

ENGLISH

- - -

- TRANSLATIONS

OF

HINDI EXHIBITS.

P. 175-T.

(Translation of printed matters on the cover).

Resolutions passed by the

MAJDOOR KISAN SAMMELAN

(Worker' & Peasants' Conference), Meerut .

Held on the 13th, 14th & 15th October 1928.

Under the Presidentship of

DESH BHAKT LALA KEDAR NATH JI SAHGAL, Lahore-

Published by

Secretary, Workers' & Peasants' Conference, Meerut .

Local.

1. This conference condemns (the action of) the Meerut District Board in levying an improper tax on the poor labourers, without holding any enquiry and draws the attention of the Board to setting aside the same at a very early date.

2. This Conference draws the attention of the people of Meerut as also of the members of the Municipal Borad to paying the Mehtars at the rate of eight annas per house per mensem and (urges that) the Board too should increase the pay of its staff.

Political Resolution.

Next War.

This Conference proclaims this fact that the Workers and the Peasants will not now co-operate with the bureaucracy in any of its wars and further that they will not shed their blood by enlisting themselves as soldiers nor will they dispose of their utensils for giving donations.

Bardoli:

This Conference heartily eulogises the brave Peasants of Bardoli. Their bravery, organising strength and self-sacrifice are commendable. They have shown the Workers (and the Peasants of India the way to independence.

Political Prisoners:

This Conference heartily commends the bravery, sacrifice and (the aptitude to) put up with troubles, of all the political prisoners and puts (before it) as a model their power of sacrificing all for the sake of the country and side by side with this it strongly condemns the unjust and cruel policy of Government.

Government Parties and Darbar.

This Conference strongly condemns the taking part in parties given by the Viceroy or other Government officers and directs that no Indian, in future, should participate in such parties and the like.

Nehru Committee.

This Conference congratulates the Nehru Committee Report for its attempt to remove differences between Hindus, Muhammadans and others.

This Conference opposes the Report on its main principles, and the Workers and the Peasants Party would carry on propaganda and other works.

1. Complete Independence and not Dominion Status.
2. The wholesale disappearance of the Native States (The status of a place would be similar to what is the status at that time in other places of India).
3. Attempt to meet (lit. complete) all the obstacles in the way of the Trade Unions (Workers' & Peasants' Associations) and to give the latter all the rights so that they may be on a par with the Trade Unions of other advanced nations.

The protection of permanent capital is not regarded as a principle. The rights of the Workers' and the Peasants should be agreed to in full.

Monetary Resolutions,

Tax:

This Conference is of opinion that the principle of tax legislation should be to cancel the indirect (lit: imperceptible) taxes as far as practicable and to levy income tax on an income of Rs. 200/- monthly and on an income of more than this (it should levy the tax) on a progressive scale.

Land:

This Conference is of opinion

- (a) that the principle of Zamindari and Talukadari be abolished altogether and the land be declared as the property of the whole nation so that every one may have equal right over it;
- (b) that the laws be framed in a manner that the peasants be given the land, on behalf of the nation, on *patta* for a longer period;
- (c) that every man may possess enough of land for his dwelling and professional purposes.

Loan:

This Conference is of opinion that village banks be opened on behalf of the nation for advancing loans to the peasants and the labourers, and the rate of interest on the loan should not be more than eight annas per cent per month and this rate of interest be made applicable in the case of those houses even, which privately carry on money-lending business.

Agricultural education:

This Conference is of opinion that full arrangements be made to give education in agriculture to the peasants and their children, which must be in an up-to-date scientific manner.

Workshops, Kothis and Banks:

This Conference is of opinion that the Workshops, big *kothis* for selling goods and banks of every description be considered as properties of the nation and their management should remain entirely in the hands of the nation.

Every one should get work.

This Conference is of opinion, that the responsibility, for providing work to persons who are fit and ready to work, should lie with the nation.

Working hours:

This Conference is of opinion that no labourer be made to work for more than eight hours and he should not work for more than five days and a half in a week.

Wages:

This Conference is of opinion that the principle of framing laws be such

(a) as every labourer should get at least such fixed wages with which he may maintain himself decently and no labourer should receive less than the fixed wages;

(b) as he may receive his wages in a week, at the most.

Unemployment and old age:

This Conference is of opinion that in every business such laws be framed for the workers so that proper and full arrangements be made for their living and food in case they are old, ill or unemployed.

Compensation:

This Conference is of opinion that the laws, by which a labourer or his heirs receive compensation when one receives wound or dies while working, be liberally revised and made applicable at a very early date if possible.

SOCIAL RESOLUTIONS.

Removal of differences and distinctions:

This Conference is of opinion that the distinctions, such as of caste and creed, black and white, Hindus and Mohammadans be removed root and all and a man should be considered as a human being.

Education:

This Conference is of opinion that the spread (lit influence) of education among the general public be completed very soon and in order to fulfil this programme training in arts and industries as also alphabetical training be made free and compulsory.

Sanitation:

This Conference is of opinion that hospitals and rest houses be opened everywhere for the workers and the peasants and maternity houses for women.

Housing (lit. Covering).

This Conference is of opinion that the owners of workshops be compelled by Municipal and Improvement Trust laws to select good accommodations for every labourer and to take a small rent from them which can be easily paid.

Protection of children and women:

This Conference is of opinion that such laws be framed according to which (a) women and children may not be given such works in a workshop in which there is danger of life and (b) children below the age of 12 must not be made to work.

Must not be asked to work.

(c) every women be granted leave on full pay one month before and one month after the birth of a child.

No adulteration in food-stuffs:

This Conference is of opinion that such laws be framed as may stop adulteration in food stuffs and (make it possible for a) child to get pure milk.

Printed at Meerut in the Premi Press of V. S. Premi (?)

MEERUT

Hariballabh Narain

SEPT. 16, 1927.

Hindi Translator

P. 176-T

(Translation of printed matters on the cover)

REPORT of the

DÉLHI PROVINCIAL POLITICAL CONFERENCE

Held on

the 13th, 14th and 15th October, 1928.

under the Presidentship of

PANDIT JAWAHIR LAL NEHRU.

Published by:—

Jyoti Prasad Vakil

Pradhan (General) Secretary,

Pages 14 & 15, Reception-Committee, Meerut.

Resolutions passed at the Conference:—

Resolution No. 11.—This Conference recommends to the Provincial Congress Committee to take up the work of organising the workers and the peasants, in its own hands, to agitate strongly among them for getting independence and to chalk out a monetary programme for their welfare.

Moved by—Professor Dharmvir Ji, M.A., M.L.C.

Seconded by—Lala Kedar Nath Sahgal.

Resolution No. 12.—This Conference draws the attention of the people of this province to the resolution passed at the Madras Congress in connection with the next war and directs (them) to follow the same and to proclaim that they will not render any sort of help to the British Government in the spread of imperialism.

Moved by—Professor Dharmvir Singh M.L.C.

Seconded by—Lala Shankar Lal, Delhi,

Pandit Nardeo Shastri,

Babu Krishna Chandra B. Sc. Brindaban.

Pages 20

List of delegates.

Meerut City.

1. Pandit Gauri Shankar Sharma & others.

Meerut. { Hariballabh Narain
Sept. 16, 1929. { Hindi Translator.

P. 186-T.

(Bande Matram)

Labourers and Farmers Conference, District Meerut.

Dated.....1928.

No. 1

This protest meeting of the labourers and peasants of the district strongly opposes the levying of this new tax, by the District Board of the place, that has been thrust on the poor peasants as also on other people, forcibly and against their will and insists upon (lit assures) the Board to have the same abolished at a very early date.

No. 2

Most of the villages near about the Meerut City are adjacent to the Musketry grounds of the Cantonment; and when musketry is practised on every soul (lit. child) of these villages is forcibly compelled to leave his house and go out of the village: This Conference views this action of Government with great abhorrence.

These, poor brethren, in these days of troubles, are not compensated for their losses or for leaving their homes and going out.

No. 3

This Conference views with great abhorrence the preparations which are being made in India for the coming war and requests the labourers and the peasants of India not to take any part in them.

No. 4

This Conference expresses its heartfelt sympathy with the Satyagrah started by the Bardoli peasants against the imposition of an illegal tax (on them).

No. 5

This Conference draws the attention of the District Board as also of the Municipal Board to (the need of stopping the sale of) dung and rubbish etc. to the owners of brick-kilns and other kinds of engines for fuel, and to (the advisability of) selling the same to the peasants for agricultural purposes.

No. 6

This Conference requests the labourer and peasant brethren of its district for Satyagrah, for standing on their own legs, for

establishing their own panchayets, in their villages, and (b) for making arrangements to remove other grievances themselves.

(c) Besides this they should leave out pasture lands and every peasant should keep a cow of a good breed along with two bullocks, so that he may yoke cheap calves reared in his own house.

No. 7

This Conference expresses its heartfelt desire for the success in the battle for freedom, of the labourers and peasants of China, and expresses its great abhorrence at the massacre of the labourers and peasants of Canton and Shanghai.

No. 8

This Conference views with abhorrence the preparations for war and requests the labour and peasant brethren of India not to render any sort of help to Government in this war.

No. 9

This Conference strongly opposes the Commission appointed by the Parliament of England to examine the political condition of India and views with abhorrence the action of the Labour party of England in causing the Commission to be appointed.

No. 10

This Conference draws the attention of Government to the *Satta* (gambling) which is being indulged in from day to day and which has been prohibited by law and (urges) that Government should at once see to it and punish those guilty of it.

Meerut. }
Sept. 16, 1929. } Hariballabh Narain
Hindi Translator.

P. 194-T.

(A POST CARD)

Aum.

Delhi

11-12-28

Shriman Pandit Gouri Shanker ji,

Nameste,

Kindly inform (me) what are the objects of the *Kisan-Majdoor*

Sangh (Workers and Peasants Association) (and) what works have been done till now. Take the trouble of sending me a printed report or (a copy of) its rules, if any. If not kindly write to me in short about this association. I wrote to Pandit Dharmvir Singh ji in this connection, and he gave me your address.

Yours

Kadam Singh.

D. A. V. School

Katra Khushal Rai

Delhi.

Addressed to :—

Pandit Gori Shanker

Kisan Mazdoor Office

Meerut

U. P.

Meerut.

Sept. 16, 1929

Horiballabh Narain

Hindi Translator.

P. 195-T.

(A POST CARD)

34, Holland Hall

Allahabad.

Dear Comrade,

You have not responded to my letter even. What is the matter? Shouldn't you have written something? Why did (you) deny (me this privilege)? What did you do for the the *Krantikari*? Did you do anything towards organisation and propaganda? In the last two issues of the *Krantikari* have appeared the demands of the peasants and the programme of work. What do you think of them? Enquire of the villagers also and write to me in detail. Read out the two articles to them and explain to them. Any news of Delhi?

The meeting of the National Executive Committee will be held in this very month at Amritsar. The notices will be very few (in number). You must remain ready to come.

I sent a V. P. P. of books to Ramu (?) ji. He refused to acknowledge it. Why silent and angry ?

(You) must write letters. Tender my Namaskar to *Shri Mati ji.*

(Indecipherable)

Sd/- Puran Chandra Joshi.

The weekly *Spark* is being published from Bombay. Did you get that ? (It is) an organ of the party.

Addressed to

Sj. Gauri Shankar

Secretary

Mazdoor Ashram

Meerut.

Meerut.

Sept. 19, 1929

{ Hariballabh Narain
{ Hindi Translator.

P. 197-T

(LETTER ON A PRINTED FORM)

Dear Comrade, Gauri Shankar,

Neither did you meet me last at Calcutta nor did you write to me. I went to your lodge on the 3rd but discovered that you had gone away. Comrade, this is a complaint from your Comrade. Write clearly. I came back from Calcutta on the 12th and then went to Gorakhpur Lucknow and Benares for (certain) works of the party as well as of the Youth League. No sooner did I arrive here than I had to be busy with the affairs of the Youth League.

You did not tell me how you liked the policy of the Conference as also the articles. We shall have certainly to work, comrade, according to that. You must have read (the article) in regard to the labour agitation in the *Krantikari*; the one regarding

the peasants' agitation will be published next time. Write to me about that in detail. I have pointed out a programme of work also in that; write to me how you like that. Write fully in detail on the points you differ. Read out that article in any meeting of the peasants and enquire of them how they like that. Are they ready to fight out like the heroes of Bardoli for this programme? (They) shall have to start a campaign (lit. set up a *morcha*) against Zamindars, Mahajans and Government at one and the same time. Write (to me) after you consider each of its points.

There seems to be some ill-feeling in your mind (against me). Write to me clearly whatever that may be. Is this treatment proper between one comrade and another. Write everything that is in your mind. You appear to be indifferent from a long time.

Write what are the works that you have been doing for organisation and propaganda. The best policy is to go to the villages and make friends with the young peasants and school teachers. Let you explain to them your policy well. Later on they themselves would do organisation works. If you can do so much I can come there for your help. Don't converse with the Babus, you should only plunder them; let the work centre round the labourers and the peasants.

You have not so far made any subscriber to the *Krantikari*. You shall have to enlist 50 subscribers within 15 days. You sleep much, this is my martial order. Really, poor Lakshminarayan has written (to me) a most lamentable letter. He says if the subscribers do not increase he shall have to stop the publication of the paper. Consider what would happen next.

I am deeply busy these days reading the history of Bolshevism and of Russia. I satisfy my idleness with the thought that this is also a work of the party. What a clever man am I. But this would go on, Comrade only for two months. I am going to Bombay in the month of May. From June, I shall be ready to comply with your orders all the 24 hours.

Send a reply to this letter in Hindi. Tender my Namaskar to Shrimati ji (wife). Why are Ramu ji (?). Upadhyaya and Ram Sharan angry? Tender my compliments to them also, tell my salam.

Reply soon in detail.

(Indecipherable).

Sd. Puran.

Distribute these leaflets in the villages don't spoil them in town. Do you need English ones also? How many? Do you

want Lenin's photos also ? How many? Did not Comrade Muzaffar send (them) to you ?

Meerut { Hariballabh Narain
Sept. 19. 1929 { Hindi Translator.

P. 200-T.

MEERUT

DATED 15. 3. 29.

Mazdoor Kisan Sangh

Shariman Pandit Dharamvirji

BANDE MATRAM

I beg to request the favour of your kindly giving a notice for putting the (undermentioned) question in this very session of the Council. On 6. 3. 29, a marriage party was coming back to Meerut from Delhi. The Excise Constables made a search of the whole party on the bridge over the Hirun river at Ghazibad. Well-to-do persons and even Lala Balwant Singh, the president of the Town Congress Committee and the Labour and peasants Association, Meerut, were searched. Put this question in a good language and enquire for the other questions you must have given notice beforehand.

Yours

Gouri Shanker Sharma.

MEERUT
Sept. 19, 1929.

{ Hariballabh Narain
{ Hindi Translator

P. 201-T.

B A N D E M A T R A M.

Labourers and Formers Conference, District MEERUT.

No.

DATED.....1928.

This Conference draws the attention of the District Board as also of the Municipal Board to (the need of) stopping the sale of dung and rubbish etc to the owners of brick-Kilns and other kinds of Engines, for fuel, and to selling the same to the peasants for agricultural purposes.

Passed unanimously

Sd/. Shaukat Usmani

2

23-3-28.

Most of the villages near about the Meerut City are adjacent to the musketry grounds of the Cantonment ; and when musketry is practised on every soul (lit: child) of those villages is forcibly compelled to leave his house and go out of the village; This Conference views this action of Government with great abhorrence; (b) as also the action that these helpless and poor brethren, in these days of troubles, are not compensated for their losses or for leaving their homes and going out.

Mover-Shri Gouri Shanker.

Secunder—

Unanimously passed

Sd/. Shaukat Usmani

23-3-28.

3

SIMON OPPOSITION.

This Conference strongly opposes the Commission appointed by the Parliament of England, to examine the political condition of India and views with abhorrence the action of the Labour party of England in causing this commission to be forced (on us).

Mover-Bir Sen Yadav.

Secunder-Lakshman Bhai.

Passed Unanimously.

Sd/-Shau-Usma.

23-3-28

(OVERLEAF)

This Conference draws the attention of Government to the *Satta* (gambling) which is being extensively indulged in daily and to the indifference of the Meerut Police to it, which causes much loss to the poor labourers,

Its copy. (Sic).

Passed Unanimously.

Sd/. S. Usma.

4

23-3-28.

This Conference expresses its heartfelt desire for the success in the battle for freedom of the labourers and peasants of China, and expresses its great abhorrence at the general massacre of the labourers and peasants of Canton and Shanghai.

Unanimously passed.

5

23/3/28.

This Conferene views with abhorrence the preparations which are being made in India for the coming war and requests the labourer and peasant brethern of the whole of India not to render any sort of help to Government.

Mover - Mr. Feroze Mansoor

Seconder - Lakshmanji

Unanimously passed.

Sd. Shaukat Usmani.

1

23/3/28.

This mass meeting of the labourers and peasants of this district strongly protests against the levying of this new tax by the local District board, that has been thrust on the poor labourers as also on other people, forcibly and against their will and draws the attention of the Board to abolish the law at a very early date.

Mover - Pandit Diwan Dutt.

Seconder-Kamta Prasad.

Unanimously passed.

Sd. SHAUKAT USMANI.

6

23/3/28.

This Conference request the labourers and the peasants of its district to stand on their own legs and to establish their own panchayets in their villages everywhere;

- (b) to arrange for sanitation and education themselves and to remove other grievances.

Passed Unanimously.

Sd. SHAUKAT USMANI.

23/3/28.

- (c) Besides this they should leave out pasture lands and every peasant should keep a cow of a good breed along with two bullocks, so that he may yoke cheap calves reared in his own house.

Lala Kanta Prasadji

Passed Unanimously.

Sd. SHAUKAT USMANI.

7

23/3/28

This Conference expresses its heartfelt sympathy with the Satyagrah started by the Bardoli peasants against the imposition of an illegal tax (on them).

8

This Conference expresses condolence at the sudden and distressing demise of that heroic lady, the mother of the *Desh Bhakt* (Patriot) Sanyal brothers and sympathises with the Sanyal brothers in their troubles.

NOTE:—The names of the dutiful sons of that mother are:—

1. Sachindra Nath Sanyal.
2. Jitendra Nath Sanyal.
3. Bipin Chandra Sanyal (Sic.)
4. Rabindra Nath Sanyal.

Passed Unanimously.

Sd. SHAUKAT USMANI.

23/3/28.

MEERUT

Sept. 19th 1929.

{ Hariballabh Narain
Hindi Translator.

P. 202-T.

3 Copies of Krantikari dated 28-1-29

(Vide P. 431 T.)

P. 204-T.

(Membership Form Book)

Aum.

Workers and Peasants Conference, Meerut

To,

The Secretary.

I agree to be a member of the Reception Committee and I pay Re 1/- only, according to rule. Enrol me as one of the members.

Name—Shiv Dayal.

Address—Tilak Park Sadar Meerut.

Signature Sd. Shiv Dayal

Other names and amounts promised by them are as follows :—

- | | |
|---|-------|
| 1. Anrudh Krishna Sharma B. A. (Hons)LL. B, | Re. 1 |
| 2. Bishwambhar Nath ji Anand Muharir, By the pen of Brajnath ji, Vakil, Meerut. | Re. 1 |
| 3. Jagannath Prasad ji, Mukhtar, Meerut. | Rs. 2 |
| 4. B. Raghobor Dayal, Vakil, Muhalla, Karungo-pan. | Rs. 4 |
| 5. Lala Shyam Sunder Lal ji, Rais, Meerut. | Rs. 2 |
| 6. Gokal Prasad, Vakil. | Re. 1 |
| 7. Bhairon Prasad, Pleader, Meerut. | Re. 1 |
| 8. Chattar Singh, Sadar Meerut. | Re. 2 |
| 9. Braj Lal ji Meerut City. | — |

- | | |
|--|--------|
| 10. Choudhury Bhim Singh Ji Saheb, Muhamadpur. | Rs. 10 |
| 11. Lala Fateh Chand, Kabadi Bazar, Meerut City.
Signed by Gauri Shankar. | Re. 1 |
| 12. Dr J. L. Caroli, Meerut. | Rs. 2 |
| 13. Nand Singh, Kabadi Bazar C/o Bhoia Nath
Santosh Lal | Re. 1 |
| 14. Master Jagannath Prasad. | Re. 1 |
| 15. Pandit Murari Lal Mukhtar, Meerut. | Re. 1 |
| 16. Lala Bhagwati Prasad ji Meerut. | Rs. 2 |
| 17. Babu Brij Nath Mital, Meerut. | Rs. 2 |
| 18. Lala Mohan Lal, Bhagwanpur. | Re. 1 |
| 19. Mangal Singh. | Rs. 2 |

A few more forms in the book are blank.

After one applies for the membership the following form is filled up and sent to him:—

To _____

You have become the member of the workers and peasants Conference Meerut and your subscription of.....is acknowledged.

Secretary.

Meerut { Hariballabh Narain
Sept. 19, 1929 } Hindi Translator.

P. 208-T.

Similar as Ext. P. 175 T.

Meerut Hariballabh Narain.
Sept 16, 1929 Hindi Translator

P. 209-T.

34, Holland Hall

Allahabad.

2 Nov. 1928.

Dear Comrade,

Harihar Nath Shastri is a full Babu, a staunch opportunist and a reactionary. It is useless to build hopes in him. There was a far greater success at Jhansi as compared to the defeat at Cawnpore. Three brethren there are true and liberal just like you. They are whole time workers. They have opened a branch and have promised to help as far as possible. There are two Parsi youngmen who will open a study-circle. The greatest of all thing is that they are to publish a Hindi weekly containing 16 pages, which would be the organ of the party. They will send you 25 copies of the first issue. Please secure as many subscribers for this paper as you can, and try your best for it. Don't be disappointed after seeing the first issue; from the second everything will be all right. There was a great hurry. I have been writing to Paul(?), Dutt, Saklatwala and others for articles. They have also opened a Hindi and English press. You must take it that all works now would be done at the actual expenses. The greatest thing to do, at present, is to secure as many subscribers to the paper, as possible.

Dr. Mukerjee has accepted the presidentship and has called me to Gorakhpur. Perhaps brother Muzaffar may come. If he does not come I shall go alone on Friday next to that place as well as to Rae Bareilly. I have not received the printed resolutions as yet. What's the matter? Try to send them as soon as possible. Many works are pending for want of them.

I have been sending Party forms. Get 500 similar forms printed in Urdu and the same number in Hindi. Enrol members to the Party one after the other charge one rupee from the intellectuals and four annas from the labourers and peasants, which you can realise in two instalments even (the brethren of Jhansi are not in favour of keeping the minimum lesser than this). If you like you may enlist, without charging anything, such brethren who are extremely poor. Keep half the amount of the subscription (realised) with you there and send the other half to the U. P. Party office. Open an account in any Bank at Meerut. Select a member from the Executive Committee so that no money can be withdrawn from the Bank without the signature of you two Comrades. Maintain a regular register and receipts. In a way you have been doing everything quite satisfactorily. But a work which is done methodically is right. These facts are helpful in giving a knowledge of our own conditions as also in writing the annual Report correctly.

Did you establish any pauchayet? The best way to work in a village is to pick up acquaintance with any young and true man of a village and take work (from him). Be sure to send *Krantikari* to some of the true masters. Let it find a place in as many villages as possible.

(I shall) make a party of all the study-circles, (entitled) League of Young Comrades. When its forms are printed I shall send them to Comrade Ram Sharan. Write what are the books that he has received so far. Let them not send anything here which they collect at that place; let them spend everything in (the purchase of) books.

What's the decision regarding the Ganga Asnan. Leave alone the question of writing (to me). None of the Tractwallas has even responded as yet. Send me the correct address of Sethi ji and ask Ramu ji to write a letter for him.

When would you come here? Tender my best salams to Ramua, Ramuji, Ram Saran and last of all to Upadhyay. Indeed I have forgotten Shrimtai ji; let her name head all others. You shall have to get all the Urdu tracts printed, those of Hindi and English will be printed at Jhansi.

With love,

Yours Fraternally,

Sd/- Puran Chandra Joshi.

Get 1000 copies of this form of receipt printed :-

No. A.	U.P. WORKERS & PEASANTS PARTY No. A.
Amount Paid.....	Paid:.....
Signature.	Signature.....

Get 500 Hindi and 500 Urdu copies printed at once. The size (of this form) would be similiar to a visiting card. Get them numbered A1, A2, A3 and so forth; the Jhansiwallas would begin with B.

Never forget to write a detailed letter every week; write every thing what you did what you want to do and what are the obstacles.

What books did you receive there (so far). Ask Comrade Ram Saran to write. Then I would write to him.

Read Kirti very attentively.

Send at once 100 copies of the resolutions to me, 100 copies to L. N. Kadam Gudi bazar, Jhansi and 100 to Dr. Viswanath Mukerjee President, Workers and Peasants Party, Gorakhpur.

Meerut { Hariballabh Narain
Sept. 19, 1929. { Hindi Translator.

P. 210-T.

(Letter on a printed form).

Dear comrade,

There is no Urdu reading man here, so kindly write letters in Hindi. I felt somewhat relieved after reading your letter. Drop a letter every week about the work of the party—what you did, what you did not and what you have to do. If this be so, why should there be any wrangling. Brother, the work of the Party should be done according to a rule in a business like manner. A *fisaddi*-like play or a *fisaddi*-like form both are bad indeed. However.

Well, I have found out a good joke. I am writing seriously—There is no such thing most hateful as leadership. There should be only one idea pervading a party—Comrades all—Leadership should not be of any man but of the programme of the principles of the Party and of the Party Discipline.

I shall be going to Calcutta day after tomorrow by mail. Let all of you reach there in time. Why is Ramji silent? As also Ram Saran? The letters of both of us crossed each other on the way, and I have been waiting for the next letter from comrade Ram Saran. I have been 'angry', however, with Ramji. Never mention my name before Upadhyayji.

Let all of you without fail write the time of your arrival to comrade Muzaffar, at Calcutta.

Just after the (session of the) Congress there will be a sitting of the Executive Committee of the provincial Party at Calcutta. More when we meet.

15 December night.

(Indecipherable).

Sd/- Puran Chandra Joshi.

Meerut }
Sept 19, 1929. }

Hariballabh Narain

Hindi Translator

P. 288-T.

Message to the Labourers.

“Labourers of the world unite and stand up. There is nothing with you to lose, but bondage and the whole world to conquer”.

—Karl Marx.

Written by Satya Bhakt.

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Message to the Labourers.

Who are the labourers?

Who are the labourers? Every man who maintains himself by labouring with his hands, feet and mind, is a labourer, whether he is a peasant, a labourer, an artisan, a clerk, a schoolmaster a postman, a railway Babu or a Government servant. You would say that everybody labours to earn a livelihood. Even great kings have to work. Big *Seths*, *Sahukars* rich men, Zamidars, Malguzars and others have, no doubt, to labour somewhat. They have to look to their business. Then are they also labourers? No. There are different kinds of labour. One kind of labour is, that a peasant goes to the field and ploughs, sows and waters the field for the whole day and as a result of his labour corn grows which fills the belly of everybody. Another kind is that a boy plays football. He has to labour hard (in the play) and he becomes completely exhausted. But nobody gains anything by this labour. There is still another kind which a thief has to do in stealing. He has also

to labour very hard while breaking a house. But nobody gains anything by this labour. Therefore it should be well understood that labour is that by which everybody is benefited in some way and which produces or constructs some necessary things. What new things are produced when *Seth* and *Salukar* sum up the interests? What does the *Zamindar* gain by realising money (lit: pice) from the peasants after beating and assaulting them? They gain nothing. They labour in order to snatch away the hard earnings of others. Therefore they cannot be called labourers.

THE RIGHTS OF THE LABOURERS AND THEIR PRESENT CONDITION.

From this it appears that it is the labourers really who should have a possession over everything in the world. Because everything is produced or constructed by their labour alone. But does it happen so these days? No, the answer is quite the contrary. The peasants produce good corn such as wheat, rice etc., but they do not get the same to eat. They are eaten by those rich men who do not labour in the least; and the peasants have to fill their belly with coarse grain, fruits and leaves of the forest and vegetables. Then again the workman and the labourers build big palaces. But when they are finished they cannot even enter them. They have always to remain in dirty and dark rooms or huts thatched with straw. The labourers prepare fine cloths in the workshop; but they have to pass their days wrapping themselves up with rags only. The cloth, prepared by them are worn by those who have got plenty of gold and silver.

WHY DOES SUCH A THING HAPPEN ?

Why does such a thing happen? There are very few people who can understand this. Most of the people content themselves by taking it as a stroke of fortune. There are some who would take it as doings of God in which nobody has a hand. But this is not really the fact. This doctrine of God and fate has been promulgated by these rich men and people who eat their food at ease while others labour for them: and this is the reason why the poor people put up with sufferings patiently and do not raise their head against those who plunder them. Then what can be the cause of these? The real cause is the political, financial and social organisations of the present day. Therefore they frame such laws that the poor people should work under them in subordination. In monetary matters these days, many cunning devices (lit: work) are being practised on. The *Phatkawallas* (gamblers) at Bombay and Calcutta, carry on the sale and purchase of articles day and night, in lakhs of maunds, although they do not possess even a *chattank* of the article. They only carry on business of gain and loss according to the market rate.

The result is that big merchants in order to raise up the value purchase corn, cotton and other articles in lakhs of maunds and shut them up in their godown and sometimes even destroy them. In this way the price of articles in the market rises up and the poor men have to put up with troubles unnecessarily. There are many similar methods and cunning (ways) by which the hard earnings of the poor goes to the safes of very rich men. But the labourers possessing a common knowledge do not understand the mystery and put up with these injustices silently.

THE ZAMINDARS AND THE PEASANTS.

Take for instance the Zamindars. A single zamindar possess from two to four or ten to twenty villages. He realises from the peasants two times, four times, eight times or ten times the money which he pays to Government in lieu of these lands. Neither does he plough or sow the land nor does he render any sort of help in this work. Now (lit. you) tell me why does he realise so much money from the peasants for nothing. You would say that the land belongs to him and that he realises the rent for his land. But my contention is: did that Zamindar bring this land with him (when he was born) or would he carry it along with him (when dead)? How then does the land belong to him. It is clearly written in the Hindu *Shastras* that the land belongs to him alone who tills and sows it. Therefore the real fact is that the land does belong neither to the Zamindar nor to his father. His ancestors got possession of the land, at some (distant) date, by virtue of their power or it was given to them as a reward by some king (or) monarch. Although people even today, think that the king (or) monarch has the right to make a grant of the land in this way and the Zamindar has the right to realise as rent, whatever amount he likes, from the peasants, the (belief) is entirely wrong and misleading. The king (or) monarch makes a grant of the land to these persons with the object that these people, professing to be Zamindars, should keep the poor men under their control and help them (the kings). But I can say it with emphasis that land is a thing which one cannot make a grant of to anybody. Not to speak of the Zamindars, land belongs not even to the king. It should be considered to be belonging only to the peasant who tills it. Of course, the king, the panchayet managing it or the council can have a small portion of the produce inasmuch as some amount is necessary for its management. But the money which is paid to the *Panchayet* or the council is not lost, it is spent in our own interest in schools, hospitals, roads and other things or in (maintaining the) police, military and others for our protection. But what do these Zamindars do for us? They take money from us and spend that over their food and luxury. Thus it seems apparent that the Zamindar has not the right to take even a pie from the peasants and he should get nothing.

FACTORY OWNERS AND LABOURERS.

The same can be said to be the case with the owners of factories and the labourers, as with the Zamindars and the peasants. In ancient times every man, sitting in his home or shop busied himself with handicrafts and works of skill. He had not to serve anybody and he was free to do what he liked. But on account of the new inventions the condition is quite changed. Now the independent workmen have left off working at home and have become labourers. Labourers in thousands and lakhs work in a single factory. If the owner of the factory ever stops his business men in thousands would die of starvation.

Not only this, men in lakhs have become dependent on account of these factories. Their financial and social condition have become worse. The labourers working in a factory often get the bare amount with which they can support themselves and their children, somehow or other. Except filling up their belly they have nothing to please or amuse themselves, they have to pass their lives in poverty and misery. On the one hand the labourers are put to such an evil plight, on the other the wealth of the factory owners is swelling up from day to day. They waste money in lakhs for their comfort and pleasures. Brethren, is this not a matter to wonder and grieve at? A man has to work hard for ten to twelve hours, shut up in rooms, and hardly getting sufficient for his livelihood, while the other at the same place sits in a stately chair and gets lakhs of rupees. What then, after all, is the reason of this difference?

The reason is not far to seek when a labourer in a factory labours for work worth four rupees he gets only one rupee, as wages and the remaining three rupees goes to the pocket of the factory owner. You would again say that this amount of three rupees, (which he takes), is in lieu of his machines and factory. He must also gain something from the factory which he started spending ten to twenty lakhs over it. All right, but I would enquire where did he get this amount to open the factory. Do we not find always that a Marwari or a certain trader comes and opens a small shop and gradually converts it into a *Kothi*? Then again the same trader opens a small factory and gradually converts it into a big one. Now tell me where does he get this money from? Does he plant money in his field or does he dig out wealth? No, this money is saved from the wages of those very poor labourers. In the circumstances if it is said that the labourers alone are the real masters of the factory what falsehood is there? There is one thing more to be noted. Can the factory, machine and engine work by themselves and prepare cloths and (other) articles? Never, unless men use them they are useless and mere

pieces of iron. The real fact is that money comes when a man labours and not from machines and engines. Therefore the the factory and mill owners who, sitting idly; receive money in lakhs can not but be said to be plundering and cheating (people).

Some more specmen of injustice.

All round the world these days is to be seen this (fact) that the rich men plunder the poor ones ; or to put it in other words, some cunning and powerful men (who have the authority in their hands) cheat and plunder the weak, powerless and foolish men. But there is some difference between this (kind of) plunder and that of thieves and robbers ; the latter openly rob people of their wealth by assulting them, but these wealthy people—white dressed and civilised robbers—plunder people of wealth in a cunning way by charging four rupees from them for goods worth one rupee and by paying four annas as wages for a labour worth a rupee. In the present day language it is called 'exploitation' that is to profit by starting some business Labour power, learning etc., stand with folded hands before wealth. Rammurti gets *par* (sic) to ride on him (but) he is sure to flatter the rich men in order to get two hundred or four hundred rupees more from them. Even leaders like Malaviyaji revered by the country, would say a few words in praise of the Marwari Seths to get five or ten lakhs of rupees for his University. Not to speak of others, even men like Mahatma Gandhi who is called the greatest man of the day bend down before the rich men of Bombay to collect one crore of rupees for the Tilak Swaraj Fund. So this is the age in which only wealth is worshipped and respected. This is the reason why nobody condemns the rich men for the plunder important rules and laws and framed for their protection and suitable words are found out to conceal their defects. But these things cannot conceal the real terrible (nature) of the richmen. I say, if a man is punishable for selling gilt ornaments worth rupees four for twenty rupees by passing them as of real gold then why should not the millowner who sells a pair of dhoti for four rupees, although it costs him only one rupee, be punished ? Or if a man stealing a thing from another's house is sent to jail why not a case be instituted against the shopman who sells grain at the rate of 5 seers (a rupee) although he purchases the same at the rate of 10 seers. Although these things have been taking place from the last thousands of years and have become a part of our nature in such a way that we cannot easily find out the evil, still after a careful consideration no much difference would be found to have existed between a thief and a robber or a millowner and shopkeeper. The difference lies only in the ways of plunder. I know that very few men these days would be able to accept the truth of my statement but I can prove it well that there is no mistake in these facts. Let you hear a true example of this.

The Story of Alexander and the robber.

This is the condition of the rich men nowadays. They too plunder and cheat the poor, but by some method. Does not the realisation of interest at the rate of six and twelve pies a rupee amount to a plunder? Does not the purchase of an article from the simple minded villagers at 6 seers (a rupee) and which is sold in the market at 4 seers (a rupee) amount to no less than stealing? Is it not dishonest to pay only eight annas after taking work worth a rupee? These are the cunning (ways) and cheating (tricks) which make when very rich and possessors of lakhs and crores. The remaining persons die of starvation and pine after even necessary things. The result of the ways in which trade and business are conducted at present has been that wealthy persons are becoming wealthier from day to day and their treasury is being enriched while the few pice that the poor people possess have been decreasing.

Condition obtaining in other countries.

Not only in India but in the whole world the condition of the poor men is similar. In every country and in every place the poor people are a prey to the lust (lit thirst) and greed of the rich men. But the poor labourers of Europe and America have now understood their positions (lit. conditions) as also the oppressions (on them at the hands) of the rich man. They have come to know that some people after plundering them of their earnings have become immensely rich they have realised if they do not work it would be very difficult for these rich men to get even food for a day, because they pass their days sitting idly. It is only the poor labourers who do a work or prepare a thing. Therefore the labourers of those countries have come to know of their power.

How to be freed of this situation.

But how to become freed of this situation? I understand many things but cannot do all. Though the poor men have come to know of the oppressions perpetrated on them, the rich men cannot stop their work only because they (poor men) have come to know of it. If the rich men are asked not to act in this way and the fear of religion and moral is held before then these also would be ineffective. Because wealth is a thing for which a man does not often mind considerations of good and evil. Therefore in order to be freed of this there is only one remedy and that is that the poor men—the labourers should become united and make a protest

against the injustices of the rich. In Europe & America the labourers have begun to use this remedy; and this is called Socialism, Communism, Bolshevism, etc. The labourers of Russia have become successful also in their attempt. They have rooted out the authority of the rich men from their country. There is no Zamindari there and the peasants are the sixteen annas owner of their fields. The factory-owners of that place are the labourers themselves and they alone get all its profits. No longer is there the state that rich dishes in a very large number would be placed on the table before the rich men and even their dogs and cats would take milk and cream while the poor men would long for a crumb of bread every body there now gets similar kind of food in equal proportion.

The duties of the Labourers of India.

What is the duty, at present, of the labourers of India? I regret to say that they have not even a full knowledge of their miseries. They put up with troubles of course, but they are not aware of their causes. Therefore it is their duty to understand the injustices done to them at the hands of the rich and organise themselves after starting their associations to protect themselves.

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Hariballabh Narain,

Hindi Translator.

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(Vide Exh. P. 431 T.)

P. 312-T

Don't oppress the weak for his moanings are effective (lit. fat)

By the breath of a dead skin, steel is burnt to ashes.

Krantikari office, Jhansi

Dt/- 14/3/1929.

Dear friend,

Your articles are being always printed with notes. Kindly send more notes. Your notes and articles are now up to the mark (lit complete) and I like them very much. Kindly let me know which of the articles published in my paper were against your party. The Partywallas are not giving any help to the paper. Therefore, I am compelled to make the policy of the paper a bit moderate in tone. The number of subscribers for the weekly edition is rather more.

Kindly send the account of the printing of forms. When will you come here?

Yours

Sd/- Krishna Gopal Sharma

Editor

Kranti Kari

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Hariballabh Narain

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(Vide Exh. P. 431 T.).

P. 318-T.

ORGANISATION:

If the workers' and Peasants' Party has to accomplish its duty and if it has to successfully work out the decisions (to which it has arrived) after putting them in a right form, it is necessary that special attention should now be given towards organisation. The political influence and the chief duty of the Party as also the power of a leader to induce others to work, specially depend on the condition of its organisation. This fully organised Party, though few in number, can be counted as a power in the industrial and political world. Without the fulfilment of this condition there would be an unnecessary waste of energy and the agitation, for the leadership of which this party has been trying, would remain unconnected, disordered and uninfluential.

1. The party should be (constituted) in such a way as its decisions be easily sent out and distributed, be intelligible and capable of being worked out soon.

2. This should be such as it may always be in touch with the public, and be able to direct (lit. decide) their thoughts and actions promptly.

3. It should be such as it may fully take sides (lit: part) in the daily squabble of the public and may be able to explain to them the value of the Party and induce them to join its fold.

4. It should be able to own those who support its policy and like to help it. It should train them and take them in its fold.

The form of Organisation.

After the All-India Workers' and Peasants' Party is founded, the form of organisation, which is capable of amendment, should be such:—

FORM OF ORGANISATION.

The following should be the form of organisation which may be amended after the All-India Workers' and Peasants' Party is founded.

(1) There would be a chief Executive Committee, which would represent all the branches and joint associations and a working Committee consisting of those members only who live at a little distance from the chief centre.

(2) As ordered by the Working Committee branches should be opened in cities, districts, *tahsils* and villages.

(3) The factory, railway and mine associations should work through the Factory Committee.

(4) There should be started Sub-Committees of the branches of Trade Unions, of the managing and Working Committees, the Provincial Congress Committees, the T.U.C., and the A.I.C.C.

(5) There should be founded a permanent Youth Organisation to work in the present Youth movement, Trade Unions and Congress Committees.

(6) There should be established a Women's party to work among women and to organise the Trade Union and Women's Party where possible.

PROGRAMME OF ORGANISATION.

(1) In order that members should understand the policy of the Party and be able to work it out rightly there should be established a training centre at a very early date.

The training Centre should begin (work) under the leadership of a man whom the branch or the Working Committee may declare suitable. He should, after the training is finished, submit an information of the work of the Committee and of the improvement made by every individual.

(2) It is necessary that all the Committees, branches and sub-branches should hold their meetings regularly and be fully acquainted with the recent happenings. The Working Committee should sit at least after every one or two weeks and the branches, sub-branches and sub-committees after every week.

(3) All the members of a branch should be divided in *jatha* (groups) according to the nature of the Special work of the Party, such as the Trade Union group, Congress group, Peasants group and others.

Every member shall have to join at least one of (such) groups. Every group would elect its leader who would be responsible (for his actions) to the President or to the Branch Committee, according to the numerical (strength).

(4) The *toli* or the group of Workers should elect its own *jathadar* (leader) who shall be responsible to the President or to the Branch. These groups (lit: *jathas*) should abide by the decisions of the bigger institutions, which should be communicated to them through their leader (*jathadar*). When a debate in a group on a certain resolution or a certain appointment is finished and a decision arrived at, it shall be applicable to all without an exception.

The (nature of) work to be done by the Party's *jathas* in Trade Unions and Congress Committees, would be mostly decided according to the programme and policy of the Party. The demands of the Party should be submitted for the sanction of these associations, with great force. It is necessary that more new members, with thoughts similar to us, be enrolled and the agitation of the Party be advanced. This is binding on the T. U. C. and A. I. C. C. groups.

(5) Branch Associations:—They will coordinate all the works of a town and shall be responsible to the Executive Committee to which (E. C.) they shall have to inform about all their doing. They shall have to take instructions for the (indecipherable) policy, and to send the information to the *jathas*.

(6) Executive Committee:—It shall connect the work of the whole party, and shall send instructions to the branches and groups about the policy. It should regularly receive informations about the work done by the branches and *jathas*, the meetings to be held for organisation, the election of office bearers and other such matters. The Executive Committee shall have the right to take part in all matters and issue notices and orders on behalf of the Workers' and Peasants' Party.

(7) Committee's Election:—The president of the branch associations (sic) may be a member and treasurer of the Executive Committee if elected by the members of all the branch associations (sic). These office-bearers and the *jathadars* would jointly make the Executive Committee of the Branch Associations.

(8) Executive Committee:—The election (of office-bearers) of this Committee would be held at the annual general meeting of those representatives who are elected by the Branch Associations, *Jathas* and other organisations.

NOTICE:—It is necessary that the Captain of a *Jatha* or *toli*, after a meeting in his *Jatha* or *toli* takes place or even as many times as he deems it necessary, should send informations, regarding

the work done, the obstacles that are to be faced in future in a work, new improvements and other matters. The informations should reach the Branch Association, which in its turn would forward them to the Executive Committee. The laying down of a right policy and the centering of powers of the Branch Association and of the whole of the party depend on the new *toli* (?) and a full knowledge of the situation, which can be had only through these informations.

EDUCATION:—Members who have joined the party should soon be made to join the Training Centres, individually. The Working Committee should prepare a short list of the courses for training. *Jatha:*

Tolis should be formed in all the present Trade Union, Congress Committee, Youth Organisation, Peasants' Association, and in all their branches. *Toli:*

The Branch Associations and the Working Committee should divide their works (to persons belonging) to small *Jathas*, who will keep the *tolis*. Training Centres and other connected.

Meetings:—

To advance the work and to keep up the spirit, meetings of different parties should be held regularly and more frequently than now all associations and *Jathas* should, at a fixed time and they every week, hold their meetings.

Members:—

Any individual wishing to be a member shall have to accept the programme of the party, pay his subscription regularly and take part in organisation works. His enrolment as a member would depend on the approval of the Executive Committee.

Subsidiary Associations:

Special attention should be paid to the subsidiary and Peasants Associations. The members of these associations should be truly made to understand to remain linked to this party. The branches of these associations should remain under the branches of our party, closely related. The members of the Party should take the political training of these dependent members in their own hands, and should specially help these associations when a quarrel arises. The starting of *jathas* in the linked associations should be done in right earnest, for the very presence of a strong *jatha* of our party in their midst amounts to having an influence on them (associations) of the policy of our party.

Conduct:

For the working of the party, it is necessary that every individual should feel the necessity of maintaining the discipline (lit:

conduct) of the party. The decisions of the Party arrived at by a majority of the Party should be followed.

“IMMEDIATE DEMANDS”

Political :

1. Every man and women (aged 18) should have a right to vote.
2. Removal of distinctions of caste and creed.
3. Full freedom of the dress and speech, and of the right of organisation.
4. Removal of all the obstacles in the way of the T. U. and attainment of all those rights which would (make the T. U. of this place) on a par with those of the advanced nations.

Financial Demands :

1 Cancellation of all indirect taxes as far as possible and the levying of an (income) tax, on a progressive scale, on a monthly income of Rs. 200/- or over more.

2. The abolition of Zamindari and the making of the land as the property of the nation.

3. Framing of such laws as may enable the peasants, who really till and sow the land, to possess the farms directly.

4. To levy the minimum tax on arable lands so that it may not be more than one tenth the produce.

5. The opening of government co-operative Banks to advance loan to the peasants. The rate of interest should in no case be more than 7 per cent. This rule of the rate of interest should be made applicable in cases of those who carry on money-lending business.

6. The peasants should not be deprived of their fields if they fail to pay up the loan.

7. Attempt to give agricultural education to peasants in the recent scientific ways.

8. The working hours for a labourer should be only eight hours a day and five days and a half in a week.

The working hours for women and children should be further reduced.

9. The fixing of the lowest national rate of wages of a labourer by framing laws. This should be 33 per cent more than

what is necessary for the labourers to have their human wants fulfilled.

10. -----

MEERUT, }
Sept. 20, 1929. }

Sd. HARIBALLABH NARAIN,
Hindi Translator.

P. 320-T.

Before the Bolshevik Revolution, the outstanding feature in Russia under the Czar, was the harrowing economic condition and the degraded mode of living of the peasants of that country. The Revolution itself owed its origin to the unity of the labourers and the peasants and ever since this unity has been kept in tact, and attempts have been made to foster up this unity keeping in view the welfare of both the parts of the country.

On account of the population of the villages being even more than ten crores, the work of improving the economic condition of the peasants as also of raising up the standard of their living has been very heavy. Along with this, the chaos and ruin resulting from the European Great war and from the anti-revolutionary attacks and most of all the great famine of 1921 following after greatly increased the difficulties of the Soviet Russia. In spite of this great improvements have been made during the last five years. The total produce of fields has increased by 812 per cent, as compared to the produce before the war and the number of cattle at present is about 886 lakhs, that is) 40 lakhs more than they were in the year 1913. From this it appears that all necessary fields have been prepared for improvement. The present social laws show that the distribution of agricultural land is more satisfactory than at first (?)

The first and foremost thing is that big Zamindaris and Talukadaris which possessed 45 p. c. of the land in Ukren and the remaining 24 p. c. of the land in European Russia (?) have mostly been distributed among the peasants. Now the peasants possess 96 p. c. of the land and the remaining 4 p. c. is occupied by farms, factories and other things of the Soviet Government. One has to pay only one tax as land revenue to Government and which the poor peasants whose population is about 35 p. c. or in other words a

little more than one third of the population, are not required to pay at all: and the taxes have been arranged so proportionately that the less prosperous peasants have to pay a very small amount.

Besides these important facts which are in themselves proofs as to the advantages which the peasants, specially the poor peasants, have derived so far from revolution, the soviet Government (itself) has improved the old methods as also the new scientific instruments and is working out a fixed plan for raising up the financial condition of agriculture, very high.

The peasants have been asked to give up the practice of (sowing) three fields (after sowing one field they reserve the other two for the next crop) and they have been instigated to avail themselves (of the benefits) of the rotation of crops, by degrees, and the attempt has been a success to a great degree.

Special encouragement and financial help are given to increase the production of plants like cotton, and jute, Patsan and others, and factories are opened in the villages themselves for the consumption of these productions; so that the young peasants may have more opportunities for improvement and the social condition of the villages may specially improve in a large scale. In order to connect the far off villages with the towns, rivers and railway lines are being constructed. All kinds of agricultural machines are being used extensively.

During the last three years new agricultural machines have been purchased, costing about £267, 000, 000; out of these about 54 per cent have been purchased by the money advanced by Government and the Co-operative Societies. Electric is being carried to the villages from new big centres. The electric scheme was begun by Lenin and it is gratifying to note that in every village where this scheme has been worked out there burns a 'Lenin Lamp' always.

Along with all these financial improvements, a permanent and great agitation has been made in regard also to the education of the peasants. Although special attention has been taken of the coming generations alone, still youngmen also have learnt to read and write, in a large number. Some of the members of the *Pratindhidial* (party of delegates) found also living examples of that new life of the peasants, that has been opened for them. While going to Moscow from Minsk they began to talk to a peasant, woman, aged 50, in a railway compartment. She said that she had never had an occasion to read and write in the days of Czar but her daughter who since the revolution, had now grown up was fairly well educated and was at that time receiving education in Electrical Engineering at the University of Moscow, in order that after coming back from there to Minsk she may be able to take part in the spread of electricity in the villages. The mother had been allowed on

the occasion free railway pass by Government to go to Moscow to her daughter.

The co-operative Societies have been taking a very great and important part in the improvement of the social and financial (advancement) of the peasants. One of the greatest obstacles in the way of improvement has been that more than two crores of peasants possess individual farms. But the Communist party (workers and peasants party) and the soviet Government have understood it well that the attempt to farming on the Soviet land, in a new method and on a wide scale, would be sheer madness. Therefore they have collected all their forces to spread all the forms of Co-operation, in its place, so that they may be able to increase the habit of working unitedly and, destroy the time honoured ideas of the peasants to work severally. Along with this, the Co-operative societies are rendering very sufficient and solid help to the peasants. They do all these works such as, selling of the produce, meeting the necessities, advancing money for the purchase of seeds, machines cattle and others. At present the agricultural Co-operative Societies number above 66 thousand, and the total number of the members is 70 lakhs of families, a little more than one third of the Soviet.

The Govt tries by printing off coloured notices, posters, pictures and frame workers to explain the advantages of working unitedly and using machines for agricultural purposes to the peasants, who have already got themselves disentangled from the claws of the Zamindars. The Government and the Co-operative Banks lend money to the Peasants Co-operative Societies at a very low rate of interest, for the purchase of tractor and agricultural machines; so that there may be more saving and that the farming be conducted according to the new scientific methods. For the education of the peasants, a large number of agricultural literature written in different languages is published from time to time; and besides the special educational facilities afforded by Government agricultural museums and exhibitions some of which are always touring round are exhibited extensively.

When the Co-operative department of the *Pratinidhidial* (party of delegates) was at Keeva, it had an occasion to witness a similar exhibition. Although this exhibition had been opened only two years back, all the agricultural researches which had been done extensively and with great labour, were displayed with great tact, to encourage the imaginative powers of peasants and to habituate them to work unitedly in all the departments of agriculture.

This Museum House, which before the year 1927 formed a part of the palace of the mother of Czar Nicholas II, was opened with this object only that the peasants be able to see the results of the

new scientific ways as also the advantages of the Co-operation and organisation. There was no peasant having an interest in his occupation who was not strongly impressed there with the advantages of the new scientific organisations, as compared to the old methods.

Arrangements are made for excursions so that the peasants might be able to come to see the Museum House and the Exhibitions, from the villages. The students of High and Technical schools come there to read. Educational methods are improved by correspondence and moving exhibitions which include maps, books and samples of seeds and moving pictures, are organised. In this way every method is employed to spread the atmosphere of co-operation.

This fact should also be pointed out here that the peasants have been taking full parts in the administration of the country, with great interest. In the village Soviets (Panchayats), in the whole country, 84.4 per cent of them are members and in the big Executive Committee, which is the highest institution of the Soviet League to frame laws, the peasants number 21.3 p. c. of the whole population.

Leaving aside the cases of those peasants who have enough of land to work on and who are prosperous there are still a large number of peasants who, having no sufficient land, are compelled to work as hired labourers for a certain number of days in the year. In some parts scarcity of land is due to the increase of population and the disinclination of the peasants to migrate to other parts. Otherwise much encouragement and inducement are given to migrate to the fertile soil of Siberia. Even in Government forests and Government farms, which are meant for gaining experience and training, labourers work on wages.

Agricultural and Forest Labourers' League takes care of these hired labourers. It had 11 lakhs and 22 thousand members in 1927. This League, like most other leagues of Russia, has been organised on the basis of trade; and only those persons, who have fully mastered the subject become managers and other kinds of farm labourers.

This League has a great hand in the framing of laws, and in the administration of local cases and in social beliefs.

The rights of the hired labourers are protected by special laws. In every case, there is an agreement between the hired labourer and the man engaging him which is registered gratis in the office of the village Soviet (Panchayet). The man engaging the labourer is forced to give him a good place to live in and the kind of food which he always takes. He is responsible for paying the labourer in full in case of one month's illness and where three labourers work without any break he required to pay, in addition, tenth part of the wages of three labourers towards the Government

Insurance item. The laws framed for the city labourers are mostly applied in case of the village labourers.

In our journey to Baku, lasting for four days, we saw many cities and villages on the way, with stately churches, palaces and Kothis and which in comparison to the dirty huts of the peasants, stood in remembrance of the centuries of oppressions. Either those blood-suckers have disappeared or have been made powerless. In big rooms and castles where at first only one family lived with its group of attendants, now live thousands of ill and tired labourers. They are treated there fairly well, they get good food there and receive physical training. They acquire at that place the habit of living in an open, lighted and sanitary place.

In the houses of common men, given to collecting wealth could be found five or six families deprived of the power of wealth and who on account of their self-respect live independently each in a house. The villages full of houses made with dirty wood full of worms and those with dirty thatches on and those old fashioned houses which were like stables and not fit for a human habitation, have all been destroyed; and in their places have been constructed bungalows with stone and brick, and roofed with tiles, and which standing on the rich black land appear to be brown, stately and pleasing. Small beautiful houses built by Government are to be seen at those places where the villages have not been destroyed. The leaders of the new Russia themselves have been able upto now, to arrive at only the border of this problem on account of the innumerable obstacles that are being put in the way and which for the first five years were all the more strong and put in a special way. War, boycott, great famine and huge obstacles which the anti-revolutionists and the capitalists could put were not of course, common impediments. Still, the work of renaissance continued all along and every new year brings in new life, new ways, new houses and new villages for the ever multiplying number of the peasants of Russia.

In short the condition of the village populace has become decidedly better and has been advancing in a permanent way. The financial and social facilities as also those in regard to the way of living which the peasants could not obtain in the days of Czardom are now easily obtainable. Certainly, the ignorance and poverty, coming down from the days of Czar, are very dreadful and many years would elapse ere the new generations which came after the revolution, would occupy the place of old generations. But the peasants, for the time being, are quite satisfied and happy and are praising the happiness and better conditions of the new age. Every year the condition of the peasants is becoming better and better and the scientific farming is spreading. The most to commend is the new life that has come into the villages and the peasants both men

and women understand it full well that they are free from the effects (lit: pressure) of centuries as well as from fear. Peasants of tender years have now been taking great interest in the work of this social construction which would be the greatest aim of revolution,

'Translated by

Sd/-Gopinath Dikshit."

Meerut

Sept. 20, 1929.

{ Hariballabh Narain

{ Hindi Translator

P. 322-T.

(Piece 1).

Damodar Swaroop Seth Kakori.

This Conference heartily congratulates the respected Comrade Damodar Swaroop. the Kakori accused, whom the foreign Government has recently released from jail, after making him seriously ill as a result of the inhuman treatment in jail, for his sacrifice and patriotism and prays to God for his health and long life.

(Matters on the reverse).

This Conference sympathises with those patriots who are political prisoners today. Their bravery and sacrifice are commendable and deserving of a following. (This Conference) strongly condemns the harsh treatment meted out to them by Government even in jails.

(Piece 2).

This Conference heartily sympathises with those patriots who are political prisoners these days. Their bravery and sacrifice are wholly commendable and deserving of a following. This Conference strongly condemns the cruel treatment meted out to them in jails at the hands of the foreign Government.

(Piece 3).

(1) This Conference directs the Subjects Committee to establish one more U. P. Workers' and Peasants' Party. Delhi would form a part of this Party.

(2) This Conference makes the U.P. Party, a part of the All India Workers' and Peasants' Party (which is to be) established; and sends the following members to Calcutta as its delegates. These delegates shall have the power to take (lit. include) other members with them.

(1) Dr. Bishwanth Mukerjee.

(2) Puran Chandra Joshi.

(3) Gouri Shankar.

(4) Balwant Singh.

(5) Ferózdin Mansoor.

(Piece 4).

Party to Viceroy and others.

This Conference strongly condemns the taking part in parties given by the Viceroy or other Government officers and directs that no Indian, in future, shall take part in such parties.

From the Chair,

5 minutes.

(Piece 5.)

Purusharthay Namah (I bow down to manhood)

Address

of

The President, Reception Committee ,

Workers and Peasants Association.

Victory to the Peasants' Party.

My peasant and labourer friends; I welcome you. Dont mind the shortcomings for they are the causes of improvement for wisemen.

Not only hands and feet but wisdom too is a gift of God, make use of it.

God has created the pleasures of the world for those who make manly efforts. Manliness alone secures the highest happiness. Look. It is the result of

your labour that there is wonder at some places. But remember that there are two kinds of labour, physical and mental. A man who labours both ways (physically and mentally) is never unhappy. The cause of unhappiness is that these live apart (from each other). You and I do physical labour but have given up mental labour. We never think whether a certain work ought to be done or not, viz, wine drinking, tobacco smoking, seeing dance and plays and spoiling one's character. Let me see who gives us any trouble

if we along with doing physical labour mentally think and do what is good and leave out what is bad. We are driven like beasts on our failure to use our intellect by those who use the same, just as you drive your bullock, buffalo and elephant and even lion

..... Think it and think it jointly. It shall
 Organise your) make us a complete human being just as a rich
 league in every) man condemning labour is not happy but is
 village.) always ill, in the same way we also remain ill.
 The condemnation of physical labour as also
 treating our opinions with indifference by the rich cause misery to
 both of us. Come let us establish labourers and peasants leagues
 and begin to think, because we can work only unitedly and not
 otherwise.

The next point to which I would like to draw your attention is that God has not created man with good hands, feet, eyes, nose, ears and understanding to suffer troubles. It is only when they are not used that one gets trouble. Therefore the greatest of all wealth is a man's hands, feet, and mind and their (constant) application day and night and not brick, stone, gold or silver. These (are things which) we ourselves dig out of the ground and give them to others on account of our not possessing wisdom, and which they use against us. Therefore in order to protect our physical strength as also our mind we should eat enough and we should not use ornaments etc. lavishly. The females of the house should lead a simple life, spin for the family and lessen the expenses and should understand that the kingdom of heaven is inside (the house) and not outside. There remains now labour. It should be considered most necessary for life and specially to lead a happy and peaceful life. No labour is mean and O ye peasant understand it that you are the giver of food to human beings. Your senselessness puts you to trouble. Understand a little, try for Swaraj, you shall again become a king in the same way as in the beginning of the world Adam cultivated the field and Eve span and there was no artificial 'gentleman' rather you alone were the real gentleman. The delay is due to your ignorance (lit: understanding) therefore do these things.

1. Make your own leagues.
2. Lessen the use of wine, opium, tobacco litigation and ornaments; prepare *Khaddar* and wear it.
3. Men having physical and soul force, rule really and therefore increase these and take Swaraj.

Your friend

Indramani

Saraswati Press, Meerut.

(Same as Nos. 1, 2 and 3 under the heading 'Nehru Committee' in Ext. P-175).

(Piece 9).

Vide Ext P. 175, under the heading 'Nehru Committee'.

Nos. 1 and 2 are the same.

No. 3 'No recognition of vested interests'.

Sohan Singh,

Abdul Majid.

(Piece 10)

Same as Piece 8 of Ext. P-322.

(Piece 11).

Vide Ext. P-175, under the heading 'Political Prisoners'.

(Piece 12).

Vide Exhibit P-175 under the broad head 'Monetary Resolutions'.

(Piece 13)

Vide Ext P-175, under the broad heading 'Social Resolutions'

The following addition is made under the sub head 'Sanitation' and proper arrangements be made for public lectures on health and sanitation.

Resolution No. 17, (Piece 13) reads thus :—

This Conference requests the All India Peasants and Workere League to draft a scheme for a strong All India Peasants organisation whose object should be to bring down to proper level the land tax which at present has gone up beyond measure ; so that the peasant be protected from hunger and illness.

Meerut } Hariballabh Narain
Supt 20, 1929 { Hindi Translator.

P. 329-T.

Presidential Address

of

Comrade S. H. Jhabwalla

at

The Bundelkhand Peasants' and Workers' Conference

Held on the 28th & 29th October 1928.

Published by:—

Lakshman Rao Kadam

Secretary Reception Committee

Printer:—Bishwambhar Das Gargiya,

“Balwant Press” Jhansi—1071.

Friends & Brother delegates,

I have to thank you for inviting me to preside over the deliberations of the Workers' and Peasants' Conference of the United Provinces. You must be aware that the task before us is becoming very great, in view of the fact that not only are the workers & peasants all over the country passing through a critical stage of transition in Indian politics, but also because the political condition of our country has become so knotty that it has to put up with great difficulties in facing the Simon Commission which is bent upon doing its work by creating a split in the political parties of the country. But if we workers & peasants unitedly and carefully think out the means of improvement, leaving aside all petty considerations of self, we are bound to play a very great part in improving the present condition of the country. The workers and peasants alone are the real producers of the wealth of the country and therefore the work of improving their political condition is a matter of great concern. It is because of this that I consider the present situation of the country to be a thought - revolutionising one. I consider this situation to be awakening thoughts of improvements among the workers and peasants. Therefore I hope that you will all assist me in carrying through the business of our Conference by mutual good will and hearty co-operation.

Starving millions of Indians.

Out of the 30 crores of children playing in the lap of mother India, 28 crores live by tilling the field and by following other industrial pursuits. But this vast mass of humanity, staggering and sobbing so long on account of starvation, is counting the (last)

days of its life. And although for the last two hundred years our liberal British Government has been claiming that it has established itself in this country only for the benefit of the Indians, yet these 28 crores of poor men hardly get one meal a day and whatever they get is so insufficient and so bad that they have been losing their vitality from day to day. When we compare the longevity of India with those of other countries we find that 80 children out of every one thousand under one year die in London and only 71 in New York, America while in India the percentage on an average is between 572 and 666. The same proportion may be applied in cases of children above one year. The average longevity of an Indian as accepted from Government census ranges between 25 and 27 while that in Great Britain it ranges between 52 and 55. This dreadful proportion is an index to the poverty of the Indians and the serious consequences resulting from it. Dadabhai Naoroji was the first man who fearlessly and openly described the poverty problems of the Indians and since his time nearly 50 sessions of the Indian National Congress have sat yet beyond passing mere paper resolutions no effective measure has been taken even by such a (powerful) national institution for the redemption of the poverty of the country.

It is highly surprising that the tiller in the field has neither a single grain of corn in his granary nor the weaver a piece of cloth for his clothing. The men who are the real producer of this national wealth have to suffer losses, but the whole world is reveling at their expenses. This is -

a specimen of the justice of this imperialistic Government.

It clearly shows that under the garb of justice this system of administration is based on injustice. Therefore it is up to the masses of the country to take such strong measures so that the country be freed of this steel frame (lit: press) as soon as possible; and a well organised and well ordered system of administration be established in its place, wherein these starving 28 crores might get at least their due share of food and clothing. In my tours I have seen that a poor digger with a family of four has to maintain himself on Rs. 5/- a month which he earns by carrying heavy baskets of stones and his wife too has to earn five annas a day by collecting and carrying stones on the railway lines. Ignorant children of 12, in order to extinguish the fire of the sinful belly and earn a daily income of the magnificent sum of two and a half annas are entrusted to those contractors,—the demons in human form, who are the *pattedars* (contractors) of the present day fashionable slavery and who after taking labour from these small

children for full 14 hours take pride in paying them only two and a half annas, in the end. Go to any part of the country and visit the huts of the poor workers and peasants; you will not find there anything except a few broken earthen pots and a few small pieces of wood. These few things have been kindly given to these poor men by nature itself and a man has no hand in this. Beyond that, these 28 crores have nothing which they can call their own. Comrades, it is for the redemption of these poor brethren that we meet here. We should now understand that unless we end this system of administration as soon as we can, these millions must starve in this manner and must give up their lives writhing (in agony)

WORKERS AND PEASANTS

The poor peasants are mostly under the thumb of the Zamindars (landlords). Those who are not in the grip of these oppressors are falling victim to government rules and regulations, ejectment and to the mercy of the officials. These goddesses and gods full of kindness have jointly squeezed them very badly by demanding from them land tax and various sorts of presents and have sucked their blood and reduced them to mere bone and skin. It would have been fortunate if matters had ended there. On the one hand their village crafts and industries have certainly been ruined while on the other they have been compelled to purchase foreign goods. The non-co-operation movement of Mahatma Gandhi created some stir among them, on account of which they came across a method (lit. prescription) of controlling the oppressors in the shape of the non-payment of taxes. But unfortunately for the peasants Mahatma Gandhi, the great leader of India abandoned the movement at a time when these very poor peasants were to secure independence not only for themselves but for the whole country. The fact that the peasants can compel the present imperialistic Government to bend on its knees by their sturdy self-sacrifice, even to death, could be evidenced from the magnificent victory at Bardoli very recently. The heroism and forbearance displayed at Bardoli have proved to the peasantry all over the country that only if they decide to stand firm unitedly with a definite militant policy to guide them, the day of their redemption would not lag behind and they shall be able to guide the whole Indian nations to the well organised path of progress and prosperity.

Workers in railway depots, cloth factories, mines and such other departments have to starve from insecurity of employment. They can be discharged on some accusation or other. They have given expression, many times to their boiling ebullitions, in the shape of hartal (strike) but they lack the strength to conduct such strike movements and they also lack sufficient fund to feed the strikers when out of employment. Therefore they had to keep up to

their own against the heavy odds imposed on them against the mill owners and the capitalists. At this place I would like you to remember the instance of the great mill strike in Bombay wherein one lakh and 30 thousand labourers refused to work. Though the labourers lost 6 crores of rupees and the mill-owners another 6 crores of their own, yet the labourers could not assert their demands because of the operations of one more power other than the mill-owners and the labourers. That power was the imperialistic system of administration of our government. On the one hand the mill owners put before their employees the report of the Tariff Board in which government siding with the foreign trade—trade of England wanted to strangle Indian trade and on the other the employees put before the mill owners their empty belly. When the mill owners found that they were unable to bend government to accept 1s. 6d. as the exchange ratio, they decided to starve the mill-employees. The mill owners made cuts in their small wages even to punish their impertinence so that the wages of the starving men were still further reduced.

THE NATIONAL POSITION

I feel sure that nothing can be hoped from the present system of administration. It is but foolish to expect our redemption at its hands. I regret to say that besides the imperialistic policy of government there are a few of our national leaders too who try to put obstacles in our path. They put great obstacles in our way taking the side of the capitalists. So we the labourers and the peasants have to use a double-edged sword and to fight a two-fold battle namely against imperialism and the Indian Capitalists. We have to fight the gentlemen (lit: Babus) of our country, who make a great fuss in the political arena and do the farce of establishing Swaraj—a swaraj of the capitalists, in the same way as with the steel (framed) administrative system. These gentlemen making so much fuss and being called the Swarajists know it full well that the Swaraj which they desire to establish will earn for them large funds of wealth at the cost of the poor labourers, and will make them fat and strong by sucking the blood of the workers. The Swaraj of the workers lies in our economic freedom. Unless we get a full meal though coarse and dry and sufficient clothing to wear though coarse and unless our working hours are reduced and means afforded to us to pass our lives with ease, we can not accept that Swaraj—may be a heavenly administration that will be thrust upon us.

INTERNATIONAL POSITION

Workers and peasants are everywhere in the world. This brotherhood, struggling for its independence, freedom and right in the whole world, forms a very great part of humanity and therefore this too plays an important part in determining the political and economic issues of the world. No political or economic issue of the

world can be properly solved without their assistance. Indian labourers who number as many as 28 crores can not be neglected in solving the international political issues.

The states of the capitalists have almost been destroyed one by one, and a new wave gradually is blowing in the world. The revolution of the workers and peasants and their battle for freedom have made it manifest to the world that every battle small or great owes its origin to the quarrels among the capitalists and its result too is advantageous to them alone; so capitalism which creates chaos in the world, should be rooted out. Though oppressions on the labourers and (also) unemployment have largely increased since the great European war and international trade competitions and multiplication of armaments have gone ahead, yet the workers and the peasants, by concerted actions, have got the power to take such steps as may make war an impossibility. Therefore we must look up to Soviet Republics or in other words the establishment of a government by the labourers themselves or such other scientific and practical measures for the redemption of the whole world and for the purely socialistic reconstruction of the society. In international politics we have also to contend against a new class of imperialism, namely Mr. Ramsay Mac Donald's Labour imperialism. Under this new class of imperialism, the leaders of the labourers are given so much power that the question of life and death of the whole labour class rests with them. They may do anything they like—good or bad—the labourers cannot utter a single word. In India too, some similar lame and coward labour leaders consider it their duty to put obstacles in the path of the revolution and in the progress of the workers. The foreign capitalists are investing more and more of the capital in India.

They want that Indian labourers should become their slaves somehow or other and become so entangled in the grip of their capital that they may not ever get out. The white government of India and the black capitalists are bent upon giving all their support to those machine owners, for firstly they belong to their own country and secondly because birds of feather flock together. They strongly support the foreign capitalists. But no sooner will the labourers organise themselves and begin to set them right then the government and the capitalists will feel ashamed. The capitalists have found means for their own protection in Agricultural Commission; the increase in the number of co-operative Banks, Barrage scheme, Small Holdings—Bill, the Public Safety Bill, the Trade Disputes Bill and hundreds of other bills and laws and it is through these that they have been thinking of making their footing firm in India.

How to combat these evils

It is no use deploring the losses or what is past. It is to

them alone that we have to put up with terrible poverty, prostitution, wine, famine, murder, theft, corruption and other vices that human nature is prone to? But who produced these evils? Who is the originator of our present helpless and wretched condition? It is our intoxicated capitalists, the Seths sitting on the cushions, who are fed on our blood who are responsible. If India desires to be independent and if it needs happiness, peace and prosperity, it shall have to break down its old shackles, and push out the old shams and in order to usher in the golden age praised by our ancient sages. It shall have to follow the same path by which Russia in the course of the last few years was able to efface out from the surface, the name of that terrible czardom, the fountain of the world imperialism. Indian workers are capable of securing independence for the whole world for they are more enduring and firm in their inclinations as compared to the labourers of other countries. The strike offered by one lakh and 30 thousand of Bombay mill labourers lasting continually for six months only reveals their unquerable courage and forbearance. Those poor men had neither some money with them that time nor any materials collected in the past. They did such a great work with only a few crumbs of Russian help and displayed to the world that Indian labourers can offer Satyagrah without anything in their belly for months together to reconstruct society and to reform the system of administration. But if some arrangements were made for them for food these very workers would form a strong basis of the coming revolution for the independence of India. By the revolution of the workers, India can be free in a moment; but I do not require in the least, any foreign assistance in this revolution. I require only Indian help the help given by our country although it may be even the hundredth part of the Russian help. I do not like to depend on the crumbs of foreigners. I would like to sound a note of warning to the Indian Capitalists, Rajas, Maharajas, Seths, Sahukars, Zamindar, Mafidars, proprietors of Math temple and Mahants and the middle class gentlemen that waves of revolution have begun to rise in the heart of the Indian labourers. They will not but secure the independence of India. Therefore it is the duty of all of you to gird up your loins to help them. But you shall have to join hands with them- no useful purpose would be served by beating the broken drum of your old meaningless glory- you shall have no to link your social political and economic interests with those of the labourers. If, in order to serve your own interests, you want to remain separate lit separately cook your Klichri mixture of rice and pulse of one and a half grain you will look astonished. Your welfare lies in the welfare of the Indian workers and peasants.

My friends,

I have not the least faith in Commissions, Councils and Corporations. They are machines to plunder us. After swallowing away all our gold these fowls have always laid eggs of stones. In

Conferences and Congresses also, I have not much faith. But all my hopes depend on the organisation of the workers and the peasants. I have full faith in that alone. The frequent strikes all over the country reveals the fact that a majority of the people are greatly discontented with the present state of things. If a party of self-sacrificing men and real well wishers of the workers and peasants establish jointly, a powerful All India Organisation we can in a short time organise the 28 crores of workers in similar 21 different organisations of industrial classes, like what Russia did 12 years back. After this, each organisation can be filled up with lakhs of workers. I assure you the workers are always ready to join these regiments of the central *Panchayat*, in large numbers. But there is a lack of organisers. The few who take up this work have neither high ideals nor a desire to work sincerely. A work done half-heartedly can never have any success. For the purposes of organisation there should be first of all a central "*Indian Workers and Peasants Party*." It must have its branches spread all over the country in the shape of provincial committees dependent on the central party. Each provincial committee must have its own district Committee which should work on and electoral principles. It should have no nominated member as also he who has not been elected.

The duty of the central party should be to place before the Congress the demands of the workers and peasants of the whole country with strong proofs and get them passed. We must also not forget to cultivate political ideals and produce a feeling of awakening in the workers and peasants, for we have not only to improve the social and economic condition of the peasants but it is necessary for us to fight for their political rights. Our policy of work should be completely militant, so that the secrets of deceivers, selfish leaders and the jackals in disguise be out at once and we may be able to expel them from our army.

It is a very hard job to work among the peasants and to produce a feeling of awakening in them. If our party is going to be a workers' and Peasants' party, we must establish Peasants' Unions as well and for that we must enlist the sympathy and Co-operation of youngmen of the country.

The demands of the peasants may be briefly summed up as follows :—

1. Abolition of forced labour.
2. Freedom from the innumerable oppressions of the *Sahukars* (wealthy persons).
3. Formation of village panchayats.
4. Freedom from the tyranny (lit: excesses) of land-lords.

5. End of uncertain problems viz ejection and the establishment of the rights of inheritance of those people.

FINAL REQUEST.

Dear brethren,

The world blames us as communists, extremists, revolutionaries etc; but I cheerfully acknowledge these tributes and believe that people blame us in this way in consideration of the different (lit: special) activities (lit: points) of our programme of work. I have my support in a very valuable correspondence that appeared the other day in the "Times of India" from the pen of Sir Ibrahim Rāhīm-tullāh, the ex-leader of the Government party in the reformed councils, and the disciple of the great Bombay leader Sir Pheroz Shah Mehta. He has challenged the Government for sowing the seeds of revolution and Communism by its repressive policy and destructive economic laws. Government is compelling a large majority (of the people) of the country to revolt by strongly opposing the nationalisation of land and industry, the labourers taking part in the system of the country's administration and the economic laws meant to increase the population, happiness and wealth of the country. Therefore, if the labourer wasting his labour in the factory and the peasant causing his sweat to flow in the field can not expect justice in the administration of their Government, I for one consider this to be my duty to try to efface out this system of administration till my blood is reduced to water; for the highest principle of my Shastras is still boiling in my blood, if you have in your possession a full meal never let your neighbour go to sleep without food. That golden age of the ancient sages wherein justice, unity, equality, freedom, peace and prosperity reigned supreme and waves of happiness rose in the prosperous world are now more or less a dream on account of this unjust government and institutions, full of faults. These institutions have assumed for themselves all power, and all privileges We shall have to usher in that very golden age by effacing out their powers.

At the end, I have to make a strong appeal to you to stand shoulder to shoulder for the battle, to expose all men or objects standing in your way and to expel them from your army. The leaders too should try to make themselves wholly fit for and capable of taking up the leadership of a reasonable number of the league's army-say about 500000 people. The acceptance of leadership is a very great and responsible work. Keeping in view how the Chinese people beginning from the labourers developed an all round revolution in their country we too should cultivate a militant political movement in the labourers of our country. In so doing Congress help should be invited so that after sometime a joint programme of the congress and the labourers may be put before the country. In this way after we are able to safeguard our own

position it would not be improper for us to think of taking part in the international affairs. It would be to our advantage then to have (lit; sever) relations with the institutions opposing imperialism and Colonial oppression. I consider this organisation capable of creating love feelings between the European and Asiatic workers' parties and binding them in the ties of unity.

By interfering in the international affairs India will become such a successful revolutionary country that it will be able to establish the Soviet Raj or the kingdom of the workers and peasants, all round and be hailed as the herald of a new golden age in the world.

Meerut
September 13, 1929. { Hariballabh Narain
Hindi Translator.

P. 331-T.

(APPLICATION FORM)

To

The Executive Committee

U. P. & Delhi Workers and Peasants Party

Allahabad.

Dated.....

Dear brethren,

I wish to be a member of the U. P. & Delhi Workers and Peasants' Party. I am prepared to accept the object (printed on the reverse) rule and programme of the Party, to pay the prescribed fee and to work in any of its branches under the direction of the Party.

Your brother Comrade.

1. Name—

2. Address—

3. Age—

P. 333-T.

(RECEIPT BOOK)

Book No.

Amount paid.....
Signature.....
Date.....

Book No.....

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

Amount paid.....

Signature.....

Date.....

Meerut

Hariballabh Narain,

Sept. 19, 1929.

Hindi Translator.

P. 347-T

DUPLICATE

Bill No. 414

Dated 12-12-1928

Shriman Pandit M. (?) N. Sharma.....Dr.

Through Pandit Krishna Gopal Sharma.

To

The Matribhumi Printing House,

Printer, Publishers and Stationers,

Muhalla Ganesh Bazar (Pach Kuia)

JHANSI.

Quantity	Description	Rate	Amount		
			Rs.	as	p.
1000	League of Young Comrades of U.P. and Delhi.		6	5	0
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Sd/- M.D. Agarwal,

Manager,

Meerut

Sept. 19, 29.

{ Hariballabh Narain

{ Hindi Translator

P. 348-T.

The ten resolutions in question have already been translated along with others in *Ext. P. 175*

Meerut

Sept. 19, 1929

{ Hariballabh Narain

{ Hindi Translator

P. 367-T.

A request to the Worker and Peasant
bretheren and sisters.

My dear brethern and sisters !

You shall be glad to hear that a Conference of all the Workers and Peasants' Parties in the country will be held on the 21st, 22nd and 23rd December next, at 15, College Square Albert Hall, Calcutta. The foundation of an All India party called the "All-India Workers and Peasants Party" would be laid there, after uniting all the workers and peasants parties of Bengal, Bombay, the Punjab and the U. P. You have ever been putting up with afflictions and troubles at the hands of the Capitalists and the landlords and you do not even open your lips (lit: tongue) against their cruelty. It is you who labour and the Capitalist and the landlords enjoy the fruits of your labour. They never do any work themselves still all the happiness of the world is destined for them alone. You do not even get full meal twice a day; you pass your life rather hungry and thirsty, in dirty places and in such houses where light and air do not enter. You suffer the heat in the summer in the chill in the winter in that very place. If your dear children suffer some disease they die before your very eyes on account of your not making any arrangements of their medicines and diet. You cannot educate them so that they may prosper in future.

It is because of agricultural land, machineries, factories and trade lying in the hands of the richmen, that you have been putting up such great troubles. The ancestors of the worker brethern or a large number of workers themselves were peasants. On account of the cruelty and oppression of the richmen or the landlords and the Mahajans they became houseless and being compelled to maintain themselves they began to work or have been working in some factory on small wages. If you do not work unitedly and try to get rid of this dependence you cannot remain alive in the world.

The worker and peasant Party is the name of an organisation of those brethern who are poor, afflicted and weakened by oppression. The main object of the 'Worker and Peasant Party' is to fight and agitate against cruelty and injustice and plunderers and destroyers and to establish 'unity and equality' after rooting out distinctions of high and low.

The empire of India is in the hands of the foreign richmen. This foreign Government wants to strengthen the foundation of its administration in our country by winning over the plundering capitalists of India. In order to make this improper conspiracy of the rich men a failure and to make our dear country independent

from the Government of the foreign rich men, a republican administration of the workers and peasants and other suffering brethren, shall have to be established. No sooner the people get political independence than they would have economic and social freedom by itself. And gradually everything, machinery, factory, railway, ship trade and agriculture would come in the possession of the workers and peasants. Then there would be a wholesale change of their life and the people of other countries would stare at us with eyes wide open. Those who are servants today would become masters tomorrow. The object of the party is to unite the workers and the peasants and to draw their attention to the aforesaid matters.

There should be a desire in your heart to live in a good house, to take good food and put on good clothes. Unless there is a true longing in your heart for improving your condition, you cannot at all progress nor can you try to improve your bad condition. You should try your best to improve and do good to yourself.

We should abolish landlordism altogether. The peasant should be the owner of the land. If there is any rent or tax of the land it should be of a most ordinary nature. There should be a national bank everywhere for advancing loans to the peasants, so that they may get loan easily and the rate of interest should not be more than 7 p.c. per annum. No such tax should be paid to Government as is always levied unknowingly. The working hours for a labourer should not be more than 8 hours a day and 44 hours a week. If by chance, anyone is wounded or dies, while working, you shall have to claim for compensation. The compensation allowance, at present, is very meagre. There should be provision for assistance and pay, against old age, illness and unemployment. Attempts shall have to be made in order that a female labourer gets leave on full pay two months before and two months after her confinement. It is very necessary that there should be houses, near about the factory, for taking care of children. The labourers should have full right to form their committees & to go on strike; everybody should be free to keep weapons and arms. Every man or woman who is a major should have a right to vote.

In order to have all the above demands (fulfilled) you shall have to form an organisation. It is necessary that there should be separate central (lit: big) associations for men of particular professions. You shall have to understand the work of these associations carefully and conduct them. (You) should not depend on the people outside. To give you proper counsel in all these works, to guide your agitations on the road to success, to support you and to help you would be the necessary and important work of the 'Worker and Peasants Party'.

You can be a member of this party also in your individual capacity, though continuing to be a member of your own association. You can become its member on an annual payment of four annas. Inasmuch as this party aims at trying to make you independent, you should also (help it) by becoming a member of the Worker and Peasants' Party. The worker and peasant brethren, of those places where there is no such organisation should come forward and become members of this Party. Then I shall be helped by them in establishing an organisation in those places. Those worker brethren who by paying four annas only to this Party become its members would be able to take part in the conference of the "All India Worker and Peasant Party." This Conference would consider the troubles and afflictions of the worker and peasant brethren of the whole country, find out remedies to remove them and decide the future programme of work.

This Conference is the first of its kind in India. Much expenses would be incurred and I cannot do anything without the help of the worker and peasant brethren and therefore an appeal is made to them and they are requested to help me with money and other materials to the best of their abilities and try to make the conference a success. It would be of much help to me if, at present, you become its members by paying four annas only.

Worker and Peasant Party, Bengal

2/1, European Asylum Lane,

Calcutta.

(Near Zora Girza),

Méerut

Sept. 19/11/29.

Hári Ballabh Narain

Hindi Translator.

P. 400

A yellow leaflet in Hindi headed My dear brothers and Sisters & c.

(Vide Exh: P. 367 T.)

(Matters on a printed letter form of the U. P. and Delhi Workers and Peasants Party).

Two views of the plunderers.

(1) *Zamindar and Simon Commission.*

The whole of the country resounds with the cry 'Simon get out.' The traitors are put to test on such occasions only. Not a single party of delegates of any Workers and Peasants' league has so far gone before this Commission to give evidence. But who has gone (there)? The Country League (of course), which is a league of the Zamindars (land lords) and the capitalist of the whole of the country. Mr Ellen of Cawnpore; the Maharaja of Darbhanga The Maharaja of Burdwan and others are its members. Everybody must be remembering the grand entertainment given by the Talukadars of Oudh to the members of the Simon Commission in the Baradari, the very next day of the assault on Jawahir Lal Nehru and others. In Bengal the Commission was entertained by the British Indian Association and the Muslim Zamindars League, separately. The Zamindars of Burma have been making preparations for the reception of the Commission.

In view of these facts even a blind man can say whether the capitalists and the Zamindars of the country are soldiers of Swaraj or gluttonous dogs of imperialism. Their policy is also right. It has become apparent to them that the workers the peasants have been preparing for a 'red' revolution and capitalism and landlordism shall have no place in their domain. Therefore they have been advancing towards those who can safeguard their rights (which in reality amounts to looting the people). A thief backs a thief and capitalism backs imperialism,

(2) *The capitalist leaders of the country..*

It is to be regretted that even at the sight of these our leaders do not open their eyes. Leaders like Subas Chandra Bose make a propaganda against class-war. In their opinion unity should be established between the landlords and the peasants and the capitalists and the workers and both should fight jointly against British imperialism. In my opinion 'should' has no value, let (you) open your eyes and see for yourself on which side the capitalist are inclined.

In reality our leaders themselves are worthless and treacherous. This fact might have been doubted before, but in the Calcutta Cngress, Pandit Moti Lal Nehru, by opposing Bolshevism, has made matters clear (lit) opened his fist himself). The form of Swaraj for the poor cannot but be Bolshevism. But our leaders are opposed to it.

What is the real purport lying behind it? Our leaders themselves are capitalists and Zamindars and suckers of blood of the poor people. There is very little difference between them and the landlords going before the Simon Commission, They are 'class consingns(?)' and wise capitalists. They are more ambitious' (more ambitious-please translate properly): The landlords and the capitalists going before the Simon Commission are ready to remain under British imperialism and to award them a share in the loot of the labourers. The Capitalist leaders desire that imperialism be ended. But why? Only because that they might not have to offer to the Englishmen a share in the loot of the labourers and peasants, in the form of taxes; and that all the shares of the loot of the masses might go to their own pockets ('monopoly of exploitation of the masses'). This can not but be the meaning in view of the fact that they are not prepared to regard Bolshevism as Swaraj.

(They) have been exposed. It is not a new thing for the capitalist leaders. Their treachery came to light in Russia after the revolution of (the month of) March. In the Chinese revolution too the capitalist leaders of the Country prove a traitor in the same way.

But the worker and peasant Party of India is wideawake. There is no place for 'Babu' in it. It knows that in the 'red' war of Swaraj (leaving aside prattling) the workers alone would prove useful. The leadership too ('class-consign') would remain in the hands of the wise workers and peasants. The Babu leaders have now been exposed: therefore 'March Revolution' would not be necessary, there would be all at once a 'November Revolution.' 'Civil war' and 'war of National liberation' will be fought simultaneously. At a single stroke Indian Capitalism, landlordism and British imperialism would end, and then alone would be established a real Swaraj- a raj of the Workers and Peasants.

Sd/- Puran Chandra Joshi.

P. 428-T.

COME!

COME!!

BE SURE TO COME!!!

GRAND CONFERENCE.

* DARSHAN (sight) of great leaders. *

The 22nd United Provinces Political Conference under the presidentship of Pandit Jawahir Lal Nehru, 'the idol of sacrifice

Will be held with great eclat, on the 27th, 28th and 29th
October, at Jhansi.

If you want that Mother India, becoming completely independent, should again be happy and (if you want that the life of the Indians be saved from the injustice of the bureaucracy and the teasings of the Police, (if you want) that every Indian getting equal rights should take full meal, (if you want) that clothes to put on the body and beautiful houses to live in, be easily available, (if you want) that the mutual dissensions between the workers and peasants and the landlords be removed and that they begin to consider each other as brothers, and (if you want) that the Simon Commission should bend before the demand of the Indians, do not lose this valuable opportunity. "Workers and Peasants Conference", "National Poets Conference", "Provincial Hindustani Seva Dal Conference" as also several others will be held on this occasion and there would be an exhibition of Swadeshi goods also. It is hoped you will surely come and be benefited, and after you know the methods of getting Swaraj you would become a true Indian soldier.

Pandit Krishna Gopal Sharma,

General Secretary,

Reception Committee,

22nd Provincial Political Conference, Jhansi.

Printed at the Sahitya Press, Chirgaon, (Jhansi).

(A POSTER)

Come!

Come!!

Be sure to come!!!

An Unprecedented opportunity

22nd Provincial Political Conference.

Swadeshi Exhibition.

Will last for a week from the 25th October.

If you want to see the different kinds of old and new things and workmanship of India and if you want that your hard earnings should remain in your own country be sure to come to the Exhibition.

Gangadhar Nilkanth, Oushdhey President,

Swadeshi Exhibition, Jhansi.

The H. Press Jhansi.

(A poster).

KRANTIKARI.

A NATIONAL WEEKLY.

If you desire to read sober articles, brilliant poems full of ideas, fearless criticisms of the doings of the bureaucracy, good articles on what Bolshevism wants and besides these things learned articles on social and economic problems and fresh news of the country and outside, subscribe today to the paper by sending a sum of rupees three only. The said paper is published every Saturday from Jhansi. Annual subscription is Rs. 3 only and rupee one and annas eight only for six months.

Yours

Manager

KRANTIKARI,

Jhansi.

(Translation of posters is put up below. There are a few of them torn out in places and so cannot be translated in full.

The man who is ready to work honestly is not cared at all by Government, but if the same man begins to steal and commit robbery then Government makes provision from before for food, clothing and good doctors for him in jails. What a good justice.

Let all the workers be united to save (themselves) from loot and slavery.

Except the *Panchayet* Government, the indigenious and specially foreign Governments are Governments by thieves and robbers.

The life of a country is (depends on) its youngmen.

All the rich men and the landlords of their heirs are thieves, robbers and plunderers.

Meerut. {
Sept. 19. 1929. {

Hariballabh Narain
Hindi Translator.

It is the chief organ of the U. P. 'Workers' and Peasants' Party.

On each of its issues, from Vol: I, No: 1, to Vol: I, No: 7, is printed the following on the cover :—

"The man who is ready to work honestly is not cared at all by Government: but if the same man begins to steal and rob, Government makes provision beforehand for his food, clothing and medical help, in the jails. What a fine system is this!"

From Vol: I, No. 8, to Vol: I, No. 15, is printed on its cover, the following motto from Karl Marx:—

"Nature has not created any man (be he of any country, religion, nation, colour, form or dynasty) rich or poor. All the objects of nature viz. sun, moon, air, water, land etc. have been created for all. Therefore everybody has and should have equal rights over them."

'KRANTIKARI—Vol: 1, No. 1, November 17, 1928.

(Page—1)

THE PRESENT CONDITION OF THE PEASANTS IN RUSSIA

(Printed from Soviet Russia Today, Report of the
British Workers Delegation).

Before the Bolshevik Revolution, the out-standing feature in Russia under the Czar, was the miserable economic condition and the degraded mode of living of the peasants of that country. The Revolution itself owed its origin to the unity of the workers and the peasants and ever since this unity has been kept intact and attempts have been made to foster up this unity, keeping in view the welfare of both the parts of the country.

On account of the population of the villages being even more than ten crores the work of uplifting the economic and social conditions of the peasants has been very heavy. Along with this, the chaos and ruin resulting from the European Great War and from the anti-revolutionary attacks and most of all the great famine of 1921, following after, greatly increased the difficulties of the Soviet Russia. In spite of this, great improvements have been made during the last five years. The entire produce of the field has increased by 82 p. c. as compared to the produce before the war: and the number of cattle which at present is about 886 lakhs, is

an increase by 40 lakhs in comparison to what stood in 1921. From this it is clear that all necessary grounds have been prepared for improvement. Besides this, the present social laws are proofs of the fact that the distribution of agricultural land is more satisfactory than at first (?)

The first and foremost thing is that big Zamindaris and Talukdaris which possessed 45 p. c. of the land in Ukren and 24 p. c. of the land in the remaining European Russia (?) have mostly been distributed among the peasants. Now the peasants possess 96 p. c. of the land and the remaining 4 p. c. is occupied by farms, factories, buildings and others of the Soviet. One has to pay only a single tax as land revenue to government and which the poor peasants, who total 35 p. c. of the population or in other words one third, have not to pay at all and the taxes have been arranged so proportionately, that the less prosperous peasants have to pay a very small amount.

Besides these important facts which are in themselves proofs as to the advantages which the peasants, specially the poor peasants, have derived so far from revolution, the Soviet Government (itself) has improved the old methods as also the new scientific instruments and is working out a fixed plan for uplifting up the economic condition of agriculture very high.

(To be continued).

KRANTIKARI Vol. 1 No. 1, (Page 3).

OUR OBJECTS:

We are revolutionaries. The banner of revolt is in our hands. We have sworn to revolt and cannot but revolt. We are very impatient and restless; we cannot stop now. We will enkindle now a new fire in the world. We shall destroy all its evil systems and remove all its inequalities and establish the kingdom of equality. We will upset the rule of injustice and sink the ship of sin in a river. This is the beginning of a new era, that is why this fresh breeze is blowing and a new light is brightening up the sky. Arise brethren, you have now slept long. Shake off your lethargy and come under our banner.

See: You opponents :: Do not offer opposition do not be obstacles in our way. O, Ye, *Nashelchion*, of imperialism you believe that you will continue to oppress till the doomsday and pass your days in happiness by strangling the crushed, and miserable men of the dependent countries and you will hold them fast in shackles of slavery. Will you again recruit them (on the break out of a war) similar to the Great European war by holding out false hopes to them of Swaraj and of equal rights? O Ye, exponents of selfishness: Innumerable times you made promises which you

never fulfilled. You are a great diplomat and beguiler. You never stick to one thing. But beware, you can not deceive us again (lit: you can not put your wooden pot on the fire now). Now that we have appeared you will not have the advantage. O You' trustees of the empire; we will expose you. You think you are the only sons of God and possess the entire wisdom. You have well entrapped the people by spreading the snare of Committees and Commissions. But everything is patent to my eyes for I am a man of new light.

O ye, monopolists of religion. You also are not safe now. I have not the flag of Hanuman or the lofty banner of Islam in my hands. This is a flag of revolution and an emblem of rebellion. You put on large *Tika* marks on your forehead, and wear long *dhotis* and set up the false claim of being called a true religious leader, a philosopher and one versed in the vedas. You cheat the people and rob them by putting forth false doctrines under the veil of religion, in broad day light. You call yourselves as superior to everybody; to some you call untouchables and to others something else. I no longer need this learning of yours, you shall now be turned out of the temple and your monopoly shall be usurped from you and everybody shall have equal right. O ye, Mullahs: you also did to your heart's content what you liked. You asked some to read *Kalma* and called others as *Kafir* (infidel) just as you pleased, You had your supremacy and you enjoyed yourself well. You expounded the meaning of religion well and caused people to fight one another. But those days are now gone by. No sooner I reached than the atmosphere changed and your blowing ceased. Look to the fate of the Khalifa in Turkey; wherever you look you would find Khalifa (?) beating the drum in England (sic) and songs being sung in his name. People were beating their breasts for him and thinking of their death. Now look, all the *Tazias* are now vanishing & have now vanished. If you take this as false go and ask the Amir of Kabul. It is a matter of very recent date that the beards of a large number of people were shaved, the women were unveiled and whoever raised a cry was throttled. Now let you tell me are you coming under my banner or not. If not, get out (of my sight) but remember this is the fourteenth (?) century.

O ye capitalists: I particularly bear you in mind. Your imagination always takes flight in the firmament. Beware, all these cries are (being made) against you alone. I will not spare anybody. I will set everybody to right. You alone have sown the seeds of all inequalities, all oppressions and injustices and all evils. You are very selfish but your days now are numbered. O Ye, landlords: you have strangled the poor peasants. You have sucked their blood to your hearts' content and you have become fat. You do not know; if the peasants were not there your own existence would have been

an impossibility. You have become the uncrowned king. Sometimes you cause the skull of the poor workers to be broken and at another you insult their wives and daughters. Sometimes you hold of the plough and bullocks of the peasants and sometimes you get their properties attached. That is to say, you are bent upon their ruin. But yesterday has passed and this day is ours. I shall certainly put an end to your oppressions tomorrow. I shall efface everything without leaving a trace. Then all land will appear equal and without an obstacle. This alone is my object. For this very purpose I have raised this banner. O Ye, mill owners: what do you see? The *Bhadra* is on you too (you are also doomed to ruin). You have made great profit by the earnings of the poor workers. They produced wealth and you continued swallowing them up. But you did not care whether they too had lives, home and family and whether they required clothings. You have run your mill for a long time, it cannot now continue thus. First of all there will be a division now of your looted property and the workers shall have equal shares. Only then would your train advance further. If not consider that the engine has failed. O Ye *Seth* and *Sahukars*! You also belong to to this class. You are birds of the same feather. You shall also have to pay 'the penalty. The days are now gone when sitting on the *gaddi* in your home, you issued orders. You have robbed the poor people to your hearts' content and enjoyed much. What is there to twirl your moustacheo? Come out now and use your hands and feet. The age is mine, and the day and night are mine. You have none.

Soldiers and armed men! you are also guilty. You will have to mend your ways. From protectors you have turned devourers. You played havoc on the bosom of your own mother land. You made bad use of your weapons and sided with the capitalists and the richmen. You caused the strangulation of your brethren and enslavement of the country. Don't you feel shame even now? You can look at the massacre like that of Jallianwalla Bag and can see the dishonour of your mothers and sisters and can even take part in it. Why do you sell your religion for the sake of your belly and and thus mar your fate? It would have been better if you had been wiped away rather than cause this calumny. Come to your senses, you have committed a breach of trust.

Yes Come, dear brethren, do come, workers and peasants come I embrace you. I roar out on your strength alone. I appeal to you alone. I care for you alone and to remove them (cares) is this banner. Come let us do good to the world today with equality of feeling and equality of sight. Let us open the eyes of the autocrats, imperialists and capitalists, make honest efforts for the establishment of peace and happiness and spread mutual feeling of love throughout the universe. Come let us be prepared and blow

the conch of revolution. Well, you are to remember that our revolution would be a peaceful one. We hate blood-shed.

KRANTIKARI—Vol: I, No: 1, (Page—6).

Workers' and Peasants' CONFERENCE.

The first Conference of the All-India Workers and Peasants' Party will be held on the 21st December next, at Calcutta. The object of the Party is to establish full national independence and a republican form of government. The programme is as follows:—

1. To organise peasants with a view to abolish the Zamindari system and to reduce rent.
2. To make a demonstration of the unity (of the masses) by the mantra of non-payment of rents and taxes.
3. To protest against high prices, the salt tax and other improper taxes.
4. To fully recognise the Labour Unions and their right of going on strikes.
5. To demand 8 hours day and 44 hours week and the least possible work for the labourers and facilities for good accommodation and livelihood.
6. To organise city rent payers against the payment of high rents to owners of the houses.
7. To organise the national volunteers.
8. To demand the right of possessing arms.
9. (To organise) *hartal* all over the country.

A Reception Committee has been formed to make all necessary arrangements in connection with the Conference with Mr. Pulin Behari, Bar-at-Law, as its Chairman. All correspondence should be addressed to D. K. Goswami, Secretary, Reception Committee, 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

Krantikari. Vol. I, No: 1, (Page-9)

THE REAL MEANING OF NON-VIOLENCE.

To kill oppressors with weapons is not violence but a virtue and a duty.

Of the few words which during the last seven or eight years have caused a storm to blow in our political world and which the public has always misunderstood, the most important is 'violence.' Nobody up till now has made wide researches and tried to get at the real meaning of the word. Therefore it is that this word is being wrongly used

till today, and the whole nation unable to understand its objects rightly is taking the day to be night and vice versa and is stumbling.

No sooner do we pronounce the word violence than it appears to us that this is a bad word. No sooner do we hear this word than the thought comes (to us) that this word indicates an action which is violent, hateful and connected with oppression. To whatever word it is added, that action appears to be harmful and capable of being abandoned. The meaning of the word violence is the improper ill-use of power. But there is a limit to the use of power, and unmindful of that limit, a few blind devotees of peace, have named that 'use of power' as violence. Because in violence too there is an use of power, therefore it is that some crooked-heads began to call the use of power itself as violence. To stop a man from doing anything bad, it would be proper to tell him this much that the thing is bad and hateful. There is violence in this also. Under the shade of the Congress thousands of men, without any reasoning or consideration, promised (to keep themselves) non-violent. The fact was no doubt true, violence means oppression and injustice, who could have raised an objection to promise not to do such a bad thing, but the real fact is that at this place a misunderstanding was created by giving the name of violence not to oppression but to this 'use of power.' Most of the men who favoured the use of power even, could not dare to favour violence. They too silently promised to support non-violence. This is the reason why a word like non-violence has created confusion. Thousands of work which till today were considered not only proper but excellent now began to be considered at once as hateful. Because the presence of qualifications such as courage, bravery, sacrifice and self-renunciation, and the fitness to become soldiers and to wield arms as also the power to crush the head of the oppressors and the unjust depended on strength—these began therefore to be considered as improper and mean. This meaning of violence, creating misunderstanding; threw water on the understanding of the nation. The situation became such as even the breaking of a stone image began to be taken as an act of violence. Even the holding of *lathi* was considered a violence. Should the image be broken with hands only. Bravo,

No sooner a man hears a word than a stir of special kind is created in his heart and after that the man does not tax his brain too much to enter deep into it because of his knowing at once a meaning of a different kind attached to it. If an unknown man is called mean and wicked no sooner he comes in, a feeling of hatred against him would naturally arise in the heart of the listeners.....
... ..on the one hand all the countries in the world are fully equipped with arms and each one of them is increasing its military strength, while on the other holding of weapons is considered a sin

and immorality. Coward and timid persons giving such instructions as 'Don't hold the *lathi*' and those becoming afraid at the very sight of the *lathi* began to be encouraged. The bravery which could uplift the nation began to be extinct and the enemy, afraid of power, seemed to be happy.....

That use of power alone is called violence by which the innocent are unnecessarily put to trouble or by which another is put to harm to serve one's petty interest. But if the same power is used to help the poor or to do similar other good things that would be called a virtue, It is evident from this that the use of power is not on oppression or a force.....

All misunderstanding will be removed if it is understood that the ill use of power or in other words unnecessarily putting the poor and the helpless men to troubles is called violence, and it is commendable to stop all these. When the thieves, robbers and murderers use weapons they commit violence. That voice velny eggre cifely and vusweo violent'.....(Page 11).

* * * * * It would be improper to take this article to mean that I am educating (the people) for an armed revolution or mutiny today. I shall not speak anything today whether to start, an armed revolution, or not. The support for protest against an armed revolution depends on the country, time and other different circumstances. Those men who, at present, consider armed revolution to be impossible or inadvisable, should not leave off the very thought of it under the plea of violence. With this object in view the word violence has been explained as above so that nobody might commit the same serious and improper mistake.

MEERUT

Sept. 21, 1929.

}

Hariballbh Nara in

Hindi Translator.

Krantikari Vol. 1. No. 2. Nov. 1928,

(Page 5, Column 1)

THE CAPITALISTS OF INDIA.

Under the above noted heading the *Krantikari* remarks :—

“.....The substance of the policy of the Capitalists is to make a compromise with imperialism.....”.

The capitalists, by their Policy of saying yes in every matter have been putting obstacles in the advancement of the country. They can not even demand the elementary rights of a political republic. Realy speaking the Capitalists are against the interests of the people and are afraid of their agitations, for instance the concessions to be given to the workers of the Tata Mills were

opposed in the Assembly. They withdrew themselves from the non-co-operation movement for fear lest the people may bring them under control and this is the reason why they want to keep the labour movement in their grip. The capitalist community can never be considered as a leader of the national movement for effecting the common welfare of the Indians.

KRANTIKARI VOL. 1, NO. 2.

(Page 5, Column 1-3)

Why should there not be a revolution ?

(By a revolutionary)

Famine occurs again and again and innumerable men die for want of grain, and the poor peasants even then are attacked on all sides. If God destroys the crop the king takes away the breath, for rent, by his tours. The Sahukars on the other hand roam about with the attachment decrees. One man wants to ruin the other. The flesh has been torn only the bones are left out. These ferocious capitalists, demons in human form, take *halwa* and *puri* at their ease and in full and cause their pot-belly to develop. They want that hundreds of sons of the Mother, in the burning rays of the sun, in the bitter cold, in the torrential rain, in the flaming fire and in the falling snow, should work for them without a stop and without taking rest. And what should they gain in lieu thereof ? (should they have only) snub, malediction, hunger, bursting (Lit: medicine) of spleen and mines accidents? What a horripilating spectacle? Once Mr. Saklatwala said in the course of his speech: "How strange that those who are millionaires and who can pay, do not pay anything for the beautiful seven and eight storied houses they occupy while those men-the poor workers and peasants and others, in whose family there is only one earning member, and who on account of these selfish capitalists do not ever take a full meal in their life should pay rent to those very millionaires and capitalists". These strange things of the selfish human society are unintelligible. What do those people get who, with their life at stake work the whole day in the middle of sky and earth, and meet their death by being pressed under the machines? They get half meal daily. The fruit of their labour is enjoyed by other masters, who abuse the hard earnings of their sweat and blood.

What do they not do? They indulge in prostitution and gambling and are intoxicated with wine. The world is an Eden to them. They find all luxurios articles here. While on the other hand this world is a hell even worse than a hell to these poor men. They fall ill. There is no body to take care of them, nobody to give them water and no money to purchase medicines. Where should money come from? There are suckers on all sides. They rot, their limbs are wasted and even become full of worms. They are

put to various troubles. They die sobbing and writhing, and they have to. They sacrifice themselves for the sake of the Capitalists. But the capitalists are sure not to mind them in the least. Their conscience (lit: soul) too now does not bite them in doing such mean acts. It may be biting them some day but did they listen to it? They have murdered their conscience also. They are habituated to injustice. Their soul is dead. Who is to speak to them. Who is to make them understand? The bones now alone remain. The blood has been sucked, flesh torn and there only stands the skeleton of these poor workers and peasants, with skin and bone only. Will they not let that too remain standing? But no, it is said that when only bones are left hope arises. Then one can not check himself however strong is the power before him. Even though there is a lion before you, you can not but once try to save your life, in whatever way you can. You may succeed in saving your life or not. But there is such a quickness and force in that defence or in that plan of defence that the eyes of the assassin become dazzled and sometimes he (assassin) falls down on his face. The Capitalists should now understand and take care also. They should understand that these bones, these skeletons with skin and bone, these bones of *Dabhichi* are standing ready to save their lives. Do not become blinded by selfishness. But if the state of things continues as it is would it be difficult if these poor peasants and workers organise themselves in order to save themselves from these capitalists and rich men. And when the world is faced with such a problem I say why there should not be a revolution?

Krantikari Vol. 1, No: 2,

(Page 7)

The present condition of the Peasants in Russia. (Translated from Soviet Russia today, Report of the British Workers Delegation).

Similar as Ext-P-320

KRANTIKARI VOL. 1, NO. 2

(Page 10)

U. P. AND DELHI WORKERS AND PEASANTS PARTY.

After the non- co- operation, a sort of quiet prevailed all over the country. The leaders forgot themselves in their leadership. They forgot altogether about their army, nothing to talk of about taking them to parade or to the fields. Just at this time, some useful persons seeing the new and changed condition of the world and the country and scrutinising the new social ideals, opened workers and peasants parties in provinces like Bengal, Bombay and the Punjab and others. In our province too some men on those very ideals were working and preaching separately. There was no orga-

nised party. In the Workers and Peasants Conference, Meerut, came Comrades Spratt and Mizaffar Ahmad from the Bengal Party and Comrades Sohab (possibly Sohan Singh) 'Josh', Kedar Nath Sehgal and Abdul Majid from the Punjab. With the consent of the local brethren as well as these the Provincial Party was formed. The following were elected office bearers:—

President- Dr. Bishwanath Mukerjee, Gorakhpur.

Vice-President- Dharambir Singh M. L. C., Taga Boarding House, Meerut.

Secretary-Puran Chandra Joshi, 34, Holland Hall, Allahabad.

The following branches have already been opened:—

Delhi Branch- Secretary- Firozdin Mansoor

Meerut Branch- „ - Gouri Shanker

Jhansi Branch- „ - Krishna Gopal Sharma

Gorakhpur Branch,, - Dr. Bishwanath Mukerjee

Any individual or party who wishes to join the party should correspond with the provincial secretary.

The rate of subscription has been decided to be Re 1/- annually from the intellectuals and Re 1/- (?) from the real workers and peasants. The workers & Peasants can pay the sum of the four annas in two instalments. The executive committee shall have the right not to take any subscription from a member, if it so desires. The U. P. Party has, for other matters, at present accepted the rules and regulations of the Bengal Party. The new rules will be framed at the All-India workers and Peasants' Conference at Calcutta in December next.

The object of the party is:—

“Attainment of complete independence from British Imperialism through democratisation of India based on economic and social emancipation and political freedom of men and women.”

Method- ‘Direct mass action.’ To have complete independence from British imperialism through the republic constructed by the economic, social and political salvation of the men and women of India.

Way- By organised endeavours alone.

To explain these the following resolutions were passed at the Meerut Conference:—

The resolutions are the same as in Ext-P 175, with the following additions:—

The Conference decided that tracts should be written for the popularisation of these resolutions. The following tracts are now being written and will shortly be published.

On Bardoli - By S. A. Dange of the Bombay Party

On Swaraj- By C. G. Shah of the Bombay Party

On Jallianwala- By Kedar Nath Sahgal of the Punjab Party.

On Native States- By Arjun Lal Sethi.

On Liberty-By Jawaher Lal Nehru

On what the labourers of the world are doing
and what can the Indian workers and peasants do? } By Phillip Spratt.

On how to organise Workers' and Peasants' Party. } By Phillip Spratt.

Arrangements are being made for (writing) more tracts. They can be had in all the three languages, Hindi, Urdu and English. Only the actual price would be taken. The gentlemen desirous of the same may send in their names now, to the secretary or to the *Krantikari* office, Jhansi, for the tracts.

The Provincial secretary can be asked for the address from where books on Soviet Russia, Bolshevism, worker and Peasant Party and other such subjects can be had.

Puran Chandra Joshi

34, Holland Hall,

ALLAHABAD.

KRANTIKARI Vol. 1, No: 2.

(Page 8)

The land (belongs) to the nation

The Peasants (should have) the possession.

Everybody agrees that we are very poor and worthless, at present and are leading our lives like beasts. This state of affairs be changed and the country be happy, strong, free and prosperous. This is the meaning of swaraj. But in view of the fact that three fourth of the population in our country live on agriculture, it is necessary to think how they would have their Swaraj. What would be the arrangement of the land so that the peasants be able to lead a happy life.

What should be done? It is necessary to know what is the state of affairs of the land today. Who possess the land and what have they been doing?

Do the Talukadars and Zamindars cultivate? Not at all. This is against their prestige. They are Rajas. They cause others to cultivate. They do not do any labour themselves but they plunder the fruit of the labour of their slaves (what else are the peasants if not their slaves?). This loot is called land rent. These Talukadars and Zamindars in the whole of the country are not few in number. They number exactly one crore. They possess 70 p.c. of the land of the country as a whole or in other words they possess two third of the land. There are 22 crores of peasants who have not even a plot of land. One crore of men by possessing two third of the land have made 22 crores of peasants their slaves. Their income is 190 crores by this loot. The peasant pays this land revenue, remaining hungry. How do the Talukadars and the Zamindars use this money? This money is wasted like water in Lucknow, Calcutta and England. This is the same money which the hard-working labourers earned by watering (the field) with their blood. The Zamindars and the Talukadars say that they take rent from the peasants but they too have to pay land revenue to Government. It should be ascertained how much they realise from the peasant and how much they have to pay to Government. In Bengal alone the Zamindars pay two crores and a quarter to Government and realise a little more than 13 crores from the peasants. They plunder away the remaining 13 crores. What for? Only because they can sit idle and they have a piece of paper which they call *patta*.

Where there is no system of Zemindari, that is, where there is *raiyatwari* or in other words where Government itself is the Zamindar, the land revenue is paid to Government direct. There too the condition is not very satisfactory. Whatever the peasant earns there, is looted by Government instead of the Zamindars. But there is a difference of 19 and 20. If, under the Zemindari system the peasant is five fingers deep into the hell, in *raiyatwari* he is only four finger deep. The reason is that the intention of Government can not be said to be good. This is a matter for full consideration that our white Government also is a Zamindar and owns the biggest of all the Zamindars.

What are the results of these things and this loot? In the whole country (only) five per cent of the people possess one third of the wealth of the country. 60 p.c. of the people who are the starving peasants and workers possess only 1.3 (?) or in other words only half their due share. In short if the Zemindari system is abolished the peasants and workers would get double from tomorrow what they have been earning today.

How did this race of Zamindars and Talukadar come into being? In olden times, when there was no railway, telegraph etc. the king was unable to protect his whole country sitting in his kingdom. If there was a revolt or a robbery at Bahraich, a week

elapsed before the king could send an army from Allahabad. Therefore the king had to appoint officers to act as his representatives in different parts of the country. These men were like petty kings, under that king, and they administered law and order in their jurisdiction. The king allowed them to realise land revenue from the subjects and to meet their expenses and they had to send the balance to the king. From this it is evident that the Zamindars, at first, protected the country. For this work the subjects gladly offered them money in the form of land revenue. But the whole order is changed now. The Government now conducts the administration viz, maintaining of police for protection and opening of court, school, hospital etc. The Zamindar and the Talukadar today do not do anything for the society or for the nation but realise the land revenue nevertheless, as before. They have got two things to do today before them; firstly to oppress the tenants & secondly to waste away this money collected from the loot; in luxury. This is injustice. Those who work hard and serve society should eat their bread happily. This is justice. But if this be pointed out to any Zamindar he would say that you have been looting him and doing injustice. To stop the real thief from stealing or the oppressor from perpetrating oppression is called injustice by the Zamindars.

Now it has been decided that the Zamindar or Talukadar should have no right over the land. But who should own the land. Neither the Zamindar nor the peasant created the land. It belongs to the whole country. It is a national property. Every body should have equal right over it.

We have just decided the principle that the fruit of labour should be enjoyed by those who labour. The peasant works over the land therefore the land should be possessed by him. He should till and sow the land and work on it and pass his life happily with its produce. But the land will not be his property. For, if it be regarded as his property he would sell his share and deposit the money he would get by the sale, in some Bank and pass his life idly; and the man to whom he would sell the land would become a petty Zamindar and would begin oppressing the people. The peasant should have every right over the land except that of selling it. Therefore it is said that the land is a property of the nation and the peasants possess it.

Two things have been decided; the Zamindari system should be abolished and the peasants should possess the land. But how to work out these two things? who would do them?

Will our white Government do these? It should not be thought even in dream that it (Govt) would grant to the peasants their full and real rights. It would have done so (it has been ruling India for a century and a half) long ago if it had liked. The English

people have not come from England to do good to the Indian peasants. If they had been (men) of such a good character they would have certainly abolished the Zamindari system in their own country. They have come to India to make wealth and they say so clearly (Recently Sir William Joyson Hicks, a minister, said so in the Parliament). This is also to be remembered that Govt. alone is the biggest Zamindar in the country. How can it lay an axe at its own feet itself? The second point is that the Zamindar plunders the peasant and so does the Government. Both are friends and are intimate. Who can put his own colleague and friend to harm. The talk of white Government is now finished.

Now comes the talk of black Government. Some of the Zamindars, Capitalists and Babus are in the Congress and say that this problem would be solved when there is Swaraj. How do they wish to solve the land problem is worth knowing. Recently in Bengal they have opened an Independence League and have laid down in their objects that the land be declared to belong to the nation but the Zamindars and Talukadars should get compensation. This is a thing to be examined. Why should they get (compensation), They accept that the rights of the Zamindars and Talukadars (over the land) are genuine and that therefore they should get (compensation). I do not agree to it. I regard the Zamindri system as nothing else but oppression and loot. Well (it may do) if the Swaraj Government gives them compensation and purchases their Zamindari and distribute the same among the peasant. But where so much money is to come from? Not to speak of the swaraj Government, no Government in the world has so much money. It is clear that Independence League wallas do not accept what they write. The fact that the land belongs to the nation has been said with the object in view that the poor peasants be lured to help them in expelling out the Englishmen; and after that they (Independence League walla) may occupy the place of the Englishmen and continue looting the peasants in the same way. This would be a swaraj for the Zamindars and Babus and not for the peasants and workers.

The peasants must put an end to the Zamindars and Talukadars. It would be kind of them if they say to the Zamindars, 'you have been perpetrating oppression on us so long but we will not starve you to death, you will have an equal share of food with us. Let you also work on the land and maintain yourself.' When would such a thing take place? Not in the administration of the White Government or in the rule of the zamindars or the Babus; but the peasants would get his land only when a real swaraj, a Raj of the workers and peasants is established. The workers and peasants can get their swaraj by the power of their right hand. If they gird up their loins once, and if they all organise themselves jointly and step

forward there is no body to stop them. Can injustice stand before justice?

Joshi.

Meerut.
Sept. 21, 1929.

{ Hari ballabh Narain
{ Hindi Translator.

KRANTIKARI—Vol: I, No: 3, Dec. 1, 1928.

Page: 5.

News Columns:

Bhai Mohan Singhji Joshi, Secretary of the Punjab Workers' and Peasants' Party, has been elected president of the All-India Workers' and Peasants' Conference to be held at Calcutta.

KRANTIKARI—Vol: I, No: 3.

(Page 6)

A Poem

May Prosper!

May the poor people be brave, thoughtful and firm,

May the organisation of the peasants & labourers be
extraordinary,

The poet "Sewak" says, with the earnings of the poor
peasants,

Those who enjoy; may they soon become bankrupt,

May the republican form of administration be
established in India,

May darkness be destroyed and brightness become manifest,

Let those who trouble the poor brethren be put to
disgrace,

May the revolutionists prosper in India.

Kuer Dudhnath Singh, "Sewak",

Benares.

KRANTIKARI—Vol: I, No: 3.

(Pages: 8-9)

Russia?

The mention of the name of Russia today creates a sensation in the heart of everybody, be he a youngman, an idealist, or an

afflicted and hard worked worker. He looks at it with the same eye as some view Mecca, Jerusalem or Brindaban. The reason is that a new event (Lit: *Lila*) happened there. A new construction of the human society is in progress there. It is necessary to know some broad points in order to understand the importance of the modern Russia.

OLD RUSSIA.

The Czar was the king of the old Russia. He was an "extravagant" and autocratic ruler just like our Maharajas and Nawabs in the Native States. The work of the administration rested in the hands of a bureaucracy. Why should an extravagant king and an unmindful bureaucracy care for the troubles and wishes of the subjects. The rein of society was in the hands of the Zamindars and the Talukdars. They alone were the attendants of the Czar and the peasants could not get full meal although they worked day and night on their land. Trade and business of the country lay in the hands of the capitalists and they multiplied their capital by taking maximum work from and paying minimum wages to the workers. In this way, the workers and peasants were always starving and the hunters of Government fell on their bare back. The Greek Church supported these evil acts of oppressing the subjects. The condition of their religious preceptors was the same as that of our Pandas and Mahants. They instructed, "The King is the incarnation of Vishnu. To obey him and to serve him are the duties of the subjects. One gets heavenly pleasures when one puts up with troubles in this world". These instructions made the workers and peasants "devilalise" (?), lifeless and devoid of a knowledge of self. They had always to put up with infernal troubles.

THE NEW ATMOSPHERE.

The atmosphere now changed to a new one. The subjects came to know of the true state of affairs. The most important of these was if a man does not get full meal and passes his life in misery, the reason is not that his destiny is bad but that the real cause is the injustice of the Social organisation. If the Zamindars and the Talukdars were to be expelled out from society, the peasants would have possession over the land and then they would be able to earn so much from the land as would be sufficient to make them pass their lives happily. In the same way if the domination of the capitalists be removed from business and the gains which the mills have, as a result of the labour of the workers be distributed among the labourers in the form of wages instead of being sent to an idle capitalist, the troubles of the labourers would be removed. They also saw that Government protects this oppression perpetrated by the Zamindars and the capitalists. Govt. helps them and all the force of Government, police, army, laws, court etc. side these

capitalist zamindars. The Mahants, the Pandas and the Brahmins who hold the reign of religion in their hands are included in the league of these oppressors. In churches and in schools they call, putting up with injustices, as religion.

A new inspiration came to the subjects. They realised that the foundation of these oppressions was very deep and organised and small endeavours won't be of any use. The necessity of a well organised revolution was felt which could root cut Czardom, bureaucracy landlordism, capitalism and popedom.

THE LESSON OF 1905.

But how can so much courage come all at once? About the year 1905 the subjects prayed through the Duma (Russian Councils which wielded even less powers than that of our Councils) and the workers and peasants went on strikes. But can oppressors melt at the troubles of others? How could there be any mercy in injustice (sic)? Bullets were showered on them like that in Jallianwalabagh and the strikers got the reward—(lit: result) of being hanged.

The subjects received a shock. The Babu leaders of the moderates said that the King was a Russian and the Zamindars were men of their own country and so by prayers, discussions in the Duma and by raising their voices in the meetings all the grievances would be removed and there would be Swaraj. Now (lit: when) it became manifest that the Government, Zamindars and Capitalists were not worthless but powerful and organised (to perpetrate) oppression, and that sweet discussions would have no effect on them. A strong revolution alone would end, this oppression and establish for the workers an administration of peace and happiness—a Swaraj.

ORGANISE YOURSELVES.

The workers and peasants were poor and weak too; how could they effect a revolution? The remedy was found out in the organisations of the workers and the peasants. The society can not last even for a day without the co-operation of the workers and the peasants. A peasant or a worker singly can do nothing but when they are organised they can do everything; (they can) destroy the tyrannical society and establish Swaraj.

An opportunity for revolution came soon. There was a war in Europe in 1914 which owed its origin to the animosity of the Capitalists of the allied Countries. The Capitalists of England said that they had been looting and will loot the workers and the peasants of England as also those of Africa, India and other countries. The Capitalists of Germany said that they had already been looting the workers and peasants of Germany but they would

now like to have a share in the loot of Africa and India. Similar was the case with the Capitalists of other Countries. Some sided with Germany and some with England. The war began. In this war Russia was on the side of England. Besides there prevailing a consternation among the subjects in the time of war, Government persecutions also become double, and the naked form of Government oppression becomes visible. At the sight of this the workers and peasants of Russia became mad. This was the time of war, the sinews of Government had become loosened. The workers of Russia got an opportunity and effected a revolution.

The oppressors began to defend their (rights of) oppression and the workers and peasants began snatching the bread and their rights. The workers and the peasants in this revolution became successful, as was expected. In the Czardom, the Babus too were knocked down and (therefore) they too joined the workers and peasants in this revolution. But when success was achieved, they began to establish Babu-raj, instead of Swaraj. They began to hesitate in giving the land to the peasants and in pushing out the Capitalists. Their brain is of such a nature. The Babus are cowards, and hate the workers and are envious of the Capitalists.

When the workers and peasants effected a revolution once why should they fear another? The Bolshevik party, the worker and peasant party, decided to effect another. They established a complete and real Swaraj — a Swaraj of the workers and peasants. The oppressors could not brook the idea of acknowledging their defeat so easily. They made another attack on Russia under Denikin and Kolchak, and ransacking the people in the mills and setting fire to the villages they came up to Petrograd (the old Capital of Russia). (On one side) were the tired soldiers continually fighting for the last five years and the weaponless and hungry workers with their families, while on the other there was a strong, fully equipped and trained army whom the Englishman had given money and weapon. In Petrograd the Bolshevik Party got crores of handbills printed in the name of workers and peasants and got them distributed throughout Russia by means of Railways and Motor cars. There came a new life again among the workers, peasants and soldiers and they again routed the oppressors. An instance of this new life is found at the time when not a single soul remained in Petrograd, everybody was in the battle-field. An army of the enemies attacked the town, 40 thousand women of the workers came out to fight and they protected the town.

Difficulty in the Constitution of Society.

Now the Russians busied themselves in the constitution of society. Imagine their difficulties. For four years there was a continuous war and for a year there was a Civil War and unfortunately there was a dire famine in the whole of Russia that very time.

Not only this, there was an outbreak of plague also. The most important thing that happened was this. How could the Capitalist Europe, specially England, remain silent at the sight of the sovereignty of the workers and peasants in Russia. They laid seize to Russia on all sides. Nobody lent money to or traded with Russia. Russia therefore could neither import machines from outside nor could it export its commodities. The seriousness of this laying seize to Russia can be imagined when it is known that all the European countries, after the war, could save themselves from becoming bankrupt only because America advanced loans to them in millions. Just consider, under what difficulties, does Workers' and Peasants' Russia begin its period of construction. Thanks (are due) to those workers and peasants who had such a high faith in their Bolshevik ideals that they held up their heads high in all these calamities. Each week there would be published an article in the KRANTIKARI on the subject of what is the form of the *Majdur-Kisan Raj* of Russia and what have the workers and peasants been doing? The Capitalists say that in place of civilization and Swaraj there is the kingdom of ignorance and death. A party of labourers of England went to see the real state of affairs of the labourer brethren of Russia, and it has got a report published on the condition of Russia. The next article would be based on that report.

P. C. Joshi.

(to be continued).

MERUT.

Sept. 21, 1929.

Hariballabh Narain,

Hindi Translator.

Krantikari, Vol 1. No. 4, Dec. 8, 1928.

(Page 5)

The Triumph of the Workers and Peasants.

* * * * *

First of all there was a political revolution in Russia. The workers & peasants were tired of putting up with oppressions under the Czardom. Then they effected a strong organisation and blew the couch of war and at last upset the whole kingdom, of the Czar. The capitalists there were vanquished one by one. Men of the royal family were searched out arrested and sent to the gallows. There were arrests and slaughter on a large scale but later on law & order was soon established. All the wealth and land of the capitalists of the place were declared a national property and in this way was

established the present Soviet Government on the basis of Bolshevism.

Now the workers & peasants began to wield influence and the foundation of the capitalists and the imperialists of the whole of the world was shaken. By and by the workers and peasants of other countries gained courage and a new era dawned. In China too the workers and the peasants organised themselves as a result of which imperialism met its downfall. There began a national Government and the days of the capitalists of the country and specially of the foreign capitalists were over. All the foreigners, Englishmen, Americans and Japanese were non-plussed and matters came to such a pass that (they thought of leaving the place) bag and baggage. The British Government too began to grind its teeth and display its tactics, for its interests were at stake. But all the prestige was lost. (But) the movement of the revolutionary labourers advanced. It spread even all over the world. The labourers of England working in the mines raised their voice and organising themselves put the Government in a fix. The labour government of Norway in Europe is also powerful and the labourers have been greatly successful in the recent elections in Germany. Wherever in the world any popular agitation gains strength there is a hand of the workers and the support of peasants in it.

Today India too does not lag behind, a proof of which is the great organisation of the Bardoli peasants. Not only the country, but the world knows that government had to bend its knees before the peasants of Bardoli. The Government officials harassed them very much and goondas of the police perpetrated great oppressions on them, —they were even bent on insulting their (peasants) wives and daughters. They took away their goods and properties and put their quadrupeds and houses to auction. But the well organised peasants did not stagger and at last they defeated Government and were successful. Along with the peasants the labourers too of India are stepping forward and organising themselves. The Lilloah strike and the great strike of Bombay are fresh instance of their organisations.

Labourers and peasants! Yours' is the triumph, yours is the age. Yours is the labour, the land the property, the workshops and the Lakshmi (goddess of wealth). But when? At the time when you have your full organisations everywhere and capitalism and imperialism are completely put an end to and the victorious banner of communism is unfurled in their places.

“Ranpat Singh Parihar.”

Krantikari, Vol. 1, No. 4.

(Pages 7-8).

RUSSIA ?

(Continued from the previous issue)

It is necessary to know the main ideal of the Russian Society. Capitalism has made this beautiful world troublesome, worthless, & hollow. Disease, illiteracy, hunger, thirst, barbarism and cruelty are to be found everywhere you cast your eyes. This great world has been turned really into a complete hell, dire *kaliyug* is there. In such a world they have constructed a human society—a civilised society. What is the relation there between one man and another. A reply to this question will give an idea whether there is a real *Swaraj* in any country or a farce of it. A man is regarded as a 'man' there. There is no distinction between black and white or between a christian, a jew and a Muhammadan. Nobody is there who is abandoned or is low. The fact is true, there is no ideal higher than the manhood of a man and how can one be regarded as lower than human being. This would be unjust. This thought of theirs is clearly revealed by the manner in which they address each another. They address each other as Comrades. This is the word by which they address each other, the labourer to his mill-manager, the soldier to his officer and even to the president of the whole of the Soviet and the labourers among themselves. There are three important things found in the word comrade. There is a brotherly feeling. All are closely related to one another as brothers, all would cooperate and nobody would cut the throat of the other just as the Zamindars do in case of the peasants and the capitalists in case of the workers. The words 'r' and 'd' by their hard sounds express self-respect and sentiments of bravery. Men who are brothers and friends among themselves would guard this sentiment. No man or a multitude would make the other a slave. All together would protect this just relation and put an end to injustice.

This form of sentiment is to be found in their life, on all sides. The workers and peasants of Russia consider the workers and peasants of the whole world as their brethren and friends and the capitalists of the world as their enemies. When the government of England laid seize to Russia the workers of the place did not revolt against their such a tyrannical capitalist government. In 1926 the labourers of England went on a great strike. The Russian labourers at once sent whatever capital they had in their panchayat for the help of the strikers of England and said that in case the labourers of England revolt against their government and establish a *Majdur-Kisan raj* (Soviet Government), they would help them to to the best of their powers. Recently, when the Bombay labourers went on strike the labourers of Russia sent them also a sum of 50 thousand rupees.

The Labourers' Party of England (described just now) came across an old peasant woman in Russia. This poor woman could not

read at all. Are the poor peasants qualified to read? She was a specimen of old Russia civilisation. Now let you see the condition of the daughter of that very woman, who is being brought up in new Russia. That daughter of the peasant had been receiving training in electricity at a College in Moscow in order that she may be able to serve her village all the more. In every village, at present, electricity is being installed, so that the peasants may have more convenience in their household works and they may be able to cultivate and trade with its help.

The Majdur-Kisan raj supports its sons and daughters in this manner. The mother was going to Moscow from her village to see her daughter. She had not to pay the railway fare, she received a free pass from Government. The Majdur-kisan *raj* regards the close relation existing between a mother and a daughter in this manner.

Take another story. This party of Englishmen came across a peasants boy aged 13 years. Besides knowing the Russian language he could read and write German language very well. He could speak some English too. Soviet Russia educates its sons in this manner. When this very boy enquired of the party of Englishmen why they did not put an end to their capitalist Government and becoming free establish a Majdur Kisan raj, they say they had to hang down their heads in shame. This very party says that they did not find a single boy in Russia with torn shoes, or a single man or woman who appeared to be hungry or was clad in rag. Such is the *raj* of the Majdur-Kisan. A professor of the London University says that it was certain that manliness in the Russian subjects had sprung in a more bright and complete form.

This is their ideal and (this is the) form. What is the form of their society? That society is free from party differences. Everybody is a labourer and peasant. Everybody works and passes his life happily. Plunderers like the Zamindars, Talukadars, Capitalists and Babus have all been put an end to. They held that the peasants and workers were illiterate, foolish and idle and they could not conduct the society, and that their duty was to serve them, (for) the leadership of the society was in their hands, without them the society cannot go and that there would be chaos the very next day. The peasants and workers of Russia by establishing their own kingdom and putting an end to all of these (rich men) have completely exposed this 'lie.' They have proved that the peasants and workers can, by the strength of their right hand, establish a just and auspicious association and a prosperous society. Those brave men have exhibited the real Swaraj by establishing the Majdur-Kisan raj.

This Swaraj-the Soviet Raj-is not making an influence on Russia alone. It has opened the eyes of the workers and peasants of the whole of the world and has pointed out to them the way to

put an end to injustice and have Swaraj. This Soviet Government, challenges, as it were, the capitalist of the whole world and is telling them that their days are numbered.

All the peasants and workers as also the slave countries have been realising this fact. What great differences are to be found in Jawahir Lal Nehru and Sri Nivas Iyenger since their visit to Russia. Jawahir Lal in a speech spoke of a certain boy of Peregua (a small country in south America). In a mass meeting in Russia he said that the Youngmen of his country met the expenses incurred by him in coming to Russia, by raising subscriptions among themselves, so that he might be able to see their Swaraj and thank them for its establishment. He said that he saw a Swaraj there which he never could dream of. He would then go back to his country and ask his countrymen to rise up, become free and establish Soviet Government. I had been sitting at a christian friend of mine, in the month of June, when a member of the Workers and Peasants Party arrived there. Conversations began about Russia. The question arose which was the most happy and independent country that time. A friend laughed and said let votes be taken. There were in that room educated and young christians, Muhammadans and Hindu men and women. One said England; another America and eight of them were in favour of Russia. Is there not a new world in this trifling matter.

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(Page 10)

What does India need ?

In my opinion the answer to the above question is Revolution." No Society in any country can prosper unless there is peace in it. But it has been conclusively proved that a nation, society or country, wanting peace must effect a revolution. Without revolution, peace is an impossibility and with out peace no country and society can remain happy.

* * * * *

Therefore it is necessary that the peasants and workers should make their organisations separately, and put an end to this Czardom. They shall have to sacrifice their body for this purpose. They shall have to offer themselves up as sacrifice and shall have to effect a great revolution. I have said before that without peace the country cannot remain happy and there would be peace only when revolution would spread.

Readers may be aware how the Czar of Russia perpetrated great oppressions on his dear subjects and how he ruined the Russian peasants for the sake of his happiness. But according to the saying 'Excess in all things should be avoided,' the Russian peasants revolted, & cut off the the head of the Czar. The pleasure-house of the Czar has now been turned into a meeting hall of the republicans.

Everybody, perhaps, might be knowing how happy Russia is at present. It is not necessary to say more.

Therefore, it is necessary for this unfortunate India as well to work after organising the peasants and the workers. It should first of all try to put an end to Zamindari and personal properties, for the land should be possessed by him who tills and sows it. The Zamindar sitting in his home cannot be the possessor of the land. It is unjust and it is an oppression. The land should belong to the nation and the peasants should have the possession: this is the principle to act upon. Without this, our 90 p.c. of poor brethren cannot be happy conveniently (? I had long been thinking that a certain '*Krantikari*' (revolutionary) paper was necessary to publish the miserable condition, of this country, truly. It is gratifying that the *Krantikari* now with its huge form has appeared in India at the sound of the sighs, of 90 p.c. of the poor people. The future would point out what good would be done to the poor and afflicted people by the paper.

I would'nt now write more, I would only make an humble request to the peasants and workers brethren, that you cannot remain in poverty for long. The time is now come for you for improving your condition and organising yourselves well. Let you make a promise in your heart that you would make yourselves self-defendent, and would not depend on the Talukadars, mill-owners and bureaucracy, and would spread revolution in the country and would prove yourselves to the whole of India that you have power though poor, that you are anxious to have your birth-rights. O Ye ease-loving men of India! O Ye Native Chiefs! O Ye the followers of the bureaucracy! Beware! we shall not put up with oppression. You also will not reap any good if you do not make a change in your policy soon.

Hubnath Singh, Benaras.

Meerut. { Hariballabh Narain
Sept. 21, 1929. { Hindi Translator.

Krantikari Vol. I No. 5. January 5, 1929.

(Page 7).

The *Krantikari* (Jhansi) publishes an abstract of the speech delivered by one Mr. F. W. Johnston at the Jharia Conference in

December 1928, without making any comment or remark on the same.

KRANTIKARI Vol. 1, No. 5, Jan. 5, 1929.

(Page 3)

In its leading columns the *Krantikari* (Jhansi) Publishes an article deploring the decision arrived at by the Calcutta Congress. It is of opinion that Swaraj was not forthcoming by the end of 1929. People have been greatly disappointed to find that under the presidency of no less a great politician than Pandit Moti Lal Nehru 'pointed chisels for cutting the chains of slavery' were not made there.

KRANTIKARI. Vol. 1. No. 5. JANUARY 5. 1929

(Page 11).

WILL THERE BE A WAR?

After the imprisonment of Napoleon Bonaparte in the St. Helena island, the then European powers met in the town of Vienna, in Austria in 1814. They effected a division of Europe and expressed the hope that all the European powers would decide mutual quarrels through the Conference (lit: panchayat) of Nations. But the things of the Vienna Peace Conference remained on paper only. After that, many a small battle took place and exactly after a century the dreadful destruction of men took place in 1914, which gave a shock to all thinking persons of America and Europe and the League of Nations was established.

A few months before, this new League of Nations drafted a Peace Pact in Geneva, with the effort and under the direction of the American Minister Mr. Kellogg. 60 different nations of the world signed this pact. It means that in case there is a quarrel on any point between two nations they would not decide the matter by war but would put their grievances before the panchayet of the nations whose decision would be binding on them.

Such efforts of the philosophers caring for the evolution of the human race are commendable and necessary; but in view of the attitude (lit: treatment) of the present European Governments and nations, this necessary auspicious time does not seem to be near. The basis of the selfishness of these administrations is the dependence of other countries. To increase their trade and commerce on the strength of their control, after getting possession over the administrations or nations of Asia and Africa and to spend the money earned by these means in their luxury and in increasing their power: This has been the 'programme' of the

European countries till today. Take for instance England and India. English (lit: England) imperialist rulers use India and Indians for the increase of their wealth and strength. They never try to develop arts, industries, trade and profession of India, for such an attempt would lessen their luxury and strength. Similar is the case with other European powers, (though) in a mild form, who have established their own colonies in many places of Asia and Africa. So long as the European politicians allow this unequal condition of the world to continue, it appears impossible that the efforts of Mr. Kellogg would be crowned with success.

My contention is corroborated by the 'Speech' which Mr. Mussolini, the dictator of Italy, delivered in the highest administrative body of his country, on the 9th December last. Mr. Mussolini occupies a prominent place in Europe. It is not possible to compare him with other nations of Europe in the centralisation of power. His thoughts can be compared with those of the all powerful kings of the eastern countries. On account of his taking prominent part in European politics his views are shaped on the clear basis of experience. Mr. Mussolini of Italy (a country) in the South of Europe is fully acquainted with the present politics of countries in the North of Europe viz, England, France, Germany etc. He said in the course of his speech, "The Kellogg Pact is certainly very beautiful but all the countries of Europe have been preparing submarines, ships, and other articles, of war! A quiet prevails all round before the coming of a tempest. The peace talk of the present time is of a similar nature. I do not want to spoil the weight (?) of Europe. My wounds of the Great War, have just been healed up. But we should be prepared again for the sacrifice and we should keep our naval, land and air forces in good order."

From this statement of Mr. Mussolini is to be known the inner state of things obtaining in Europe. The nations there talk of peace with their mouth but their hands all the while are engaged in making bombs, guns, ammunitions, air-ships and other various weapons. In view of these preparations it is idle to hope that the Kellogg Pact would be successful.

In Central Asia, on the other hand, I have pointed out that the Muslim powers of the world are being re-vitalised. Our neighbour Afghanistan, is particularly connected with us. The present ruler of Afghanistan has specially kept England aloof from all his reforms. Afghanistan is a friend of Mussolini. The country of Mussolini has made provision for free education to students of Afghanistan. Germany and France too have been sending engineers, professors, traders and others to Afghanistan. It is only England which has no place in the uplift of Afghanistan.

Does not England understand all these? For the last few days some religiously-blind Mullahs

of the Afghan frontier have revolted against the King of Afghanistan. This revolt of the 'Shinwaris' is centred at Jalalabad between British India and Afghanistan. This revolt is described as 'religious'. It is said that the 'Shinwaris' are angry on account of the new orders in regard to the removal of Purdah and the education of girls. A question can arise why the forces of British India are being collected near the frontier? The Afghan army, on the one hand, is being collected on the Afghan frontier to quell the Shinwaris, and the British army, on the other, is collected on the frontier of India. There lies a small plot of land between the two. It is possible that the British force has been collected on the frontier on account of the Shinwaris' disturbances.

But the following telegram published in the London Newspapers tells a different tale. According to a message published in the *English man* the Moscow papers say that the rebellion in Afghanistan has been stirred by foreign agents, one of whom is a Muslim 'Pir' of the name of Lawrence. In whichever Muslim country he went, there cropped up a new conspiracy of the British Empire. Guns and ammunition seized from the Shinwaris are all of British make. Commenting on this Pravada the popular organ of Russia says, that the Soviet Government cannot quietly see this attempt of the British imperialists. Do Russia and Afghanistan think that the English have stirred the Shinwaris?

The Russian papers may not be well informed for they are at a great distance from the Frontier of India. But the Muhammadans of Lahore have said some similar things. These people of Lahore may get information of the Frontier and therefore they can be more relied upon than the Russian newspapers. A meeting of the Muhammadans of Lahore was held under the presidentship of Choudhry Afzhal Haq, M. L. C., on the 9th December last. The following has been said towards the end of a resolution passed there, "This meeting sounds a note of warning to the British Government that it should not take part in the rebellion spread on the Afghan frontier or in any way help the rebels for by so doing the peace of the whole world would be in danger". Then do the Muhammadans of Lahore as also of other districts adjacent to the Frontier doubt the British people?

The Kellogg Pact is talking of peace. But the imperialists, having a sinful desire to control over other nations for the sake of their selfishness, want to put obstacles in the (way of the) reforms of the Asiatic nations. Similar was the case in China. Will Afghanistan be treated in the same way as China? If so the peace of the world would be in danger.

"Karmbir".

Meerut.

Hariballbh Narain

Sept. 21, 1929.

Hindi Translator

(Page 2).

What is Bolshevism ?

On seeing the progress and strength of Bolshevism, from day to day, people often raise various questions and express doubts in regard to the principles of Bolshevism. Therefore the main principles of Bolshevism are given below, briefly, in the form of a dialogue:—

Question—What are the main principles of Bolshevism ?

Answer —Everybody be regarded as equal in society and nobody be regarded as high or low or inferior. Along with this, everybody should get food, clothing and dwelling on a footing of equality.

Question—How can this be (effected) ?

Answer —In order to put into practice the facts mentioned above we shall have to make a number of new laws and change old ones; rather we shall have to do many new things and open new departments. Ideas of social service shall have to be inculcated in men and women, who shall have to work on these ideas alone. Boys shall have to be educated to establish new forms (of administration) in their country. Illiteracy, ignorance, time-honoured old customs and usages and the selfishness of the Capitalists should everywhere and at all times be strongly objected to. To bring all these into practice it is very necessary that Government, land, wealth and property should become national. Unless this is done there can be no equality nor can the national wealth be distributed equally.

Question—Will then an idle and worthless man get the same as a laborious man ?

Answer—Everyman shall be compelled to complete the work allotted to him. The income of everybody, be he a man or a woman, shall be equal, no matter what work he does.

There are some people who at present do not work more or do not work at all, and they would feel if they are made to work equally with other men. But they cannot save themselves from completing the work allotted to their share. If a man works less than his share and nevertheless wants to have equal

share in the income, he is a thief. Therefore he should be severely punished in the same way as a thief.

Question—What would be the case if a man is not habituated to work more or if one is prepared to work less and receive less wages and to pass his days in poverty, clothed in coarse, torn and old clothes and is ready to remain naked and hungry ?

Answer—I notice that voluntarily pining in poverty is as bad as remaining poor involuntarily. A good country should compel its citizens to live in a well-to-do condition and to finish the work allotted to their share and take full wages.

Question—This is impossible. How can you take work from any man under compulsion ?

Answer—Some may well call it impossible but those who undergo rigorous imprisonment, have to finish their work allotted to them in jails and are punished if they work less. In the same way, a man can be compelled, under Bolshevism, to work against his wishes, in accordance with the jail rules. Of course during illness childhood, old age, pregnancy, the nation would support the people and it will not compel them to work.

At present either the people work selfishly for their own interests or work without selfishness for the good of the people ; but under Bolshevism no one would be allowed to work for his own interests and those people also who work for the good of others would be stopped from doing so. For the country itself would try to improve the condition of and do good to everybody, to serve its own interests. Progress would be stopped and its presence would be useless.

Krantikari, Vol. 1, No. 6, January 14, 1929.

(Page 4).

(A poem)

Longings for Revolution.

Let all the ingorance of the world depart to the region
of Death.

Let all have peace, near truth.

Let every living being have a right of freedom.

The gentle form of resplendent Bolshevism may prevail.

Let there be an understanding of love, customs and morality among all.

Let bad calamities and differences be ruined.

May the country be not ruined, nor be there any affliction.

May men and women be happy and every province be revolutionary.

“Bipin”.

Meerut.

Hariballabh Narain,

Sept, 21, 1929.

Hindi Translator.

Krantikari. Vol. 1 No. 7 January 21, 1929.

(Page 2)

Anxiety of the Sallani (itinerant) of the 'Pratap'

One signing himself as 'Satyayakta' (speaker of truth) contributes an article to the *Krantikari*, which runs thus:—

“In the issue of the *Pratap* dated the 13th instant, an itinerant correspondent writing about the congress shows has greatly cursed the young Workers Messrs Nimbkar and Joglekar of the Labour Party of Bombay, and has accused them of calling the followers of Gandhi and Nehru as bourgeois and of refuting their statements instead of giving their assent to everything they said.

* * * * *

Ghandhi ji is now no longer a Ghandhi of the workers and peasants. In the year 1928-29 Mr. Ghandhi has become a gramophone of the capitalist and the landlords and has been wishing for their welfare alone, sitting in Sabarmati. If a bug falls ill Mr. Ghandhi observes fast for four days for his speedy recovery. But in Bombay one and a half million of labourers remained fasting for 6 months and putting up with the injustices of the capitalists; but Mahatma ji remained sitting in an indifferent manner at Ahmedabad,.....

* * * * *

MAHATMA LENIN.

Although Mahatma Lenin is no longer in this world today his name famous all over the country. He died but his name is immortal in the annals of the world. He was born on April 10, 1870 in a village in Russia. It was the time of the beginning of revolution. His brother and sister were revolutionaries and he himself was a great revolutionary. He was at first educated at the village national school and afterwards he passed the Bar-at-Law examination from the University of Russia. But he did not like the profession and than he buried himself wholesale in the works of the country. He studied the principles of the revered Karl Marx carefully and began to reorganise Russia accordingly. He held the view and held it strongly that unless the capitalists and the landlords were put an end to and the victory-flag of Bolshevism waved in place of imperialism, misery and poverty in the world would not disappear and peace and happiness would not the established in their place. With these ideas Mahatma Lenin began to organise the workers and the peasants and after years of great efforts, firm determination, rigorous imprisonment and great organisation his great revolutionary was crowned with unparalled success. He put an end to Czardom in Russia and established the present Soviet Government in its place and showed the world what a communist (form of) administration is.

Mahatma Lenin did good not to Russia alone but he has sown the seeds for the redemption of the whole world and whose plant now has grown up into a flourishing big tree. At some places it bears fruit and at some the buds are coming out. This is the Lenin age today. Besides Russia, the great *mantras* of Lenin are being repeated in countries like China, Russia, Germany and Italy and the unique lessons are being learnt and taught. In great capitalist countries like England, the organisation of labourers is being effected, and independent countries like India, life is coming now in the workers and peasants. They are now standing on their own legs and are increasing their strength by organising themselves. Strikes are prevailing in the country and the arms and weapons of the capitalists are getting loosened. The problem is great and the work is difficult but the result is very beneficial.

There stood a great press of imperialism in the world in which the poor peasants and labourers were being crushed day and night and the capitalists and the landlords, the Raja and the *Rais* and all were becoming plump by drinking their blood. Mahatma Lenin by effecting, first of all, the Russian Revolution gave a strong blow, to the press of imperialism, with the hammer of communism.

All the machineries got and are getting loose. By and-by anti-imperialist leagues have been established and their work is progressing speedily.

All men are equal.

Lenin said that all men in the world are equal and have equal rights over the wealth of nature. Nobody has a right to keep millions with him and pass his life in ease and luxury while another man at his door gives his life writing in agony on account of hunger. - (Nobody has a right to) snore soundly under the *tattis* of *khas* while another man sitting in the sun pulls his fan and sprinkles water on the *tattis*. He was strongly opposed to it that the hard earnings of thousands of labourers should go to the bags of a mill owner. He was of opinion that nobody has the right to have any personal property. The land is a national property and only those tilling and sowing it should have a right over it. In short he wanted that everywhere the people themselves should rule their country according to their wishes; others have no right to interfere in their affairs. A specimen of his ideals is present in Russia.

Krantikari. Vol. 1 No. 7, dated January, 21, 1928

Two enemies of the Workers and Peasants.

Zamindar and Simon Commission.

Same as Ext P. 427, with the following changes:—

Para 2.

After "A thief backs a thief" read 'capitalism and imperialism are cousins?'

In para 3, under the sub-heading 'The capitalist leaders of the country'.

Delete 'and both should fight jointly against

British imperialism,' occurring after 'and the capitalist and the workers?'

The last para also runs thus:—

But the worker and peasant party of India is wideawake. Capitalism, landlordism and British imperialism would end in India and then alone would be established a real Swaraj a raj of the workers and peasants.'

The writer of the article here is one Mool

Chandra Joshi; but in the manuscript (P-427) the writer is Purna Chandra Joshi

(Page 11).

Will there be again a war?

Afghanistan would be turned into another 'BELGIUM'?

The London Correspondent of the *Free Press*, throwing light on the Afghan situation writes that the situation of Afghanistan is still a puzzle. People imagine that the Englishmen are interested in encouraging these revolts in Afghanistan, but this also cannot be denied that in the interests of the Englishmen the presence of a stable and strong Government in Afghanistan is far more beneficial. Much light is thrown on the situation in Afghanistan by the article which Dr. Francis Havelock, after his return from Afghanistan, has got published in the *Empire News*. The *Empire News* says that the story of the doctor owes its importance because of his being a great friend of the King of Afghanistan in whose European tour he remained with him for a long time. Dr. Havelock has passed almost all his time in India and Afghanistan. He is a very liberal imperialist. He is not the person to make a mountain of a mole-hill and attach importance to it. According to Dr. Havelock, while Amanulla Khan was on his foreign tours, animosity was secretly spread against him in a vigorous manner. Such rebellions were conducted by the fanatic Mullahs. It was thought at first that the king was very popular and that he would be able to quell the rebels. But this hope was not fulfilled. The hill tribe of the frontiers of Russia and India are openly revolting. Although true news does not reach (us) on account of there being a censorship of news established by Government, still Dr. Havelock says that there have been fought four great battles between the rebels and the royal forces, as a result of which six thousand men died. The hospital is full of wounded persons and it is being extended. Dr. Havelock thinks that there are clear proofs of there being an anti-British movement behind this rebellion. This is not a fact that the hill tribes have become religious fanatics out of their own accord and that they are anti-British at present. They have always proved to be the greatest puzzle and it is very difficult to deal with them. But at present there is somebody who is conducting the religious warfare against Amanullah.

The prisoners (?) say in respect of the actions of a strangeman in the Frontier Provinces, that whenever he comes he brings with the hundreds of pistols and immense wealth. A trader who frequents the places of the rebels has taken also his photo. The suspicion was correct. This person was nobody than travitish Lincoln, the late member of Parliament and the former swindler who, before the

successes of Chang Kai-Shek and the national Government in China was the right hand of the Soviet Government there. The fact about British make guns has also some truth (lit. reasons) about it. This is amply clear that since the Great War guns have secretly and unlawfully been taken from one place to another. Our aerodrome lies at the southgate of the Red Sea. It stops the imports of arms and weapons from different countries to the Arabs. But these guns really were the property of the army of the central powers. In the time of the armistice a large number of guns reached the hands of different men, through the agency of the army of the friendly powers. But this is clear that in order to put the Afghan king to troubles this arrangement has specially been made to equip the rebels with British make arms. This is a very important thing and it should be always remembered.

Dr. Havelock writes that Colonel Lawrence reached Afghanistan in the third week of November. He had an interview with the chief officer of the Afghan Police and with the able Minister. After that he disappeared in the same manner as he came there. He did not go by rail or motor and no one knows where he went and how he crossed the wild hills of Afghanistan. A 'Pir' dressed as a man is found walking alone in the jungle from this place to that. He is no other than Colonel Lawrence, the mysterious person of the empire. In reality he is the only prop of the Englishmen in the East.

This war at present is the place of collision between god-sent hatred and god-sent peace. Lincoln has got both gold and guns and the hill tribes love both of them equally. Lawrence has unknown means and resources and an attractive power in his tongue. Lawrence relates beautiful and interesting stories and this power of his has pleased everybody. The credit of winning over the wild tribes of Arabia to the side of the Englishmen lies with this very itinerant 'Holyman'. His (power of relating) wonderful stories are the only means of his success.

If interference in trade and commerce (lit: coming and going) would continue in this way Britain shall be compelled to maintain an army at the mouth of the Frontier Provinces. A rebellion of this nature will not be allowed to continue long in Afghanistan.

Just as fire spreads speedily and cholera and plague break out in no time so also the glow of the fire of the war is spreading for hundreds of miles on the hill of the Frontier. The day is not far off when nations living in British territories would begin taking part in it. A large army from Madras and the Central Provinces has been called to check it. The forces at Peshawar have been further strengthened. The artillery and the infantry are always ready.

Russia has made it clear that if it considers that any attempt on the part of Britain is being made to bring Afghanistan under its control, it will make the same futile. The position is full of danger. Political relations between Russia and England have ceased to exist. It is not possible that the great politicians of the two kingdoms would sit together and chalk out a fixed programme of work. It appears from inferences gathered so far that the Russian Ministry is not desirous of peace.

Russia has given an answer to my logical arguments (lit' plans) by sending three regiments to the Afghan Frontiers. In the Afghan Frontiers, Russia has got an artillery, two regiments of cavalry, one regiment of armed cars and 20 airships. If the English army has to cross the boundry line and to encamp at the north gate on the Khyber Pass, it is certain that Russian forces would be moving towards the south, so that the kingdom of Afghanistan remains safeguarded. The result of all these dreadful preparations would be that the dreadful fire of war may be lit up any moment without any notice; and the Russian forces which have come to help their friendly Afghans may be seen fighting, and we shall be found fighting in this province which does not belong to us and on which we have no lawful right.

Dr. Havelock has been going to Geneva where he will try his best with his full powers of personality to impress on the delegates at the League of Nations to stop this coming war. He said that it was the duty of the people in general of Britain to stop this war which is to begin through the foolishness of the foreign ministry or the commander of the Indian Afghan Frontiers. We should stick to it that not a single soldier of ours would cross the boundary line unless directed by the League. The position at present is that Russia wants that the Englishmen should begin encroachments & if this happens Russia is ready to fight. Russia will make an appeal for the protection of the sanctity of its treaties and calling Afghan as the Eastern Belgium jump into the battlefield. It is the look out of the Englishman to see to it that Afghanistan is made the sirajiwon (sic) Belgium of 1929.

Indian soldiers, generals, and coloniels are very good men most of them are my friends. But to entrust powers into their hand and believe them in a matter of this nature is the root of calamities. There is no man so fallen in the world as they in this respect. It is very good that Lawrence has been removed from there. It is to be seen that more canal (sic) reach there.

Meerut

Hariballabh Narain

Sept. 21. 1929.

Hindi Translator

Krantikari.

Vol. 1, No :—8 dated Jan. 28, 1929.

(Page 1)

Proclamation of the Communists.

On the occasion of celebrating the fifth anniversary of

Maharishi Lenin, on the 21st instant at Bombay, Mr. S. A. Dange the communist leader of the place said that the communist party of India had certainly full faith in violent methods. The modern Kingdoms are based on force and highhandedness, therefore the communists believe that not a change even was possible among them without force and highhandedness.

Krantikari.

Vol 1, No: 8 dated Jan. 28, 1929.

(Page 2)

Local News.

Lenin Day was celebrated.

The Lenin Day was celebrated here on the 21st instant with great pomp and eclat. A mass meeting of the labourers was held at 5 P.M. near the Railway workshop in which Pandit Krishna Gopal Sharma and Pandit Rameshwar Prasad Sharma delivered impressive speeches on the importance of the Workers and Peasants' movement.

Krantikari. Vol. 1, No: 8, dated Jan 28, 1929.

Page 3

THE SOVIET BUDGET-

Reviewing the Budget for the year 1928-29, of the Soviet League- the Government of Russia, it appears that the actions of the Soviet Government are not full of meanness and wickedness, as our British Government declare. Neither is there oppression, plunder, pillage and knavery in practice. Selfish Englishmen always think of means to show their piety before the world.

They are greatly afraid (lit their lives are being dried up) at the sight of the supremacy of Bolshevism and communism in the world. The British Empire till now has developed its pot belly, well after sucking the blood of other nations. It is developing in such a way that it (British Empire) has to seek out new avenues day and night for containing it (pot belly). Therefore it is that they are so anxious for colonisation and that secret attacks are being made on India under the force of reform Commissions. A man blind of one eye cannot see the beam in his own eyes but he can see very soon the straw in the eyes of another. We are tired of hearing of the Soviet evils published in the English papers from day to day. Wherever you go you would hear that the end of the Soviet is now near and that matters are in this way and that way. But these are false in the same way as that which we use to hear at the time of the European war. "The Germans suffered a great defeat. They had to fly leaving behind them thousands of dead bodies and many cannon. But for certain reasons the British army had to recede only 19 miles and in the confusion that followed

25 cannon were left behind and 20 thousand soldiers died." There have been many holes in the bottom of the staggering boat of the British Empire. However loud its pilots may declare its safety the world will not believe them. How long can that empire remain alive which for its protection spends annually half the income of a poor country like India, on the army which destroys the peace of the world. Whenever there begins any battle for freedom in any country these poor whites are quite upset. The proverb 'The Kazi is growing lean on account of his anxiety for the city' is amply illustrated (in their case). There was a war in China and at once they felt pain in their stomach, Egypt raised its head and they felt wind-colic and Irak made a stir and they changed colour. England is a strange Satan. It cannot put up with the progress of anybody in the world. It itself goes destroying the peace of the world on the strength of Indian money and men but throws the blame on the Soviet, as if the Soviet has snatched away its morsel. The English politicians make an appeal that the Russian army is a great danger to the world peace. But I wonder how could Russia, by spending (only) one ninth of its income on the army, maintain a force for the destruction of the world peace, when England claims to preserve the world peace by maintaining an army after spending more than half of the income of India yearly. England which maintains the greatest naval power and which has deprived minor nations of their freedom without any hesitation is the protector of the world peace while another is called the destroyer of the world peace although it spends the smallest amount of its income in maintaining an army for its protection? Justice forsooth!

It appears after reviewing the Soviet Budget that the arrangements of the Soviet are excellent in the same manner as those of the nations bragging of their good arrangements. The subjects there are happy and satisfied. The Capitalists are not there but there is complete ease and comfort. The estimated income of the Soviet for the coming year is about 7694800000 roubles. In Indian coins it would amount to about Rs. 11542200000/-, as compared to the income of the last year there is an increase of 19.3 per cent which proves that the Russians are making progress instead of regression. Out of this income 2041000000 roubles would be spent for the protection of the architecture, arts and industries of the country. The problem of workers as well as of arts and industries is most important for Russia. This problem is now growing in importance not for Russia alone but for all the countries of the world. So long the Government of a country does not take up the management of the arts and industries and machines and factories in its own hands the country cannot be protected against the strikes of the labourers, oppressions of the Capitalists and the Knavery of the foreign merchants. Therefore according to the communist principles it has been considered proper to let the arts

and industries of a country remain in the hands of Government. By solving the problem in this manner Russia has presented an example to the world. The amount of 205900000 roubles has been estimated for the commissariat. The income from this item has been found to be 189400000 roubles yearly. This direct loss would be incurred on account of giving training to the young men of the country in railway, engineering, & ship works and providing works to a large number of the unemployed. Besides this, a major portion of it would be spent on securing trade facilities for the export and import of the country. It has been decided, besides that 320000000 roubles would be spent on foreign department, education, unemployment, (payment of) interest and self protection. 840700000 would be spent on the army department. If you calculate you would find this amount to be the one ninth part of the total income. The Soviet army is, so well-trained, although so little is spent on it, that a powerful nation like Britain is afraid of it. We gather the result that Britain has not the sense to manage the army. Cannot the politicians of India find out some means so that the large expenses over the army might be lessened and money be received for education and industrial progress.

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PEASANTS AND WORKERS MOVEMENT.

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In view of the fact, that machineries and factories are the centres of production and power rests in the hands of only a few and hundreds of labourers have to work on small wages for many hours together, the workers movement is established by itself. The first step of this movement is to fight for those necessary demands of the workers, which would better their condition; with the result that the condition of the workers is somewhat improved. The movement reaches a position wherein the masters refuse to grant more reforms. In this circumstance the workers feel the necessity of coming to the political field. The workers accept revolutionary principles, for nothing less is of any service to them. The workers force the party which has the machinery of Government into its hands, to grant them some reforms. Their policy is to control the Government themselves and to improve (the condition of) the masters by bringing pressure of government on them. Therefore the workers should have political parties which can accept leadership in the political field. In the labour associations the workers learn to organise themselves and that very organising power is of service in the political struggle.

The backward workers also can take part in this war, through the Labour association, in an organised way.

2. The best form of organisation for the economic battle of the labour movement would be that in which there is an association of all the labourers of the country having the same profession. The policy of organisation is different from it. According to this the labourers are divided in accordance with their profession and place, and this policy is opposed to establishing different associations of members having the same profession for the reason that there is no unanimity of opinions. There are some organisations which are neither on this side nor on that, these should be examined separately.

In places where trade centres are at places far off from one another, where workers are transferred from one business to another and where there are some special similar reasons, the policy of organisation perhaps may be different. But the policy of one association for one profession should be mostly followed.

The basis of an association is its branches and unless it has branches organised it can not be called alive. In these branches meetings at intervals, should be held regularly, in which the policy of the association should be discussed and decisions arrived at. It would be better to have a branch in places where the labourers work; but if necessary it may also be opened where the members reside, so that all of them may join a branch. The Branch committee should be opened merely to do the daily work. The discussion about the policy and the election of delegates, representatives and others should take place in the meeting of the branch also, as far as possible.

Besides the branches there should be also Factory Committee where possible. The work of the Factory committee would be to continue the struggle at a particular place, to present the complaints (direct to) the factory itself, to organise strength to remedy them and to preach against those who are opposed to its membership.

The Factory Committee should have representatives from all the departments and it should have a special place allotted to it in the Branch Committee as well.

Good arrangements should be made for holding the provincial committee or meeting. In the work of organisation the Executive Committee should include the real representatives of the workers. These two specialities are necessary: firstly that the members should have full control over the meeting and secondly that this meeting should not fail to work at the proper time. This can be done in this way. The rules should be so framed as the members

may be able to elect those on whom they can rely and recall those in whom they have no confidence.

(3) Many things have now begun to crop up which affect the whole labour movement. Therefore all associations should combine. This is also necessary that it should be strong and alive. Its Executive Committee should be only so big as may be convenient to hold its meetings at small intervals and it may become the true centre and the leader of the movement. Besides the provincial labour association there should be a separate organisation of all the different associations of the town or district, and it should be established in every business centre (lit: city). This organisation is more important than the district or provincial association because it is closely related to the labourers. The representatives of the organised labourers would be able to take a leading part jointly in this way in the Worker's battles.

Although all these associations would be organised in the Trade Union Congress still special organisations are necessary viz., a committee of the Ter Transpo (sic) association of the whole country. By doing so ardent organisation efforts viz strikes and others, can be very effective.

4. 'Continuous struggle' alone can be the economic policy of these association. In all professions (you) shall have to fight for the improvement of the condition of the labourers and (for securing for them) more wages and less hours of work. It does not mean that the factory laws the compensation laws and others should be left uncared for. The labour movement should endeavour to snatch full reforms and not be content with only smaller reforms. For every profession there should be a full programme and the labourers should be organised accordingly. If there is not much sufficient material and organising power the labourers should be forbidden to make a hurry This does not mean that they should always remain silent. If there are sufficient preparations the battle should be begun at once.

The policy of 'Commercial peace' has proved very detrimental in those countries also which are prosperous and organised. No mention of it should be made in the labour movement of India. Some of the leaders say that the object of the labour movement is to establish peaceful relations between the employers and the workers. The facts are screens of delusion. The real object of the labour movement is to fight against the employers for reforms.

A large number of the leaders of the labour movement say that the policy of going on strike is not a wise one, for a strike is often unsuccessful. This is an empty and useless policy. If the strikes are organised properly they can be successful. However

harmful a strike may have proved outwardly it would not be considered as most detrimental, (for) it teaches a lesson to the strikers and all the workers. The movement should profit by it. Even now the enthusiasm and understanding of the labourers are far better than their condition of organisation. The labourers have begun to understand if a strike on a small scale fails they should effect a strike on a big scale. An all round strike is a very powerful weapon into the hands of the labourers, The labour movement should not become agitated while making use of this weapon.

(5) Common strike and an all-round strike can be made use of on occasions of political struggles also. After sufficient preparations are made the same should be resorted to at proper moments. The political strike of the tram labourers on the 3rd February 1929, became unsuccessful. It should not be minded at all. The principle of the political strike is the same as that of the economic strike. If a strike on a small scale fails a strike on a big scale should be resorted to. When the enemies attack the whole labour movement then is the opportunity to effect an all-round political strike, just as in the case of the Trade Disputes Bill, recently. There are three important parts of this bill (1) when there is a quarrel between the employer and the employed, Government would appoint a Committee to enquire into the (nature of the) quarrel or to effect a compromise. The principle is to oppose the whole Bill and not a particular part of it; the whole of it is detrimental. The 'Babu' leaders of the labour movement have given some support to this Bill. To act thus is to cheat the labourers the effect of making an enquiry or a compromise through the 'impartial' judges, falsely (so called), is that the labourers' power of organisation and their class feeling become weakened. The meaning of this mode of working is that the real power is not the organised power of the labourers, but that justice would be done to the labourers from the capitalistic point of view and that the great miseries of the workers would be removed by the sympathy of the capitalists. If this or other laws of similar nature are passed the movement would suffer heavily.

(2) The second part of this law lays out that there should never be a strike in railway, post and telegraph and others. (3) There should be no sympathetic and political strikes. Both of these

Uare specimen of *nadirshahi*. The workers shall have to exert their full force against this law.

How to answer this attack ? By effecting a real unity in the movement by opening inter (national) associations and organisations, specially (Trade Council) & others, by making a vigorous propaganda for amalgamation of the different associations into one and by organising the labourers cent per cent. No labourer should (be allowed to) remain outside the association. This should also be proclaimed that we shall effect an all round strike against this law. The labourers should understand the full meaning of a political strike at such a favourable time.

(to be continued) .

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