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- TRANSLATIONS

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Presidential address (delivered) by Lala Kedar Nath Sehgal, the pride of the country and president of the Workers Peasants' Conference held at Meerut on the 13th 14th and the 15th October 1928.

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My dear poor worker and peasant brethren: considering myself unfit for the honour you have bestowed upon me in making me the president of this important & momentous Workers and Peasants' Conference, I thank you and at the same time I can not help saying that (it would have been better) if you had elected as president of this conference a person who works from morn to eve with a basket on his head and then alone gets a piece of bread in the evening, or who rises early in the morn at five, the time when the people snore with ease at their soft beds, goes to his field and begins working and then even does not get full meal or the poor man who continues working on the roadside in order to prepare good roads for us, because they know what hardships the workers and peasants have to bear in the existing world nay, in this unfortunate and unlucky India. Besides, they can display before you in simple and effective words a vivid picture of their helplessness and misfortune. My poor brethren: I can not fully describe the troubles you are experiencing day and night. I feel helpless and my heart aches (lit: I can not help drinking the blood of my liver) even when I recall to mind those calamities, but I lack the power to depict them as vividly (lit: completely) as any of you can do. For this reason you will (please) excuse me if I fail to serve you according to your wishes, nay you would fully assist me in making this important and momentous meeting a success.

Description of Capitalists and labourers.

I now want to say something to those Indian friends of little understanding who occasionally give expression their to feelings against labourers. What do they say and understand when a talk about labourers and peasants is held with them. In the first instance they consider that person a labourer who does the work of carrying in a basket brick-bats or mud for the construction of a house or building only, who brings for them grain from the market or who carries their luggage to their house from the (Railway) station. That brother says that the wages of these labourer brethren have gone so high that it is intolerable. That gross injustice is being done to the people by exciting them (labourers) day by day. That previously they used to accept two annas, but now they do not feel pleased even with a rupee. The man who talks so much does not think at that time as to who he is. He considers himself as one different from the labourer, He is not a capitalist, but out of his ignorance thinks against the labourers.

My friends: Listen and listen attentively with ears open as to who is capitalist and who is worker. Before giving further description I want to tell you that the population of India at present is thirty-two crore approximately of which the poor workers and peasants form thirty one and a half crore. In other words ninty-eight per cent of the people living in this country are workers and peasants. Who is a labourer, one, who carries material (used) in the construction of a house, one who metals roads, one who works in a factory one who occupies the chair of a clerk in office, one who drives and constructs Railway train, weaver, washerman, carder, shoemaker, barber, one who resists his inclinations and sits up the whole day at his shop, one who leaves his home, translates in a newspaper office from morning till evening, writes letters, folds (copies of a) newspaper, and seals them, one who plays the roll of a correspondent, writes articles—whether in the interests of the country or against it—and makes parcels and conveys them to the Railway trains, one who is a compositor (and) a printer in a press who goes to the poor & worker brethren, creates agiration in them and teaches them how to become self-respecting persons, one who sits among them and for the sake of his stomach reports to the bureaucracy proceedings of the meeting attended by him, Police employee, military employee, retail dealer, one who flatters rich leaders (for the sake of his stomach)* ship-porter, boatsman, a third class passenger preacher of, and believer in Popedom, a original-Ir. cook, sweeper, hawker, inn keeper and one who works in his field in the heat of *Jeth* and *Asarh* and in the excessive chill of *Poh* and *Magh*. In short whom should I count and whom not; all these are labourers and peasants by protes-

ston. Now listen in brief as to who is a richman and a capitalist. The bureaucracy is capitalist which obtains millions of rupees from the income of the poor peasants and labourers and makes merry (at their expense). They (? Europeans draw two, three, four, five, ten or twenty thousand rupees each as salary per mensem, lead lives of pleasure and indulge in merry makings in magnificent palaces and bungalows with Plots of land around them extending over two miles. A capitalist is he who owns dozens of house and shops, obtains thousands of rupees as rent every month and passes the whole day in belching while lying on white sheets and big cushions in his treasure-house. A capitalist is he who buys from the poor grain and other commodities, stores them in his granaries and devours the whole profit himself imperceptibly. A capitalist is he who takes from Govt. contracts for constructing bridges and roads and devours the income of the labourers not even giving them their full meals. A capitalist is he who owns hundreds of acres of land and does not know to which side his land is situate, but his granaries become full of grain at harvest times, but not a seed is left with the producer for sowing purposes. A capitalist is he who is the *Mahant* of the religious place, who devours the belongings of all the worldly persons (and) makes property worth lakhs and crores of rupees. A capitalist is he who follows in the footsteps of heron-like devotee and makes himself a leader, who fleeces in lakh of rupees from the poor and travels in first class compartments, who keeps a motor, several servants and has his own *math*, who kills the conscience of several poor youngmen, holds out to them the temptation of money and sends them out hither and thither for (winning) praise for himself, who cannot stay anywhere except in Cecil and Sevoy hotels, whom no climate and doctor other than those of England can cure if he is taken ill and who cannot avoid a voyage even if his presence is badly required in the county. A capitalist is he who gives money on loan to Government and prays for its existence. A capitalist is he who loots lakhs of rupees from people through legal practice.

Friends ! I am afraid lest the subject should become lengthy. I, therefore, cut it short. You have heard as to who is called a capitalist and what his description is. You will henceforth be able to distinguish between a capitalist and a labourer and will not widen the gulf of mutual disunity by unnecessarily creating fellings against your brother.

Sad plight of the Indian workers and peasants. My wounded labourer and peasant brethren ! Have you ever considered your condition and (realised) what turn your condition has taken. That India which was a gold mine in the eyes of the whole world has today become the abode of owls. Vegetable (Lit: Foreign) ghee has today taken the place of the streams of *ghee* and milk that used

to flow there. The Children of India are today longing for a barley loaf in the country where no trace of famine was ever found and where shawls and Doshalas were available for wearing, (people) are today playing Holi with *langoti* (loin-cloth) on. Now nicely our famous national poet has remarked:—

“The relishes of milk or butter of the bygone days have become dreams,

“There is not now left even a dry piece (of loaf) for chewing.

“Alas! I, unfortunate, unlucky and wretched” was born in this world to weep and cause (others) to weep ”

Friends! Let us open the eyes of the people who teach us the lesson that this bureaucracy has put India on the high-road to civilisation and has to a great extent bettered the lot of Indians. And (those members of) bureaucracy also should review the record of their black deeds, who make eloquent and fluent speeches with great pomp and show in big houses and throw dust in the eyes of people, although these are the very persons who have reduced the country to ashes. And one-third of the population can hardly get one meal (a day). I shall try to describe the condition of this unlucky country from (?) their own records. There are no arrangements for the sons of India either for lodging or for light or for sanitation. (They have) neither sufficient food nor clothes to cover their bodies with. If, still, Indians do not die the death of a dog, then what else should happen.

It is this very bureauracy which after making calculation tells us that the number of houses in our country is about 5 to 5½ crore in which 32 crore of human beings reside. And the houses are such that they beggar all description (lit. may God protect us). You are not unacquainted with them, (They are *kacha* houses. What power have (we) to construct *pucca* ones? The houses are (lit. population is) conjested and surrounded on all the four sides by heaps of dung, pools of dirty water and hills of filthy (and) rubbish, and (people) drink water from those very pools. *Kacha*, ordinary dilapidated houses contain a small compound inside and a *Deorhi* outside which is used as sitting room for men. Other inner rooms in which sufficient light and air do not pass are worse than the outer ones. Their children and other members of their families pass their nights in those very rooms. There is no suitable route for going to village (for) the lanes are filthy. You have heard about (the condition of) village by way of instance. This is the Indian public who are passing their moments of life.

Let me now show you the famous cities in India. I shall first take you to the historic city of Lohore, the capital of the Punjab. But if you want me to show you the magnificent place of

palace of the chief bureaucratic Governor of the Punjab, which is surrounded by a green compound extending over several miles and in which there are lofty and flourishing trees reaching to (lit. talking with) the sky or if you think that I should take you to the Montgomery Hall or make you stroll through the magnificent mansion of any Rai Bahadur or Khan Bahadur or if you think that I should take you to the house of any big capitalistic leader, where carpets and (other) decoration worth several thousands of rupees might be found you are mistaken. (lit. no, no). I shall show you real Lahore from which you will be able to ascertain truly what our condition is. First of all let me cause you to stroll along the "Kausar canal" which runs around the city. You have seen the canal-area which lies around the whole city. It is a filthy drain.

He who (wishes to) enter the city should walk after taking care of of his nose and brain. On the other side of this canal live the persons from whom lakhs of rupees are realised by way of taxes and expended on Mall roads; where the poor and helpless bureaucrats might walk with comfort. As regards (lit: but) the major portion of the population, let it go to hell (lit: oven). They (bureaucrats) do not care if the latter's children die for want of fresh air and sanitation. For instance, I would like to describe the condition of a bazar and a house. You may just go to the Jaure Mori Bazar inside the Lahori (? Lohari) gate. What is the condition of that bazar. The (filthy) water and filth of the whole city pass through it, but no heed has ever been paid to reform the condition of the bazar, although there is situate a school also where girls learn sewing and knitting. Going ahead from there you may enter in a Mohalla and thence go to a house which is extremely incommodious and in which a well-known national poet of India lives along with his wife and three children. Their health is getting so bad that one's heart receives a shock on seeing them. I do not want to disclose the name of that well-known national poet lest he should get displeased. He does not want his sufferings to be described before the country. He thinks that he will pass his life in the same manner as crores of his poor brethren are doing. He follows (the spirit of) this verse:

"It is the custom of lovers to sacrifice (their) bodies and minds.

"To weep, undergo oppression and (still) to love them. (the beloveds)"

I shall finish this bitter subject after giving a few more instances lest you should get tired of hearing my further bewailings.

Let us leave Lahore and go to Calcutta where the English came full 175 years ago and feel proud that they have made

Calcutta a very beautiful city' but it is regrettable that they have not paid the least attention to (lit: touched) the condition of the poor and (have not cared to see) how they pass their lives. The author of "Des Darshan" states in this connection; There is a small but a splendid house on the broad road called Harrison Road in the Bara Bazar. It (house) is 3 feet long and 20 feet broad. It contains 11 rooms and 113 persons of different families live in it. In the lower part there are only two latrines, one bath room and three water pipes. The people remain flocked there from morning till evening. Altercations arise among them with a view to relieve nature, etc. The house is very damp and the stink it emits is worse than even its dampness. In other words eleven persons live in each room.

COLLEGE STREET.

There was a four-storeyed room in the College street, the lower part of which was occupied by college students. There were only five rooms in it none of which covered an area greater than 8 sq. feet. Thirty students used to live in it. Sunshine never enters it in any month of the year and it stinks so badly one's nose can not bear it (lit: that one's breath remains in one's nose).

'China Bazar.

In a room on the Chitpur road shoe-makers prepare shoes during the day time and at night cots are spread there. One cot is occupied by three men, the second by six big children, the third by four women and the fourth by three boys.

Next Mr. Metcalf writes:—In a small room a Bengali widow used to sleep on one and the same board with her six children. Two of her children died one night. The cause of their death was bad air and dirty beddings.

A Sanitary Inspector of Calcutta writes:—

Coal is kept in half the portion of a small room and a Bengali Babu sleeps in the other half along with his wife and two children. A woman sleeps below stairs along with her four children.

My labourer brethren. This is not all. I have seen such a condition in Calcutta, Bombay, Delhi, and other big cities, where after leaving their homes the poor helpless people go for doing labour and for earning their (livelihood lit for the sake of their tyrannical stomach), but Ah! After their day's hard labour they do not get a place for rest at night and hundreds of labourer brethren spread their rags and lie down on the roads. Even the most stony heart of a man cannot but melt into pity on seeing this condition. In Bombay I saw a family in a room in which a big cot was lying

... that big cot were lying three other cots like drawers of a table. The place being insufficient the inmates of the room used to sleep below it at night. You can understand what the state of their health will be. This is the condition of the nation known as the subject of a first class Government in the nineteenth century.

What else should happen if people do not fall a prey to consumption? Brethren! This is the condition of the cities, where there are big municipalities for show and where Lords and big Lords themselves live. What will be the condition of the houses of those villages and of their inmates where there is neither any municipality, nor any drain, nor any road nor any wealth. The bureaucracy will not like that place even for its dogs and swine. The condition of the peasants is still worse. They fall prey to different diseases for want of sufficient food.

The late Mr. Gopal Krishan Gokhale says:

Besides famine, plague has ruined the country during the last seven years. The people who look at things cursorily, may perhaps ascribe plague to a heavenly calamity. But the fact is that lakhs of persons die of plague because they never get food to their bellyful with the result that they have lost the strength and vitality to withstand the attack of diseases. Such poverty and penury was the necessary result of the characteristics of the British Government. The alien Government spends money on the administration incomplete in such a lavish (lit: blind) manner and the position of Englishmen in every Government department is so dominating that they have opportunities to loot the wealth of India so much so that the river of wealth has continuously been flowing from India to England, for several years past.

Sir William Hunter, a brother of these Englishmen, says:—

“There are four crores of such human beings in India as get only one meal daily throughout their lives”

Sir Charles Elliot says:— There are seven crores of such persons in India as do not know how to eat to their fill even once throughout a year. I have just recollected one instance. Once upon a time a person was going on a road in the hot days of *Jeth* and *Asarh*. On the way (when) he saw a peasant ploughing he halted and said ‘Oh *Ishawar!* We would have to work the plough in this scorching heat if they (peasants) had not been there. In spite of such a hard labour, they still fail to get food.’ How nicely a poet has remarked:— “Extreme cold prevails, water freezes in river and

“Grass gets destroyed (lit) burnt by frost in field and leaves on trees,

"You will hardly find a khaddar shirt on their body even.

"At the time when the sun also fears and hides himself from cold

"Alas! The dearness of grain and that of cloth,

"Although (they) toil day and night, still they suffer this disgrace.

"Sahib has a freeplace in his house and (they) Sahibs drink whisky.

"It is said that "Sahibs" live upon these two things.

"The poor pass Winter seasons in a sheet and a langoti (loin cloth)

"They are counted among human beings, but they are neither alive nor dead.

"There is a dearth of sympathy, a brother quarrels with his brother.

"Thus lakhs of Indians die before the time of death comes,

When the month of June comes and (the colour of) deers also turns black; (when)

"Blisters appear on feet if one walks barefooted, (when)

"The lives of animals are endangered on account of thirst (and when)

The Himalays also melt owing to the heat of the sun,

"This poor (i. e. peasant) works (lit: dies) bare headed bare-footed (and) "Toils hard the whole day in scorching heat.

"Just enquire from these oppressed persons what will they eat and wear even if the prices of things go down, because famine prevails through-out the year.

"It is a consolation to them and they feel glad with this if they get food to their fill and get bread and pulse (for eating).

"He who possesses such a heart might open his eyes and see that

'Not to speak of other things (lit. other things might fall into well) it is difficult to fill the stomach.

According to Mathas (? Malthus) theory when the people of a country do not get food to their bellyful, that country is not only visited by famine, but troubles of different sort and pernicious

customs also arise in that country and profligacy and immorality increase,

Only a few months ago a well-dressed educated youngman who had his wife and children and was not employed anywhere, tried his utmost to get some work to do. He would not beg alms, but he failed to get any work. Having got tired he entrusted his wife and children to (the care of) God, himself got drowned in a tank and left this world with great regret. He left a letter saying that he was leaving this indifferent world as he could not see his wife and children starving. Only eight days ago a young graduate placed his neck on the railway line and left this faithless world. The reason why he did so was that he did not find any work to feed himself.

An old man was released from jail, when he came out (of the jail), he was again arrested after five or six hours for the offence of having committed a theft. When a Police officer recorded his statement, he gave out that he had stolen the thing intentionally. That he did (not) know where to stay at night and how to maintain himself. That since it was impossible to starve (lit: a bandage can not be tied on the belly) and to get work he had decided to pass the remaining portion of his life in jail, where he would get food at least. A man who is dying can do every thing.

It is for this reason that number of crimes is increasing day by day in this country. Of the past years the statistics of one years crimes are worth hearing:

4497 persons were prosecuted for murder.

2984 persons were prosecuted for committing dacoities.

49838 persons were prosecuted for other serious offences.

29456 persons were prosecuted for cattle-lifting.

94246 persons were prosecuted for committing petty thefts.

294 persons were executed,

20023 were sentenced to transportation for life, and 174190 were sent to jail.

19034 were flogged, 626210 were sentenced to pay fines, and 34504 were sentenced to undergo imprisonment for periods less than 15 days, 86621 for (periods varying from 15 days to) six months and 15100 for over two years.

Do not these accounts amount to causing hair stand at their ends? But, they can be remedied only if some suitable arrangements

are made to fill the stomachs of the poor and unemployed people and to provide them with work. Such acts will continue to recur in starvation. Is it not disgraceful for the bureaucracy (? which) brags of spreading civilisation and culture? Were the crimes committed in such a large number ever before their rule? How many instances I should give, a big volume is required for this purpose.

The question now rises why it is so. Why a confusion is spreading throughout the country? The labourer weeps on the one hand and the peasant on the other. The shopkeeper also is complaining and the workman and Babu are also crying. There can be only one reply to all this (and that is) that the whole responsibility of this rests with capitalism, imperialism and bureaucracy. While on the one hand crores of rupees are being hoarded on the other there is no bread to eat, clothes to wear and a good house to live in.

From the everyday strikes you can imagine the treatment that is being meted out by capitalists to the workers in factories. You will be wonderstruck (lit the ground below your feet will slip away) if you will hear their full accounts. They are given low wages, have to work for many hours get no holiday and remain where they are like a bullock working an oil press. I had an opportunity to visit a factory in the Madras Presidency. Women used to work there during illness. On enquiry from them I came to know that they, poor creatures, used to come in the morning and return in the evening and get annas $\frac{1}{3}$ (each) as wages. That pice were deducted from their wages if they ill or came late. You will be dumbstricken if an account of the Punjab Dhariwal mills is given to you (and if you were told) what sort of oppression the poor human beings were subjected there. A woman who hardly has any untorn cloth on her person and who has in her lap a small and very weak and feeble child and an old mother with her (.....incomplete). The husband of that woman worked in the factory for 30 years and at last died in in the factory having been bitten by a snake, but the factory capitalists fixed a monthly pension of Rs 3 only for that poor woman. Now tell me how can that maintain herself, her child and the old mother in Rs. 3 a month.

BUREAUCRACY OF INDIA,

In fact the root cause of all diseases in this unfortunate country is the bureaucracy. It itself calculates that the average income of the inhabitants of India is five pice a day, which means that crores of humans beings in India do not earn even a pice, for it being the average income. Out of four men if two men earn (?) 25 per day and if their average is calculated i. e. if (the money) is distributed amongst four men, the average will be annas 2-6 each. Similarly, now see (lit: calculate) if the Viceroy's salary amounts to Rs. 666/10/8 per day at the rate of Rs. 20000 per mensem, it means

that he pockets the income of 8000 men and that eight thousand men die of starvation. This is the income of one man only. Similarly, there are many Governors, Commissioners Deputy Commissioners and thousands of other officers who devour thousands of rupees as monthly salaries. Is it not an economic loot? This is why the major portion of the income of peasants goes into the pockets of bureaucracy, while they fall victim to death (lit become a morsel of death) suffering the hardships of hunger and thirst.

CAPITALIST LEADERS OF INDIA

A barber used to go to shave the king of his time. The king used to ask the barber in what condition the subject people were. He used to say:— “The whole country is rejoicing as a result of your Majesty’s solicitude towards the poor. Business is flourishing. Trade is prospering. There will be none among the subject people who does not possess a hundred or fifty *Ashrafi* (gold coins). But when the emperor used to enquire from his good-hearted Vizier about the condition (of the people), he always said:—“Business of the people is being ruined. Peasants are crying. Condition of the people is bad. Starvation is increasing day by day”. The king was astonished (and said to himself) that it was strange that the Vizier said something while a public man stated just the reverse. At last the king told the vizier what the barber used to say to him. The Vizier asked (the king) to give him one week’s time after which period he (the king) would himself come to know the whole matter. The Vizier ascertained as to why the barber used to make similar statements. (He used to do so) because he was in possession of about one hundred *Ashrafi*. The Vizier somehow or other got them out of the possession of the barber. When the barber again comes to the king, the latter puts (the same) questions again. The barber says:—“Your Majesty! Injustice (lit: darkness) is prevailing in the world. The people are being reduced to poverty. Thefts and dacoities are the order of the day. Unemployment is prevailing. People are dying of starvation. Confusion is prevailing in the country. The officials do not hear anything (lit: speak) without receiving bribes”. When the Vizier was again questioned as to how a change had occurred in the views and experiences of the barber, he related the whole matter to the king.

Similar is the case with our present-day leaders. Why have they not been able to bring about a change in our condition? What do they do know about our condition. They pass their lives in bungalows with ease and comfort, while we count the moments of our lives in filthy lanes and incommo-
dious houses. They travel in first class carriages. What do they know of the miseries of third class passengers. They partake of the best (kinds of) food. What do they know that we are longing for even barley bread. They attend Viceregal parties and take part in the feasts with him. What

do they know that their chaprassis and chowkidars treat us like dogs. On their being taken a bit ill they can secure the (medical) aid from the best doctors in the country. What do they know that the poor go to the grave merely for want of medical aid. If they go out (to perform their duty) as a leader, they cannot take their lodgings anywhere else but at some English hotel or the house of some Rai Bahadur or Khan Bahadur. What do they know of the condition of the poor (lit: servants) who fill their stomach at ovens, go and lie down in a Sarai's room, and (who) fall sick and die (lit: become travellers of the country of nonexistence). How nicely has some one remarked:—

“(Leaders) partake of dinners with authorities pretending to represent the grievances of their nation (Lit: out of the grief of their nation);

“A leader has many anxieties intermixed with comfort”.

They can afford to give higher education to their children in England, (but) what do they know that crores of children of (their) nation remain illiterate for want of books and fees. They can secure high occupations for their sons and can get them salaries of thousands of rupees a month, (but) what do they know that darlings (lit: Youngmen) of the nation go from office to office (in quest of service for extinguishing the fire of their bellies & get away from there after receiving slaps and abusive language. This is why the leaders of (our) country command no influence and why the little bit of service (lit: labour) they render is wasted. He alone can lead the country who will absorb himself in peasants, labourers and the public, who will liberate (them) from the rack of this bureaucracy and who will live like a public man. He shall have to mould his life like those of Mezzini, Lenin and Karl Marx. How can he feel for others who has no feelings in his heart?

“Nightingale alone knows the beauties of garden.

“What do crow and eagle know of the garden world?”

When the condition of France was similar to that of India and the poor people suffering the pangs of hunger used to make demonstrations, the ruler of that country asked his Minister as to why they were raising hue and cry. The reply was: “Hunger; for want of bread,” Alas! what reply is given; just hear attentively. The ruler says: “If they donot get bread, why don't they eat biscuits.” This proves that unless one experiences suffering himself, he cannot realise other's trouble.

How much unrest is prevailing among the labourers in (this) country at present. Strike was observed for many months past in Bombay and other places and so many strikes took place at other places as well, but the leaders of the country did not take a promi-

part in those strikes. What can be cause of this?

Evidently, it can be said that as the factories are owned by capitalists and the latter are usually intimate friends of the leaders of the country and besides as the leaders of the country and besides as the leaders are usually desirous of getting help from them and get sic money from them in abundance, their mouths eat (and) eyes feel ashamed, and they (leaders) feel the necessity of starting some new fund every day, so long as it is not decided one way or the other, the the country will remain struggling in the mid (stream). We shall have to make a request to these pro-capitalist (lit: capitalist) leaders. Either they should join hands with us or go over to the capitalists, so that the matter may be settled. Public welfare can be achieved by severing connections with the capitalists. Therefore, Oh ye leaders of the country. Either effect your own welfare or that of the country.

RELIGION AND RELIGIOUS DACOITS.

My dear friends! I want to say a few words about religion and religious robbers. Religion is a path and a faith. Whatever faith one holds or whatever path one follows, it depends upon one's own will; no one can interfere with it, nor is there any necessity of interference. And a true religion never creates war and struggle against anyone. For this reason let every one gladly hold the faith he entertains. Religion does not enjoin anyone to hate or observe untouchability. It teaches love towards every person and preaches freedom. One should shun (lit: say his salam from a distance) a religion which teaches hypocrisy, hatred towards others and life of slavery. As our unfortunate country is illiterate religious robbers have come into existence here in a large number. They try to set us by the ears in order to gain their own ends. It is not a secret to you what these religious robbers have got one community done with the other during the recent days. On the one hand they remain cooperating with the bureaucracy & on the other they bring about our ruin and destruction, Do try to save yourself from these hypocrites. I tell you a formula to save yourself from them or to test them. When he comes to you and teaches you a lesson, at once ask him whether that religious robber has any connection with the bureaucracy, whether he will enter field for securing liberty and whether he is prepared to oppose bureaucracy for the sake of his community. This is sufficient and he will get rid of you and run away and you will be able to lead a peaceful life.

Simon Commission.

Although this subject has already been reiterated at length by most of the leaders of the country, still I think I should once more say a few words to you about the Simon Commission. A number of Commissions have visited our country (before this) and

the result (of their enquiries) is not unknown to you. We have now decided to follow Egypt and not to pay any regard to the Commission of this type. When the Commission alighted there (in Egypt), demonstrations were made against the Commission throughout the city and the country. The people observed complete hartal and by closing their business, the shopkeepers, hawkers, tonga drivers and in short men of every profession showed that they did not want even to see the Commission. The Commission got surprised and nonplussed and ran back from that place. Therefore, Oh ye friends! Follow Egypt and make the Commission run away so that it may not dare make any remark against we, Indians.

THE NEHRU REPORT.

It is necessary to make a mention of the Nehru Report here. Brethren! We want complete independence. If they replace "dominion status" by "complete independence" and solve the question of workers and peasants, we should join them completely. But we appreciate the Nehru Committee for one thing only now and that is mixed electorate. We openly say that now we are not prepared even for a minute to live under this bureaucracy, which has ruined and undermined the liberty, prosperity health, trade morality, and bravery of India and spread immorality, cowardice, famine, intoxicating drugs and diseases in their stead.

Bolshevik bugbear ;

Wherever we see we hear the Bolsheviks being talked of and the Government always frightens (? us) by Bolshevik bugbear. Sometimes it is given out in India that if the Bolsheviks come to India the religion of all the people will be endangered (and) the work of getting the roads swept will be given to fanatics. Before saying any thing about the Bolshevik Government, I want to say that be it the Bolsheviks or the Afghans, the Turks or the Germans, Italians, or the French, we will break the mouth of those who will set their feet on this soil with a view to make india slave. We have now decided that we will not let this British Government also remain (here) as ruler. Those who dream of remaining slaves in the twentieth century are not human beings but are worse than beasts. Which is that nation today that wishes to remain a slave to some (other nation) or that likes ignorance. Well, it was a passing remark. It is also stated in respect of the Bolshevik Russian Govt: that the subject people of that country are not satisfied (with their Govt:) In order to remove this mistake I do think it advisable to give you a few brief extracts of facts from the report prepared by these Englishmen so that the latter also must subject us to the same rigours as are practised by that Government on its (subject) people.. We shall accept such rigours for some

time, nay, I shall persuade you that we should accept the rules at present in force in Russia. And this also is my object that I am giving you extracts of the report on the advantages of revolution in Russia and what is interesting is that this report belongs to a period three years back. Many more facilities must have by now been afforded in that country and each worker (and) peasant must have become a king in his house.

Advantages of revolution in Russia.

The accounts of the condition of Russian labourers and workman belonging to a period three years back are given below :--

The eighth anniversary of the Russian revolution comes off on the 7th September 1925. The soviet Republic is viewed with approbation by the capitalists and workers throughout the world and its system of Government is liked by them alike. The Russian workers and peasants have achieved a complete success under this Government. They have no anxiety about or concern with necessaries of life. This revolution has brought about conspicuous changes in the lives of Russian labourers. Difficulties in respect of food, drink and other necessaries have totally been solved. Representatives of the British Trade Union who had gone to Russia especially with the idea of making enquiry about this question have made a thorough enquiry.

WAGES AND WORKING HOURS.

The things that are of primary importance to each worker or labourer are as to how many hours he works per day and how much he earns. A male labourer or workman who does his work very efficiently earns to the extent of Rs. 90/- per mensem. In certain cases experienced workmen (easily) earn to the tune of Rs. 225/- each month. The wages of Russian workmen before the (Great) War were far below the average wages of the workman in England, but the rate of wages in Russia is now going up day by day despite the fact that many sorts of changes have taken place in the system of Government. One special feature worthy of being noted is that Russian labourer or workman does get so much pay (i. e. wages) as is sufficient to provide him with necessaries of life quite easily. Government takes the responsibility of (defraying) his other expenses e. g. the Government looks to the education and culture of his children, expenses of illness, payment of insurance premiums, etc. As far as the working hours are concerned, they have to work in factories for eight hours, that is 48 hours in a week. These hours have been fixed by the Government. In attending to such work as is likely to impair (their) health or is dangerous (they) have to work for six hours only.

In places which are not healthy or where there is great dampness (or) the roofs and floors of which are in a bad condition and where the labourers and workmen are likely to suffer harm, the labourers have to work for three hours only and get pay or wages for eight hours.

While inspecting a coal mine Mr. Herbert Smith who had gone to Russia in connection with the Trade Union Congress Delegation, expressed the following views:—

In 1912 when Czar was ruling miners had to work for 12 hours and they used to get Rs 3/- as wages per day. but in 1924 when Czar had been killed Rs4/- began to be paid daily for working for six hours only. As compared with the pre-war time a labourer and a workman earns more and has to do very little work. Further, besides these wages they enjoy a number of other advantages for which they have to do no work.

I (shall) now describe other facilities and comforts afforded free to the labourers and workmen by the Soviet Government,

HOUSE RENTS.

A major portion of the income of labourers in England goes to rent while on the other hand Russian Labourers and workmen have to pay very little rent. House-rents, etc., are realised by the House Committee appointed by the rent-paying labourers. The rent realised by the Committee is spent on the repairs of houses on sanitation, on whitewashing and on other ventilation expenses, etc. Besides this, the Bolshevik Government is acting upon a big scheme. In big towns and extensive areas of factories in Russia private gardens are being laid out. Each house erected in those small towns is situate on separate place i. e. sufficient distance has been left between two houses, so that sufficient air and light may pass. Very broad roads and Bazars have been constructed. The houses have been erected on the most sanitary principles and provided with every sort of comfort.

These houses are of different size, but each house comprises nearly four rooms, a kitchen and a bath-room and servants' quarters outside it. A good number of workmen and labourers have enjoyed great comfort in consequence of the erection of these houses and it has produced a very good effect on their social and business life. All workmen are given Summer Vacation and (during that period they) get their pays regularly. Similarly, miners working in subterranean mines get one month's leave on full pay during a year. At places where it is dangerous to work two month's leave on full pay is granted in a year.

REST HOUSES AND SANITARIUMS.

A Russian workman or labourer enjoys more comfort during

his illness than the workmen and labourers of other capitalistic countries. If a Russian labourer or workman is taken ill, he is at once sent to some resting place or sanitarium. The fare of his journey to and back from (the sanitarium) is paid by the Soviet Government. Seven lakh sick persons were sent to sanitariums last year and their expenses were defrayed by the Soviet Government.

A new thing which is found in Russia is that a number of big villages have been converted into resting places for the workmen and these (resting) places are under the Sanitary department. A workman or labourer who has been taken ill on account of over work can apply to his Trade Union and go to some sanitarium, and he is not made to pay anything page 124.

The central committee connected with resting places accommodated about 85 thousand workman in such places in 1923—page 136 of the Report.

Social Insurance.

The lives of all workmen are insured and their premiums are paid by the factory-owner. Besides life insurance, insurances for illness, temporary unemployment, etc., etc., are also effected, which prove helpful to the workmen during their illness and unemployment. The relatives of workmen are also afforded facilities, no matter whether they do any work or not.

Compensation to the workmen during unemployment.

During the days of unemployment when a workman or labourer gets no work, one-third of his pay is given to him for six months. During those days the workman has to pay half the price for necessaries of life i.e. edibles, etc., and light, water, fuel and other public services are supplied to him free of cost—Page 155 of the Report.

Sick.

Workman are examined each month by able doctors. If they are found unfit for work in the least, they continue to receive their pays.

Accident.

If an accident occurs to some workman, he continues to receive his pay or wages in full for three months from the date of accident—Page 177 of the Report.

Female Workers.

It is a law of the Soviet Government that if women working in factories are in a family way they cease working sometime before

the birth of their children and many months after that and continue to receive their pays, etc., during this period. Besides this, they get a special allowance during this period and money is also given (to them) for the food of children up to nine months.

Educational facilities.

Educational facilities are also afforded to the children of workmen and labourers in Russia. All the expences, etc., of their children are met by the Trade Union whereby the children are enabled to receive higher education in universities. Besides this, the labourers also can fully receive any sort of education e. g. in respect of industry or literature and wonderful results come out (of it).

Recreation.

A workman can obtain in a week tickets free of cost for theatres, cinemas and other recreation places through the Workers' Club attached to a factory. Tickets (varying) from two to three lakhs in number are issued (lit: distributed) monthly in Moscow and Leningrade.

Labourers' Clubs.

Labourers' clubs, etc., which are run at the expense of workmen in factories or in a district serve also as social and educational (?) organs of Trade Union. These clubs manage refreshment rooms, reading rooms libraries dramatic, musical, literary and other (clubs).

In 1924 the number of these clubs was 2400 and that of their members exceeded ten lakhs. Only a very small fee is charged for membership.

Trade Unionism.

Each factory or workshop comprising fifty or more than fifty workmen has a Factory Committee. (The members of) this committee are elected by the factory labourers. This committee looks to important matters concerning the whole labour and its wages. It discusses (all) important matters with regard to the management of the factory and takes part in its management. Labourers are in the real sense of the word the factory owners in Russia and although expert persons look to the management of these factories, yet they are supervised by workmen. The labourer representatives of union not only sit in those councils in the hands of which is placed the management of factories, but also take part in all the councils of Soviet Government. The number of the members of the Russian Trade Union exceeds nearly 50 lakh. The Soviet Government has infused a new life and soul in these people and created a movement of freedom. A labourer while making progress in his work

or trade can take full part in the Soviet Government and can become a publicman i.e. a leader. In short the workers i.e. labourers of Russia are in reality the rulers (of that country). They themselves have framed laws for their own facilities and comforts, while in other capitalist countries capitalists have enacted their own laws for workmen and the poor workmen and labourers have to abide by them. This is not the case in Russia. The labourers of that country lead the best lives may, they enjoy the rights of a ruling body.

My dear friends and comrades! You must have got tired of my lengthy statement. But I shall now try to let you go soon. You have now heard how *badmash* Bolsheviks are. The statements that I have placed before you have carefully been ascertained by Englishmen, for I have had no opportunity to go to Russia, but my brother Abdul Majid however did go there. But I could not so far get the English report (lit: statement). I have not told others the facts that I heard from him.

Although the bureaucracy will now blame me for carrying on propaganda in favour of the Bolsheviks and perhaps for receiving money from them, yet I may tell the Government that if the bureaucracy also provides similar facilities to the poor Indians, I shall be the first person to make a statement as I have done above in placing before the public the report regarding the Soviet Government. As regards money, I have been able to come over here after receiving money from brother Gauri Shankar.

Brethren! You have already heard in brief all about the condition of labourers, condition of peasants, condition of citizens and villagers and the condition of Babus and shopkeepers, and have realised full well the troubles which are annoying you and them. What should we do in order that we might be able to get rid of these calamities, severe sufferings, and misfortunes.

First hear what is it that we want. We want complete independence. We want labourers' and peasants' Government. We want that since land has been created by God and all the created beings of God have equal rights, all should have it by shares. Peasants and labourers should have a control over the Government and all should have equal share, for land should not be the property of a single individual or of any family. Nay it should be regarded as the common property of the whole nation, for every thing that makes man fit for living, is produced by land. Land is the source and treasure of every blessing. In fact land is our mother, but when a few human beings take possession of it and do whatever they like, the result is that for the sake of a piece (of bread) the poor people become purchased slaves of the land owners. And then it is also possible that the (land) owners may use land

for their recreation and it is also possible that land owner may examine land for their own interests and have cultivated therein anything they like. While the people want wheat, they may sow the seed of sugarcane. Thus individual ownership of land leads to slavery, penury and strifes and disputes.

Every wise man in this world understands the natural law, but very (lit: strong) selfish and covetous people took possession of thousands and lakhs of acres of land and then compelled other poor people to toil for them and gave them the epithet of tenants. Now the object of 'peasants and labourers' Government is that mother land should be regarded as the property of the whole nation and that republican Government should make arrangements for the Nation.

The same streams of *ghee* and milk may again flow. People may become prosperous. None may have the least anxiety for edibles and clothing. (People may get free after a few hours' work and sufficient things for eating, drinking and clothing (purposes) may become available. There may be well-ventilated and capacious houses for living in. None may feel the necessity of committing a theft (or) dacoity. Children may be able to receive instruction properly. There may be no great or small. (The distinction of untouchables and menials may cease to exist. None may be able to practise oppression on any other person. What will then happen? Every one will pass his life happily.

People may pass their recreation time in peace along with their children. They may neither themselves suffer nor do harm to others and pass away to the next world after passing this few days' life in peace and comfort.

My dear friends! You have now heard a few pleasant things. They will assume the form of ideals if we do not undergo some trouble to achieve them. It is not an easy thing to secure freedom as it is (to live in) one's aunt's house. We will have to bring near to us this liberty (which) is dear and dearer than life (itself) to us and that liberty alone will be lasting which will be secured through the children of the nation. A few fundamental principles shall have to be framed for them. Listen and listen with attention! If you really look upon slavery with contempt and are lovers of the goddess of liberty then

- 1) Oh; Ye labourers and peasants of India, unite together;
- 2) Start unions at different places,
- 3) act upon what you pass (unanimously),
- 4) use articles manufactured by the labourers of India,

- 5) so long as you do not attain liberty, never use any article, however beautiful, manufactured by some foreign country,
- 6) National flag should be of uniform colour,
- 7) celebrate all festivals and fairs together so that (mutual) love may be engendered,
- 8) do not try in any way to offend each other's feelings.
- 9) make common gymnasiums so that they may afford pleasure.

Translated by

Morid Husain

Urdu Translator.

P. 183 [1].

Search of the office of the Workers and Peasant Party, Meerut.

In compliance with the search warrant granted by the (District) Magistrate, Meerut, on the 25th March 1929 I, Syed Rafiq Ahmad, Dy: Superintendent of police, accompanied by Sub Inspector Abid Husain Khan, of (P. S.) Meerut City, Abdul Rahman Khan, Sub Inspector Sadar Bazar, Sakhawat Ali Head Constable, Secret Police No. 28, Shabbir Husain constable Civil Police No. 217, Mohommad Ismail, constable No. 93 of the Armed Police and L. Jawahar Lal, son of Babu Kirpa Ram, and Hafiz Hafiz Uddin, son of Hafiz Aziz Uddin search witnesses, residents of Sadar Bazar, Meerut, reached the office (mentioned in the warrant) situate on the eastern road leading from Budhana Gate to Lalkurti, inside the Kanthi mata temple, threw a cordon round the building, got the locks, put on the doors of the office, broke open in presence of the above mentioned witnesses, entered the office in the absence of the owner and carried on the search. The articles and documents mentioned in the list attached were found in the office and recovered. They were taken in possession and entered in the (search) list prepared on the spot. Signatures of the witnesses were obtained on the (search) list as also on each article and the document recovered. All the documents, etc., were placed in a wooden box which was sealed in presence of the witnesses. The bag (containing) badges (lit. flowers) only has been kept apart.

and sealed. Notice boards (also) have been kept apart. I have kept the seal in my possession. The matting of the office floor has been entrusted to Chandi, son of Durga Dutt. There is no article of any sort in the office now.

Sd/- S. R. Ahmad

Dy: S. Police

Meerut
20/3/29.

Sd/- Abdur Rahman

S. I. Meerut.

Sd/- A. H. Khan

20/3/29.

Sd/- Jawahar Lal

20/3/29.

Sd/- Hafiz Hafiz Uddin

List of documents recovered from the office of the Workers and Peasants' Party, Meerut.

1. The daily *Bandemataram* (Lahore) of the 3rd December 1927 Saturday, 12 pages including title page, title page in the beginning and an advertisement about a gramophone at the end.

2. The *Bande Mataram* (Lahore) of the 3rd February 1928 in the beginning (an article headed) "Decision of the Marwari Association Bombay in favour of strike," and on the last page an advertisement of *Zambak*-four pages.

3. A cutting (lit. portion) of an English newspaper containing a photo of Sir Henry Morris chairman of the Arsenal F.C. and on the other said the words "This book will tell you," one paper.

4. Piece of paper bearing on it "Meerut" and "District (?) "conference" in English, above it "Sammelan" in Nagri and "Sangh" in English. 5 papers.

5. The *Bande Mataram* (Lahore) of the 10th January 1928, on the title page of which was printed: "Madras Congress subjects Committee was a child's Play; Mahamatma Gandhi's opinion" and at the end pictures of Indian Children. 8 pages in all.

6. The *Bir Hindu* (Meerut) of the 5th and 12th December 1927 beginning with "Sugar cane crop in danger" and ending with "The *Hindu Gazette* (Hardwar) again in the field of action"- 4 pages.

7. A leaf of some newspaper beginning with "The voice of the new prophet" and ending with "Hindu-Muslim unity and swaraj"-2 pages.

8. The *Bande Mataram* (Lahore) of the 16th November 1927 having on its title page "Abdur Rashid executed in Delhi" and on its last page an advertisement from the Dhariwal Mills Punjab—12 pages.

9. The *Bir Hindu* of the 21st November 1927 beginning with "The Liberal Party also has now come to its senses" and ending with "Commercial agency, Meerut"—8 pages.

10. The Daily *Bande Mataram* of the 15th November 1927 beginning with "Will the Viceroy resign in case of the Indians being not taken on the Commission" and ending with an advertisement of Quaker's oats—14 pages.

11. The *Bande Mataram* of the 21st February 1928 having on its title page pictures of the Maharaja of Nabha and the Tika Sahib and ending with an advertisement of Cocogem—14 pages.

12. Three (?) Notices in Nagri of "eight months work of the Mazdoor Ashram, Meerut" on the back of two of them are given some conditions in Urdu as well.

13. The *Bande Mataram* of the 15 January 1928 beginning with a cartoon and an editor's present life and ending with an advertisement of Motor cars from Narain Das and Co., Lahore 16 pages.

14. Title page of the *Bande Mataram* (Sunday edition) dated 15th February 1928 and ending with an advertisement from the Manager, Ayurvedic—4 page.

15. The *Bir Hindu* of the 10th May 1926 beginning with "The late Swarajist leader, Mr. C. R. Dass on the Calcutta riots" and ending with an advertisement from the Royal Homeopathic Institute—4 pages.

16. *Bir Hindu* of the 16th January 1928 beginning with "Samajists and Senatauists used lathis over the questions of widow marriage" and ending with an advertisement of the Amritdhua Pharmacy—8 pages.

17. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of the 15th November 1927 beginning with "Formulation of word opinions" and ending with picture of a football—12 pages.

18. Eight posters (each headed. I "Bande Mataram National week and the inhabitants of Meerut." On the back of one of these is written something in Urdu and Nagri.

19. An envelope addressed to Pandit Achhe Lal with a letter covering six pages beginning with "Om: Respected Pandit Achhe Lalji" and ending with "Bring your lota and come clad in Khaddar

The letter has been written on the note papers of the Mazdoor Kisan Sammelan, Meerut. 6 pages and a cover.

20. A letter in English written on the printed form of the Mazdoor Ashram, dated the 28th August 1926. Unsigned; Typed-one leaf.

21. A letter in Nagri beginning with "Sri Manji. one leaf.

22. A manuscript in English beginning with "This meeting of the Labour Union" and ending with "prestige of the company" one leaf.

23. A Nagri book (entitled) "Gaon Ki Katha" 8 pages.

24. A book of songs entitled "Gan Varlap" — 8 pages.

25. The *Sudharak* of the 6th January 1928 beginning with "(?) Shabadesh Hatesh" and ending with "the manager, the Imperial Homeopathic Medical Hall, Sipat Bazar Meerut — 12 pages.

26. Nagri Manuscript on the printed forms of the Mazdoor Kisan Sammelan, Meerut, bearing no date and signatures. There are 26 leaves only and the matter is written on one side of the forms.

27. Six pages of the printed forms of the Mazdoor Ashram, Meerut, on which is printed "Bande Mataram" and which begin with "Sriman Sanpat" and end with "Articles might be got prepared of these (6 pages) only 2½ page have been written all the rest are blank.

28. On the printed forms of the *Mazdoor* newspaper has been written in nagri to the Katik Kisan Sangh newspaper Begins ^{sic} with "The labourers and peasants of the district" and ending with "secs" six pages of which one is full and two others have been partly written.

29. A form of the Mazdoor Ashram beginning with "Shriman Panditji Bande Mataram" in Nagri and ending with "may be continued" 2 pages.

30. A form of *Mazdoor* newspaper [Meerut] dated the 1st March 1928 having "newspaper" scored out and "sangh" written in its place beginning with "To the editor" and ending with "May succeed." It bears initials which are illegible — in 2 pieces.

31. On the forms of the Mazdoor Ashram, Meerut, (a letter) beginning with "Sampadakji ("editor") Bande Mataram" and ending with "helping hand will be extended" written on one side only and the other letter beginning with "Sri Sampadji, Bande Mataram" and ending with "helping hand will be extended" over the signatures of Balwant Singh bearing no date. Two leaves.

32. Manuscript in Urdu on the form of the Mazdoor Ashram beginning with "Shriman, editor Sahib the Daily" and ending with "by which the country may prosper" Two written pages in full.

33. A (letter) form of the *Mazdoor* newspaper beginning with "This Sammelan" in Nagri. One leaf.

34. [Printed form of the *Mazdoor* newspaper bearing: "the Katik Kisan sangh newspaper." Four leaves, written on one side of the paper only.

The first page ending with "does this" Second with "may do" third with "nity noo participlate in" and the fourth with "is not being given" in Nagri.

35. Printed form of the *Mazdoor* newspaper (Meerut. Manuscript in Urdu, the first page ending with "Janab Bhai Sahib my dear Brother" and the second page ending with "The Conference was attended mostly by "peasant and laboures. One leaf.

36. A piece of paper having written on it in urdu the address 'Sardhana, etc.'

37. A yellow paper written with pencil beginning with "Master Jagannath Parshad" in ink and ending with "Lala Mangat Rai." Another Mangat Rai bears No. 63.

38. A list covering 10 pages written in Urdu with pencil. The front page contains (names of) different Bungalows, beginning with No. 23, Babu Lal and ending with No. 1316 Hira Lal.

39. A form of Mazdoor Ashram, Meerut, beginning with "This Sammelan" and ending with "may go" in Nagri—one leaf.

40. A notice (? poster) in Nagri beginning with "Bandé Mataram" having some names at its back No. 3 being Lala Mahabir Prasad. One leaf.

41. A paper written in Urdu beginning with "A public meeting will be held at the Town Hall at 7. 30. P.M., the 5th April 1928"—and ending on the other side with "should not dare do so" Having no date. One leaf.

42. A paper written in Urdu over the signatures of the Secretary, Gauri Shanker Sharma, beginning with "From the office of the Mazoor kisan sangh" and ending "with make it a success"—one leaf.

43. A copy book of 36 pages beginning with "under the president-ship of Pandit, Ram Asre Prasad the Dharam Asthan Lahari Satha passed resolutions at Garh Mukteshar Gangare (?) on

the 6th November" and ending with "Shrimati Chitra Devi wife of (not given) resident of Sultanpur. It contains some accounts and some of its pages are blank.

44. The *Bande Mataram* of the 10th January 1928 beginning with "bomb in court room" and ending with "is the key to success—4 pages.
45. The *Bande Mataram* (4 pages) of the 12th November 1927 beginning with "execution of Abdul Rashid" on the title page and ending with an advertisement of the National Oil (and) Gas Engines.
46. A letter in Urdu in two pieces beginning with "Shriman editor Sahib" and ending with "make the conference success" one leaf.
47. The *Bande Mataram* of the 12th November 1927 beginning with "preparation for a fresh riot in Delhi" and ending with an advertisement of "scale and (?) wheel." Four pages.
48. The *Arjan* (4 pages) of the 30th December 1927 beginning with "Hindu-Muslim unity."
48. A typed letter dated the 16th March 1928 in English addressed to the Secretary, the Mazdoor and kisan sangh, sent from the Birla House, Delhi, by P. M. Pujari, one leaf.
49. A register bound red, 28 pages of which contain names of the members of the kisan Sangh Sabha. Some of the pages are written in Hindi as well.
50. A register bound containing statements from 1-3-26 to 31-12-27, Only two pages contain accounts in Urdu.
51. A letter dated 1-3-28 written on the form of the Mazdoor Ashram, Meerut, from Chaudhry Kehr Singh to the Secretary the Mazdoor Kisan Sangh, one leaf.
52. List of the names of the members of the Mazdoor (? Ashram). No. 1 being Lala Balwant Singh and No. 21 Bishanbar Sahai, one leaf.
53. Three copies of the book entitled "A call to action".
54. A bundle of posters (headed) "National Week" printed in Urdu and Hindi.
55. Forms printed in English of the Workers and peasants party of Bengal of which two have been filled. One bearing the signatures of Brahina Nand and other those of Ram Sarup.

56. White paper on which is written with pencil "This Gau (cow) Sammeain believes" in the beginning and "Lala Atar Sen and Pearey Lal" at the end. One leaf.
57. Four receipt books of the Mazdoor Ashram, Meerut. Only 16 receipts from one book have been issued, the rest are all blank.
58. A book entitled "Swarg Durbar" covering four pages.
59. A bill from L. Baldeo Sahai to the Secretary, the Mazdoor Kisan Sangh for the payment of Rs. 37/-.
60. A typed letter, dated nil, written on the form of the Mazdoor Kisan Sammelan Meerut, Addressed as "Rev: and dear brother" from Kamta Parshad—2 pages.
61. A few posters in Nagri of the Mazdoor Ashram, Meerut.
62. A few blank forms of subscription in Nagri.
63. A subscription form filled in by one Tara Chand.
64. Printed receipt of the Mazdoor Ashram; name illegible.
65. A few printed blank forms of the Mazdoor Kisan Sammelan and of the *Mazdoor* newspaper.
66. Blank envelopes and some containing posters—two packets.
67. A letter dated 6-4-1928 in Urdu written on the form of the Mazdoor Kisan Sammelan addressed from Ram Asra Parsha to Chaudhry Dharm Vir Singh, with cover.
68. A letter in Nagri written on the form of the Mazdoor newspaper, addressed to "Shriman Sampadji (i. e. editor)" having no signatures—one leaf.
69. Two posters in Nagri about Khaddar.
70. A pamphlet in Nagri containing a photo of Charkha—6 leaves.
71. A post card in Nagri from Charanji Lall Pearey Lal to Gauri Shankar Sharma.
72. A white paper on which is written in Nagri "Balwant Singh Pardhan (president), etc"—one leaf.
73. A white paper on which some accounts are written, beginning with "To tonga-fare for Swamiji—as. -/4/-" and ending with "To Chanchal Gir—as. -/2/-."
74. A list in Urdu containing 36 names, beginning with (the name of) Ganpat and ending with (that of) Phulo—one leaf.

75 An accounts paper in Urdu indicating "To Lala Balwant Singh on 27. 10. 27." and "Rs 43/- and Rs 59/2/- at the end. One leaf.

76 A piece of white paper beginning with "Sriman editor Sahib" and ending with "by rendering every sort of help" in Urdu. One leaf.

77 A piece of paper addressed to the editor and at the end on the other side (is written, Guru Ghantal, etc.—One leaf.

78 A letter dated 4.3.28 addressed to the editor in Urdu on the form of the Mazdoor Sangh, containing some accounts 3 leaves.

79 A paper having statements of accounts from 1. 3. 26 to 31. 12. 27 beginning with (the name of) Ajudhia Parshad.

80 English manuscript in pencil over the signatures of Gauri Shankar—One leaf.

81 A Nagri Manuscript which is illegible.

82 A poem in Urdu written with pencil on the form of the Mazdoor newspaper. (The poem begins thus) "Oh friends: The National week has now come" one leaf.

83 A piece of paper having two verses "He who will die for his nation will go to heaven.

84 A letter on the form of the Mazdoor Kisan Sammelan addressed to "Sri Man Sammelan"—one leaf.

85 (A bill) in Nagri of the Hindi Pustak Agency for Rs 1¹/₄/9 only—one leaf.

86 A poster, on the back of which are written some items of accounts—one leaf.

87 A piece of paper having some accounts in Urdu regarding rent, etc., One leaf.

88 A piece of paper on which are written in Urdu with pencil the names of 24 persons e. g. Phulo. etc., One leaf.

89 A bag containing 161 badges of red, yellow and white colour.

90 Two boards, of which one bears the words—"Mazdoor Ashram" and the other "Bandé Mataram; office of the Mazdoor Kisan Sangh, meerut.

91 A brass lock.

92 A wooden box.

93 An inkpot of china clay and pen holder.

- 94 Two iron nails.
95 White thread in a small quantity.
96 Three packets of admission tickets of white, yellow and blue colour

SD. S. R. Ahmad

Sd. A. H. Khan

D. S. P. 20/3

20. 3. 29.

Sd. Abdul Rahman

Sd. Jawahar Lal

S. I. Sadar.

Sd. Hafiz Uddin

20. 3.

Translated by

Morid Husain, Urdu Translator.

P. 184 (I).

The *Bir Hindu* (Meerut) of the 21st November 1927 publishes the following:—

Dear Mr. Editor,

I request you to oblige me by publishing the following lines in your paper:—

As announced this year a Kisan and Gau Sammelan was held this year on the 7th and the 8th November 1927 on the occasion of the Garh Mukteshar (Ganga Ashnan) fair under the auspices of (lit. on behalf of, the Mazdoor Ashram, Meerut.

On the 7th November 1927 Shriman Professor Dharmvir Singh, M. L. C. who had consented to adorn the presidential chair of the Kisan Sammelan came to the fair at 7. O A. M. after finishing the session of the Lucknow Council. The Ashram workers and peasant brethren accorded him a reception. After that the Professor was taken out in a procession with a band playing from Centre No. 3 at 3. O. p. m. The Professor was mounting an elephant and with him was sitting Pandit Ram Asre Prashad with a national flag in his hand. Peasant brethren attended the procession in thousands and the fair resounded with shouts of "Mahatma Gandhi

ki Jai" and those of "Bande Matram." After that the procession came to an end at the place of meeting near the *khaddar* exhibition just in the Bazar at centre No. 8. After that the (proceedings of the) *Sammelan* were commenced.....I.....the services I have rendered to the *Mazdoor Ashram* making a mention of (my) *Sic* eighteen months' public services. After that the following resolutions were passed amidst the resounding shouts of "Mahatma Gandhi ki Jai" and "Bande Mataram." (Sir P. C. Roy is coming in the Christmas days, and a *Khaddar* exhibition will be held during those days):—

(1) This *Sammelan* invites the attention of the Chairman, District Board, and the District Magistrate, Meerut, (to the fact) that a number of persons occupy additional (lit. spare) site by spreading strings around (their place) at the *Garh Mukteshar* fair and get ready to commit criminal offence if any peasant brother tries to stop there. This custom should, therefore, be abolished and a rule (forbidding) every one to occupy land not more than that he requires ordinarily.

(2) This *Sammelan* strongly requests all the peasant brethren to popularise (lit. bring in vogue) *Charkha* in their houses and resolve that in future they will not use cloth other than the hand-spun and hand-woven one.

(3) This *Sammelan* requests the peasants and labourers that while living together in peace and amity and helping each other, they should always try that if any oppression (is practised on them) or pressure is brought to bear on them, they should oppose the same

unitedly. ... * ... * ... * ... * ... *
 * ... * ... * ... * ... * ...
 * .. * ... * ... * ... * ...

Translated by

Morid Husain, Urdu Translator

P. 187 (T).

To

The editor,

The *Bir Hindu*,

M e e r u t .

(Dear sir,)

I request you to oblige me by publishing the proceedings of the Workers Peasants' conference held on the 23rd and 24th March 1929 on the occasion of the Nauchandi fair.

The Workers and Peasants' Conference was held with great pomp and show on the occasion of the Nauchandi fair, Meerut, on the 23rd and 24th March 1928 under the presidentship of Shaukat Usmani.

The following resolutions were unanimously passed in the presence of thousands of peasants and workers. The credit of making this conference a success goes to Chaudhri Vejepal Singh M.L.C., Mr. Feroze-Uddin Mansur, Badri Parshad Wisal, Lakshman Sarup and the youngman Ram Asre Prasad. The conference was attended mostly by peasants and workers:—

"Bande Mataram"

The "*Mazdur Akhbar*,

(Meerut).

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

Translated by

Morid Husain,

Urdu Translator.

P. 187 (I).

Om.

Office of the

Mazdur Kisan Sangh.

District Workers and Peasants'

Conference, Meerut.

Dear editor,

I write to inform you that workers (and) Peasants' Conference will be held on the 22nd and 23rd. March 1928 on the occasion of the Nauchandi fair, Meerut, under the auspices of the Mazdur Kisan Sangh. Shriman Diwan Chaman Lal, M.A. Bar-at-Law, M.L.A. has consented to preside over the Labourers' conference and Mr. Mohanmad Ali Jinnah has been requested to accept the presidentship of the Peasants' conference. A Reception Committee has been formed. Inhabitants of the Meerut District are requested to become members of the Reception committee atonce and make the conference a success by rendering every sort-of help.

Yours etc., etc.,

Gauri Shankar Sharma

Secretary.

Morid Husain

Translator.

P. 198 [I].

Proceedings of the Kisan Sammelan held on the occasion of the Garh Mukteshar fair on the 7th November 1927.

On the 7th November 1927 on the occasion of the Garh Muktesar (Ganga Ashnan) fair a procession of Shriman Professor Dharamvir Singh M.L.C. mounting an elephant, was taken out. Along with the Professor Pandit Ram Asre Parshad also was mounting the elephant with a national flag in his hand. Peasants were going along with the procession in thousands. The procession commenced from the Mazdoor Ashram's camp centre No. 1 and ended at centre No. 3, close to the khaddar exhibition. The kisan sammelan commenced as soon as the procession ended. The Professor was elected as its President. In a short speech before the commencement of the meeting Pandit Gauri Shankar Sharma, Secretary, the Mazdoor Ashram, described..... (the original is torn here) of the Mazdoor Ashram, and after that the following resolutions were passed:-

(1) This Sammelan invites the attention of the Chairman, District Board and the District Magistrate, Meerut, (to the fact) that (the original torn her) persons occupy additional

(lit. spare) site by spreading stings around (their place) and get ready to commit criminal offence..... (original is torn here) tries to stop there. This custom should, therefore,..... (original torn here)..... should be made (forbidding) every one to occupy place not more than that he requires ordinarily.

Moved by Gauri Shankar Sharma, and seconded by Chaudhri Lakhai of Mauza Rasta.

This resolution was passed unanimously.

(2) This Sammelan strongly urges all the peasant and labourer brethren to popularise (lit. bring in vogue) *charlha* in their houses and to resolve that in future they will not use cloth other than the hand-spun and hand-woven one.

(Moved by L. Pearey Lal, of Hapur, and seconded by Chaodhri Kanak Singh Dorala).

(3) This Sammelan requests the peasants and labourers that while living in peace and unity and helping each other, they should always try that if any oppression (is practised on them) or pressure is brought to bear on them, they should oppose the same unitedly.

(Moved by Pandit Ram Asre Parshad and seconded by Chaudhri Data Ram).

Translated by

Morid Husain, Urdu Translator.

P. 192 (T).

A sign-board bearing the following:—

BANDEMATARAM

Office of "Mazdoor Kisan Sangh" (Workers and Peasants' Party), Meerut.

Morid Husain,

Urdu Translator.

6/XI.

P 198 (T).

The same as Exb. P. 172 T.

P. 205 (T).

RULES AND REGULATIONS

of the

TAUJAWAN BHARAT SABHA, PUNJAB,

Passed unanimously at the meeting held on the 1st May 1928, and (published) by the General Secretary The Naujawan Bharat Sabha, Punjab.

(Published at the Onkar Steam Press,
Lahore).

BANDE MATARAM.

1. Name.

(a) The name of the central Sabha (body) of the youngman in the Punjab will be the "Naujawan Bharat Sabha Punjab.

2. AIMS AND OBJECTS;—

(a) To establish a complete independent republic of labourers and peasants throughout India:

(b) To inspire in the hearts of youngmen of the country feelings of patriotism and spirit of sacrifice for forming a united nationality in India.

(c) To have nothing to do with communal bodies or other parties which persist in (having) separate communal representation and which disseminate communal ideas.

(d) To create the spirit of general toleration among the public considering religion as a matter of personal belief of man and to act upon the same fully.

(e) To show interest for and help every economic and social movement which is quite free from communal feelings and which is calculated to take us near our goal i.e. to establish a complete independent republic of labourers and peasants throughout India.

(f) To organise labourers and peasants.

3. CONSTITUTION:—

(a) The constitution of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha Punjab will comprise the following bodies.

1. Naujawan Bharat Conference.
2. Naujawan Bharat Sabha Punjab.
3. Naujawan Bharat Sabha according to districts.
4. Naujawan Bharat Sabhas according to Tahsils and Police stations.
5. Reception Committee of the Naujawan Bharat Conference.

Note:—The above mentioned Naujawan Bharat Sabhas can with the permission of the central Sabha hold conferences for the publication and dissemination of their principles.

4. CONDITIONS OF MEMBERSHIP:—

(a) For the membership of the bodies mentioned in rule 3 above every man and woman, who is of age between 18 and 35 years and who accepts the aims and objects given in rule 4 above is eligible to become a member.

(b) Every man and woman who will pay the monthly subscription of annas two is eligible for membership of any subordinate Naujawan Bharat Sabha except the central Naujawan Bharat Sabha Punjab.

(c) Those who have been members of any Naujawan Bharat Sabha before the age of 35 can continue as such even after that.

(d) The Executive Committee of a local Naujawan Bharat Sabha or the Naujawan Bharat Sabha Punjab will as a special case have the power to make those persons members whose age is more (than 35 years).

(e) Persons of more than 35 years of age will not be eligible to become office-bearers of any Sabha.

5. DELEGATE.

(a) The Naujawan Bharat Sabha of each district will be responsible for the election of delegates for the Naujawan Bharat Conference and no person is eligible to stand for election unless he is a member of any Naujawan Bharat Sabha.

(b) The number of delegates will be one-tenth or a fraction of the number of members in each District Naujawan Bharat Sabha.

(c) The members of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha, Punjab can join ex;officio a Naujawan Bharat Sabha and take part in it in the capacity of delegates.

(d) At the time of the election of delegates the Naujawan Bharat Sabha in each district can elect women also as delegates keeping in view (the question of) their interests and has the power to frame suitable rules for that election.

(e) The Naujawan Bharat Sabha in each district will send to the Reception Committee of the Naujawan Bharat Conference ten days before the holding of the conference a list of the elected delegates containing the names, occupation, age address, etc , of delegates, and it (the district Naujawan Bharat Sabha) will not have the power to make any alterations during this period.

6. SUBSCRIPTION ACCORDING TO DISTRICTS.

(a) The Naujawan Bharat Sabha in each district shall pay 25 percent of its annual income to the Naujawan Bharat Sabha Punjab.

(b) No member unless he has paid up all his dues (pertaining to) subscription, can at the time of the election of representatives and delegates, either give his vote or stand himself (for election).

7. CERTIFICATES OF DELEGATES.

(a) The Naujawan Bharat Sabha in each district is empowered to give to such elected delegates formal certificates, a copy of which is attached to the supplement.

8. FEE OF DELEGATES.

(a) Every delegate can after showing this delegation certificate and paying annas -/8/- as fee in the office of the Reception Committee, obtain a delegate ticket whereby he can regularly participate in the proceedings of the conference.

9. RIGHT TO VOTE AT THE CONFERENCE.

(a) Delegates alone will be entitled to vote in the conference and take part in all its proceedings.

10 *Election of The Office-Bearers of the Reception Committee.*

(a) The Reception Committee can elect its Chairman and other office-bearers from among its members only and recommend (the name of a person) for election as President of the conference to the working Committee of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha, Punjab, which will give final decision after taking the opinion of other Naujawan Bharat Sabhas.

(b) Two-third of the amount saved from the expenses of the conference will go to the Naujawan Bharat, Sabha, Punjab and one third to the local Naujawan Bharat Sabha.

11. *Naujawan Bharat Sabha, Punjab.*

(1) Each member of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha, Punjab, shall have to pay in advance annas -/8/- as subscription per mensem provided that the Executive -committee of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha, Punjab, does not exempt him from the payment of the subscription.

(2) If a member will not pay his subscription within a month after his election, the Secretary will remind him of the payment of his subscription through a 15 days notice:

(3) If, in pursuance of the rule mentioned in clause 2 of rule no 11, a member does not still pay his subscription within the prescribed period he will be reported against to the Working Committee of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha, Punjab which will have the power to cancel his election and remove his name from the list of the Provincial committee. The Naujawan Bharat Sabha, Punjab, will have the power to fill up the vacancies of such members.

(4) The Naujawan Bharat Sabha in each district will elect from among its own members such a number of members for the Naujawan Bharat Sabha Punjab as has been laid in Clause (b) of rule 5.

(5) The election of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha Punjab will be held in November, that of (lit: according to) districts in October and the local election in September.

(6) The right to elect (members) for the seats that fall vacant from time to time in the Naujawan Bharat Sabha Punjab owing to the resignation, death, or absence from the province of any persons or to any other reason shall be exercised by that constituency alone to which those persons belonged.

(7) Meetings of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha Punjab will, when required, be held from time to time to perform its duty but three meetings shall at the least be held in a year. Besides this (a meeting) can be called on the application of 15 members in writing containing clear reasons for the calling of a meeting.

(8) Naujawan Bharat Sabha Punjab shall be regarded as the Provincial Sabha till the new elections in the next year.

(9) If any district Naujawan Bharat Sabha or any other subordinate sabha does not act in accordance with the instructions of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha Punjab or if on suitable enquiry it is found that a subordinate Naujawan Bharat Sabha is not willing to

accept the supervision and guidance of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha, Punjab the Naujawan Bharat Sabha Punjab will have the power to disaffiliate that Naujawan Bharat Sabha and deprive it from all advantages it can have in its being affiliated to the Naujawan Bharat Sabha Punjab. If the Provincial Sabha so wishes it can establish a new Naujawan Bharat Sabha in that *ilaga*.

(10) Naujawan Bharat Sabha Punjab means that Sabha (body) which after being duly elected will carry on the programme annually passed by the Naujawan Bharat Sabha Conference and which can deal with (lit: interfere in) every fresh matter that may happen in a year and for which the annual conference may have given no instructions and in order to accomplish this task the Naujawan Bharat Sabha Punjab will have the power to formulate further regulations consistent with (lit in the light of) the constitution.

(11) The decisions of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha Punjab and of its subordinate Naujawan Bharat Sabhas shall be made by a majority of votes.

(12) Naujawan Bharat Sabha, Punjab, generally must hold its conference once a year; the fixing of the place and time will be in the hands of the working Committee of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha, Punjab.

(13) A Special meeting of the conference of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha Punjab will also be held provided that a majority of the Naujawan Bharat Sabhas are in its favour or it is so decided by the Naujawan Bharat Sabha (Punjab) itself. The President of this Naujawan Bharat Sabha conference will be elected by the Naujawan Bharat Sabha Punjab itself.

(14) The Naujawan Bharat Sabha Punjab shall give a practical shape to the programme annually passed at conference and in pursuance of rule mentioned in clause 10 of rule No. 11 it will have the power to execute all new task that may come before it.

(15) The President of the annual Naujawan Bharat Sabha conference shall also be the President of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha Punjab.

(16) The office-bearers of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha, Punjab, shall be as follows and they shall be elected annually

- (a) President.
- (b) Vice-President.
- (c) General Secretary.
- (d) Secretaries.
- (e) Cashier.

(17) Duties of the office-bearers mentioned in clause 16, rule no. 11 shall be as below:—

- (a) The President shall be responsible for all the work of the Sabha.
- (b) The Vice president is empowered to execute all the work of the President in the absence of the latter.
- (c) The General Secretary shall have to do office work of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha, Punjab and perform other duties in accordance with the orders of the President.
- (d) Secretaries shall be responsible for all the duties of the General Secretary during his absence or they shall perform other special duties entrusted to them.
- (e) The Treasurer shall be responsible for (keeping an) account etc. of the fund of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha, Punjab, and for receiving and making payments with the sanction of the President or the General Secretary.

(18) The Naujawan Bharat Sabha Punjab shall of its own accord deposit its fund in any bank and the President, the General Secretary and the Treasurer shall be entitled to deposit money in, or draw money from, the bank.

(19) The Naujawan Bharat Sabha Punjab will be constituted in the following way:—

- (a) Working Committee of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha, Punjab.
- (b) Executive Committee, Naujawan Bharat Sabha, Punjab.
- (c) General Committee of Naujawan Bharat Sabha, Punjab.

(20) The members and quorum of the Committee mentioned in clause 19, rule No. 11 shall be as follows:—

- (a) The working Committee will consist of eleven members and its quorum shall be of five (members).
- (b) The Executive Committee shall consist of 25 members and ten members shall form its quorum.
- (c) The (number of the) members of the General Committee shall be equal to that given in clause (b) of rule No. 11 and one-third of its number shall form its quorum.

(21) The proceedings of the committees mentioned in clause 19 (a) and (b) shall be placed before the General Committee of the Provincial Sabha (Naujawan Bharat Sabha, Punjab).

12. Subjects Committee.

- (a) All the members of the Provincial Sabha alone shall be the members of the Subjects Committee of the coming general or special conference.
- (b) The subjects committee shall hold its meeting a day prior to

the conference (and) the proposed President of the conference shall be the President of the Subjects Committee.

Besides, the Secretaries shall have to prepare a draft of the programme (proposed) for the ensuing year and shall also have to move the resolutions received from the district Sabhas or from any member,

- (c) The Subjects Committee shall consider at its own meeting the programme placed before it and shall then draft a resolution to be moved at the general meeting. The Subjects Committee can hold its meetings as many times as required.
- (d) Only those resolutions shall be moved at the Naujawan Bharat Conference which have been passed at the Subjects Committee meetings.

13. Audit of Accounts.

- (a) The accounts of the Reception committee shall be regularly audited. The Naujawan Bharat Sabha Punjab, will be empowered to appoint an auditor and the (work of) examining and auditing the accounts, etc., must be finished within four months.
- (b) The accounts of the expenditure of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha, Punjab, its subordinate Sabhas and of the conference will be published after they are audited.
- (c) Naujawan Bharat Sabha, Punjab, shall appoint an auditor to audit the annual accounts of the District Naujawan Bharat Sabhas.

14. The power to remove from membership.

- (a) The Executive Committee of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha shall have the power to expel any member from the membership of any Sabha without assigning any reason for it.

15. Alteration and amendment.

- (a) The Executive Committee of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha, Punjab can alter and amend these rules when necessity occurs.

BANDE MATRAM.

Delegation Certificate.

No.....Date.....

To

The Secretary,

The Naujawan Bharat Sabha Conference.

My (dear Sir,

I certify that No.....name.....is a member of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha.....The Naujawan Bharat Sabhaelects him as a delegate to attend the Naujawan Bharat Conference. Please allow him to participate in the conference and oblige.

Yours truly,

Secretary,

Naujawan Bharat Sabha,

.....

BANDE MATARAM.

Form of membership of the.....branch of the Naujawan

Bharat Sabha Punjab, Lahore.

Member's No.....Date.....

To

The Secretary,

The Naujawan Bharat Sabha.

I have carefully studied the aims and objects of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha.....and I approve them in every way, and I have no connection with any such communal society as may be against the aims of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha.....I do hereby solemnly declare that in accordance with the orders of the said Sabha I will not refrain from making any kind of sacrifice for establishing a complete and independent republic of workers ^{and} peasants throughout India. So you may please oblige me by granting me the honour of the membership of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha.

Further I.....pay annas 8 as subscription in advance and will in future pay the subscription regularly.

Signatures.....

Name.....

Signatures.....

Name.....

Age.....

Full Address.....

.....

.....

Translated by

MORID HUSAIN

Translator.

This is a book entitled "Bolshevism" otherwise known as "Inqilab-i-Rus" (Revolution of Russia) compiled by Mehta Anand Kishore, ex-Secretary, Bharat Mata, Lahore, at the request of Om Perakash Sahni and Bros., booksellers and publishers, Inside Lohari Gate, Lahore, and published at the Punjabi Press, Lahore, under the management of Lala Diwan Chand proprietor.

The book as its name implies describes the Russian revolution.

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Page 70. Mr. Lenin, the leader of the Bolshevik movement, also admits to be the follower of Marx. He studied the books and works of Marx, became his true disciple and began to preach Marxism in a practical way. Lenin asserts that he moves not an inch beyond Marxism (and that) he is fully acting upon Marx's principles.

There is not the least difference between Marxism and Bolshevism. Marx wants to remove capital from the world and Bolsheviks too do not want to let any capitalist exist in the world. Marx says that land is the joint property of all human beings and the Bolsheviks also say that land belongs to him who cultivates it.

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Page 72. If Marx's principles are brought into practice in the whole world to-day, then the problem of poverty can be solved forthwith (lit: to-day) and no poverty stricken and poor person will be seen in the world.

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Page 114. The principle of Bolsheviks is that society should be established on democratic principles. In these days people possess capital individually and he who possesses it can derive benefit from it. This is the root-cause of evil and it is through this that mutual disunity springs up and it leads us to conflict. If this law of private property & inheritance is abolished and if this private wealth becomes the wealth of the nation, then all disputes will come to an end then and there, the whole world will become a big family,

all the people will labour hard according to their capacity and will obtain necessities of life as required.

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Page 115 }
and 116. }

The socialists say what is the necessity of rule. When all people become a family, they will conduct their affairs through mutual help & there is no need for any rule or law. Marx & Lenin too admit that in the course of progress such a time can also come when there may remain no need for rule or law and people may conduct their affairs themselves.

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The Moscow manifesto.

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* * * *

Bolshevism.....

Page 122. All labouring people should unite and destroy the system based on oppression and repression and after freeing themselves from it take in their own hands the management of the society and of their own (affairs)

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Page 123. The new Government should take possession of all big banks, take factories of all kinds under their control, confiscate big holdings, and distribute them among the peasants.

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Page 124. National debts should be abolished and the army too should be dismissed thereby many people will join labourers of their own accord. Boards elected by the people should be established for the the management of factories.

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Only those people can expect justice from the present-day British courts whose bags are full of rupees and sovereigns, and God alone comes to the rescue (lit: is the protector) of the poor and the weak. The object of British law is that the poor and the rich should derive equal advantage from it but it is regrettable that the greatest offence on the part of the poor is that he is poor. This is why obstacles arise in the way of seeking justice.

* * * * *

Morid Husain,
Urdu Translator.

P. 207 (T).

KIRTI (Urdu Edition) for the month of March 1929.

Presidential address read out at the Second Session of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha, Punjab, at Lahore.

Brethren:—

I heartily thank you for the honour you have bestowed upon me by making me the President of (this) conference. Prior to me Lala Kidar Nath Sahgal has adorned the Presidential Chair of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha. The ability, capacity and sacrifice with which he has given a lead to the youngmen of the Punjab have fallen to his lot only and it is due to his patriotism and (spirit of) sacrifice that he is soon to become a guest of the Government. Youngmen of the Punjab cannot too fully honour this servant of the nation and country. When I take into consideration the heavy responsibility you are placing upon me, I think myself unfit (to bear it). How good it would have been if you had elected as President a youngman of better understanding, more ability and one who could feel the pulse of the world better (than myself)

so that all of us might have been able to face adequately the calamity that is befalling the Naujawan Bharat Sabha, Punjab. But when you ordered me to take up the service of Presidentship, I had no alternative but to accept it, (lit: bow my head in obedience.)

A year has not yet elapsed when the Naujawan movement was started. The popularity and reputation which it has gained during this period is as bright as sun. The Naujawan (i. e. youth movement) was started in the Punjab at the time when other provinces had begun to call it by the name of the 'Ulster' (of India), (when) the Punjab had become the arena of Hindu-Muslim riots and contentions, (when) a brother was cutting the throat of his brother, *Shudhi* and *Tabligh* were at their full swing, most of our time-serving leaders were conducting the movements (and) had bid adieu to nationalism with a view to protecting Islam and saving Hinduism and Sikhism, (when) it was an ordinary thing to shed the blood of strangers (i. e. men belonging to other religions) in the name of religion and *dharm* (and when) a Hindu was a mortal foe of a Mussalman while a Mussalman regarded Hindus and Sikhs as infidels and considered it an act of merit to kill them. In short, such a fire of hatred and enmity had broken out that may God protect us. Even now when that period is recalled to memory, hair on the body stand on their ends. This was the time when the sense of self-respect of the youngmen of the Punjab was roused. The youngmen of the Punjab saw that the unwashable blot of infamy was being cast on the forehead of the Punjab under their very nose (lit: eyes) that is the Punjab has begun to be considered—like the Ulster in Ireland—an obstacle in the way of the political freedom of India (—incomplete). At that time it also began to be talked of that the Punjab might be left out if it was unable to settle its own disputes, nay, the Anglo-Indian newspapers had begun to carry on a propaganda (to the effect) that no reforms should henceforth be given to the Punjab. In these circumstances the youngmen of the Punjab resolved that they would not allow the Punjab to be (thus) branded. They thought that their lives were of no avail if during their life-time a blot was cast on the Punjab which had offered the largest number of sacrifices in the sacrificial pit of freedom. The picture of Young Kartar Singh, sacrifice incarnate, Bhai Balmokand martyr of the country and Madan Lal Dhingra, Hafiz Abdulla, Shri Ashfaq Ullah, devotees of the nation, began to pass before their eyes. They girt up their loins to change this state (of affairs). A large number of youngmen went to such length (lit: got ready to such an extent) that if their religions taught them to thirst for one another's blood, consider one another as *malchh* and infidel and to be one another's mortal foes merely on their being born in Hindu, Muslim and Sikh houses, they were prepared to say good-bye to

such religions for the sake of freedom and (their) country. All of you (lit: the gentlemen) know that the Naujawan Bharat Sabha had once to pass through such times that even its very existence was in danger at the hands of the so called religions people. I do not want to go into details about the propaganda and agitation carried on against us by the communalists in the press, for it is a matter of only a few months back and is known to you too well.

Seeing the calamities coming the youngmen of the Punjab did not lose heart. The more the bigoted people opposed them, the more strong and steady they became. They had come out to make every (sort of) sacrifice for the sake of the country and it was only the beginning. In short they joined hands with few congressmen who had escaped being swept away by the communal current & created such an atmosphere in the country that comunal riots were atleast abated if not completely ended. If there was any defect left, it was removed by the arrival of Simon and Co., and thanks be to God, the people again began to live together in the country as brothers and think out plans for the welfare of the country.

COMMUNALISM AND WE.

There is no doubt that Communal riots and dissensions have decreased, but the pestilence of demand for communal representation (lit: Communal demands) have not yet abated. There is still a sufficient number of those selfish and interested people who say "settle affairs with us and accede to our such and such demands, otherwise we shall either join hands with the Government or shall take no part in the National Movement". Those who advise the people not to take part in a national and patriotic movement, however, opposed to the Government they may be, strengthen the hands of the Government and thus help it, if not directly, (at any rate) indirectly by remaining neutral. It can be said without being contradicted that these people are demanding the price of treachery. At present when the enemy wants to crush us with all its forces what is needed is that we should unite (lit: become one life) after sinking our differences and offer a strong opposition to the enemy. But these people want to achieve their own object no matter whether the nation may go to dogs. I know it full well that our members are quite free from this communal poison, but it is clear that we shall still have to face these communalists.

What these *Tabligh' Shuddhi*, and (?) creating splits mean is that "the members of our community may increase in number so that a large number of our representatives may go to legislative bodies and we may derive more benefit." Lala Lajpat Rai had said that religion also was a question of rupees, annas and pies. This has been found to be correct. These people want to secure more

rights for their community at the cost of the country and nationalism. In fact, if it be carefully seen (it will be found) that these people are not fighting even for their community. They are fighting for their own rights and those of (the members of) their party (forming part) of that community (to which they belong) by making an appeal in the name of religion, for each individual belonging to that community will not become a member. It will be they who will become members. And as these richmen are educated and clever persons in the party or are toys in the hands of rich men, they alone will go in the legislatures and safeguard the rights of their party and even those who go to the Councils by making appeal in the name of religion will not protect the rights of the poor people belonging to their community as the interests of the latter clash with those of their rich co-religionists. And this has happened not once but many times in the councils at the time of (debates on the question of) the remission of land-revenue on plots of land yielding no profitable return or the reduction of the rate of interest by legislation. Thus rich people are using religion as a weapon for their own benefits and objects. This is not all. There is one thing more also. If the demands for communal representation are dropped, they are not so able and competent as to (successfully) compete with our patriots and go to councils, nor have they ever made any sacrifice for the country. So they are fighting for their own selfish motives in every respect. In other words these people want to go in the Legislatures not on the basis of ability and competency but on the basis of their having certificates of tufts of hair (on their heads) and the sacred threads, or of their being circumcised and having performed the *haj* (pilgrimage) twice or of their being "Amratdharis" and wearing the five *kakars*. What can be more deplorable than this? In really at present religion means nothing but to see to the interests of the few rich people of a community. So long as the people are illiterate, selfish and interested people will likewise go on exploiting them after making them drink the hemp of bigotry. It is our duty to expose the real facts to them so that they may know the real state affairs (lit : reality).

WHAT DO WE WANT ?

Last year the Congress at Calcutta passed the resolutions of dominion status or the colonial form of Government, but the aim of we, youngmen, as given in the rules and regulations, is to secure complete independence. Now the question arises why we want complete independence and not dominion status. What has happened to us that we are crying for complete independence when our revered, experienced and old leaders see the welfare of the country in colonial form of Government only. After all, what are the reasons for it?

We want to say this clearly that we are deadly opposed to imperialism. Why; for what reason? It is so because the existing imperialistic hold is opposed to (the interests of) Indians. This hold means that Indians may be kept in social economic and political slavery and that India may be used for the interests of the English. That is for the peasants this hold means that *lagan* and land revenue may be realised from them after keeping them starving and that by means of armed force and legislation they may always be kept slaves to the people who exploit them. For the labourers in cities this hold means that whenever they go on strike for having their legitimate demands conceded, bullets may be fired on them and they may be killed in dozens. For clerks and other professional people this hold means that the treatment of racial distinction may be meted out to them that they may be prevented from further promotion (lit-making progress) and that they may be kept in penury by imposing heavy taxes on necessities of life and by reserving Government posts and services for the ruling body. For the middle classes in India this hold means that they also may continue to hold secondary position in trade and business and that they may be checked by various legal measures if they wish to promote trade so that India may remain safe for British exploitation alone.

Thus imperialism is an inveterate (lit : immediate) enemy of all kinds of people, for it exploits India and Indians (lit : uses them for its benefits). To wage war against imperialism means that war may be waged against that starving profit which the foreigners are deriving from India, so that India and its people may be able to prosper.

British Government stands in our way when we advance to attain social independence. So we clearly see that the only obstacle in (the way of) our independence is the British Government. We should, therefore, drive it out of the country first of all, and then alone we can attain social independence.

Thus independence for the Indian people means that the British Imperialistic hold should be completely got rid of, i. e. complete independence should be secured, for no independence short of this can in any way check imperialistic exploitation, which means that alien civilised decoits may ever continue to loot India and we may never get rid of this loot.

COLONIES.

If it may be considered that imperialism means continuous loot, no one can ever agree (to have) colonial form of Government. If, however, there can be any persons to accept it, they can be such persons as like to loot the Indian masses like the English, for otherwise if no person aims at looting the Indian masses, complete independence alone should then be the goal of India.

If colonial form of Government is established in India, there will be no great change in the existing (form of) Government except that Englishmen will be replaced by Indians in the Civil Service. Under the colonial form of Government :

(1) There will be no change in native states which are the centre of *badmashi* and where human rights are badly trampled under foot, that is the present dissolute and extravagant Maharajas will continue to go to England and lavishly spend the hard-earned money of the people in parties and other profligacies.

(2) British guns and aeroplanes will keep their hold over India and India will be suppressed, like Egypt, whenever it will rise against the British Government.

(3) Indians shall have to pay hundreds of millions of rupees outstanding against them as debt, which means that India will economically remain a slave for centuries and in this age a country which is slave from economic point of view can never be free politically. Besides, this debt has without any rhyme and reason been thrust upon India.

[4] British interests will be safeguarded in India and they [i. e. Englishmen] will be able to carry on trade without any obstruction and will keep their hold over this country by [their] capital, for if British capital remained in this country, military ammunition would be kept here for its protection. British history shows that at first they start trade [in a country] and subsequently under the pretext of protecting trade, they take possession of that country by dint of their military power. In this way independence in India will mean nothing but slavery. Youngmen will never like such a Government. They want such a Government as may be free from the above mentioned evils, and as may keep the Indian-masses prosperous and well-off.

Independence of two kinds.

There is difference between independence (of one kind) and independence (of the other). One kind of independence is that under which rulers change. In other words, if India attains independence, it will mean that British capitalists, traders and imperialists will be replaced by Indian capitalists, traders & imperialists, i.e. brown bureaucracy will come into power and this bureaucracy will like the former white bureaucracy, use the Indian people for their economic benefits and also loot, like the British, the poor labourers and peasants. This can be called an independence from the view point of the people belonging to the middle-class in India, but this independence will bring about no noteworthy change in the condition of the poor labourers and peasants & like before they will continue to fall prey to poverty, unemployment and starvation. Can the

Indian masses gain anything from such independences? And can they prosper under such independence? No; never.

The other kind of independence is that which in the real sense of the world is independence for the masses, i. e. peasants and the labourers. Labourers and peasants alone are producers of the whole wealth. Those who supply food-stuffs, should not themselves die of starvation. The children of those who prepare cloth and they themselves should not remain naked, nor should they who build palaces pass their lives in huts and dens. How unjust it is that those who prepare things that provide facilities do not get anything at all? So we want not only a change of Government but we also want to put an end to that system, by which one man can use another for his own personal and economic interests. So long as this is not done, condition of the masses cannot be improved in any way. This is why we want an independence which will yield to labourers and peasants full harvest of their labour, i. e. which will have put an end to landlordism. No one will hold the monopoly of the sources of production distribution and exchange. All will work and eat. He will get no bread who will not work. But the independence for (the attainment of) which efforts are being now made is of the first kind. An opportunity occurs in the history of all the countries when the middle-classes fight with the usurpers for making unchecked progress. They seize their rights from their rulers and slowly and steadily go on achieving success with the result that ultimately they get hold of the reins of their country. At present the revolution on the part of middle-classes is in progress. They are gradually seizing their rights from the Government and the day is not far off when these people will not only seize all the rights from the Government but will also get hold of the reins of the country, i. e. the revolution on the part of middle-classes in India will prove a success and these people will take possession of the Indian throne, but their mentality and their policy will be identical with that of imperialists, and this will bring about no special change in the condition of the masses. For this reason the masses shall have to prepare themselves for mass action (lit: republican revolution) and shall have to fight for their rights.

At present the alien imperialism is looting us and also is not permitting these middle-classes to prosper according to their wishes. This is why they and we are opposed to this imperialism interests lie in this that we should first expel it i. e. the British and our Government, which is imperialism incarnate. We young-men should, therefore, prepare the masses so that we might in cooperation with the middle-classes be soon able to drive out the British Government. But we should not mix our goal with that of theirs even for a single minute, for their goal is a halting place on the road to our goal. Instead

of fighting with the foreigners we shall fight with each other (lit: the fight then finishes outside and springs up in our house). Our independence is, therefore, different from that of the middle-classes.

In short we should join the Congress and take great part (in it), but we should never forget our programme and should, as far possible, continue to try incessantly that the Congress might include our programme in its programme. This can be (possible) only if we youngmen whose interests are connected with (those of) the masses owing to (sic) poverty and unemployment. Besides, we youngmen believe in the ideal which may not enable a man to exploit another man, nor may injustice, oppression and loot continue to exist in the world any longer on the existing lines. On the other hand (we hold) that all men should be free and equal and enjoy equal rights. That is equality, brotherhood and independence in the true sense of the word should reign supreme in India. We therefore should, keeping our programme in view, get ourselves enlisted in the Congress and carry on the movement for freedom so vigorously that the foreigners might soon quit the country bag and baggage.

Real significance (lit: reality) of laws.

Several men may now perhaps ask the question "Well; what new thing do you want? All persons are already alike in the eyes of law". But those understand the real significance of this law, know the sort of law in the eyes of which all people are alive. Does not a rich man exercise the same dominance over a poor under the existing system as a strong (lit: fierce) man did over a weak man in the savage age; that is laws which have been enacted simply with a view to protect property permit a rich man to loot the labour of a poor workman any way he likes and to use him for his own interests? Again, it is because of these laws that a rich man can commit a murder and he may no doubt die a natural death but he can have his case transferred from one court to another with the aid of money and in this way may undoubtedly continue going to courts throughout his life but he cannot be sentenced to death, while a poor man is executed at the evidence of four witnesses. Is that what is called equality? The existing system has been made with a view to maintain capitalism and imperialism, but we want to put an end to it. So the system that we want to establish will be quite different from it. The independence we are trying to attain is different from the one for the attainment of which the people are making efforts. It is laid down in our aims (and objects) that we want to establish 'complete republic of the labourers and peasants in India,' but at present our brethren want to lay the foundations of independence on the principles on which the Government is now being carried on, that is instead of the British they themselves will

take up the reins (of Government) and use the Indian labourers and peasants for the interests of the rich people. But we, who find our interests linked with those of the masses, can establish a republic of the labourers and peasants only if we make them fully understand what the present system and the one that is to follow it mean for them. It behoves us to frame a programme covering the needs of the masses to organise them (the masses) and create so much power in them that they may gird up their loins for the protection of their rights.

At any rate, the greatest and the most important work at present before us is to turn the British imperialism out of the country. We youngmen should get prepared for it, and make the greatest sacrifices. To obtain complete independence from the British Government will be the first step of our victory. In order to attain this victory we should not refrain from sacrificing the dearest thing, nay even our lives, for the liberty of slave countries is always attained after shedding the blood of thousands and lakhs of youngmen.

The Next Congress.

The Punjab has invited the Congress to hold its next session (here). This has placed a very heavy responsibility upon the Punjab.

A very heavy duty (which) rests upon we youngmen on the next Congress Session is that we should render as much help as we can to make it a success. We should get ourselves enlisted as volunteers for the service of (our) coming guests. The Congress Reception Committee will stand in need of thousands of volunteers: We shall have to sacrifice (our) time and get ourselves enlisted as volunteers. The honour and prestige of the province depends upon the success of the Congress and so in order to maintain the honour and prestige of our province we shall have to make every possible effort and render every kind of assistance demanded by the Congress Reception Committee.

We shall then have to frame a programme in respect of the Congress to the effect that we may raise the standard of complete independence in the Punjab on the next session and the resolution that may be passed at that time should be so clear that it might not have the least room for (creating) misunderstanding or (for being) equivocal so that the Punjab which was (once) the arena of communal riots might have the pride of proving to be the standard-bearer of complete independence in India, i.e. the world might be able to say that "the stone that was rejected by the mason became the corner stone". It is now the duty of the youngmen to make the Punjab the "corner stone" of the palace of independence.

Our Future Programme.

While we shall have to strengthen our organisation, we shall have to come in the Congress in such an overwhelming number next year that we may be able to influence its proceedings. And this can be done only if we strengthen our organisation in every city and town to such an extent that it may out-do all other organisations. If we do so, it will not be a thing of dream to gain power in the Congress, for when we shall so desire, we shall go into the congress as a party and create our influence (lit: power) there.

Our programme till the election of the Congress, should be to establish branches of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha in every corner of the Punjab. The Naujawan Bharat Sabha has earned a name and stability in the Punjab and the people in general have begun to consider it as their Sabha. Although a sufficient number of Sabhas have so far been established, still this success cannot be given so much importance as to enable us to be considered of some value in India. We should make it so strong that even our opponents might be convinced of our existence. We should now go to villages and deliver to the people the message of the liberty of the country. They are prepared to hear this message, but they can accept it only if they are told what effect liberty will have on their condition. We youngmen should, therefore, now resolve to spread a network of our organisations in every corner of the Punjab in the next eight months and should not take rest until we have secured independence in our country.

The burden of the liberty of Mother India lies mostly on the shoulders of youngmen and they alone can cut asunder the chains of Mother India, for they can shed their precious-blood for the sake of liberty. Old men become calculating like Baniyas and they start every matter after calculating profit and loss. So we should not now expect any sacrifice from old men. Whatever sacrifice they have made is sufficient. They cannot make more sacrifice now, for the burden of age has cooled down their blood. It is the young men alone whose blood is hot and who do not know how to calculate and who can make incessant sacrifices for making India more beautiful and prosperous. We the youngmen of India are in no way inferior to those of any other country. We also can do what the youngmen in other countries have done and can do. If the youngmen and students in China have made matters very hard for the foreigners by boycotting their goods, we also can do the same. If Egyptian youngmen had taken a great part in the boycott of the Milner Commission and in the struggle for freedom, we also have done the same and can do so. In short, the youngmen of India can do everything. Only the right kind of guidance is required. Youngmen can lead themselves, for, for old men

are now becoming reactionaries and cannot work in cooperation with youngmen.

Saunders Murder and our Movement.

The most important and the most essential question which I have not so far discussed is that the British Government want to crush our Youth movement. Saunders, the Police officer, was murdered on the 17th December. It is not known who murdered him and for what purpose, but the Government began to lay its hands on the persons connected with the Youth Movement, and under cover of this murder arrested all the workers of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha and the Students' Union, who were rankling like a thorn in its eyes & threw them into jail. It threatened and frightened them and did not permit (any one) to provide them with beds and food and to interview them. In short, after the commission of the murder, the police established a "Police Raj" and committed arbitrary acts which did lot of harm especially to students. I mention the names of Mr. Dhanwantri, Virindar and other members of the students, 'Union, for we are all-alone (lit stark-naked) and have come out for this purpose after wearing the winding-sheet on our head, but the indiscriminate arrests of these young students, who are busy with their studies and who are not yet taking a prominent part in politics show what 'Police Raj' can do. We cannot too fully appreciate the courage, boldness and bravery with which they have faced these troubles for the sake of the country.

The zeal displayed by the Police at the time of these arrests is perhaps unprecedented in its history. It was daily expected that some conspiacy might be concocted, but, although innocent persons are generally punished, still this time the Government Police released some of the innocent persons and prosecuted others for some other offence, i. e. when the Police could not prosecute our workers for (the offence of) murdering Saunders, instituted cases of sedition against them and thus kept them confined to jail. At present cases against, Lala Kedar Nath Sehgal, the first President of our Naujawan Bharat Sabha, Lala Ram Chandar, Asst. Editor of the *Bande Matram* (Lahore), who was a member of our Executive Committee and Munshi Ahmed Din, General Secretary Naujwan Bharat Sabha, Ludhiana, are *sub-judice*. P'anda Sant Ram, who is a member of our Sabha, is also being prosecuted in a sedition case.

I want to declare in clear words on behalf of the Sabha that we do not believe in individual terrorism'. We believe in "revolutionary mass action" only and this is the only method with us by which we can secure complete independence. This is why we lay stress on the organisation of masses and believe that we shall attain complete independence by this method alone, for neither do we believe in the compromises, etc., on which our leaders have built up their hopes, nor can they get us anything. So our path is clear and we

are prepared to undergo every hardship while pursuing this path.

By these arrests the Government wanted to sweep out of existence the Naujawan Bharat Sabha, Punjab and Student's Union, which are popular with the youngmen of the Punjab, but will the youngmen in the Punjab give a reply to this challenge of the Punjab Government manfully, or will they remain sitting quietly? Our existence depends on the reply to this challenge. If our existence remained intact, we can do everything, but when our very existence does not remain intact, we cannot do anything at all. I am confident that the Youngmen of the Punjab will give such a reply to this challenge, as it should be.

The very holding of this Conference proves that we have life in us & that we have girt up our loins to make every sort of sacrifice for the maintenance of our organisation, for the "right of association is a right cannot be foregone at any cost,

Before the murder of (Mr) Saunders the Government had already arrested our workers one by one. Sardar Gopal Singh Qaumi was arrested first of all and thrown into jail. Subsequent to that Master Kabul Singh of Jullundur and Balwant Singh of Hoshiarpur were sentenced to three years imprisonment each. In other words the Government was deadly against our Sabha (lit was pursuing our Sabha closely in spite of every thing) and wanted to crush it. This is why it is arresting the workers of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha one after the other.

War

Last time when we had assembled, I had spoken about the danger of (the outbreak of) a new war and how that war is being seen fast approaching and it is not known when this big demon, who always feels satisfied after unhesitatingly making human being the victims (lit morsel) of cannon may again show its ominous appearance. Our policy regarding this is quite clear (and that is) that if the war breaks out, we shall raise a storm of an agitation in the country, so that India may not give any sort of help to the British imperialism.

Public safety Bill and youngmen.

Public Safety Bill is now being introduced in india. Communist ideas will be checked by this bill. In other words this bill is in reality being framed for us, for ours is the only body which wants to establish a republic of labourers and peasants in India. In their speeches Home Member and several other Government members have said that communist ideas are spreading with rapidity among the youngmen in India. That these ideas are harmful and that society apprehends serious danger from them. Considering us as simple-minded persons they have introduced this bill with a view to save us

from these ideas and they appear to be very anxious for our good. But are these ideas really dangerous. I think that these ideas are in no way dangerous for us. They are, however, really dangerous for the existing system which is based on the foundations of capitalists and imperialism. These ideas which are leading us towards revolution are a hundred blessings to us, for they "will do us no harm, nay our chains (of slavery) will be broken asunder and we shall get a (new) world". But, these (ideas) can really be dangerous for those who are ruling this country and whose Government will soon vanish away by these ideas.

I want to ask those who are anxious for our good, not to be anxious on our account. We ourselves shall take care of us. We know full well which ideas are useful for us and which are not, for we are not milk-sucking children that we cannot understand our profit and loss. We know full well that our salvation lies in socialist ideas alone, for these are the ideas which alone can completely liberate (us) from imperialism and capitalism, the two great curses of the world.

Imperialist ideas have so far been holding sway in India, that is the propaganda which these people have been carrying on in their favour have been proving very useful for them, for they have so far been ruling the country through it (i.e. this propaganda). But the youngmen in India now refuse to accept these ideas and themselves prepare a path for them. During the middle ages, Popes and priests used to prescribe books for the people so that they might stick to those very ideas (given in those prescribed books) and might not be able to think anything for themselves. These Popes and priests regarded the people as fools and wanted to keep them entangled in such views as might not enable them to get rid of their slavery. Our Government now also takes us as fools and wants to keep us in a circle from which we may not be able to get rid of its slavery. But, can the youngmen bear such a humiliation and act upon the selfish counsels of the Government?

If freedom of thought and freedom of speech mean something there is no reason why people should in any way be prevented from adopting any sort of views, for every person has a right of entertaining and is free to entertain and act upon the ideas he likes. No other person has any right whatsoever to unnecessarily interfere with any person's views without any rhyme and reason.

Some thousand years ago the citizens of Rome poisoned Socrates to death because he was promulgating new ideas. But the time came when the world began to consider that the people of Rome were mistaken and were murderers, for they had killed their respectable man for nothing, while Socrates was admitted to be innocent and on the right. Who can say that the ideas which are considered to be an evil by the people and which are not regarded

as an evil by us may tomorrow prove a source of salvation and blessing to the society? We shall undoubtedly have to face troubles and hardships for these ideas (and) we are even prepared to bear everything. Besides, if we so wish, we always have the right to change our ideas, but we do not admit that any person has a right to come from a foreign land and try to make us accept any ideas.

Concluding remarks.

I have engaged you for a sufficient time. I shall finish (my address) after saying a word (lit: thing) or two. Bernard Shaw had once said that if a person, who had studied something of the existing social system, is not a revolutionary, he is then a man of mean nature. We have sufficiently studied the existing social system. Is that system under which thousands nay lakhs of God's men die in agony on account of hunger (and) under which people prepare to commit suicide and commit suicide in thousands on account of unemployment and starvation fit to be retained for even a minute? Is that system of Government under which peasants who produce wheat, rice, millet and different kinds of pulses for the world are not only themselves longing for a piece of bread, but also their children die under their very nose crying violently for food (lit. corn) fit to remain in existence even for a moment? Should such a system, under which those who prepare Persian carpets do not get a matting to sleep on (and) under which those who build palaces do not get a hut to live in (lit: conceal their head) at night, be allowed to remain as it is? What more injustice! can there be than this that the people who become exhausted by toiling the whole day-long do not get food to their bellyful? Is it not unjust that while one should earn, another should enjoy (at his expense)? Will not this injustice (lit; mal-administration) be remedied in anyway? Will not any one rise against this oppression? In fact the people, who do not start revolution against this worthless, rotten system which is based on the principle of inequality (and) who do not gird up their loins against a system which permits richmen and capitalists to loot the poor and labourers, are men of mean nature. Every youngman should revolt against the existing worthless and absurd usages and customs and we should bid adieu to our slavish mentality. Every Indian should raise the standard of *jihad* (religious war) against bigotry and anti-national communalism. Then alone we can get rid of social, political and economic slavery. (We) should say good-bye to everything, however dear it might be, which might stand in our way to overthrow the existing system. We should smash into pieces and throw down everything that places an obstacle in our way, for a new palace cannot be erected on old foundations. We shall have to dismantle the old building before erecting the new. Consequently at the time of dismantling and demolishing (the old building) we

should not at all be afraid (of anything) like a surgeon who performs operations.

In memory of devotees of the country

Now that we are about to begin working together, we should first of all think of those exiles, internees and prisoners who are falling a victim to different kinds of hardships and diverse calamities for the sake of the freedom of the nation and the country and who are bearing every sort of calamity with a smiling face. We should create in us the kind of firm determination, spirit of sacrifice, spirit of freedom which they had. Then alone we can succeed in the war for freedom, otherwise the path we have adopted is very impassable and it is just possible that a large number of us may fall in the battle-field before reaching the goal, for as a matter of fact we are the forerunners of that Youth Movement, the foundations of which will be laid with our bones and blood. For this reason do not think that you will get a reward for your sacrifice and work in your lifetime and that independence will be attained. On the other hand you should think that you are to become martyrs for the sake of the country and this is the greatest reward that you can get for the service of the nation, for there is no honour for a man greater than this that he keeps an ideal in view and sacrifices himself for it. Nor should you believe that detailed accounts of your achievements will be published in press. On the other hand you should remember that no one is found to lament the death of or sing elegies for, those who sacrifice themselves for the sake of liberty.

BANDE MATARAM.

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P. 302 [T].

The Pyami—Mazdur (Bombay) of the 3rd March 1929 publishes the followidg:—

“Condition of Labourer”

“The Capitalist won the game by crooked moves, “And..... the labourer suffered defeat owing to his utter simplicity.”

All men know that labour is the fountain of wealth in these days, but the truth is that the condition of the labourer is worse than that of the non-labourer. How strange that he who works should starve and he who keeps sitting idle should live in a magnificent building, take nice food, go out for a walk every evening, take rest in *tattis* and *Khas* in the hot days and warm his room, in winter. While one man uses ten rooms, the condition of the labourer is that he takes dirty food, wears old and torn clothes (and) the whole of his family live in a single room in a dirty house (He) has nothing in his pocket to buy medicine with so as to save himself from disease, his pockets being empty he is unable to rent a house and so sleeps on road, the burning ground and mosquitoes (trouble) him in summer and dew and cold wind in the winter. The whole day long he becomes a part of the machinery (lit.) factory and a victim to helplessness throughout the night. (He takes) rest neither at night nor in the day time. Well, can this be called life?

All human beings in the capacity of human beings are alike. Labourer as a man is as much entitled to the world's wealth as a factory owner and a capitalist

What are the ordinary necessities of a man's life?

Food, clothes (and) house.

What is the food of a labourer? Half boiled rice, bread of a cheap and rotten corn, ordinary cooked pulse, sometimes a chilly and pieces (lit: grains) of salt and sometimes an onion only.

What is the effect of this food on body and brain?

The brain is weak, he) cannot think over anything thoroughly. Forgetfulness has reached such a stage that (he) remembers nothing. The state of (his) body is such that after closing both his eyes a man can count his bones, (his) eyes have sunk, ribs have gone in the belly, waist is bending through weakness even in youth and the stomach is becoming a (veritable) violin.

Clothing:— They can hardly have two pairs of clothes during a year. Owing to their having no money for (paying the cost of) washing coatings of dirt are found on their clothes. On Sunday when they get time, it strikes them along with the idea of washing clothes that the clothes will be torn soon by constant washing. Do the clothes of labourers count amongst clothes? Simply for satisfaction's sake they feel contented by covering their bodies. In winter the wind pierces their bodies (lit them) and in Summer the

hot winds burns their skins (lit: bodies). Very few people get shoes. The soles of the feet of most of the labourers become hard like the soles of shoes by walking on lit. on being rubbed on) hot and cold ground. All these mischievous acts are to efface labourers position as human being.

Houses:—If any thing may be said about the houses of labourers in Bombay it (can be) this that 80 percent of the labourers pass their nights on the footpaths of roads in winter and Summer and speaking about the labourers in general (it can be said, that five or six labourers live in an ordinary small room having a matting for bedding and an old sheet containing innumerable holes to cover them

Well; can this life be called a life? In his internal and external condition a labourer is a complete photo of poverty and helplessness.

This is the photo of the labourer. And what is the condition of the capitalist? Magnificent buildings of Bombay and Calcutta gardens and parks throughout India and the external and internal grandeur of capitalists are all proclaiming (lit) speaking) their condition with a loud voice.

The labourer is aware of all this condition.

It is the labourer who works in the mill, builds house, weaves cloth, makes machine so much so that it is he who fully manages the mill and factory, but the profit goes to the mill-owner.

What a good justice it is?

Sd. Morid Husain,

Translator.

The PYAMI-MAZDUR (Bombay) of the 3rd March 1929 has the following:

“Pyam-i-Mazdur” (Message of the labourer)

“Wake up from hairs sleep and see

the conditon of the world,

“Thy voice has raised a commotion in Europe.

“Thou too shouldst take to action and

not waste time for nothing

“Thy men stand divided, unite Them.”

Morid Husain

Translator

The *Pyam-i-Mazdur* (Bombay) of the 3rd March 1929 publishes the following:—

The object of the *Pyam-i-Mazdur* is to propagate fully the labour movement. The progress and success of every movement depend chiefly on its propagation. Without propagation every movement remains confined to a few individuals. Capitalism depends on propagation. Trade depends on propagation. Political and economic movements depend on propagation. India is generally much backward in the field of propagation and the (work of carrying on) propaganda for labourers is especially in (an) indescribable (condition). The capitalist newspapers seldom publish reports regarding the labour movement and if they ever do so they often publish wrong reports. This is why several misunderstandings regarding the labour movement exist up till now. Owing to want of propagation the labourers of one place remain in utter darkness about the condition of the labourers at other place. This is why the labourers of one place have no sympathy with those of other place. If the labourers in Bombay go on strike and seek help from their labourer brethren in Calcutta, very little help is got by them owing to the latter being ignorant of events and owing to the want of propaganda (in favour of the former). The Capitalist newspapers seldom publish labourers' appeal for subscriptions.

Workers and peasants form 98 percent of the population in India. If the newspapers in India be counted, there will not be found throughout the country more than ten newspapers belonging to the workers and peasants. This is the reason why complete harmony is not so far found amongst the labourers.

Labour associations and unions should pay more attention towards propaganda work (lit propagation). There are several disadvantages of the want of propagation and one of them is that the labourers of the world know very little about the labour movement in India and if they know anything at all, they know about the evils prevailing amongst the Indian labourers.

It is for this reason that the labour movement of other countries stands no comparison with (lit: is miles away from) the Indian movement.

The *Pyam-i-Mazdur* will propagate the labour movement in simple and intelligible Urdu and will always urge the labourers that every union should start its own newspaper and that efforts should be made as far as possible to string the Indian labourers in one chain. In addition to the service of Indian labourers the *Pyam-i-Mazdur* will acquaint its readers with the labour movement in foreign countries.

MORID HUSAIN,

Translator.

The *Pyam-i-Mazdur* (Bombay) of the 3rd March 1929 publishes the following:—

Certain terms.

There are in the English phraseology of labourers a few terms the real meaning of which is not conveyed if Urdu equivalents are given. We shall, therefore, publish in every issue a translation of a few terms so that the readers may not feel difficulty in understanding those terms whenever they (readers) come across them.

Capitalism is generally translated as "Sarmayadari", but "Sarmayadari" is a very vast term. It is difficult to find its equivalent in Arabic and Persian languages, for this term is itself a new term in English language. It was introduced at the time when machinery entered the field of industry. A few persons take into their own hands all the capital (earned) through machinery, leaving nothing to the labourer except wages.

"Capital" is generally translated as "Sarmaya" but every kind of wealth can be described as "Sarmaya" while "Capital" means the money invested in trade.

"Capitalist" is one (lit: a Sarmayadar) who invests his money in a factory and trade and profits by the labour of workers.

"Bourgeois" literally means a citizen, but technically it is used to mean those people who are traders by profession or those who live upon the labour of others. The term "Bourgeoisie" is also derived from this word and means the same thing. It relates to (lit: addresses) the same class. This word is very common in the terminology of European labourers.

.....(not legible) Labourers by Profession, whose political and economic rights are extremely limited.

Imperialism:—Indian newspapers translate this term as "Malukiyat Parasti". Some describe it as "Shahanshahiyat Parasti". Both the meanings are wrong. Imperialism is that form of capitalism in which the latter reaches the last stage of its progress and while competing with other commercial countries and finding no markets takes possession of a weak country, compels the inhabitants of that country to purchase things and for this very purpose usurps their political rights.

MORID HOSAIN.

Translator.

P. 303 (T).

The *Pyam-i-Mazdur* (Bombay) of the 10th March 1929 publishes the following—

Labour Party.

From S. A. Dange.

In all the countries in which all the articles are produced by machinery, two classes only are traced—the Capitalist (whom our contemporary the KHILAFAT does not want to call by name *The brackets } other than that of "Sarmayadar"*)* who appear in the } posses machinery, parts of machinery, money original-Tr. } and land but who has no hand in the production of articles and the other is the labour class which has nothing but the power to work, though the world' wealth is produced by its labour and hard work.

Capitalists remain in need of a large number of labourers. Annually they get new labourers. Owing to the increase in the production of machinery petty traders are annually getting poor so much so that they reach the stage of labourers. None can deny the fact that the number of labourers is increasing. None can prove the fact that the status of the society today is the same as it was a hundred years ago. Producers of articles on ordinary scale are extinct today. Just as production has undergone a revolution, in the same manner a great change has occurred in society.

By crushing down (lit: lowering down) industrial products manufactured on a small scale products of machinery have become supreme (lit: the queen of all products). This is why no other (kind of) labour is in existence except the wage labour. There was a time when a person used to manufacture a thing and sell it in the market. He was the owner of his implements and the article for sale. The labourer now owns neither implements nor the article for sale. He is entitled to monthly wages only.

The condition of the present-day labourers is quite different from that of the labourers of the past Times. Ordinary peasants, artisans and manufacturers of articles on a small scale were the masters of the fruits of their labour, as the means of production were in their hands, but now a labourer is not the master of the articles made by him. The capitalist is the owner. They are owned by him who purchases the labour of the labourer. The owner is he who has in his hands the means of production i. e. implements. Capitalist gives monthly wages to the labourer, but the wages (paid to him) are far below (the value of) the articles produced by him.

Labour of the labourer is the fountain-head of the profit of the capitalist.

In industry the capitalist purchases only that thing from the labourer which he offers voluntarily (and) that is labour. He purchases labour because he profits by it. The more zealously the labourer works, the larger the number of articles he produces. The more the (number of) working hours increases the more the capitalist takes advantage of the weakness of the labourer. To reduce wages and increase the working hours (lit: time) is the duty of the capitalist. Capitalism depends upon profit and profit depends upon more labour and low wages.

The taking of too much advantage of the simple-mindedness and labour of labourers comes to an end when the labourers awake, foster unity amongst themselves and become one in opposing (lit: the opposition of bearing) the excesses of capitalists.

The capitalist and the labourer are quite different (lit: far away) from each other in the time of production by machinery. In the past the capitalist and the labourer were not so much different (lit: apart) from each other, nay, they had to deal with each other daily. But, now the capitalist is merely a trader for whom it is not essential to know the labourers. His only business is to procure raw material, labour and other necessities for production at the lowest cost and to use his brain to secure profit, but he has no hand in the production of articles.

What has the products of machine afforded to the labourer ?

Increase in working hours, reduction in wages, doing of work at night (sic), factories which are mostly devoid of cleanliness.

How machinery reduced the status of labourers.

On the advent of machinery in the field of industry labourer has become a part of the former. (To work) quite close to machinery is fraught with dangers. Many people get (their) hands and feet injured. (One) has to work with great care. There is no trace of air in several factories. Every inch of ground in the factory is full of machinery and (other) articles, (free) passage of air is restricted. The labourers are cheap but factories are costly.

When machinery entered the field of industry, several philosophers cried out that the time had come when the labourer would become a free man. But when the machines started work, it was found that the labourer had been enslaved (lit: was imprisoned) more than before and that such slavery (lit: imprisonment) was unbearable. Products of machinery not only increased the working hours of the labourers, but also reduced their wages and incessant efforts are still being made to do so. Owing to (their getting) low

wages the labourers cannot live in decent houses, have nice food and lead a comfortable life like the capitalists. The capitalist has nothing to do with these things. He does not take upon himself the responsibility of these things concerning the labourers. He is interested in work and profit only. The term "Wage" is contradictory to "Starvation". In the past the labourer starved only when he had no work. The man who worked got adequate wages and passed his days in comfort; but the condition is quite different now.

[To be continued]

Translated by,

Morid Husain.

Translator

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