose house is searched—

Kali Dass Bhattacharya of Bhatpara, Jagatdal.

Name etc of search witness-(1) Ramapati Bhattacharya of Bhatpara, Jagatdal (2 Nandalal Bhattacharya (address the same)

Name etc. of Person ordinarily occupying house in which articles are seized—

Kalidas Bhattacharya, son of the late Baikuntha Nath Bhattacharya, Bhatpara.

Description of place where article seized was found—

Found in a tin box on the north window of the corridor of Kali Das Babu's house, opened with keys (?) in Kali Das Babu's possession.

Description of articles seized

1. Passport, British, Dt/-19/6/25, No. 85570, with a photo of Donald Campbell, and with 32 pages, sealed with the Foreign office seal.
2. An envelope with the name Kalidas Bhattacharya written on it and inside it, a group photograph.
3. 26 letters written by Santosh Kumari.
4. A letter to Kali Babu, written by Durand.

Description of place where article seized was found—

Found in the pocket of the coat Kalidas Babu had on.

Description of article seized—

5. A Gosh's pocket diary.

A note Book.

Date and Hour of search

From 9. 40. A. M. 22/1/27

To 11. 30 A. M. 22/1/27.

Name etc of Person whose house is searched.

Same as in search list above.

Name etc of witnesses to search—

Same as in search list above.

Name etc. of Person ordinarily occupying house in which article is seized—

Same as in search list above.

Description of place where article seized is found—

Where on the rack in Kali Das Babu's Western room.

Description of article seized

(1) A Hindi Book by Satyadev, entitled "My journey to Germany".

(2) A press report of the International Federation of Trade Unions, No. 49, Dt/- 23/12/26. (6 pp), and economic supplement (2 pp).

(3) A book "Rule by Murder" by Leo Tolstoi.

(4) A book entitled "Letters of Anantananda".

(5) Three copies of the "Sramik" for 7th November.

(6) A book entitled, "What students in other countries have done (Russia)".

(7) A press Report of the International Federation of Trade Unions No. 48. Dt/-16/12/26 (6 pp.) and Economic supplement (2 pp).

(8) One letter from M. N. (Illegible) to Mr. Kalidas, Dt/-1/12/26.

(9) Issues of the "Ganavani",

1 copy for 12th August

2 copies for 17th September

27 copies for 12th October.

Sd. K. B. Roy

5/10/29

Berlin,

1st August, 1928.

Dear Sir,

I got your letter of the 24th May in due time. This may be stated in the sense that the letter reached Berlin in due time. I was about a month late in getting it, because I felt badly tired in body under the stress of various items of work and hence withdrawing myself from work for a month, I went abroad. On return I got your letter. What you have written about the Indian Trade Union Movement is true from one standpoint and if viewed from another standpoint is not reasonable. You have written that it is suicidal to tie the Indian Trade Union movement to the tail of the Second or Third International. I am also wholly opposed to affiliating mechanically any movement of our country to any movement in any foreign land. In this respect, there is no difference of opinion between you and me. But it will not do for this reason to forget that it is extremely necessary for the trade union leaders in our country to make a critical analysis of the ideology represented by the 2nd and 3rd International. The ideology of the 2nd International is to agitate for higher wages good housing, for some improvement on the existing conditions for workers. Let there be a compromise between Capital and the worker and let them continue, in other words let exploitation go on merrily, only let a few more pieces of meat fall from the master's plate to that of the servant. The Third International holds that the conflict which exists at the roots must be determined, that by destroying exploitation and pillage, all lingering traces of capitalism must be ended. Men have been exploiting men—men must be saved from the shame and sorrow of this exploitation. The one is an ideology of compromise and the other an ideology of fight. Without concealing anything from you, I say clearly that personally, I believe in the second ideology, i. e. the destruction of Capitalism. If the destruction of Capitalism be our aim. I wish to endow the Trade Union with the stricture organisationally and ideologically which it is necessary to give. I do not see any necessity for affiliation either to the 2nd or the 3rd International but are we for that reason not to avail ourselves of the experience of the world labour movement? That the labour movement in India would move in a particular Indian line—I have no respect for any such special Indian lines. We must adjust everything to the present circumstances of our country. It would not do to take a thing up intact from Europe and transfer it to India—everybody knows this—but there are no differences in fundamental matters; owing

to the objective, conditions, the fundamental is to be achieved by different means. The enemies of the labour movement in the country are Joshi, Chamanlal, Andrews and others—those who act as toadies to Reformist Capitalists. They want to direct the masses wholly along the lines of non-political pure trade unionism. The enemies abroad are the scoundrels of the British Labour Party like Purcell & Co. It is my heartfelt desire that keeping alive the Young labour movement in our country you will accomplish the hard task of keeping it exactly on the fighting line. I can assure you that the donors of the money I have collected and shall collect from Europe do not want to exercise any authority over the movement in our country. Had I noticed any mischievous desire to exercise authority. I would not have taken the money. They want from me only this guarantee that the money will not be absolutely misspent, it will be spent from the labourers, it will not be spent on the personal quarrels and conflicts of interest of the labour leaders. Let me explain to you fully my object in starting the "Sectional Trade Union" organ. My desire is that in key industries like Jute, Textiles, Tata's Steel industry etc., Trade Unions are to be formed and they should be rescued from reformist leadership. I do not wish that every petty union should have its organ. But in those industries which employ hundreds of thousands of workmen I feel that an organ is necessary to discuss their special problems of life and wants and grievances. The organ of the Federation or any central organ of this kind cannot discuss the details of each industry. The function of a central organ is wholly different. It is to draw general conclusions from the materials of these different industrial papers and give them a directive. My wish is to start union papers for some leading unions like Jute, Textiles, Seamen, Railwaymen, Post and Telegraphs, Press Employees etc., and subject to the central organ of the Federation. By this means, the danger you apprehend will be removed but the advantages of sectional organs may be secured. I shall be obliged if you kindly let me know this policy on which you want to conduct the paper on behalf of the federation. I shall try to procure money from here. I have already written to you about my desire to start a Labour Bureau in Berlin on receipt of a mandate from different unions. I am now awaiting the mandate. I wrote to you clearly in two previous letters about the Press Service, I do not know whether you have got them or not. Agnes was saying that although ample material and other facilities were provided for you regarding China, you have made no good use of it at all. Agnes was saying that she wrote to you long ago about arranging for a Press Service by arrangement with the Free Press. You have done nothing to that end—whereas a Madrassi named Nambiyar has made an arrangement

with the Free Press. The Free Press will pay him £50/- for sending messages from Europe. After having taken all the necessary steps on this side regarding the Press Service, we were awaiting a reply from you. I shall expect a letter from you; write explaining all to Agnes also. Your article regarding Indian Trade Union has been published in the papers here. I shall send it to you later. I am anxious to know what you think after reading my letter. You must certainly be very busy over the arrangements for the strike. I trust you are well. Accept my loving salutations.

Yours,

Soumyendra Nath Tagore.

Sj. Kishori Lal Ghosh,

1, Kantapukur Lane,

P. O. Baghbazar,

Calcutta,

India.

(Sd) K. B. Roy.

14-10-29.

P. 2018-[T].

Translation into English of a copy of a Bengali letter addressed to Muzaffar Ahmed, 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta by Gopal Dt/- 24-7-28 The Postmark of the place of posting is "Nababpur" Dacca Dt/- 24 June, 28. Received at the Park Street Post Office on 25-7-28.

Comrade Ahmad,

I have not received any reply as yet, though I have written to you a few letters. Kadir also has let you off, after writing once to you. Anyway the other day I read in the paper an account of Chakrabarty's case, and learnt that he has been sentenced to 18 months' R. I. Will he move the High court or accept the sentence? Kindly let me know what he will do and where he now is. I find that the condition of Mr. Mandal is also not hopeful. What has happened to Spratt, Goswami and you all? What will be the fate

of the paper if you all be involved and are removed? Our money at this place has been realised—the whole amount is with Kadir—he will send in two days. All the 85 copies of the first issue of the paper, I took for the Dhakeswari Union has been sold. The 2nd and 3rd (issues) were sent and have been exhausted. But since that the sale has fallen off, because you do not pay any attention to the paper. Anyway, why did you not print the information sent about the Dacca Mehtars? I have sent you the article at the first day's meeting of the study circle class—shall I send the remaining 20 or 23 pages which I have with me? They wanted to print it in the Banglar Vanī here—but we desire that the article that is discussed for propaganda at the study circle class or the book or a subject that is debated there should be published through the Party paper, a different man assuming charge thereof each time. What do you think of this plan or ours. Possibly at the outset the writings of some men may be bad but on the defects being pointed out and points supplied by you, our writings may come to be in proper form. Let us know what we shall do. What has happened to Majid's article which was sent up. Please send my 'Lenin' it is necessary to re-write it at Kadir's suggestion. The work of the (illegible) Union is not much advancing. So we are laying stress on the study circle. If it goes on well, workers get a training, if the number of boys becomes larger, the work of the Union may be expected to be furthered. Three classes have been held. If you so desire, we may send the writings of different writers in the form of articles. Anyway, let me know when you all will be able to come here. In the expectation of your coming Deben Babu came here inspite of illness at his house. But he has gone away today on receipt of a wire yesterday about the hopeless condition of his daughter. Kadir has taken a room in front of the office in the eagerness of desire to do work, but he has not seized the proper method of work. I have been suffering from frequent attacks of illness. My health has broken down completely. However, what is the news about Goswami? I was not able to write to him so long, considering that he was very busy. Please ask him to write to me. Please accept my love,

Gopal.

Sd. K. B. Roy.

5-10-29.

P. 2020 [1].

Translation of copy of two Bengali letters into English, addressed to Dharani Kanta Goswami, 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta by Gopal, Dakeswari Cotton Mills Workers' Union 6r Nawabpur, Dacca, Dt/- 31-7-28 Postmark of place of posting is not legible. Received at the Park Street Post Office on 2-8-28.

(1)

Dear Comrade,

Received your letter. I know that you are very busy. That is why I wrote letters very sparingly up till now. I have been very much weakened by repeated attacks of illness here. New problems are cropping up in our work. Anyhow I have received a letter from Chakarabarty; it would be good if he can visit this place en route. Let us see what happens.

We generally expect that what goes from our Party or the Dacca (branch) connected therewith should be published in the Ganavani. The study circle becomes effective if all our proceedings therein are published and commented on in the paper. Many people's eyes at Dacca are now on it. I have written in detail regarding it to Muzaffar. I trust you are doing well. Please try to come here soon. Accept my love.

Sd. Gopal.

(2)

Dear Comrade,

I have received your letter today. On coming to Dacca Kadir did not say anything in particular against you. He might have said regarding the paper that better arrangements should be made for it. You have not written anything regarding my report concerning the Mehtars. Goswami has informed me that it will be sent to the paper later on. People from the Banglar Vani come to our library (study circle). They have a mind to start one in the school (?) Of the Banglar Vani. Since his first arrival at Dacca Nilini Babu has been taking interest in us and has been printing news about us of his own seeking, inspite of our not sending any reports. They want all the proceedings of the study circle. But we decided to send all the proceedings to you and we hoped that you would print them after correcting the mistakes in language; and in the next issue you would print regular comments thereon; that would make the study circle attractive. However, I am sending the rest of the article in a day or two. It has become a matter for consideration as to how connection is to be retained

with the Banglar Vani and the Santi at Dacca. It may be that Kadar May have a clash with Abdul Hossain and others. For they have been a bit upset by the threats of the Musalmans. So it is apprehended that Kadir will have a quarrel with them. Thus for today regarding this matter. We are tolerably well. I have improved in health but have not completely recovered. Accept our love.

Sd. K. B. Roy.

Yours Gopal.

5-10-29.

P. 2022-(T).

Copy of a letter to Muzaffar Ahmed from Gopal Chandra Basak, Dacca, dated 23/8/28.

Dear Comrade,

In pursuance of your circular letter, we held a condemnation meeting of the Trade Disputes Bill at the Coronation Park yesterday. It was attended by the Dacca general public and many workers of all kinds. In going out to invite the Dacca Public, I found good evidence that some considerable propaganda was being carried on against us by the intellectuals, i. e. the pleaders, mukhtars, and the leaders of Bourgeois organisations like Congress. You came secretly and left secretly, and with a wicked purpose mixed with the lads and taking advantage of their immature minds, you carried on the heinous propaganda of the Labour Party of England—that is why you do not venture to have a straight talk with your Mohin dada, Moporanjani, and Sris and Atul Sen etc. In spite of a meeting at Northbrook Hall having been spoken of, hence it was not a public meeting—such is the propaganda being carried on. And the pleaders and mukhtars did not attend the meeting across the river. But some men of Munshiganj, Narainganj and Dacca jute presses and belonging to other labour organisations attended. Anyway it is a pity that none of our friends recently released attended the meeting with that message (?) and they partially supported what the pleaders said.

K. D. Bose of Howrah and people like us had to attend the meeting. The meeting was successful. I hope that you will manage to come to Dacca with Dange and others. On that occasion, I shall be able to bring forward many more youths of the working class.

Some of the new members of the party are active, but the old ones are slack. So there is no relief for me from work. Though I summoned a general meeting of the party thrice consecutively, I could not hold it. However if work is once begun thoroughly this lethargy will disappear.

I asked you to send written appeals addressed to the Mehtars and Scavengers, jute press workers and Dhakeswari Textile workers- the first two in Hindi and the last in Bengali- what have you done about them. I have not got them yet. Be sure to send them. Deposit a number of "Hell Found" in my name with Messrs. the Book Co. Give as many books as will cover the cost of their paper. On their coming to my house on the pretext of inquiry about my application for a passport, my people at home denied knowledge of this. Hence they have asked me to put in an affidavit in Court that I shall not be destitute abroad. I shall show my income as proprietor of "Vanguard". Enquiry may be made at your address there. So much for this thing. About yourselves, you are to write about Atia,-you have not let me know about it. If you find immediately the portion of the article we have sent, I shall rewrite the whole and send it through Publicity. I had to make arrangements for publicity (Free Press) about our meeting. Ask Majid at least to help actively in party work a bit. So much for today. Accept my love.

Yours

Gopal Ch. Basak.

Sd/- K. B. Roy.

19/10/29.

P. 2023-[T].

This is a letter in Photograph of one already exhibited as Ex. P. 422. and translated therewith.

Sd/- K. B. Roy

5/10/29

P. 2026-(T).

Copy of letter to Muzaffar Ahmed of 2/1 European Asylum Lane from Soumyendra Nath Tagore of Berlin, with postmark Berlin

S. W. Dt/-25/-1/28 6 N.

Berlin,

Jan. 17, 1928.

Dear Sir

I have got your letter of the 2nd November. I write to you frequently. I inferred that you do not get the letters. I remitted money to the address at No. 37 for the Trade Union organ, I cannot at all understand whether or not you have got it. I wrote asking that I should be informed by wire immediately on receipt of the money. So far there has been no news. Any way, I await a letter from you. As soon as I get the first and the second issues of the paper, I shall arrange to remit money again. The date of my last letter was the 27th December. Let me know whether or not you have got it. Do not write to me any longer at my old address, letters miscarry there too often. Write at the following address: S Tagore C/o Agnes Smedley, Holstenische strasse, 36/II Berlin-Wilmersdorf, Germany.

I wrote to my Bombay friends to send a report on the condition of Textile workers, what their numbers are, what is the respective ratio of male, female and child labour, what are the wages, what are the working hours, what arrangements there are about compensation, what are the housing conditions and so on—to give me information on all points that there may be. So far I have got nothing. I want this report before February. Be sure to write to our Bombay friends, asking them to send in such a report as early as possible. How many organisations there are of textile workers, what is their strength, on what lines they are organised, what difficulties we have to face in the work of organisation—information about all these is wanted. You will kindly regard this work as very important. Inform my Bombay friends of my new address and ask them to send it to that address. It is very urgent. Do not forget. Let them know that it is wanted before February, or at the latest by the first week of March. It would have been very well if you had sent a permanent address, there is no knowing where the office may have to be shifted. As a result of it, letters miscarry. Cannot you arrange with a friend and send his address? I am very happy to hear that efforts are being made to organise unions. Sometime ago, I was rather unwell but I am now all right. You wrote asking the Trade Union Directory to be sent up from Bombay but I have received nothing as yet. I have not had even replies to the letters I wrote to my Bombay friends.

I trust you are all right. When you write, mention the date of my letter which you get,—thereby I shall be able to detect which letter duly reaches its destination and which miscarries.

Accept my loving salutations,

Yours

Soumyendranath Tagore.

Sd/- K B. Roy.

5/10/29.

P. 2027-[T].

Berlin,

Feby. 28, 1928.

Dear Sir,

I got your letter with a cutting from the Ananda Bazar and a Manifesto a few days ago. You have written about having sent manifestoes before this—none of these have reached me. Your letter also this occasion I got after a long time. I can easily infer that my letters also have similarly miscarried. I remitted £40 by T.M.O. to the address at 37 Harrison Road, (because our present address has not so far reached me),—being the contribution for two months for the paper for the Jute Mill workers. I cannot understand whether or not you have got that money. I telegraphed to you to wire to me immediately on receipt of the money. So far I have had no news about it at all. I remitted £40 to Bombay also, but there is no news about it either. As soon as you get my letter, inform me on these points. I have clearly written to Kalidas Babu explaining that his paper is to be published by our party. You may rest assured that there will be no difficulty about that. I shall remit at a time the money for two months. You will get the money regularly. It will not happen that after getting the contribution for 2 months, you will miss that for two other months. But there is no good remitting the money if it continues to be confiscated, as I find things are happening. It is strange that Govt. should be guilty even of the manness of confiscating money for a paper for poor workmen. I have written to Kalidas Babu also about the money, I shall await letters from you—I notice in the papers here that 25,000 roubles have been remitted on

behalf of the Trade Union of Soviet Russia to Giri in aid of the Kharagpur strikers. There is no news about it either. Enquire about it and print it in the papers. It is necessary that the fact of its having been sent should be made public.

I trust you are well. You will soon get news.

With regards,

Soumyendranath Tagore.

Sd/- K. B. Roy

5/10/29.

P. 2028-[T]

Berlin

April 17, 1928.

Dear friend,

I have got your letter. I have also received the Scavengers' Union's appeal. The money I sent for a paper for Jute workers has now after all this time come back into my hands. I do not understand this mystery. Any way I send it again to your present address. Immediately on receipt, inform me by wire whether or not you have got it. I send the contribution for two months. There will be no difficulty about money from this side. I can rest assured if only I know that it has reached your hands safely. I wrote a letter on February 6th to Kali Das Babu. Inquire whether or not it has duly reached him. I wish to get affiliated to the International Associations here, the Bengal Jute Workers' Association, the Seamen's Union (Aftab Ali), Paper Mills Association, Scavengers' Union and the Bombay Textile Union which we have under our control. Take steps to see Kali Das Babu and discuss this subject and send to me two "authorised" letters on behalf of the Bengal Jute Workers' Association and Paper Mills Association. I shall arrange about the affiliation as their representative. Try to send a similar mandate on behalf of the Scavengers' Union and Seamen's Union. Write also to Bombay. If possible, let them send a mandate from there from the one or two Trade Unions, which we have under control. It would be very well indeed, if along with the Mandate, a brief history of each organisation is sent up—what is their membership, what are their wants and so on.

On Receipt of this authority, I wish to start a Trade Union Bureau at Berlin on behalf of these Trade Unions. This Bureau will afford ample facility for carrying on propaganda in Europe regarding the condition of labourers in our country. Try to send me these mandates as soon as possible. I shall return by the end of this year. There is not much time available—let me know in this interval what are your wants, in what direction I can help you, and how—I shall strive heart and soul and get it done. I shall be able to secure considerable help from the European Trade Union leaders. I was not well. Because I was bedridden, I could not write during the last two weeks. I shall remit money very soon. I shall also send my subscription soon. Accept my loving salutations.

Yours,

Soumyendra Nath Tagore.

Print something in the papers each month about the activities of Our Party in Bengal. The Party in Bombay is very tactful in this respect. If not possible in *Forward*, you can manage to have it printed in the *Amrita Bazar* or the *Bengalee*. It does much to help my work here. Everybody complains that the Bengal Party gives no sign of activity. Bombay is very active.

The letter is addressed to: Muzaffar Ahmed, Esq.

2/1 European Asylum Lane,

Calcutta.

Sd. K. B. Roy

16-10-29.

P. 2029-T.

Letter to Muzaffar Ahmed, 2/1 European Asylum Lane, from Soumyendra Nath Tagore of Berlin, 24/4/28.

Dear Friend,

I have got the letter directed in Agnes' name and to her address for me. I wrote a letter to you on the 28th February. Next I wrote another letter to you on the 12th march. I am not at all clear as to whether or not you have got these two letters of mine. Then last week, on the 17th April I wrote another letter. I have

received Kali Dass Babu's letter and a letter from the Jute Workers' Association, appointing me their delegate. But thanks to our luck, his letter which might have reached here a month ago, I got this week. It is clear as to who are so eager to nollify every step we take. In my letter last week I wrote to you to send me authority from all our Trade Unions to start a Bureau in Euope. The work of this bureau will be to carry on propaganda in Europe regarding the condition of our workers. Your work will be to send a report on behalf of each Union, if not every week, at least every fortnight. Yet I have had no intimation yet about it. Anyway, as soon as you get the money, let me know. When will the annual meeting of our Bengal Peasants' and Workers' Party be held? It is very necessary that the meeting should be held. When the meeting is held, publish a full account in the papers, and do not forget to send it to me (also). Furnish to the papers as short an account of the party's activities as possible. Send it to the *Amrita Bazar* and the *Bengalee* if it is not possible to send it to *Forward*. I can realize of course, when the Jute workers' paper is issued, it will suffice only to send the paper. It will not be necessary to send any other report. It would be very well indeed if you can send to me a similar authority for Aftab Ali on behalf of the Seamen's Union. A report regarding the condition of Seamen is also urgently needed. When you send these papers and reports, send them to *Agnes'* name, as you did this time. Send them registered. Kali Das Babu has written that he has received information that the money I remitted has reached there. From here what is the value of thus occasionally printing in the papers an account of proceedings. When you publish accounts in the papers, send me cuttings from those papers. Have you been able to make any arrangement about printing the *Ganavami*? I shall soon remit the subscription of my party. Write, furnishing all the news. Also, do not forget to inform me in every letter of the dates which the letters you get from me bear. It will help me to check up whether or not letters are reaching (the addressee). Convey please my salutations to friends. I have not got Nazrul's book. Possibly it has been lost in transit. Accept my heartfelt regards for yourself and Halim.

Yours

Soumyendra Nath Tagore.

P. S. Write soon

P. S. I wish to publish from this bureau a bulletin regarding labour conditions in Europe and send it home. Besides if there is a permanent organisation take this, it will be

very easy during strikes etc. to carry on propaganda in the country and raise money and remit it.

Sd. K. B. Roy,

19-10-29.

P. 2032-[T].

Translation into English of a Bengali letter addressed to Muzffar Ahmed Esq. 2/1 European Asylum Lane, office of the Bengal Peasants' and Workers' Party Calcutta, India by Soumyendra Nath Tagore, Berlin Dt/- 6th June, 1928.

6th June 1928

Berlin.

Dear Sir,

I have received your telegram. At the end of April, I sent money in your name and Ghate's through a Bank. I have sent £ 60 apiece for the paper for the three months of February, March and April. I hope that you have received the money by this time. If you do not get the money this time also, then, I think that there is little gained by remitting money. Government will detain the money and put forward various sorts of pretexts. This is their traditional way. I wrote letters to you on the 24th April and the 16th May. Both the letters were very important. After receipt of the letter from Ghate, I wrote to him on the 9th May. Please enquire whether or not he has received my letter. It would be every good indeed if you can send me a translation of the Communist manifesto. I think it was first published in the Langal. Gleaning it from the Langal and the Ganavani, please try to send it up as soon as possible. I notice accounts of the strike in the newspapers. It seems that very good results may be achieved if a courageous lead can be given at this moment. I learnt that Kutbuddin has been taken into favour by the authorities. Has he been suddenly taken into favour or was he in their good books all along, though we did not know of it? I saw the name of Shibnath Banerjee in the newspapers in connection with the Lillooah strike. Is he our Shibnath Babu? Does not Shibnath Babu work with Kalidas Babu now? What is the news about Gopen and others? when you send any paper or letter per registered post, please send it only in the name of Agnes. How are you and Halim now physically? I saw in the newspapers

that ten thousand roubles on behalf of the Russian Trade Union. have been send for the Bombay strikers. During the strike this money will certainly be detained and it remains to be seen whether or not it is sent back on some pretext later on, just like the money for the strike at Kharagpur.

I am not very well physically. Please let me know every-thing about you. Please convey my loving salutation to friends. Accept my greetings for self and Halim.

Yours

Soumyendranath Tagore-

P. 2032 [P E].

An envelope. The address runs as follows:—

affar Ahmed Esqr,

1 European Asylum Lane,

Office of the Bengal Peasants' and

Workers' Party,

Calcutta,

INDIA.

(Sd.) K. B. Roy.

5-10-29.

P. 2033 (T)

Translation into English of a Bengali letter addressed to S. Tagore C/o Agnes Smedly, Holstinische Strasse, 36 Berlin—Wilmersdorf Germany, by Muzaffar Ahmed, The Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal, 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta, Dt/- 19/7/28.

The Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal,

2/1 European Asylum Lane;

Calcutta.

19/7/28

Dear Sir,

Your letters dated the 6th June and 20th June have not been replied to. I replied to your letter dated the 16th May in time. We are passing our days through serious troubles. Serious Labour unrest has commenced in India, on all sides. I think that a real labour agitation has commenced in India. We have formed here a Textile Workers' Union. In Bengal there was no Union of this nature before. The Scavengers had to go on strike again. The Corporation did not carry out their previous promise. I trust you read all the reports in the Indian news papers. In connection with this strike I and Miss Pravabati Das Gupta were arrested. Seven cases are still pending against us. Most probably the cases will be withdrawn though we have not consented to it. Cases are proceeding against some other members of our Party as well. A case against Gopendra Chakrabarty has been proceeding at Howrah. Judgment will be read out today. Dharani Kanta Goswami has been released on payment of a fine of Rs. 25/-. At present a case is proceeding at Asansol against Kali Kumar Sen Gupta. He is one of our new members.

We have not received any money at all sent by you. You have written that you sent money through a Bank at the end of April. So far as I remember, no money at all has been sent—at least not certainly through a Bank. I think you entrusted one of your friends with the task of sending it. He did not do it. I believe that the same thing occurred on the first occasion also. I have received from Germany two letters in German with a small interval between. In them it is written that £ 20 apiece have been sent per postal money order. In fact no money has been sent. You asked him to wire but he wrote letters instead. I do not know what is the meaning of this game of hide and seek? I want to know why we are being harassed by this misleading correspondence. If the money had been sent it would certainly have reached here. Of course the authorities could have withheld payment if they liked. But

that ten thousand roubles on behalf of the Russian Trade Union. have been send for the Bombay strikers. During the strike this money will certainly be detained and it remains to be seen whether or not it is sent back on some pretext later on, just like the money for the strike at Kharagpur.

I am not very well physically. Please let me know every thing about you. Please convey my loving salutation to friends. Accept my greetings for self and Halim.

Yours

Soumyendranath Tagore-

P. 2032 [P E].

An envelope. The address runs as follows:—

Muzaffar Ahmed Esqr,

2/1 European Asylum Lane,

Office of the Bengal Peasants' and

Workers' Party,

Calcutta,

INDIA.

(Sd.) K. B. Roy.

5-10-29.

know it for certain that it was possible to return money only after the reasons had been made known to us. Purposely I refrained from wiring. That would mean additional outlay of a few rupees more. No money has been sent to Bombay either. At least they have not got it. You have been misinformed about the arrest of Ghate. If it is possible to send money through a Bank then please do so. Otherwise stop all correspondence regarding that matter. It makes our position rather worse.

I have written to you about the Seamen's Union previously. It is wholly in a tottering condition. We are trying to recognise it. I shall send a report next week. The Ganavani is being published from the 14th April again. Do you receive it? It is being sent to you regularly. Please write articles regarding the situation there.

You are all along giving the party a wrong name. The name has now been changed into the "Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal". You ought to have understood it from the letter-head of the Party.

Yours,

Sd/- Muzaffar Ahmed

P.S.

I am sorry to know that you are not physically well. As for our health it is better not to ask.

Sd/- Mu—Ah.

P. 2033 (P) (E)

An envelope. The address on the envelope is as follows:—

S. Tagore

C/O Miss Agness Smedley

Holsteinischestrassc II 36

Berlin—Wilmersdorf.

(Germany)

Sd/- K. B. Roy

5/10/29

P. 2035 [T].

Translation into English of Bengali letter addressed to Muzaffar Ahmed Esq, Bengal Workers' and Peasants' Party's office 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta, India, by Soumyendranath Tagore, Berlin, Dt/- 28th August.

Berlin
August 28th

Dear Sir,

The other day I received your letter after a long time. I am surprised to know that you have not received the money as yet. The money has been sent through a Bank, I do not understand why you have not received it. Anyway I shall not write any thing at further regarding money. You think that I write to you for nothing, while the same time, I do not make any arrangement here for sending money. For the present I do not see any means of disabusing your mind of this false notion. I have arranged about it after earnestly entreating the authorities of the Trade Union; know that I had not to undergo small hardship for it. Possibly I shall return soon. I am not physically well. Tell Kalidas Babu that I have received his article on "Jute". I shall soon publish it in pamphlet form. I wrote to Kalidas Babu for a mandate as representative of Jute Workers' Association— I have not yet received it. Kindly ask him if it would be possible to get it. If I also get a mandate from the "Textile Union" of Bombay, it will greatly facilitate work. Please try a bit for it. I keep myself well posted up about my home land. I can not describe the pleasure I feel at seeing the gradual expansion of the field of our work. I hope that I shall again be able to work conjointly soon. How are you? Please accept my greetings.

Yours

Soumyendra Nath Tagore.

The address on the envelope runs as follows—

Muzaffar Ahmed Esqr.,
Bengal Workers' and Peasants' Office,
2/1 European Asylum Lane,
Calcutta,
India.

Sd/- K. B. Roy
5/10/29

Translation into English of a Bengali letter addressed to Muzaffar Ahmad, General Secretary, Bengal Workers' and Peasants' Party, 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta, by Soumyendra Nath Tagore, Berlin, dated 21st November. On the cover is written "Uber Frankfort Main".

Dear Sir,

I received your letter a few days ago. In the interval for a long time I did not receive letters from you and did not write to you either. One reason for not writing was that I was and am very busy. The second reason is that you have written that friends have become suspicious of my honesty, that I have misappropriated to myself money collected for the paper ostensibly. As there is no means for the present of replying to this charge of dishonesty, I thought it best to keep quiet. That is why in the interval, I did not write. One thing I wish to represent to you all, and that is that you will kindly remember that I have never neglected, nor do I neglect now to take pains as much as possible to utilise for the work of the party such small results as I achieve after overcoming a thousand kinds of obstacles, I have not touched even a single farthing of the money that I arranged for with the Trade Union. I furnished the Trade Union with your address in order that the money might be sent. I asked them to send the money in my name. They informed me that the money had been sent accordingly. Relying on their statement I wrote to you about the money. Tell me what I can do if they tell me one thing and do another. From your letter this time, I understand that instead of sending the money that way, they sent it some other way. Any way, on receipt of your letter I went to them and ascertained that money had been sent. The Bank does not furnish any information as to whether or not you received that money. They have written to the Bank for detailed information. In reply to your complaint I make this much answer for the present. I am very glad to know that the work of the Party is extending in all directions. On return I have a mind to do work of various kinds. I cannot send any article for the paper just now. I am very busy. I shall send an article later on, when I find time. I trust you are all doing well. Please remember me to my friends.

With regards,

Yours -

Sd/- Soumyendra Nath Tagore.

P. 2038 [P] [E]

An envelope for the above with the following address on it —
Uber Frankfort a/Main

Muzaffar Ahmed Esqr.,

General Secretary

Bengal Workers' and Peasants' Party,

Sd. K. B. Roy

2/1 European Asylum Lane,

5/10/29.

Calcutta;

INDIA.

P. 2048 T.

Translation of copies of two Bengali letters into English, addressed to Muzaffar Ahmad, The editor, the Ganabani 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta by Gopal, Dacca, Dt/- 5-8-28. Received at the Park Street Post Office on 7-8-28. Postmark of the place of posting is not legible.

(1)

Respectfully represent that Abdul Kadir is going home. Do not send the Ganavani to his name any more. He has given Rs. 7/- to Gopen Chakrabarty as the price of the Ganabani. He has said that he will soon send the balance. What is the rate of commission allowed on your Ganavani? What is the basis on which you charge for unsold copies as well as for those which have been distributed at the Dakeswari cotton mills and other places free for propaganda, on behalf of the Party. He has asked to be informed of these soon. On receipt of replies to these questions, he will arrange to send the balance of the money.

Henceforth please send the Ganavani direct to Surendra Babu, Basumati Sahitya Munder, Johnson Road Dacca. It will be all right if you write to him regarding this.

Kadir Miah was doing well. He could not write to you as he was busy - he is sorry for it. He has received the letter from Ranajit Burman, and he conveys his thanks.

No name of the writer is given.

(2)

Dear -

I send a report of a meeting at the Dakeswari (Workers' Union). Please be sure to print it in the present issue. There are many things to write in the next one. You will hear some thing from Gopen Babu's lips also.

Sd. K. B. Roy,

Sd/- GOPAL.

5/10/29.

P. 2056 [T].

Translation into English of a Bengali letter Dt/- 20th June 1928. Addressed to Muzaffar Ahmad, Calcutta, from Soumyendra Nath Tagore, Berlin.

20th June, 1928.

Berlin.

Dear Sir,

Four or five days ago I received letters from you and Halim. I wrote to you three letters on the 24th April, 16th May and 6th June, last. Please compare the dates and see whether or not you received the letters. I have written about money in the previous letter; so I do not write any more. Only £60 which I sent in Ghate's name may be returned, because he has been arrested. Please make some arrangement about that. Please let me know in whose name I shall send money henceforward at Bombay. At the end of April I sent money through a bank. I have not yet been able to know whether you have received it or not. Send all the registered letters in the name of Agnes Smedley. Do not send them in my name - that causes unnecessary delay in receiving the letters. I am not physically well. I had an attack of influenza some time ago. I have now got over it. I am going out of town for three weeks. On my return I shall let you know everything. Accept my loving salutation.

Soumyendranath Tagore

P. 2056 (P) (E).

An envelope with following address on it :—

Muzaffar Ahmad,

Office of the Bengal Peasants' and Workers' Party,

2/1 European Asylum Lane,

Calcutta, India.

Sd. K. B. Roy,

5/10/29.

P. 2059-(T)

Translation into English of a letter in Bengali addressed to Com. Muzaffar Ahmed, Secretary, Workers' and Peasants' Party, of Bengal, 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta by Gopal Basak, 61, Nawabpur, Dacca; dated 3rd December 1928. Received at the Park Street Post Office on 4-12-28 p.m. the place of posting is not distinct.

.....
61, Nawabpur;

Dacca.

3-12-28.

Dear Comrade,

You have written about Narsingdi—we could not also meet Sundar Ali at Narsingdi. On enquiry I learnt that some peasants had been enlisted as members by him. At our first (visit) also, many peasants were ready to become members but on that occasion no member was enlisted, as we had not brought up the papers with us. This time we came back as we did not meet him there and also owing to the inconvenience of staying there, so no work was done. I shall again send a man to-morrow so that he may remain there for fifteen days and do some work. Two or three men from Khagendra's (illegible) has become acquainted with me, they are coming to do work. We used to think Khagendra a fool but "he is a first class exploiter". He has (illegible) business. However, none of the old (members) can be met now. They have not paid

subscriptions. I have secured subscriptions from the following persons. Debendra Bijoy Guha, Harinath Guha, Gopal Basak, Promod Ghose, Prafulla Guha (Ry. Worker). The following persons have given subscriptions voluntarily for the Reception Committee—Anil Chandra Roy, Debendra B. Guha and Gopal Basak. The same has been sent to Comrade Kalidass. Saroj Mukherjee does some work—he may pay subscription.

The "Study circle convener" has left after stealing books. However, the Town worker members are about 23 in number. More are expected. I shall give information about Narsinghdi in ten days. I shall go out for money—Nothing much will be collected, still let me see what can be got from Narsinghdi. I met Prof. Kazi (illegible) Hossain but had no talk with him on this matter. I shall go again. Thus for to-day. I shall let you know of other things in my next. Has (illegible) Comrade Aftab come down from hills? Please let me know. He owes something to the Press it would have been of use if it had been now received. I want to push, 'Hell Found' in the Congress Session for Vanguard Ltd. Co. after having printed proper handbills. I write to Com. Dange also.

If you can make time for drafting the advertisement, then please send it. Accept my love.

Sd/- Gopal Basak.

.....

P. 2059 (P) (E).

An envelope for the above with the following address on it:-

Com. Muzaffar Ahmed,

Secretary Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal,

2/1, European Asylum Lane,

Calcutta.

(Sd.) K.B. Roy.

5-10-29.

P. 2060 (T)

Dharani Goswami.

Dear comrade,

You have not done anything about what I wrote about Radha Raman Mitter. If you had gone (illegible), you would have got some money. I could have paid you something. Let me quickly know

what my donation comes to. Let Radha Raman Babu write to me immediately.

Yours (illegible).

Sd/- K. B. Roy.

30-10-29.

P. 2062 (T)

WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' PARTY OF BENGAL.

The aim of this party is to secure complete freedom from the exploiting administration of the British, and to establish in India a perfect democracy on the economic, social and political emancipation of all, irrespective of sex.

Acknowledging this object, I desire to be a member of the party.

(Sd.) Haji Naib Ali

Sarkar.

30-11-28.

Narsingdi,

Dacca.

Dear sir,

Today about 70 members have been enlisted and I send the forms signed by them. I am trying to enlist a larger number of members.

Yours etc.

Sundar Ali

President, Narsingdi

Peasants' and Workers' Party.

To

The Executive Committee of the Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal.

Dated the.....

Dear Corades,

I desire to enlist as a member of the Bengal Peasants' and Workers' Party. I am prepared to abide by the rules and programme, to pay subscriptions at the rates fixed and as decided by the party, to work in any of its organisations.

Yours obediently,

Haji Naib Ali Sarkar.

(1) *Name*—Haji Naib Ali Sarkar.

(2) *Address*—Narsingdib, *Thana* Narsingdih, *District* Dacca.

(3) *Age*—70 years.

(4) *Occupation*—Business.

(5) *Where employed*—At Narsingdih Bazar.

(6) *Is he a member of the National Congress*—He is.

In which branch?

Is he an office bearer?

(7) *Is he a member of Labour Union?*

In which branch?

Is he an office bearer?

(8) *Account of any other political or economic organisation with which he is connected.*

Order by the Executive Committee

Dated the.....

F. 2062 (P) (E).

Envelope addressed to Secretary

Workers' and Peasants' Party of

From

Bengal.

President Workers' and

2/1 European Asylum Lane.

Peasants' Party of

CALCUTTA.

Narsingdih Dacca.

(Sd). K. B. Roy.

14-11-29.

P. 2098 (T).

Berlin

Nov. 8th.

Dear sir,

After a long time, I got the other day, a letter from you and a report of the Party's activities. From your letter I learn that prior to this you wrote a number of letters. Unfortunately not one of them has reached me. What steps can we take then? The police worthies are not content with merely reading the letters. They also keep a few with them as they choose. Since we have not the power to provide a remedy for this supreme high-handedness, it is best for us to keep quiet. I realise that you are not getting my letters duly. Sometime ago, I sent two articles also, I do not know if you have got them. I have talked with the trade Union leaders here and arranged things. They have agreed to pay money for two Trade Union papers in our country. Rs. 250/- will be available for each paper. One paper will be published as the organ of Jute Mill workers and the other as the organ of Textile workers. One will be from Calcutta and the other from Bombay. They have promised to pay money later on for a paper for the Seamen. You should decide whether these papers are to be in Hindi or in Urdu. It is necessary that the paper should be in the language understood by the majority of labourers. Fix the price of the paper at one pice and it would be good to have a rule that members of the jute workers' Association or the Textile workers' Association are to have the paper free. I find in the *Ganavani* that ill-feeling has been generated between yourself and Kalidas Babu. It is my earnest request to you to compose the matter, if there has arisen any occasion for ill-feeling. It will not be easy to make arrangements like this for Trade Union papers. Take counsel with Kalidas Babu and fixed up everything. The paper will be published on behalf of the Peasants' and Workers' Party and the Bengal Jute Workers' Association. The paper will discuss the daily wants and grievances of labourers and also reports of how workers in other countries on earth are progressing. Write to Joglekar and Mirajkar at Bombay and ascertain whether or not they are ready to take full charge of bringing out a paper for the Textile Workers. If they agree (of course, if they do not agree, such an opportunity will not again be easily forthcoming), let them inform me quickly, it would be well indeed if you convey your assent by wire. On receipt of your wire, I shall remit the money by wire to you. You will send the money for the Bombay paper to Bombay,—I send with this letter a letter for Kalidas Babu, send it to him, or it would be very well indeed if you take the letter up personally and discuss things with him. Can you undertake responsibility for bringing out a pictorial weekly for workers? It will contain only pictures,

with just a few lines of writing in between. The housing condition of foreign workers and alongside thereof, the housing conditions of our workers or the housing conditions of our well-to-do may be compared and pictures of the housing conditions of our workers put up. Such a paper will have a wide circulation abroad. A gentleman has agreed pay to £ 30/- or £ 35/- or about Rs. 400/- for this. Let me know if this also is possible.

I send a telegraphic address:

Herrn Rudi Jesch,

Forckenbeck Str. 5,

Berlin—Wilmersdorf.

Send telegrams in the name of this gentleman. My name need not be given. Do not add to the charge by inserting my name,

Only write

Agree two-

or Agree three.

If you write "Agree Two", I shall understand that you agree to take responsibility for the two Trade Union papers. If you write Agree Three, I shall understand that you are prepared to accept responsibility for the Pictorial also. I shall await your telegram. How are you and Halim now?

Accept my heartfelt love.

Yours

Sourmyendra Nath Tagore.

P. 2098 () & 1,

An envelope addressed to Muzaffar Ahmed, Esq., Ganayani Office, 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

(Sd). K. B. Roy.

21-10-29.

P. 2120 (T)

May 16. 1928.

Berlin.

Dear Sir,

I have got your letter and report (Bengal and English). Our party programme which was accepted at the 2nd conference and the resolutions adopted at this conference should be sent to me as early as possible. If it is not convenient to print them, send them in Mss. In the English programme, opinions have been expressed in certain places which are contradictory thus in one place, on P. 5, it has been said that the basis of opposition to the Swaraj party is not that it is bourgeois but that it is not whole heartedly for national independence. He who reads this with some little thought will easily detect the fallacy of such a statement. I got a letter from Ghate in Bombay and have replied to it. I cannot write much today, as I am very busy. Do one thing. Get the Paper Mills Association formally affiliated to the party. I am anxious to know whether you have got the money, With loving salutations.

Yours,

Soumyendra Nath Tagore.

Muzaffar Ahmad Esq,

Bengal Peasants' and Workers' Party

2/1 European Asylum Lane Calcutta.

Sd. K. B. Roy,

26-10-29

P. 2125 [T]

C/o M. A. Majid,

Mochi Gate,

Lahore.

15 12-26

Brother Halim,

I arrived here on the 10th. *Enroute* I halted at Delhi for a day and a half. I received the wire day before yesterday. A T. M. O. for Rs 100 came yesterday. I wrote two letters to you at Kasem's address previously, I do not know whether or not you have got them. I do not know to what address I am to direct letters. My fever still rises to 99 degrees. I suffered badly from boils the discharge still continuing. I am still putting up in the house of friend Abdul Majid. Now that money has come, I shall engage a house outside the city. I am anxious to know what your condition is. And how again is Kazi Brother, write explaining everything frankly. Has Nalini returned from his house? Whence did you get the money? Did money for the *Ganavani* come from Noakhali and Dinajpur. Be sure to send up the International Hand-book (a book with a blue cover) it is very urgently wanted. If Nalini has come back, tell him to send up 100 or 125 Sythet oranges and along therewith 4 or 5 good picked cocanuts. I shall give them to my friends here. They will come at fresh fruit rates the cocanuts may be placed at the bottom of the basket and the oranges above them. Probably he will consign them by the Hawrah Peshawar Mail it leaves at about 10 A. M. When Fresh fruits are booked, the name of the train has to be indicated.

Yours

Muzaffar Ahmad,

C/o M. Abdul Majid Esq.

Dal Mohalla,

Mochi Gate

LAHORE.

(Sd), K. B. Roy.

30-10-29

P. 2130 (T).

Berlin.

14th June 1927.

Write letters to this address for me.

S. N. Tagore,

Jagow Strasse 441

B/ Arnheim.

Berlin, N. W. 87,

Dear Sir,

I am glad to get your letter and the *Ganavani*. I can quite realise what amount of work you are having to do for the paper. There is no help for it. I send a translation of the rest of the communist manifesto. I send it as from the second chapter. I think a translation of the first chapter has already been published in the *Ganavani*. Just verify it once. Get the whole published in two issues. Arrange later for its publication in book form. I am arranging for the money. I shall try soon to send other articles for the *Ganavani*. But I am very busy now. I think it would be well if you can do one thing and that is to arrange immediately to organise a party of workers and peasants at Madras. I find in the *Ganavani* that a Party of workers and peasants has been organised at Bombay. It is very necessary that a peasants' and workers' party should be started in Bombay and in Madras. It is very necessary to have a party at Lahore i.e. for the Punjab. After doing this, send me their constitution and programme. It would be very well if you send me the programme of the Bombay party, their constitution and what they are doing. Full news of Madras also is wanted. If you can secure a mandate for me from these two parties, in the sense that Soumyendranath Tagore, General Secretary of the Bengal Peasants' and workers' Party who is now in Europe is authorised to establish relation between this party and Labour organisations in England and in Europe if you can send mandates like this from Bombay and from Madras, I can act on their behalf with an All India status, one can work with the labour parties in Europe. Our party programme must certainly now have been printed in English and the constitution probably also have been printed anew. If it has not been printed, get it printed, and send me two copies of each. Immediately after my translation appears in the *Ganavani*, publish a notice in that paper that the Communist Manifesto will soon appear in book form. Send me all news. Remember me to my friends. What about

Halim? How are you? I shall write later, again with loving salutation.

Yours Somyendranath Tagore.

Sd K. B. Roy.

4-11-29

P. 2131 (T).

Berlin,

13th July,

Jagowstrasse, 44,

B/Arnheim,

Berlin

N. W. 87.

Dear Sir,

I send some writing. It would be well if the article "Clara Metaking and "Red front" are inserted in the first page of the *Ganavani*. Let the "Clara Metakin" article go in the first week. I also send Clara Metakin's picture to you. The big picture on the first page is hers. Inside there are pictures of other women who were the life of many movements. It would be very well if a block is made of Clara Metakin's picture and it is published with my article on the first page. Ask them to send here the papers being published from Bombay and Lahore. And send me two or three copies of the *Ganavani* of each issue. I trust you have duly got my previous letter. I am anxious for news about you. Remember me to my friends. Accept my loving regards.

Yours,

Soumyendra Nath Tagore,

You will find a picture of how Fascists kill peasants. I have side-lined it; if possible, print it in the *Ganavani*. My article on the conditions of Peasants in Fascist Italy may go in therewith.

There is a picture of Clara Metakin inside. It will be easy to prepare a block therefrom. It is a small picture.

Sd. K. B. Roy.

26/10/29

P. 2143 (T).

Berlin,

December 27

Dear Sir,

I have got your letter. I shall soon send money for the paper. I am sending to Bombay the money for the Bombay paper and your money to you. I shall arrange for the money for the Pictorial Fortnightly in a month and remit it. I shall send cartoons for the Pictorial Fortnightly. You will get help from Dines in the matter. Of course you will have to pay him something. For the present send Rupee Two (?). Immediately you get the letter, wire acknowledging receipt. When the first issue of the paper is all received, I shall send money for two more months. If you can run these two papers well, money may be subsequently available for a paper for seamen. Has the *Ganvani* been stopped? I shall be glad if you do one thing. Please send me as soon as possible the two books—Nazrul's *Sarvahara* and the one in which appears his poem the "Real" They are urgently wanted. Send them to the following address ;

S. Tagore

B/Agnes Smedley

Holstenische, Strasse 36

Berlin, Wilmersdorf

Germany.

Send me news about you quickly. You should have obtained, a commission from our party and published a manifesto about the situation in the country. It is not yet too late. It is necessary clearly to show that the path of mass organisation is the only path and that the agitation now prevailing is confined to the upper strata bourgeoisie leaders, that no leader has held up a slogan of mass organisation because they are afraid and there should be a slogan held up on behalf of our party.

Be sure to do this work. Get it written by Kutbuddin and subsequently get it revised by Nares Babu or Atul Babu. It is a great mistake in a situation like this for us to keep silent. The Bombay party has issued a manifesto. I shall expect a letter from you. How are you now? Let me know where you have removed your office. Let me know a permanent address. Otherwise it will

be convenient to send letters and writings. Convey my regards to friends.

Accept love for self and Halim.

Yours

Soumyandra Nath Tagore

The letter is addressed to Muzaffar Ahmad Esq,
37 Harrison Road, Ganavani Office, Calcutta, India.

Sd. K. B. Roy.

26/10/29

P. 2161 (T).

MEMO.

ALBERT LIBRARY, DACCA

11. 3. 29.

Abdul Kader.

Comrade,

You have probably arrived at Calcutta and immediately on arrival, you will see some strange things.

Let it pass. Write to me and let me know where you are putting up shall try quickly to come, as you suggest.

If a letter of the Union.....to Spratt.....(three lines here are illegible).

Sd. K. B. Roy.

31/10/29

P. 2168 (1) T.

Berlin,

November 29.

Dear sir,

I have got your letter and appeal printed for the *Ganavani*. I have also got your letter in reply to the one you got from my cousin. Let me quickly know what new address you have decided on, after removing the office from No. 37. I shall try to send my monthly subscription from here, and shall try to send something from Berlin. I send a copy of the Urdu Translation of the *International* you asked for. I am trying to translate the Communist Manifesto into Urdu and shall send it as soon as it is ready. I am awaiting a reply to my letter of the 8th November. I have written home for money for printing my translation of the Communist Manifesto in book form. If I find that impossible, I shall procure money here and send it. I have got your telegrams. Moti Lal Nehru and Jawahar Lal came here. They made a loud outcry about India for the masses at the meeting of the Hindustan Association here. But when it comes to actual work, they proceed long a path just the reverse thereof. Such hypocrites these leaders are. I have read of *forward's* rascality here. It proves one thing and that is that however small our work, it has not gone for nothing wholly. The big people have been moved by it. I shall send some writing after a time. I am now a little busy. Reply quickly about these two papers.

with loving salutations,

yours,

Soumyendra Nath Tagore.

Let me know the new address of the office. I think it would be well, if fixing the permanent address at somebody's house, you inform me. I can address letters there even if the office is removed.

Sd/- K. B. Roy.

26 - 10 - 29.

P. 2256 (T)

Dear Sir.

No replies have been sent to the letters of the 6th and the

20th June. We are passing our days through serious trouble. On all sides in India labour unrest has set in. I believe a real labour movement in India has begun. We have started here a Textile Workers' Union. A union of this class did not exist in Bengal before. The scavengers had to go on strike again. The corporation did not keep its previous pledge. I trust you have read the reports in the Indian papers. I and Prabhabati Das Gupta were arrested in connexion with this strike. 7 cases against us are still pending very probably the cases will be withdrawn, though we have not agreed thereto. Cases also are pending against certain other members of our party. A case is proceeding at Howrah against Gopendra Chakravarti. The judgement will be read out today Dharani Kanta Goswami has been let off with a fine of Rs. 25/-. A case is now pending at Asansol against Kali Kumar Sen Gupta. He is one of our new members

We have not received any money at all sent by you. You write that at the end of April, money was remitted through a Bank. So far as I remember, no money at all was sent,—at least not certainly through a Bank. I think you left the duty of sending it, to some friend of yours. And he failed to do it. I believe that this is what happened the first time also. I have received two letters in German from Germany in succession with a small interval between. In them, it is stated that £20 has been remitted by post. Really no money in all has been sent. You asked him, to send a wire. Instead of sending a wire, he has sent a letter. I do not know what is the meaning of all this game of hide and seek. I want to know why we are being put to trouble by the writing of all these letters for nothing. If money had been sent, it would certainly have come here. Of course, the authorities if they wished, could stop its coming. But know for certain that it would have been possible to return the money only after reasons had been assigned to us. I deliberately refrained from telegraphing. It would have meant some additional expense. No money has been sent to Bombay either—at least they have not got it. You have been wrongly informed about Ghate's arrest. If it is possible to send the money through a Bank, do that. If not, stop writing about it, it makes our position somewhat worse.

I have already written to you about the Seamen's union. It is wholly in a state of dissolution. We are trying to reconstitute it. I shall send a report next week. The *Ganvani* is being republished from the 14th April. Do you get it? It is being sent to you regularly. Write articles about conditions there.

You are all along putting the name of the party wrongly. This time, the name has been transformed into the Peasants' and

workers' party. You should have understood this from the letter-head of the party.

Yours

Muzaffar Ahmed.

P. S. I am sorry to hear that you are not well. It is best not to ask about our health.

Sd. K. B. Roy
4-11-29.

M. A.

P. 2264 (1&2) T.

Included in Bengal speeches. q. V.

P. 2265 (T).

Included in Bengal speeches. q. V.

P. 2549 (T).

Speeches of Radharaman Mitra at Shradhananda Park on 20-1-29.

(Printed Separately—Bengal speeches)