

FM122

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13

**Meerut Conspiracy Case.**  
**1929 — 32.**

SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY'S  
BRANCH LIBRARY  
BOMBAY

## P. 1374.

Several copies of the Urdu Newspaper "Payam-i-Mazdoor",  
all D/. 10th March 1929.

## P. 1375.

Several issues of the Marathi Newspaper "Kranti" of the  
following Dates.

20-1-29——10 copies

3-2-29——34 "

17-2-29——A big bundle.

24-2-29——93 copies.

A file containing the following issues:-

9-8-28	30-6-28	30-7-27
5-8-28	22-10-27	23-7-27
2-8-28	15-10-27	16-7-27
29-7-28	8-10-27	9-7-27
26-7-28	1-10-27	2-7-27
22-7-28	24-9-27	25-6-27
19-7-28	17-9-27	18-6-27
15-7-28	10-9-27	11-6-27
12-7-28	3-9-27	4-6-27
8-7-28	27-8-27	28-5-27
	20-8-27	21-5-27
	13-8-27	14-5-27
	6-8-27	7-5-27

Another file containing the same issues as the above file.

## P. 1376.

Search warrant issued under Sec. 96 C. P. C. by the District Magistrate, Meerut, for searching the office of Labourers' Union, Gorakhpur.

Executed by the Gorkhpur Police on 20-3-29.

## P. 1377.

List of papers and articles seized on searching the premises of Labour Union, Mohalla Jafra Bazar, Gorakhpur, on 20th March 1929.

The Search was conducted in the presence of Babu Ram Charitar Lal and Sekh Neamat Ullah alias Babban Babu, the search witnesses.

1. Personal file of Babu Ram ji Sahai, representation regarding leave-4 papers.
2. File no. 253 of Babu Ram Prasad. Despatcher. Audit Office representation regarding his discharge - 4 Papers.
3. File No. 17 of 1923 regarding Pardahs of quarters of the staff at Mankapur burnt by the resident Engineer- 15 papers.
4. File No 48 Application of Workshop People regarding sanitary Fee - 5 papers.
5. File No. 184 regarding the shooting of Tame Dogs - 1 paper.
6. Notices for workshops people by General Secretary, for lecture - 3 papers.
7. Correspondence file with Railway Workmen Association of India and Burmah. 3 papers.
8. File regarding hurt on duty - 12 papers.
9. File No. 62 Correspondence between Commissioner, Tirhoot Division on Chairman, of the Local Advisory Board, Muzafferpur and General Secretary - 5 papers.
10. File No. 270 regarding grievances of Daulat Ram and other - 3 papers.

11. File No. 438. Chitan Marar, hamal of Darbhanga-I paper.
12. File No. 163, G.K.P. Workshops Contract--14 papers.
13. File No. 106, correspondence with the Railway Kasht Newarak samity, Lucknow - 9 papers.
14. File of Miscellaneous papers, - 4 papers.
15. File regarding search of workshopmen by plain clothing-men - 9 papers.
16. File of the slips orders of the Honorary Secretary, B. & N. W. Railwaymen's Association, Gorkhpur- 50 papers.
17. File No. 73 regarding the resignation of ordairy Members - 19 papers.
18. File No. 25 of Babu Ambika Charan - 17 papers.
19. File No. 105, notices of General Secretary speeches 23 papers
20. File of Babu Ram Prasad, Canvesser ... 2 papers
21. File No. 15 regarding leave on Medical Certificate ... 6 papers
22. File of Babu Parmeshwari Prasad, Clerk ... 6 papers
23. File of Nildhari Thakur, Canvesser ... 5 papers
24. File No. 357 regarding confirmation of the title of Desh Bhakt on Dr. Biswa Nath Mukerji 10 papers
25. File No. 75 regarding Office orders .. 7 papers
26. File of the meeting of B. & N. W. Railway regarding strike of B. N. W. Railway 10 papers
27. File No. 28 regarding list of suggestions from the members ... 9 papers
28. File No. 40 List of the Circulars sent to members for circulation containing 21 papers.
29. File regarding Hargobind, Canvesser 18 papers
30. File No. 131 regarding scales of Clerks ... 1 paper
31. All-India Press Employees Conference ... 2 papers
32. File of miscellaneous correspondence 12 papers
33. A file of correspondence with Branch Association, Samastipur 39 papers
34. A Book of All India Trade Union Congress, General Secretary's Report.



35. All-India Trade Union Bulletin for the month of June 1927.
36. General Strike in Great Britain. An appeal for funds, by N. M. Joshi, dated 8th May, 1926 .. 1 leaf.
37. Employees Gazette for April 1925.
38. " " " May 1925.
39. " " " October 1925.
40. " " " April 1926.
41. " " " February 1926.
42. B. & N. W. Railwaymen's Gazette for July 1925.
43. An Article by Dr. Biswanath Mukerji, regarding the Present World-Wide Labour Unrest - China - 5 leaves.
44. A group photo marked No. I.
45. A group photo marked No. II.
46. " " " " III.
47. Rules of the B. & N.W. Railwaymen's Association - 11 leaves
48. A file containing Press Report of the International Federation of Trade Unions, File No. 2 A.
49. Report of the First International Conference of Railway Clerical and supervisory staff containing 64 leaves.
50. Trade Union Information dated 13th February 1928...5 pages
51. B. & N. W. Railwaymen's Association Day Book, from 1st April 1928.
52. B. & N. W. Railwaymen's Association Cash Book from 1st April 1928.
53. B. & N. W. Railwaymen's Association Cash Book from August 1926 to March 1928.
54. Bengal Nagpur Railway Indian Labour Talk with the workers dated 25th October 1927.
55. Notice issued by Dr. Biswanath Mukerji, General Secretary, B. & N. W. Railwaymen's Association dated 26th April 1928 ... 1 leaf.
56. Annual Report for the year 1926 & 1927 of the B. & N. W. Railwaymen's Association,
57. Indian Labour Journal for July and August 1926.
58. The Labour Kishan Gazette for January 1928...3 leaves.

59. Report and Congress constitution for 1927.
60. International Labour Review 1927.
61. A Hindi pamphlet containing kisan and Mazdur Sabha's aims and objects.
62. Trade Union Information of 18th April 1928.
63. India and the Next War by Mrs. Agnes Smedly.
64. The Indian Labour Review February 1929.
65. Letter No. 1179 dated 28th June 1923 from Dr. Biswanath Mukerji to the General Secretaries of All-Indian Railway Labour Unions.
66. The G. I. P. Herald for 15th January 1929.
67. The B. & N. W. Railwaymen's Association circular No. 1 of 1927.
68. Transport abectaren for May and August 1926. 4 copies.
69. File no. 47 containing correspondence with prominent Indian Leaders containing 99 papers.
70. Indian Seamen's Union, Its History and Development 1908 to 1924.
71. Speech by Mr. N. M. Joshi delivered at the Madras Provincial Labour Conference on the 26th and 27th July 1927. ✓
72. A group photo of the seventh Annual Session of B. & N. W. Railwaymen's Conference. 1928. (Framed).
73. A group photograph of Trade Unionists taken at the Partap Office Cawnpur in 1927. (Framed).
74. A group of photo of the 5th All-India Trade Union Congress, Bombay. (Framed).
75. File No. 4 of Trade Union Congress commencing from 1925 containing 281 papers.
76. One Remington Junior Typewriter with leather cover.
77. One reel black ribbon.

Sd/- Illegible,

20/3.

Sd/- Neamat Ullah. (in Urdu).

Sd/- Ram Charitar Lal. (in Urdu).

*The present World-wide labour unrest.—II.*

(By Dr. Biswa Nath Mukerji, L. M. &amp; S., Vice-President)

All-India Railwaymen's Union Federation

**CHINA.**

The present Chinese labour unrest is the direct out-come of foreign capitalistic excesses. It has its origin in the murder of a Chinese Workman in a Japanese Factory. But this can never be the sole cause of the present nation-wide labour upheaval. Outrage after outrage has been committed upon the simple minded chinese people first by the capitalist classes of Japan and subsequently by the British authorities of Shanghai. So the direct cause of the trouble is traceable to this latter incident. 'The Chinese mill-hands of Shanghai were denied the rights of forming labour organisations by Japanese capitalists. Labourers were killed in a ver cruel manner. On seeing such injustice the Chinese students wished to present the bare facts to the public by way of speech making in the international settlement. The British Municipal authorities determined to make these speeches inaudible by the most direct but terribly cruel method of indiscriminate shooting and killing not only these young orators but the innocent pedestrians as well. This is the tragedy of May 30, and the succeeding days with a casualty list of deaths and great many more wounded.' Thus the General labour strike which spreads all over China to day is the most vehement sort of protest against the cruel treatment of the Municipal Council at Shanghai directly and the Japanese, British and other capitalist classes indirectly. About one fortnight after this shooting and killing tragedy a delegation of the Diplomatic Corps at Peking representing England, Japan, America, France, Italy, and Belgium came to Shanghai to enquire into the real cause of the trouble with the object of arriving at an early settlement with the Chinese authorities. But the Chinese demand is that no permanent and lasting settlement of the differences is possible so long as they are not treated according to the Fundamental principles of equal right and justice. The British and Japanese delegates do not seem prepared to accede to this demand and they have refused to acknowledge the open wrongs of the Municipal Council. They would not allow the Chinese to participate in the administrative work of the settlement, would not give them (the Chinese) the freedom of speech and the liberty of Association. The foreign delegation had laid the entire blame at the doors of the Chinese Government. It says, it is due to the carelessness and want of timely and proper precaution on the part of this Government and after holding the conference for a period of three days the delegation

has ordered the negotiations to be discontinued.

The patience of the Chinese people who number some 400,000,000 souls has now been strained to the utmost degree. The charges of China being a victim to anti foreignism and bolshevism are flatly denied by the Chinese people. In their own support they have authoritative statement of Dr. Jacob Gould Schurman former American Minister to China, who is of the opinion that "Communism has no chance to get a foot hold in China or to ultimately control the Government. It is against all that traditions. As is universally known the Chinese are a peaceful people. They harbour no ill-feelings towards any race. They seek only amity with all Nations. But what they want is that the foreigners should behave themselves in China as they would behave in their own country. The Chinese people are of the opinion that they afford the foreigners a standard of living which they could hardly attain in their own native lands. They say they have brought wealth to the very scums of the people of the West. But they (Chinese) could no longer tolerate the inhuman atrocities of the foreigner. In China there are the Americans, Germans, Italians, Frenchmen, Belgians, Russians, Britishers, and Japanese, but the two last named races have been invariably cruel to the Chinese. The "Union" a Chinese labour weekly writing upon the British relations of China, observes, "England insists upon using force to perpetuate the crime perpetrated by her unworthy representatives. China on the other hand, remains true to her traditional pacifism even under intolerable circumstances. But it seems that England taking advantage of the Chinese nature has pushed her hostile force too far. It is time to remind Englishmen of Burke's words, "Force may subdue for a moment but it does not remove the necessity of subduing again..... Conciliation failing force remains, but force failing no further hope of reconciliation is left." China is by means a nation to be subdued by British brutal force."

It is said about 150,000 labourers are just now on strike in China and a sum of about \$25,000 is being spent for them daily. The three organisations of the Chamber of Commerce, the Union of Labour, Commerce and Education and the Chinese Rate-payers' Association have joined hands to maintain the strike. A declaration issued by the three organisations runs as follows :—Our innocent fellow countrymen have been brutally killed by the British Police of Shanghai Municipal Council. The responsibility for the sad affair rests with the British authorities in Shanghai for their action has been proved unjustifiable by the mixed court proceedings. Yet, so far, they have showed no willingness to consider a satisfactory settlement of the serious case and the six representatives appointed by the Diplomatic Corps at Peking have simply evaded responsibility to consider our demands under the plea of limited power of decision. The diplomatic negotiation have come to a

dead lock, much to our disappointment. Yet it is necessary that we must not slacken in our protest for one moment. The battle is a long one and we must fight to the bitter end, so that final victory will be ours."

"Public opinion has come to a conclusion that in order to organise a long period resistance in various ways and to finance and prolong labour strike merchants should resume their business. Non-co-operation and severance of economic relations against England and Japan will bring the best results. Gandhi has succeeded that way. The Hong Kong Seamen strike of a few years ago proved strong enough to bring the wrong party to senses."

"The various organisations that have come into being since May 30. must be stabilised and strengthened in order that they may raise funds and extend other material support to 150,000 labourers on strike. Our spirit of sacrifice we should maintain to the last. To call off business strike in order to organise labour strike is consistent with our original idea of long struggle for final victory over injustice. Therefore the three organisations, the Chamber of Commerce, the Union of Labour, Commerce and Education and the Chinese Rate Payers' Association have passed resolution to resume business in the settlement beginning on June 26, 1925."

The above declaration is a standing proof that feelings in China against the foreigner, specially against the British people are very bitter. The very fact that even the Japanese themselves who have been the fuse to the present outburst are now trying to "Set on the fence" and are even intemating their inward disapproval of the unnecessarily and unreasonably drastic measures of the British by suggesting that, as far as what directly concerns Japan in the recent disputes, Japan might make separate settlement with China shows that even this "Peck's bad boy" of the East realises that China has been wronged beyond reason or expediency. It is understood that efforts are now being made to bring about a settlement between the contending parties and the Chinese have put forth four prerequisite demands and thirteen original claims to which they say the foreigners should accede before any peaceful settlement is possible. It will be highly interesting to give below a brief account of some of these demands and claims.

The most important of the demands are that the armed and mercenary Police should be replaced by National volunteers and that the Chinese arrested in connection with Shanghai incident be released. Some of the claims are as follows:—

1. Compensation for all sorts of damages and loss to the Chinese people.

2. Apology to be tendered on behalf of the British and Japanese ministers to the Chinese Government with guarantee of non-occurrence of similar offence.

3. Dismissal of the Secretary of the Shanghai Municipal Council.

4. Better conditions for the Chinese labourers and the Chinese labourers to be given freedom to form Unions and if necessary to go on strike and that no labourers be discharged on account of the present trouble.

5. Half of the Police Officers of the Shanghai Municipal Council to be Chinese.

6. Chinese to be tried by Chinese Judges.

7. No British or Japanese Military or Naval Forces to be stationed at Shanghai.

So it appears that the labour unrest in China is not surface deep but rather it has penetrated the lowest strata of the Chinese society. There is every fear of this labour unrest expanding itself into a regular war in the near future. But it is a matter for congratulation that the labours of China are made of a more lasting stuff than those of India. We shall give further details of the Chinese labour, if possible, at the concluding part of this article.

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P. 1379.

A magazine in English entitled

## **“Trade Unions Information”**

dated 13th February 1928. Issued by the Informations Department of the Red International of Labour Unions.

P. 1380.

NOTICE

Workers of the World unite organize and agitate for your rights.

All over the world the organised Labour Movement Celebrates on the 1st of May, what is known as "May Day" by holding processions and meetings. The B & N. W. Ry. men's Association will also celebrate the same day as "May Day", so there will start a procession of the B. & N. W. Railway employees at about 4-30 P. M. on this day from the Workshops Ground. This procession will pass through the main streets of the town at about 5-30 P. M. a meeting of the Railwaymen will be held at the Ismail Park in which the Resolutions urging upon the Government to pass legislations fixing eight hours as the maximum of daily work will be passed. All B. & N. W. Ry employees are cordially invited to take a leading part in making the activities of the union a success.

Jafarabazaf }  
GORAKHPUR }  
26th April 1928 }

Biswa Nath Mukerji  
General Secretary  
B. & N. W. Railwaymen's  
Association.

Below this the same notice is printed in Hindi and Urdu.

P. 1381.

A booklet in English entitled

**"ALL INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS,**

**Eighth Session, CAWNPORE 1927"**

**REPORT AND CONGRESS CONSTITUTION.**

On page 128 of the booklet, under the heading of Office-bearers, the following names are noticed :—

Vice-President :— D. R. Thengdi, Dr. B. N. Mukerjee, ... ..

Assistant Secretaries :— ... .. & S. A. Dange.

P. 1382.

A booklet in English entitled:

**"INDIA & THE NEXT WAR"**

BY

**MISS AGNES SMEDLEY.**

*Published by the Kirti Office, AMRITSAR.*

P. 1383.

A group photo taken in the Pratap office Cawnpore, on the occasion of the Cawnpore Trade Union Congress in Nov. 1927. It contains the photo of the following amongst others :—

Dr. Bishwa Nath Mukerjee, Muzaffar Ahmad, Shaukat Usmani, S. V. Ghate, M. A. Majid, Shibnath Banerji, Kishori Lal Ghosh, S. A. Dange, S. S. Mirajkar, and Dharami Goswami.

P. 1384.

A file containing miscellaneous correspondence in connection with T. U. Co and Railway Associations.



P. 1384 (1).

Dr. Biswanath Mukerji, Jafrazar, Gorakhpur.

L. M. S. Dated 6th November 1928.

General Secretary,

B. N. W. Ry. men's Association.

542/150/4.

My dear Shastri,

You will please excuse me for my unduly long silence. Perhaps you do not know that this silence was not deliberate but I had to observe it under circumstances over which I have no control. What about the annual meeting of the U.P. Trade Union Congress. I wish that it should be held at Cawnpore during the last week of the current month. Of course, now there is no time for our touring in the Province. You will be glad to know that I have been elected President of the U. P. Peasants and Workers Party which was brought into existence on the occasion of the Delhi Province Political conference at Meerut. Will you please see Ganeshji on my behalf? Sometime ago he asked for a photo of mine. I duly sent it but I do not know why he has not made use of it as yet. Don't let him know that I asked you to do it. I have been shocked to read the news about Lalji and Punjab leaders.

Hoping to hear from you soon,

Yours fraternally.

Biswanath Mukerji.

Pundit Harihar Nath Shastri

General Secretary

Mazdoor Sabha

Cawnpore.

P. 1384 (2).

## Pan Pacific Workers.

(AUSTRALIAN EDITION).

Issued by the Pan-Pacific Relations Committee of the  
Australasian Council of Trade Unions.

Address all Communication to—

J. S. Garden, Trades Hall, Sydney.

SYDNEY, N. S. W. 13th June, 1928.

Dr. Biswanath Mukerjee,

Vice Chairman of

The All-India Trade Union Congress.

**BOMBAY, INDIA.**

Dear Comrade,

This letter, we hope, may serve as a departure from the hitherto trodden path of isolation and dis-interestedness and national provincialism which has for decades been the characteristic feature of the Labour movement throughout the world, particularly of the comparatively young labour movements in the Far East and in the Pacific, with emphasis on the so-called colonial and semi-colonial countries.

Our own Australian Labour movement is in many ways, we may say in its very essentials, rather young and undeveloped. As you undoubtedly know, that the Australian Council of Trade Unions, our national Trade Union centre, is only in the first years of its childhood. And so to our international relations, our movement has not, as a whole, yet entered either of the two existing Trade Union Internationals. We are faced with many difficult problems of how best to defend the interests of the working class, and at every step we find that we must learn from the experience of the working class in other countries and from that of the international labour movement.

In speaking of the Australian Trade Union Movement, it may be well to point out that many unmistakable symptoms seem to indicate that we are entering into what may be termed a new phase of development on a higher scale than heretofore. We are faced with a general capitalist offensive against our standard of living and with an open and most cynical attack on the very foundations of our Trade Unions. This takes the form of a truly

Mussolinian Anti-Trade Union Bill which the present reactionary Government of this country, aping their British models a la Baldwin, and the more original Mussolini, are whipping through Parliament at Present.

Due to these objective conditions which naturally affect the mood of the working masses, and also to a general realisation of the futility and harmfulness of isolation from the international labour movement, the Australian Working class is gradually awakening to the consciousness that they must ally themselves with the workers of other countries, particularly of the countries in and near the Pacific. The active support and deep interest in the Chinese Revolution and in the national liberation movements of India, Phillipines, Korea, etc. are sufficient proof of this awakening.

As to India: We have been following with the keenest interest the social and political ferment which is in process in your vast country of over 300 million workers and peasants. It is no exaggeration to claim that the more advanced sections of the Australian working class are in full sympathy with your splendid struggle against British Imperialism and in your fight against the inhuman conditions forced upon the Indian workers by both foreign and native exploiters.

But mere expressions of sympathy are not enough. Action and organised action, is always the determining factor. The task before us is enormous: We have to combat deeply ingrained national and racial prejudices on which the masses have been and are still being systematically fed by the capitalists and imperialists; we have to find effective antidotes to this deadly poison which has found its way to the very heart of the labour movement in the various capitalist countries.

The only effective antidote is a consistent policy of Class Struggle which is the only basis on which a healthy and militant labor movement can be built up and united internationally, regardless of race, creed or colour.

This brings us to the question of INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION UNITY which we consider a life and death question for the workers for the whole world. As you probably know by this time, the Australian Council of Trade Unions is affiliated to the PAN-PACIFIC TRADE UNION SECRETARIAT which was formed after many years of preparation in May, 1927 in the city of Hankow, China, then the only revolutionary centre in Nationalist China.

The Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat was created on the initiative of the Australian Trade Unions. The P. P. T. U. S. is not a new International. This must be emphasised. It is an

that we have reproduced without any alteration the excellent report delivered at your last Congress at cawnpore by Mr. Diwan Chaman Lall.....

The fact that India does not border directly on the Pacific is an argument worthy only of our commn class enemy who use every conceivable lie and technicality to perpetuate the oppression of hundreds of millions of your countrymen and other great peoples and to keep us divided for the benefit of our common exploiters. It is our deep conviction that the Indian Trade union Movement should be an important and intergral part of the international labor movement and as a first step the All-India Trade Union Congress should decide to affiliate to the PAN PACIFIC TRADE UNION SECRETARIAT.

The question of International Trade Union Unity is beyond doubt the most important single problem confronting the workers of the whole world. We know that the Amsterdam International (International Federetion of Trade Unions ) has in recent months been particularly active in winning over the Trade Unions of Australia and India. However we also know that the leaders of the Amsterdam International have systematically and criminally sabotaged every proposal made by the Red International of Labor Unions and by the most advanced sections of the Trade Union Movement of all countries, for an All-in world Trade Union Congress, to form a SINGLE UNITED TRADE UNION INTERNATIONAL comprising the workers of all races nationalities and creeds. The Australasian Council of Trade Unions, at its last National Congress in 1927 passed a resolution urging upon the two existing Internationals to come together for such a purpose. But the Amsterdam International leaders seem to be determined to keep the ten million organised workers of Russia and hundreds of thousands of militant workers in other countries out of the International labor movement Besides, it is a known fact that the I. F. T. U. has most cynically refused to help the revolutionary trade union movement of China, Corea, and other colonial and semi-colonial countries.

We write this letter in the hope that your Council give due consideration to these really vital questions that concern all of us, and that after due consideration you express your opinion on these matters in reply to us.

Yours for our common cause,

J. S. Garden,

For the PAN-PACIFIC RELATIONS  
COMMITTEE of the AUSTRALASIAN  
COUNCIL OF TRADE UNIONS.

P. 1385.

*Rejected.*

Warrant of arrest issued by the District Magistrate, Meerut, for the arrest of Ch. Dharamvir Singh M.L.C. (Vice President, Workers' & Peasants' Party) Lucknow, under Sec. 121—A I.P.C.

Executed by the Lucknow Police on 20-3-29.

P. 1386.

Search Warrant issued under Sec. 96 C.P.C. by the District Magistrate, Meerut, for searching the house, office or other place belonging to or under the control of Ch. Dharamvir Singh M.L.C. (Vice President Workers' & Peasants' Party) Lucknow.

Executed by the Lucknow Police on 20-3-29.

P. 1387.

Copy of the search list of **Mr. Dharam Vir Singh M.L.C.**

The following papers were recovered from the Attache case of Mr. Dharam Vir Singh at the search made in the presence of the following witnesses.

1. Application of Sardar Singh re. vacancy in the civil engineering school.....4 enclosures.
2. Hindi copy book.....22 leaves.  
written on one side including one english page in pencil.
3. A letter from P. C. Joshi in english D. 15-12-28...1
4. A letter in Hindi from Ram Pd. mantri Arya Kumar Sabha. Chandosi D. 23-2-29.....1
5. A Hindi letter from Jivan Ram-Sharma D. 1-3-29...2

6. A diary (Roznamcha) 1985 Sammat (1928) containing 111 pages in English, Hindi and Urdu, the rest being blank, last 6 pages have been torn out.
7. Half piece of post card written in Hindi.....1
8. Leaflets red and green in Hindi.....2
9. A hand written "Distt Board ka tax".....1
10. A letter in Hindi from Purbhu Dayal Vaish D. 23-2-29 with envelope.....1
11. A Hindi letter from Gurcharan Lal D. 1-3-29 with envelope.....1
12. A certificate D. 14-5-26 from Ganesh Pd. of Calcutta University.....1
13. A letter in Hindi from Deokinandan D. 12-3-29 with envelope.....1
14. A chit in Hindi written by pencil.....1
15. chit in Hindi.....1
16. A Hindi post card from Manni Lal D. 9-3-29.....1
17. An envelope from Raj Narain pleader Meerut....1
18. A Hindi chit in pencil (Name illegible).....1
19. A Hindi letter from an unknown person with a thumb impression mark.....1-13-10 & 15 written in English on one page.
20. An envelope addressed to Ch. Dharam Vir Singh M. L. C. Khadi Girha Bageshwar Almorah c/o-Durga Charan manager Imperial Hotel Lucknow. D. 28-2-29.....1
21. A paper in English written in pencil.....1
22. A letter to Raja Kushal Pal Singh sb from Ch. Dharm Vir Singh D. 30-1-29.....1
23. A Hindi letter (post card) from Sudarshan Dayal Hasanpur D. 6-3-29.....1
24. Application in Urdu to chief Engineer Ganges canal with many signatures and one thumb impression.
25. Application in Urdu to Executive Engineer from inhabitants of Sora, Tahsil Ghaziabad Distt Meerut, having many thumb impressions and signatures.....2 pages
26. Application in Urdu about Ganges canal.....1
27. " .....addressed to E. Engineer...1

28. Application to E. E. from Bholar Singh Sharma, Tahsil Sardhana Distt Meerut with acknowledgment and receipt..... 3
29. A post card in English from Porbhu Dayal of Meerut Distt Addressed to Ch. Dharam Vir Singh..... 1
30. A letter in Hindi from Manni Lal Misra Cawnpur... 2 pages..... 2
31. An envelope addressed to Ch. D. Vir Singh..... 1
32. An Urdu letter from Munshi Lal Sharma of Bhetta with envelope..... 2 pages..... 2
33. A post card in Urdu from Tiyagi Brahman Prantik Sabha (Signature illegible) stamp D/- 16-3-29 Meerut addressed to Choudri sb. c/o care taker Imperial Hotel;..... 1
34. An envelope containing one letter from Bhagoti Sahai Bedar D/- 11-2-29 with a poster about a book named "India abroad" and an addressed envelope to Bhogoti Sahai Bedar - M.L.C.... 4
35. A letter in Hindi and English from Mahabir Tiyagi... 1
36. An envelope containing (1) a letter addressed to Durga Charan D/- 21-2-29 with reply in pencil on the same (2) a printed leaflet from Raghunath Pd. D/ 4-2.29 (3) 4 pages written in English on both sides. .... 7
37. An english letter addressed to Mahabir.... 1
38. A letter from Pt. Chader Shekar Bajpai addressed to Chowdhri sb. D. 27-2-29 in English with envelope..... 1
39. A post card D/- 22-2-29 addressed to Ch. Dharm Vir Singh..... 1
40. A chit in English D. 1-2-29 addressed to Abdul Aziz from Jwala Pd..... 1
41. An Urdu letter D/- 28-2-29 from Ram Sarup Verma Addressed to Chaudhri Sahib..... 1
42. A file in Urdu 3 pages in Urdu and 2 typed in English.
43. Attache case..... one

Ali Raza Khan

s/o Abdul Karim Khan  
of Moh. Narhai  
Hazratgang  
Lucknow.

Khurshaid Khan

s/o Nur Khan  
Moh. Husaini Ganj  
Lucknow

Sd. Ali Raza Khan (in Urdu)

Sd. Khurshaid Khan

Sd. P. D. Singh Dy: S. P.

( in Urdu)

20-3-29.

Sd. C. R. Peter 20-3-29

Copy of list of clothes belonging to Chaudhri Dharam Vir Singh of Meerut taken into possession in presence of witnesses Ali Raza Khan S/o AbdulRahim Khan resident of Narhai P. C. Harzat Ganj and Khurshed Khan S/o Nar Khan resident of Husain-Ganj P. C. Hazrat Ganj, Lucknow and in the presence of accused Dharam Vir Singh.

1. One white towel with blue border.
2. 4 white khadi Dhotis,
3. 4 white Khadi Kurtas.
4. One coat wool with light blue Khadi lining.
5. One white Swadeshi blanket.
6. One light black blanket.
7. 4 white Khadi sheets.
8. One white and yellow stripped sheet.
9. One white Dusuti with red borders.
10. 3 white Khadi caps.
11. One small Jharan with red borders.
12. One small carpet (Dari) with blue stripes.

Sd. RadhaKishan Kaul

C. I. 20-3-29

Sd. Khurshed Khan

Sd. P. D. Singh

Sd. Dharamvir Singh.

Dy: S. P.

Sd. C. R. Peters

20-3-29

20-3-29.

1. Safety Razor
2. Soap.
3. Shaving brush.



4. Some note papers.

Sd. Ali Raza Khan

R. K. 20-3-29

Sd. P. D. Singh.

20-3-29.

Sd. C. R. Peters

20-3-29

Copy of the list of property recovered from the search of person of Ch. Dharam Vir Singh M. L. C.

1. Post card addressed to Bhai Sahib (Ch. Dharam Vir Singh) from Sarju Pd. D/ 21-2-29 Hapur.....1

2. An application in Hindi to Finance member from Kisans of Meerut Distt. with many thumb impressions..... 2 pages

---

Ali Raza Khan

Khurshaid Khan

S/o Abdul Rahim Khan

S/o Nur Khan.

of Moh. Narhai

of Moh. Husainganj

Hazrat ganj

Lucknow.

LUCKNOW

Sd. Ali Raza Khan (in Urdu)

Sd. Khurshaid Khan

Sd. P. D. Singh Dy: S. P.

(in Urdu)

20-3-29 City Lucknow.

Sd. C. R. Peters

20-3-29.

P. 1388.

**U. P. & Delhi Workers' & Peasants'  
Party, Allahabad.**

Allahabad 15 Dec. 1928.

34 Holland Hall.

ALLAHABAD.

Dear Comrade,

I have already sent you a letter to the Meerut address. I hope you must have recd. it. The All India Workers' and Peasants' Party conf. is to be held in Calcutta on Dec. 21, 22 and 23. I am sure you will reach there in time, & shape the deliberations. Party Strategy & lines of immediate programme will be decided & enforced as Party discipline.

President :-

Dr. Biswanath  
Mukerji,  
Zafra Bazar,  
Gorakhpur.

Vice-President :-

Dharamvir Singh  
M.A. M.L.C.  
Taga Boarding

House.  
Meerut.

General Secretary :-

Puran Chandra  
Joshi, M.A.

34 Holland Hall,

Allahabad.

I have been too busy going about & could not inform you of the Party activities. We will talk it all out in Calcutta, where the U. P. executive will meet after the Congress Session.

I am leaving for Calcutta on the 17th. by mail. I would have gone away earlier, I am only expecting Dr. Mukerji's letter. If he be there kindly ask him to inform me of his programme by wire as also if he wants me to drop down at Jharia for the Trade Union Congress.

I hope you have been regularly receiving the Party weekly Kranti-kari from Jhanshi. Please do contribute to it articles from your pen.

With greetings,

Fraternally,

Sd/- P. C. Joshi.

P. 1389. <sup>Rejected.</sup>

A diary book with various entries in it.

(1) On the page for 16th April the following address appears

Gouri Shankerji

Naya Bazar

Sadar Meerut.

(2) On the page for 9th May the following Pencil entry is noticed:-

Dr. Abdul Hasib Quraishi.

Below this in ink the following entry occurs :-

15 pamphlets were given to Dr. Sahib and he himself was made a member. One receipt book was given from 76-154 on the 20th Sept.

(3) On the pages for 10th & 11th. May, the names of 14 others persons are noted to whom pamphlets were given.

---

P. 1390.

<sup>Rejected.</sup>

A half sheet of paper containing pencil notes. At the end of one page, the following entry appears in red pencil:-

"1 Village Panchayat. Soviet System canvassing work".

P. 1391.

Search warrant issued under sec. 96 C. P. C. by the District Magistrate, Meerut for searching the Premises occupied by the Onkar Press, Amritsar.

Executed by the Amritsar Police on 20-3-29.

P. 1392.

Crown Versus

Under section

RECOVERY LIST.

We the undersigned attest that the following articles have been found in the office of " Onkar Press " Amritsar, during the search conducted by the Police in our presence to-day. These articles have been taken into possession by the Police.

1. Presidential address by Sohan Singh Josh in the All India Workers and Peasants Party Conference held on 21-12-28. at Calcutta—in Gurmukhi-(2 copies).
2. Mazlum Kisan-( one copy ).
3. "The Volunteer" D/septr. 26, in English ( one Copy ).
4. Register containing orders from different persons from serial No. 1 D/14-9-27. to No. 1152 D/19-3-29.
5. Cash Book from page 1 to page 98. in Gurmukhi (one Register).
6. Title page of "My fight for Irish Freedom" in Gurmukhi ( one leaf ).
7. Manuscript re-Second Annual Meeting of Workers & Peasants, in Gurmukhi, By Sohan Singh Josh (2 leaves).
8. Press Proof of Rules and Regulations of the Workers & Peasants Party Punjab. ( 8 pages ).
9. Urdu Risala Kirti from April 28 to September 28 ( 6 copies ).

10. Gurmukhi Risāla Kirti from April to Sept. 26, November, 26, February, 27, to May 27, and July 1927 to December 1927, January, 28, to May, 28 October, 28, and January, 29 to March, 29, ( 26 copies.)

11. Urdu manuscript of notice for 2nd annual meeting at Lyallpur, in September 28.

(Note )—The search of Onkar Press was conducted in the presence of Mohan Singh manager and Bachan Singh Assistant Manager of the Press.

Police Witnesses.

Witnesses.

Partap Singh Inspector

1. Ghulam Hasan M. C

C. I. D. Police

Amritsar

in Urdu.

20-3-29.

20-3-29.

Munshi Ram, Inspector.

2. Mohd Sadiqui M. C.

20-3-29.

3. Ch. Abdul Aziz

in Urdu.

Nasir Din, City Inspector.

20-3-29.

Amritsar.

20-3-29.

Mohan Singh Manager

The Onkar Press, Amritsar.

20-3-29.

Bachan Singh Assitt. Manager

of the Onkar Press

20-3-29.

Ferozkhan S. I,

20-3-29.

P. 1393.

Draft Notice in Gurmukhi, supposed to have been written by Sohan Singh Josh in connection with the second annual Conference of the Kirti Kisan Party to be held at Lyallpur, in September 1928.

The notice INTER ALIA mentions that S. A. Dange of Bombay will preside over the Congress, and Mr. Philip Spratt, author of the proscribed literature "INDIA AND CHINA" Mr. Bradley, Member of the Communist Party of England, Mr. Muzffar Ahmed, General Secretary of the Kirti Kisan Party Bengal, and various other members of the Kirti Kisan Parties of Bombay Bengal and U. P. will grace the occasion. Besides these Lala Kedar Nath Sehgal, President of the Nau Jawan Bharat Sabha, Mr. Abdul Majid and others will also attend.

P. 1394.

Rules and Regulations in Urdu of the Kirti Kisan Party, Punjab, published in 1926, under the signature of Sohan Singh Josh General Secretary of the Kirti Kisan Party. The aims and objects of this Party, as stated in the pamphlet, are the complete Political, Social and Economic independence of the Workers and Peasants, and the establishment of a Soviet Republic.

P. 1395..

Search Warrant issued by the District Magistrate, Meerut, under 96 C. P. C., for searching the office of the Kirti, old Telegraph office, outside Hall Gate; Amritsar.

Executed by the Amritsar Police, on 20-3-29.

P. 1396.

Search Warrant issued under 96 C. P. C. by the District Magistrate Meerut, for searching the premises occupied by the DARBAR & CO., Old Telegraph office, outside Hall Gate, Amritsar.

Executed by the Amritsar Police on 20-3-29.

P. 1397.

Crown Versus

Under Section.

#### RECOVERY LIST.

We the undersigned attest that the following articles have been found in the office of the Manager—Balwant Singh—of 'Kirti' Amritsar, during the search conducted by the Police in our presence today. these articles have been taken into possession by the Police:—

1. Register containing a list of 147 books by different Socialists and Communists ( One copy ).
2. Political Resolution submitted to the First All-India Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference, December, 1928. ( two copies ).
3. Urdu translation of the resolution given under No. 2 above ( two copies ).
4. Urdu Rules and Regulations of Kirti Kisan Party, Punjab August, 1928 ( two copies ).
5. "India and the next War" by Miss Agnes Smedley (two copies ).
6. Urdu "Nau Jawano se do do baten" (two copies ).
7. Notice for the publication of Bandi Jiwan containing the accounts of Ghadar movements 1914-1915 (two copies ).
8. Receipt for Rs 5/-from M. M. B. Butt, c/o G. N. Tele Co Material Depot No. 4 Shanghai.

9. Receipt for Rs 5/-from Bishan Singh P.O. Box. No. 369 Post Alberin B. C. Canada.
10. Receipt for Rs 6/-from Labh Singh, B. C. Canada.
11. Receipt for Rs 5/-from Dharm Singh Ryatt Nairobi, British East Africa.
12. Receipt for Rs 7/14/-from Ghulam Mohd. New Castle Calif.
13. Receipt for Rs 6/10/-from Hakam Singh Newzealand.
14. Receipt for Rs 5/4/-from Hazara Singh, Walnut Grove, Calif.
15. Receipt for Rs 16/2/-from Sikh Temple Victoria, B. C. Canada.
16. Receipt for Rs 21/8/-from Battan Singh, Vancouver B. C. Canada.
17. Receipt for Rs 5/4/-from Sohan Singh, Nairobi, B. E. Africa.
18. Receipt for Rs 4/2/-from Chet Singh, Upper Burma.
19. Receipt for Rs 13/4/-from Kahan Singh Aukland.
20. Ten posters (cartoon) of different kinds.
21. Bandi Jiwan 1st part, in Gurmukhi.

Note:—Darbar & Co. is an agency run by Balwant Singh, the Manager of the "Kirti", and its office is the same. This search was conducted in the presence of Mr. Ferozud-Din Mansur, Asstt. Editor of the "Kirti".

Sd. Ghulam Hasan M. C.	Sd. Illegible.
20-3-29.	S. I.
Sd. Mohammed Sadiqui M. C.	Sd. Feroze Din Mansoor
	20-3-29.
Sd. Munshi Ram, Inspr.	Sd. Partab Singh Inspr
20-3-29.	C. I. D. Pb
	20-3-29.
Sd. Nasir Din	Sd. Feroze Khan S. I.
City Inspr.	20-3-29.
Amritsar	
20-3-29.	



Sd. Mohammed Saddiq  
of Rast-Goftar Press.

Sd. Chowdhry Abdul-Aziz  
20-3-39.

Sd. Ghulam Mohammed  
20-3-39.

## P. 1398.

A Library Register containing the names of 147 books, some of which are Political and others Communistic. Of these the following are important amongst others:—

- |  |                               |
|--|-------------------------------|
| (2) The Labour International Handbook.                   | R. Palme Dutt.                |
| (5) The Outline of Hisory.)                              | Wells.                        |
| (8) Today and the Future Day.)                           | Arthur Brisbane.              |
| (9) } Capital, Part 1.                                   | Karl Marx.                    |
| (10) } —Do—Part 2.                                       |                               |
| (11) } —Do—Part 3.                                       |                               |
| (17) Modern India.                                       | V. H. Rutherford.             |
| (21) Imperialism.  | N. Lenin.                     |
| (24) Lawless Laws.                                       | Hemchandra Nag.<br>(Forward.) |
| (50) Report of the civil Disobedience enquiry committee. | Congress & Klafit.            |
| (52) Writting of L. Hardayal M. A.                       | Hardayal M. A.                |
| (60) Women in the Socialist State.                       | Mrs. H.M. Swanwich.<br>M.A.   |
| (62) Roads to Freedom.                                   | Bertland Russell.             |
| (65) India's awakening                                   | Wilfred Wellcock.             |
| (73) Crime & the Criminal.                               | Clarence S. Darrow.           |
| (86) Proletarian Revolution.                             | Necholai Lenin.               |
| (93) The General Strike.                                 | R. Page Arnot.                |
| (95) The Land Revolution in Russia.                      | Lenin.                        |
| (101) Landmarks of Scientific Socialism.                 | Fredrick Engels.              |
| (102) The Brass Check.                                   | Upton Sinclair,               |
| (104) Finance.   | Emile Burns.                  |

- (107) Communism. R. Palme Dutt.
- (108) Manifesto of the Communist Party. Karl Marx, Frederick Engels.
- (121) A.B.C. of Communism. N. Bukharin. V. I.

On the other side of the register are the names of persons to whom the books mentioned in the list have from time to time been delivered for circulation or reading.

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P. 1399.

2 Copies of the pamphlet in English entitled "Political Resolution".

(Vide Exh. P. 56)

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P. 1400.

2 Copies of the booklet in English entitled "India and the Next War" by Miss Agnes Swedly, published by the Kirti office, Amritsar.

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P. 1401.

Search Warrant issued under C. P. C. 96 by the District Magistrate, Meerut, for searching the house of Firozdin Mansoor, Old Telegraph office, Outside Hall gate, Amritsar.

Executed by the Amritsar Police on 20-3-29.

# P. 1402.

## CROWN VERSUS

### UNDER SECTION.

#### RECOVERY LIST.

We the undersigned attest that the following articles have been found in the office of "Kirti" at Amritsar, during the search conducted by the Police in our presence today. These articles have been taken into possession by the Police:—

1. 'The Spark' of 27/1/29 and of 10/2/29
2. "Manifesto of the Communist Party" by Karl Marx Frederick Engles—(One copy).
3. Workers' and Peasants (Party Principles and policy (One copy).
4. 'The young Liberator' Vol. I No. 6 dated Feby. 1929 (One copy).
5. "Indians Awakening" by Wilfred Wellack—(One copy).
6. 'What do we want' by Manabendra Nath Roy—(One copy).
7. 'A call to Action' of March 1928 (One copy).
8. "The Labour Monthly' for Feby. 1927, March 1927, June 1927 October 1927 April 1928 and May, 1928. (Six copies in all. "Annual Report, 1927" of the Communist party of India (One copy).
10. Manifesto of the Workers and Peasants' Party to the Indian National Congress Madras December 1927 (One copy).
11. Register of Agenda of the meetings of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha, Amritsar—(One copy).
12. Register containing Resolutions etc. passed in the Meetings of Nau Jawan Bharat Sabha, Amritsar—(One copy).
13. Account Book of the Nau Jawan Bharat Sabha, Amritsar (One copy.)
14. Proceeding Book of the Workers' and Peasants' Party, Punjab—(One copy).
15. Rules and Regulations of the 'Kirti Kisan Party, Punjab August, 1928, in Urdu—(One copy).
16. 'Women of the Future' by Lilienthet—(One copy).

17. 'An Outline of European History' published by Plebs League—(One copy).
18. 'The General Strike' by R. Page Arnot—(One copy).
19. The Spinners' Strike in Bombay, 1928 (One copy).
20. Manuscript of Comrade Karl Marx's Biography (in Gurmukhi), (12 Leaves.)
21. "Manuscript of the article" (Afghanistan & Hindustan) in Gurmukh (16 Leaves.)
22. "English notes on movements in China" (12 Leaves.)
23. A post card in Urdu by mail from Daulat Ram Vashisht of V. Hangarwal, P. S. Hariana in Hoshiarpur Distt. addressed to the Manager "The KIRTI" Amritsar.
24. A memorandum in Urdu of the persons who appear to be the workers of some movements of different districts in the Punjab. (2 Leaves.)
25. Posters on card board bearing pictures of two men having in their hands red flag &c.

Note.—The search was conducted in the presence of Feroz-din Mansur, Asstt. Editor of the "Kirti", Amritsar.

Sd/. Ferozdin Mansur.

20/3/29.

Sd/. Kh. Ghulam Mohiyuddin.

Editor, Kashmir, Amritsar.

Sd/. Kh. Gbulam Hassan M.C.

Amritsar.

Sd/. Ch. Abdul Aziz. Katra Bagh Singh, Amritsar.

20th. March 1929.

Sd/. Mohd. Saddique M.C.

Sd/. Partap Singh,

Inspector C.I.D. Punjab.

20/3/29.

Sd/. Munsu Singh,

Inspector.

20/3/29.

Sd/ Nasir-Ud-Din, [illegible]

City Inspector.

20/3/29.

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### **P. 1403.**

A minute book of the Nau-Jawan Bharat Sabha, Amritsar Branch. Pages 18 and 19 are written in English, while the rest of the entries are in Urdu. Sohan Singh Josh appears to have presided over almost all the meetings of the Sabha. Efforts appear to have been made at some of these meetings to increase the number of Unions and to induce the public to use Khaddar instead of foreign cloth.

At the meeting held on 30th January 1929 Ferozdin Mansur was recommended to be elected as the President of the Punjab Nau-Jawan Bharat Sabha Conference.

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### **P. 1404.**

Rules and regulations in Urdu of the Kirti Kisan Party, Punjab, signed by Sohan Singh Josh, General secretary of the Kirti Kisan Party. The aims and objects of this Party, as stated in the pamphlet, are the Complete Political, Social and Economic independence of the Workers and Peasants, and the establishment of a Soviet Republic.

P. 1405. *Rejected.*

A manuscript article in Gurmukhi, presumably in the handwriting of Sohan Singh Josh, dealing with the life of Karl Marx.

P. 1406.

Two posters in Urdu advertising the newspaper "Kirti" (Urdu and Gurmukhi), with the following Slogan:—

"Workers of the World Unite and destroy the old order".

The posters contain photos of two workers with hammer and sickle. The poster adds that if any one cares to solve the question of bread, to obtain complete independence, to learn the conditions of Bolshevik Russia and to destroy Imperialism and capitalism we must read Kirti".

P. 1407.

Search list in Urdu, of registers and documents, recovered in the search of the office of the manager "Kirti" Amritsar conducted by the Amritsar Police on 12-2-29 in connection with a case under sec. 124—A against Arjan Singh Garguj, Editor, Printer and publisher of the "Kirti".

## P. 1408.

A register containing inland addresses of persons subscribing to the Gurmukhi edition of the "Kirti". The following addresses amongst others are important:—

- (1) J.P. Begerhotta. Khasapur, Rewari.
- (2) S.A. Dange, Wadekar Building, Girgaon, Bombay 4.
- (3) Muzaffar Ahmed, 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.
- (4) L. Kedarnath Saigal c/o Khabardar Steam Press, Lahore.
- (5) Shantaram Mirajkar, Journalist, 2/3 Khandke Building, Dadar, Bombay.
- (6) Mr. Mirajkar, c/o S. V. Ghate, Dwarkadas Mansions, Bombay 4.
- (7) S.H. Jhabwala. Madhav Bhuvan, Opposite Ry. Workshop, Lower Parel, Bombay no. 13.

## P. 1409.

A register containing addresses of persons to whom "KIRTI" is sent free of charge. The following address amongst others are important:—

- (1) S.H. Jhabwala, Madhav Bhuvan, Opposite Railway workshop, Lower Parel, Bombay no 13.
- (2) R. Kidarnath Sahgal, c/o Khabardar Steam Press, Lahore.
- (3) S.A. Dange, Wadekar Building, Girgaon, Bombay 4.
- (4) Muzaffar Ahmed, 2/1 European Asylum Lane Calcutta.
- (5) J.P. Begerhotta, Khasapur, Rewari.
- (6) Mr. Shaukat Usmani, Director, the Oriental Information and Publicity Bureau, Tramway Terminus, Delhi.
- (7) Shantaram Mirajkar, Journalist, 2/3 Khandke Building, Dadar, Bombay.
- (8) S.V. Ghate, Dwarkadas Mansions, Bombay 4.

(9) Mr. M.A. Majid and Co., Export and Import Agent,  
dhal Moholla, Mochi Gate, Lahore.

Specialist in Foreign

(10) Miss Agnes Smedley, c/o American Express Co., 55  
Charlottenstr. Berlin, Jarmany.

P. 1410.

A file correspondence in English and Urdu in connection with  
the newspaper 'KIRTI'. The following manuscript letter in English  
dated April 18, 1928 from Agnes Smedley to B. Singh Esq., Manager  
'Kirti' Amritsar, appears to be important. The contents of the  
letter are as follows:—

BERLIN, GERMANY,

C/o American Express Co.,

55, Charlatten Str.

April 18, 1928.

B. Singh, Esq.,

Manager, Kirti, Amritsar.

Dear Comrades,

I have your letter of March 29th saying you are sending me  
5 copies of my articles on "India and the Next War" which you  
have published in tracts. These have not yet reached me. Perhaps  
they will arrive by the next post. In the meantime, may I request  
you to send me ten more copies.

As for appointing an advertising representative for the *Urdu  
Kirti* and the *Gurmukhi Kirti*, I have not had time to speak with  
any one. Please send to me your advertising tariff, as well as a  
written statement appointing me your representative here, both  
for correspondence and for advertising. This is essential in approach-  
ing firms for advertisements. Send me also 10 copies of the  
*Urdu Kirti* and of the *Gurmukhi Kirti*, and let me know what the  
circulations of each are. I myself may not ask for advertising here  
for you, but I can supervise and be responsible for the work if I  
have your written authority, and it takes so long to correspond  
on such matters that it is best to start like this. Later, if you



wish we can make other arrangements and turn this advertising work over to someone else.

I doubt that we can secure many ads. from here. For not are you a labour publication, but your circulation is perhaps small. In any case we can try. When I hear from you I shall correspond with some workers' publishing houses in England.

If I appoint someone here to do this, do you expect to pay them a commission?, if so, how much? The only ones whom I would like to approach are comrades and exiles, and they are so poor that I hesitate asking them to do things unless it would help them a bit.

I have but recently had an operation and have not sent you anything for a long time. Later I shall start work again.

The 'Kirti' has not reached me for the past two months. Will you please see if copies were sent me. I also wonder if you published my reply to Lallaji, that appeared in the "Forward" of Calcutta (Jan. 29) or if you included it in the tract on 'India and the Next War.'

With greetings,

Sincerely yours,

AGNES SMEDLEY.

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P. 1411.

Search Warrant issued under Sec. 96 C.P.C. by the District Magistrate, Meerut, for searching the office of Workers' and Peasants Party, Gorakhpur.

Executed by the Gorakhpur Police on 20-3-29.

P. 1412.

SEARCH LIST

OF

**KISAN SABA OFFICE.**

*GORAKHPUR on 20. 3. 1929.*

I searched the office of Kisan Sabha Gorakhpur situated in Moh: Jafra Bazar, Gorakhpur City to day in the presence of Sheikh Gulam Mustafa, s/o Sheikh Rasul Bakhs of Mohalla Bulakipur, Gorakhpur and Sheikh Abdul Jabbar, s/o Sheikh Bhoggal, resident of Mohalla Ghasi Katra, Gorakhpur City, witnesses, and Doctor Diswanath Mukerjee, L. M. S. President Divisional Kisan and Mazdur Sabha and B. Kanhaiya Lal, Secretary Kisan Sabha Gorakhpur, from 6. 15. A. M. to 10-10. a. m. and recovered the following articles from a big almirah kept in the north western corner of the said office which were taken into possession and sealed:—

1. Zamindar file containing 146 (one hundred and fortysix) letters and envelopes to Zemindars.
2. Conference file containing presidential addresses of Dr. Bhupendra Nath Datt, letters and telegrams 33 in number,
3. Gorakhpur official file No. I containing 512 leaves.
4. Gorakhpur official file No. II, containing 608 leaves.
5. Cash book from 1st Jany. 1926 to 31st Octr, 1926, from 6th Jany. 1928 to 27th Feby. 1929, one volume.
6. Cash book from 25th October 1926 to 31st Decr. 1927. One volume.
7. Register of members of Kisan Sabha with annual subscriptions (3729 members).
8. Balance sheet from 1st November 1926 to 30th September 1928 and stock book, one volume.
9. Despatch register from 4/11/1926 to 19th March 1929.
10. Applications register from 7/11/1926 to 14/12/1928.
11. Rules and regulations of Kisan and Mazdur Sabha Gorakhpur, 2 pages.
12. File of press notes containing 45 leaves.
13. File containing 36 letters.

14. Report of the Executive Committee of the Peasants' and  
Workers' Party of Bengal for 1927-28. 8 pages.

Sd/- Nand Kishor Sati.

Circle Inspector,

Mahrajang Dist. Gorakhpur,

Searching Officer.

20/3/1929.

Sd/- Gulam Mustafa, witness.

20/3/29

Sd/- Kandhaiya Lall.

D/- 20/3/29.

**P. 1413.**

Letter No. 530 dated 25th. January 1928, from Dr. Biswanath Mukerjee L. M. & S., Gorakhpur Divisional Kisan and Mazdur Sabha, Gorakhpur, to Muzaffar Ahmad, Secretary, Peasants' and Workers' Party of Bengal, 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

(Vide Ex. P 2100—C.)

P. 1414.

*A manuscript letter in English dated 9/2/28, from Muzaffar Ahmad to Dr. Mukerjee. The contents of the letter are as follows:—*

THE  
**Peasants' & Workers' Party of Bengal.**  
ORGAN: **2/1 European Asylum Lane,**  
**"GANAVANI" CALCUTTA, 9 - 2 - 28.**  
( Bengali weekly )

Dear Dr. Mukherji,

Your letter of the 25th. January reached our office in time. But, as I had been away from Calcutta for 12 days I could not go through your letter so long. I have just returned to Calcutta and am going to reply to your letter. The proposed All-India "Workers' and Peasant' Party" Conference has been postponed till December next. In the meantime we shall elect a provisional committee of the "Workers' and Peasants' Party of India". This Committee will be making propaganda during remaining part of the year and in this way I hope our 1st. All India Conference will be a great success. At present we have got Workers' and Peasants' Parties in Bengal and Bombay. We have also got our groups in the Punjab. We shall be really very glad if the "Gorakhpur Kisan and Mazdur Sabha" join us. We are soon going to hold our annual meetings in all the places for which resolutions have already been drafted on different subjects. They are so good as so many theses and will be the basis of our propaganda work. I shall send you the copies of those resolutions by the end of the March next, by which time our Provincial Annual meetings will be over. I am sending herewith a copy of our present programme from which you will be able to understand our line of action. Please let me know by return of post if you are agreed to our programme. In that case we shall propose your name to the proposed Provisional Committee as we have none in our groups from U. P. till now. At least we have got no active comrade amongst us from U. P.

With greetings,

Fraternally yours.

Sd/- MUZAFFAR AHMED.

## P. 1414 A.

A pamphlet in English entitled  
MANIFESTO TO THE  
WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' PARTY  
TO THE  
INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

*MADRAS, December 1927.*

(Vide Exh. P. 23).

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## P. 1414 B.

A leaflet in Bengali headed "The Programme of the Bengal Peasants' and Workers' Party".

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## P. 1415.

A typed letter No. 667 Dated 22/2/28, from Dr. Biswanath Mukerjee, President, Gorakhpur Kisan and Mazdur Sabha, Gorakhpur, to Muzaffar Ahmed, The Peasants' and Workers' Party of Bengal, 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

(Vide Ex. P 2007—C.)

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## P. 1416.

A booklet in English entitled "The Peasants' and Workers' Party of Bengal, Report of the Executive Committee, 1927—28.

(Vide Exh. P. 52),

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## P. 1417.

Warrant of arrest issued by the District Magistrate Meerut, for the arrest of Dr. V. N. Mukharji son of Dr. Harish Chandra Mukharji, of Jafra Bazar, P. S. Kotwali, district Gorakhpur, under section 121—A of I.P.C.

Executed by the Gorakhpur Police, on 20.3.29.

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## P. 1418.

Search warrant issued under sec. 96 C.P.C. by the District Magistrate, Meerut, for searching the house office or other place, belonging to, or under control of, Dr. V. N. Mukharji son of Dr. Harish Chandra Mukharji of Jafra Bazar, P.S. Kotwali, district Garakhpur.

Executed by the Gorakhpur Police on 20-3-29.

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## P. 1419.

The following papers were found from the house search of Dr. Bishwanath Mukerji, from his office room inside of the house

on the western side facing towards east, before the search witnesses Mohd. Shafi s/o Chaudhri Hasan Ali, and Binda Pd. s/o Sheo Nath Pd.

- 1 File No. 340 concerning Chuni Lal, Station Master of Lucknow. 6 leaves.
- 2 Summary of the proceedings of the Working Committee, held at 5 P.M. on the 11th Sept. 1926 in the house of Dr. Ansari, Daryaganj, Delhi. (1 leaf).
- 3 Letter No. 2683-dated- 14/3/25 from Bishwanath Mukerji to Chuni Lal, Station Master, Lucknow. (1 leaf).
- 4 Letter No. 430/2988, dated 18/5/28. (9 leaves).
- 5 Application Hera Lal, Clerk, to the President of Kesan and Mazdur Sabha. (1 leaf).
- 6 Application Sidhi Kewat to Pordhanji Kisan Sabha (1)
- 7 Copies of the paper Karanti Kari. (58).
- 8 Press reports of International Federation of Trade Unions. 4 copies. 21 leaves.
- 9 Chithi Zila Congress Committee, Gorakhpur to B. Mukerji. (1 leaf).
- 10 Summary of the proceedings of Working Committee, which met at Simla on the 24th to 28th August 1926 (4 leaves)
- 11 File of Ram Autar. (3 leaves).
- 12 File of Pardesi. (6 leaves).
- 13 International transport Workers' Federation. 2 copies 12 leaves.
- 14 Notices in Hindi for meeting of Kisans at Farukhabad. (75 leaves).
- 15 Constitution Rules (Book). 1 copy.
- 16 All India Congress Committee copy of the letter sent to the Raja Tamkahi with a forwarding letter to B. Mukherji. (3 leaves).
- 17 A copy of A Scheme Economic Development (1).
- 18 Bharthi Rastri Mahan Sabha ki Sanghatan Meanwali.(1)
- 19 Raj Neti Shahdawali.
- 20 A pamphlet of the Volunteers, Vol. IV, Nos. 5 and 6.

- 21 Gorakhpur Commissionary Kisan, Mazdur of Partingan. 5 leaves.
- 22 Assault on Dr. Bishwanath Mukerji Public meeting at Gorakhpur. 3 leaves.
- 23 Modern China III, by Dr. Bishwanath Mukerji. 2 leaves.
- 24 Letter from Dr. B.M. to M.L.C. 1 leaf.
- 25 Telegram from Calcutta Congress to District Congress Committee, U.P. 1 leaf.
- 26 India's fitness for self-rule—III, by Dr. Bishwanath Mukerjee, L.M. & S. 3 leaves.
- 27 The task before the Madras Congress. 2 leaves.
- 28 Chithi of treasurer of Congress to the General Secretary, dated 29/6/4. 1 leaf.
- 29 Two World Currents Communism-Fascism. 1 copy.
- 30 Navedan Kisan, Mazdur Ko. 1 leaf.
- 31 Congress Bulletin. 1 copy.
- 32 File containing Congress Constitution, Congress Bulletin Nos. 1 & 2. Nos. 3 & 4 Working Committee report dated 22/2/25.
- 33 Indian National Congress, 1920 to 1923. 1 copy.
- 34 Congress Album. 1 copy.
- 35 Mahatama Lenin on Rus. Ka. Kantkari in Hindi writing. 1 copy.
- 36 The Indian offer or Imperial Preference. 1 copy.
- 37 Indian Constitution Parts VI—VII. copy.
- 38 The Indian Constitutional Reform. 1 copy.
- 39 Yellow Peril. 1 copy.
- 40 Russian Experiment 1917—1927. 1 copy.
- 41 Gavamer Katha. 1 copy.
- 42 Gandhiji Kaun Hain. 1 copy.
- 43 Health Work In Soviet Russia. 1 copy.
- 44 The League of Nations and the World's Workers. 1 copy.
- 45 What is wrong with the League of Nations. 1 copy.
- 46 How the League of Nations Works. 1 copy.



- 47 The Story of the League of Nations. 1 copy.
- 48 The Young Liberator. 1 copy.
- 49 The Constitution of the United States. 1 copy.
- 50 The Commonwealth of India Bill. 1 copy.
- 51 Soviet Union Year Book 1928. 1 copy.
- 52 Communism Keya hai कम्युनिज्म क्या है। 1 copy.
- 53 Working Committee of the A.I.C.C. 3 leaves.
- 54 The Peasants' and Workers' Party of Bengal 1927—28  
4 leaves.
- 55 Correspondence papers. Vol. No. I. 68 leaves.
- 56 Correspondence papers. Vol. Nos. II. 10 leaves.
- 57 The Kharagpur deadlock I, By Dr. Bishwanath  
Mukerjee. (6 leaves).
- 58 Joseph Stalin Leninism. 1 copy.
- 59 A file of articles. 30 leaves.
- 60 A file containing essays on different subjects. 51  
leaves.
- 61 A file for the articles to Press General. 130 leaves.
- 62 Telegrams from Delhi Hindu Sabha to B. M. 3 leaves.  
,, ,, Krishn Kant Malvi to B.M. 3 leaves.  
Telegram sent by B.M. to G.S. Hindu Shabha, Delhi.  
1 leaf.
- 63 File of telegraph receipts. 3 leaves.
- 64 File of Notices and Cuttings of Papers. 15 leaves.
- 65 Post Card from P. L. Joshi, Allahabad to B. M. 1.  
Post Card from Sewa Dal Cawnpur to B.M. No. 368.  
1  
,, ,, B.D. Pande Almora to B.M. 1.  
,, ,, Shri Parkash Benares to B.M. 1.
- 66 Telegrams from Bishwanath Mukerjee to Raghunath  
Rai, I.  
Telegram from Jawahar Lal to Bishwanath. 2 leaves.  
Intimation to B.M.V.P. article No. 1292, 194, 2 leaves.
- 67 Correspondence File reg. to Congress etc. 79 leaves.

- 68 Correspondence File reg. to Congress etc. 23 leaves.  
69 Post Cards addressed to B. Mukerjee. 9.  
70 Photo of Lenin prepared by S. K. Bannerji, 1928.

Every paper which is taken into possession signed by me and the search witnesses.

Sd. I. M. Khan,

Dy. S. P.,

20-3-29.

A certificate in Hindi re the above search.

Sd. Binda Prasad,

(in Hindi)

20 March.

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## P. 1420.

Several issues of the Weekly Newspaper "Kranti kari" (in Hindi) of the following dates :—

28-1-29	(4 copies)
4-1-29	(10 copies)
5-1-29	(4 copies)
14-1-29	(10 copies)
11-2-29	(10 copies)
8-12-28	(1 copy)
1-12-28	(11 copies)
24-11-28	(4 copies)
17-11-28	(2 copies)
28-1-29	(7 copies)

P. 1421.

## Modern China III.

( By Dr. BISWA NATH MUKEKJI, L. M. & S. )

### *The Western Conspiracy and the Chinese Struggle for Freedom.*

In spite of all her apparent division and difference, China has always been united against the foreign foe. It will be admitted on all hands that much of the disunion which we notice in the Chinese people to-day is the creation of the machinating western powers. The Western nations, as they are, they never felt the least scruple in seeing the policy of "divide and rule" so common amongst the British rulers of India a permanent feature of the Chinese Government. The huge loan of 25 millions of pounds by the powers of Europe to Yang-seekai was a direct measure of conspiracy by these powers to win one of the political parties of China to their side. And this party was the Royalist Party of the North China. But very much unlike India, China has never succumbed to the strategic and diplomatic policies of the cunning Western nations. It has always been the earnest endeavour of the people of China to unite, whatever might be their internal differences, against the secret conspiracy of the European powers. The Republicans and the Royalists are the two great political parties of modern China. The English, The French and other big powers of Europe have done their utmost in the past to buy off the Royalists, but all their sinister efforts have fallen flat upon the superior type of patriotism of this section of the Chinese people. The greatest conspiracy of the Western powers to nip the Chinese Republic in its bud and re-establish the Royal House of China on its old *gaddi* could not succeed simply owing to this stubbornness of the Royalist party of China whom the Western powers wanted to have as an easy instrument in their hands. It is a pity that the advanced nations of Europe should so misjudge a progressive people like the Chinese in spite of innumerable failures in the life history of their struggle for freedom have shown a unique type of patience and perseverance which place to-day in the gallery of the greatest nations of the world who gained their liberty by an uncommon show of prowess and patriotism.

### *China—now and half a century before.*

China is not today what she was in the year 1890 when for the first time she had to fall into the hands of the Western powers as an easy prey of their commercial and industrial exploitation of her indigenous resources. The Chinese renaissance is a thing of quite a recent date. Practically speaking the Chinese awakening began in the year 1905 when her sister Japan gave a crushing defeat to Russia after several years of hard and continued struggle. Even before this great

battle of Russia and Japan China was deeply steeped in rank conservatism and was a victim to orthodoxism, illiteracy and superstitious beliefs. The abnormally big pig tails still rendered their appearances ugly and the opium smuggling and opium smoking habit still reigned supreme amongst them. They were still a prey to various barbarous and semi-civilised manners and customs which obstructed not a little their recent aspirations for treading the paths of revolutions and giving democracy a place in the system of administration of their country.

#### *The Pioneers of Chinese Evolution*

Dr. Sun Yat Sen was the first and foremost amongst the Pioneers of the nationalist evolution in China. He was truly the marker of modern China. All nationalist activities in this country originated with him. The huge conflagration of the nationalist agitation against the foreign aggression was started by him. It was he who founded the "Kuomintang" Party of the Chinese people which ultimately resulted in the destruction of the despotic royal family of the Manchus and established the first foundations of democracy in the country. His Principal colleagues and co-workers were his own wife, his son-in-law, General Chang-Kai Sek, Eughen Chen, Comrades Borondin and Gallen. It will be a very interesting study to know how this popular party of China gradually fell into pieces after the death of Dr. Sun Yat Sen for there does not appear to be another man who can successfully keep up the spirit of patriotism which the famous doctor fired into the heart of every Chinese. In a future chapter we shall give a fuller detail of the present internacine war-fare of China.

#### *Russia and China.*

Russia has entered into an open alliance with China. There was a time in the national history of the Chinese people when Russia along with other European powers was waging war against the legitimate aspirations of the Chinese and thought it her sacred duty to dupe the Chinese people into the belief that their salvation lay into the hands of the powers of Europe who had invested their money in China for the good of the children of the soil. But Russia today is against all ideas of Empire-making. She has lifted her voice against imperialism and thus she has availed herself of the opportunity to initiate China into her *mantram* and strengthen herself against all possible attacks by the great imperialistic powers of the world almost all of whom belong to Europe with the single exception of Japan. Today the political tenets of the Russian people are equal rights and equal privilege for all without any consideration of race, colour or wealth. Long before Russia imbibed this idea of anti-imperialism. Dr. Sun Yat Sen had founded his "Kuomintang" society in China which preached very much the same thing to her people which the Soviet Russia is preaching to the world today. Therefore, China has proved the best congenial soil for the

spread of the doctrine of Communism and there is no doubt in the very immediate future Russia in strong combination with China will constitute the strongest weapon with which to root out imperialism root and branch from the entire universe.

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## P. 1422.

A booklet in English entitled

“Two World Currents!

Communism—Fascism”

by

Bhupendranath Dutt M. A. Ph. D. (Dr. Dutt's Presidential address of International Political section delivered at Dacca Dist. Youngmen's Conference (special session) 1927, Dacca.

(Vide Exh. P. 264)

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## P. 1423.

A printed leaflet in Hindi headed “Mazdur and Kisan Bhayiyon & Behnom ke Sevamen Nivedan” (An appeal to the brother and sister labourers & peasants) published by the Workers' & Peasants' Party of Bengal, 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

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P. 1424.

1424 T. Rajectori

A manuscript copy in Hindi of a book entitled "The Life of Mahatma Lenin" or "The Life of the Revolutionary of Russia," presumably in the handwriting of Dr. Biswanath Mukerjee. The book is not yet complete. Mukerjee describes the birth of Lenin, his education and Political activities, and compares him with Karl Marx. The book further describes the overthrow of the Czarist Regime in Russia by means of revolution and the establishment of a Soviet Republic by the Workers and Peasants of that country.

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P. 1425

A magazine in English entitled

"The Young Liberator"

The Youth Conference special number for November 1928,  
edited by H. D. Rajah.

(Vide Ex. P. 758).

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P. 1426.

A book in Hindi entitled

"Communism Kya Hai"

(What is Communism ?)

by

Radhamohan Gokulji.

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P. 1427.

A pamphlet in English entitled

"The peasants' & Workers' Party of Bengal

Report of the Executive Committee

1927—1928.

(Vide Exh. P. 52)

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P. 1428.

Rejected as P.  
D of Ghosh.

BENGAL TRADES UNION FEDERATION.

(Provincial Committee of the All-India Trades Union Congress)

President: Sj. Mrinal Kanti Basu Office: 34, Bowbazar street.

Secretary: Sj. Kishori Lall Ghosh Dated, Calcutta the 16. 4. 1928.

Dear Dr. Mukherjee,

Since I had the honour of having acquainted with you at Cawnpore excepting an article received from you for publication at the *Patrika* and a printed invitation letter to the Secretary, Press Employees' Association. I wrote to you a letter in January last but deeply regret to say that I received no reply from you. An occasional note about the activities of the B. N. W. Railway union would be helpful and as I told you at Cawnpore would be readily published.

The other day I saw in the papers that you are forming the U. P. Provincial Committee of the A. I. T. U. C. with Mr. Hari Har Nath Sett as the Secretary. Would you kindly let me know some further details? Would you kindly also let me have the annual reports of your union for as many years as are available? Why don't you give us some interesting bits of news from Gorakhpur which may be published from the *Patrika* as from its own correspondent? You promised at Cawnpore you would do something to push the sale of the paper there but as far as I am aware you have done nothing in the matter. Would you kindly suggest as to how the sale of the paper may be pushed there? The *Patrika*

is, I need not point out to you who was at one time closely connected with it, is not essentially what may be called a Labour paper. But if you compare this with any other paper you would see that it gives more news of interest to Labour than any other paper and deals editorially with this subject more frequently than its other contemporaries. I put it to the consideration again (as I did in my previous letter) of a man of your status in the Trade Union Movement of this country as to whether the Trade Unionists should not take advantage of its columns by supplying the paper with authentic news of interest to Labour.

I trust this letter would meet with a better fate than its predecessor and would be replied to unlike the previous one if only to oblige.

Yours sincerely

Sd/-Kishori Lal Ghosh.

P. S. Kindly direct your letters to me at 1 Kantapukur Lane,  
P. O. Baghbazar, Calcutta.

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P. 1429.

*Rejected as P.  
of Mukerjee*

## The Kharagpur deadlock.—I.

*By Dr. Biswa Nath Mukerjee, L. M. and S.*

General Secretary, B. & N. W. Rymens's Association.

The situation at Kharagpur is getting more and more serious day by day. The latest message that we have received from the secretary of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation reads as follows :—

“Government decision enforcing wholesale retrenchment confined by latest publication. No alternative except carrying out Railwaymen's Federation mandate-direct action. Report preparation progress Kharagpur address”.

It will thus be seen that the Kharagpur affairs are gradually assuming an All-India importance and the day is not distant when there will be a complete deadlock all throughout the railway lines in India. This was also the decision which the special session of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation Conference held at Kharagpur arrived at after a prolonged discussion in the early part of the



31st October morning. This resolution of the Federation has already been given a wide publicity. A brisk campaigning is going on all over the Indian Railways to prepare the employers for the successful carrying out of the Federation mandate. The issue now before us is a universal strike all over the Indian Railways as a safeguard against Government's autocratic policy of a wholesale retrenchment.

Leaders like Messrs. C. F. Andrews, N. M. Joshi, Dewan Chaman Lal, M. S. Aney and several others have approached the Government under the Railway administration and discussed the problem with them with a view to finding out a solution but the obduracy on behalf of the employers and the Government has defeated all hopes for an amicable settlement. The Government has given its unqualified support to the Bengal Nagpur Railway administration and has held the threat that the retrenchment that is being effected in the B.N. Railway is only a preliminary measure to further retrenchment in other railways in India.

#### THE AGENT'S BAD ECONOMY.

The Agent B. N. Railway in his communique of the 20th October 1927 justifying the present retrenchment states that nearly 33 lakhs were spent in buying new machinery for the workshops during the last three years. He thus gives a detailed description of some of the articles purchased: two Garrat engines were purchased on 31st March, 1925 for Rs. 475920. A British Reverberatory furnace for the Brass foundry was purchased at a cost of about Rs. 5,000 excluding labour and erection charges in the shops. A sand slinging machine was purchased at a cost of about Rs. 20,000 excluding the labour and erection charges in the shops. Four adaptable moulding machines were purchased at a total cost of about Rs. 2,000. Several other things were purchased costing several lakhs of rupees. Now we learn from a circular issued by the president B. N. Ry Indian labour Union that all this has been done by the Agent without any regard to economy and need of these things at the present juncture. He says that the locomotives were imprisoned in the shops without doing any useful work up to the 1st of October, 1927 and both the furnace and machines are still lying idle. The following extract from the Railway Board's letters No. 101-SA/- 23-9 1927 to the Agent B. N. Railway, Calcutta will give us a further idea as to the B. N. Railway methods of incurring huge expenditure for no useful purpose.

"An estimate for work costing Rs. 107 lakhs was recently submitted to the Railway Board for sanction, the whole amount being debitable to the Depreciation fund. On the matter being referred to the Administration it was found that by applying different methods, the work could be carried out efficiently at a cost of 8/ p.c. below the original estimate. In this particular instance it is clear

that before the estimate was submitted to the Railway Board it had not been sufficiently carefully examined to ensure that the work would be carried in the most economical manner compatible with efficiency".

Thus we find that the Resident's charge of carelessness and bad economy are corroborated by the Ry. Board and it is said that the Chief Mechanical Engineer's letter dated 3rd May, 1927 to Agent makes further revelations in this direction.

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### **The Kharagpur Deadlock—II.**

(By) *Dr. Biswa Nath Mukerjee, L. M. & S.*

General Secretary, B. & N. W. Ryemen's Association.

#### **The hands of capitalism.**

The chief contention of the B. N. Ry administration in effecting the retrenchment is that the introduction of new machinery was necessary to effect economy and efficiency in the work shops and thus every effort is being made on their behalf to make the fullest use of such machinery. That the use of up-to date machinery will enable them to maintain their production at a higher level with a smaller number of workers.

#### **BIRTH AND PARENTAGE.**

Sir John Simon was born in modest Bishop family of England some time in the year 1873 and is just now about 54 years old. His father was a famous reverent gentleman of his time and his mother Fanny Allsebrook was a lady of exquisitely sweet and fascinating character and the son appears to have imbibed some of the noble traits of her life.

#### **EDUCATION AND PRACTICE.**

Young Simon was sent to a school at Fates to receive his education. He turned to be a very meritorious student and after he finished his school study he was granted a state scholarship to prosecute his studies further in a college. He entered the Oxford University and began his education at Wadhham College. Here also John Simon gave ample signs of meritoriousness and diligence. It is said his scholastic career was exceptionally brilliant and the only two other students who almost neared his efficiency were Messrs F. E. Smith and C.B. Fry. He is supposed to be one of the brightest jewels of the University. While John was yet hardly twenty four he started his legal practice after qualifying himself for the bar. He was an extra\_ordinarily energetic young man and devoted himself wholly and solely to his profession and in very short time rose to be the leader of his own bar. It is said that his

present monthly income exceeds Rs. 35,000. Though from the view point of his income he is classed as one of the greatest lawyers of England, so far as the progress of law in Great Britain is concerned his position is looked upon as much inferior to those of Lords Birkenhead and Reading, who are regarded to-day as the two great authorities and most shining luminaries in the domains of law and jurisprudence.

#### HIS POLITICAL CREED AND CAREER.

As we have already said Sir John belongs to the old school of British Liberalism that was led by Mr. H. H. Asquith now raised to a peerage and known as Lord Asquith. In 1906 Sir John entered Parliament as the representative of Walthamstow constituency of the Essex Division. Within a very short period of time he earned a great name for himself and some time it was believed he would soon be appointed the Lord Chancellor of England. In 1910 he became the solicitor General of England and when Lord Reading who was then known as Rufus Isaacs had to resign his Attorney-Generalship owing to his differences with the British Cabinet. Sir John became the Attorney General with a seat in the cabinet. Sir John Simon has got great regard for the Earl of Asquith whom he considers to be his political Guru. His differences with Mr. Lloyd George are many. In 1915 Sir John was offered the Lord Chancellorship of England and afterwards he became the Secretary of State for Home affairs which he resigned within a year owing to the crises created by the great war. In the next General election in 1918 Sir John Simon failed in the election and could not enter parliament till the year 1922 when another General election had to take place. This time he was returned from the Spain Valley constituency. But very soon he found himself in a very awkward position, as he could neither please his Labourite nor his conservative friends by his own speeches. It is now an open secret that Liberalism as a political creed has been almost dead in England and it has been all the more so since its hero Mr. Asquith got himself converted into a Lord. Thus from the days of disintegration of British Liberalism persons like Sir John Simon are in a state of kaleidoscopic change. The only liberal politician who is trying his best to revive its dying embers is Mr. David Lloyd George who has strongly condemned the sinister activities of the Conservative Government so far as British Trade Unionism is concerned.

#### INDIAN AND SIR JOHN SIMON.

We are given to know that the Personnel of the present Statutory Commission consists of seven members of the British Parliament, one Liberal, two Labour and four conservatives. Sir John Simon, the President of the Commission is that Liberal member. But taking into consideration the latter doings of Sir John we

we would be justified in calling him a Neo-Conservative. It can be said without the least fear of contradiction that the ideals of liberalism of the type with which British statesmen like late Mr. Gladstone and Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman identified themselves have long disappeared from that country. Even the liberalism of which Mr. Lloyd George professes to be the leader lacks the candour and genuineness of the Gladstonian school, otherwise it would have been simply impossible for this est-Liberal Premier of England to pull on with a heartless coalition Government of which he was the head for more than two couples of years. However, the case of India is not safe in the hands of men like Sir John Simon and his other six colleagues, for the people who are fired with the ambition of expanding an Empire at the cost of weaker and more helpless class of humanity can not be expected to rightly judge their case when they have got the exclusive monopoly, to call themselves as their self-made lord master and trusty. So let us not put our faith in Simon Commission.

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## P. 1430.

A book in English entitled "Leninism" by Joseph Stalin,  
Translated from the Russian by Eden and Cedar Paul.

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## P. 1431.

A printed copy of the Resolutions in Hindi passed by the  
workers' and Peasants' Party conference held at Meerut.

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## P. 1432.

A letter in Hindi D/ Meerut 19-10-29 from Dharm Vir, to Dr. Vishwanath Mukerjee, introducing Mr. Puran Chandra Joshi as the Secretary of the U. P. Kisan and Mazdur Sangh.

## P. 1433.

A post card dated Tues. 20 Nov. from P. C. Joshi, 34 Holland Hall, Allahabad to Dr. Biswa Nath Mukerji, President, Workers' and Peasants' Party, Gorakhpur. (U. P.) The Contents are as follows:—

34 Holland Hall

Allahabad

Tues. 20 Nov.

Dear Comrade

I am sorry I could not come to you as promised. I waited and waited for Comrade Muzaffar. Last week was the convocation week and my friends wd. not let me go out. I am leaving this for Gorakhpur on 22 Nov. Thurs. night. I am sure I will not miss you. Anyhow, I will follow you to the interior, if you are there. I will tell you every thing personally. Could you manage to show me the work done by the party among the peasantry and Railwaymen and also introduce me to the local workers there? I will stay there till Sunday. With greetings

Fraternally

Sd/- P. C. Joshi.

Superscription:—

Dr. Biswa Nath Mukerji

President

Workers' and Peasants' Party

Gorakhpur. (U. P.)

## P. 1434.

A letter d/ Nil, from Dr. Biswa Nath Mukerjee to P. C. Joshi Esqr. 34 Holland Hall, Allahabad.

(Vide Exh. P. 321).

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## P. 1435.

A hand drawn picture of Lenin by S. K. Banerji, 1928.

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## P. 1436.

Warrant of arrest issued by the District Magistrate, Meerut, for the arrest of Gauri Shankar, Anand Math, Meerut, and Naya Bazar, Meerut, for an offence under Sec. 121—A I. P. C.

Executed by the Meerut Police on 20-3-29.

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## P. 1437.

Search Warrant issued under Sec. 96 C. P. C. by the District Magistrate, Meerut, for searching the house of Gauri Shankar, Naya Bazar, Meerut.

Executed by the Meerut Police on 20-3-29 :

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## P. 1438.

Search Warrant issued under Sec. 96 C. P. C. by the District Magistrate, Meerut, for searching the office of Workers' and Peasants' Party Jhansi.

## P. 1439.

Search list in Urdu of articles seized from the office of the G. I. P. Railway Union, Jhansi. The list contains the following 8 items:—

- (1) 5 Copies of the "Mazdoor" of different dates.
- (2) 18 Copies of "Kranti." d/ 23-2-29.
- (3) A Correspondence file.
- (4) An account book.
- (5) One copy of "Kirti", February issue.
- (6) 5 Posters in Hindi, Urdu and English.
- (7) 3 Posters—2 in Urdu and 1 in English.
- (8) A copy of postal accounts.

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## P. 1440.

1440 T. Rajesh.

18 Copies of the Marathi Newspaper "Kranti" date 23-2-29.

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## P. 1441.

A mass meeting of the workmen of the G. I. P. Railway, Jhansi was held under the presidentship of Mr. R. V. Dhulekar Vakil at 4-30 p. m. on the 6th February 1928 addressed by Mr. Jhabwala and the following resolutions were passed unanimously :—

1. Resolved that workmen of the G. I. P. Railway assembled in this meeting do hereby form themselves into a centre of the G. I. P. Railway Union.

2. The following persons are elected as office bearers:—

*Mr. R. V. Dhulekar M. A., L.L. B.*                      *President*

*Mr. L. R. Kadam*    *Secretary,*

With 9 persons to be elected later on in consultation with the employees.

3. Resolved that the members of the Union Assembled do hereby bring to the notice of the Railway authorities their chief grievance that there is no good housing accomodation for the railway workers at Jhansi and that the authorities do immediately take in their hands a scheme to redress this grievance.

4. Resolution regarding expansion of leave facilities, removal of hospital difficulties, appointment of apprentices to permanent posts of after three years and discontinuance of successive medical examinations after appointment were also passed.

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## P. 1442.

An issue of the Urdu "KIRTI" for the month of February.



## P. 1443.

Search Warrant issued under Sec. 96 C. P. C. by the District Magistrate, Meerut, for searching the premises occupied by the G. I. P. Railwaymen's Union's office, Shetye Building, 1st Floor, Poibaudi, Parel, Bombay.

Executed by the Bombay City Police on 20-3-29.

## P. 1444.

### PUNCHNAMA.

We, the undersigned members of the Punch viz :—

- (1) Sitaram Kalicharan H. Age 22, Occupation Pan shop keeper, residing Nul Bazar, Lachmidas Bhawanidas Building.
- (2) Allauddin Abdul Rahman, M. Age 28, Occupation Embroiderer, residing Islampura, Chabitias Chawl,

were present at the time of the execution of search warrant No. dated 15-3-29, by the District Magistrate, Meerut, (U. P.) to witness the search of the place at Shetye Building, 1st Floor, Poibavdi, Parel, Bombay, known as G. I. P. Railwaymen's Unions, Office, at 6-30 A.M. on 20th March 1929. Mr. Baburao Laximan the clerk of the union opened the office by means of a key in our presence.

The above search was conducted by Dy. Inspector S. Hussanali in our presence and the following articles were taken possession of by the officer conducting the search :—

- |  |                    |
|--|--------------------|
| (1) Letter dated 1. 3. 29 from Ginwala to Jhabwala.                                  | Secretary's table. |
| (2) B. P. T. Dock-man, dated 15. 3. 29.  | do                 |
| (3) Letter from M. G. Sethe to the Editor of Railwaymen dated 13. 3. 29.             | do                 |
| (4) A packet of Railwayman, dated 16. 2. 29.   | do                 |
| (5) Letter from V. S. Safore to the Hony. Secy. G. I. P. Railwaymen's Union, Bombay. | do                 |

- |  |     |
|--|-----|
| (6) Letter from K. N. Ghanekar to the Hony. General Secy. G. I. P. Railwaymen's Union, Bombay.   | do  |
| (7) Railway Times, dated 16. 3. 29.  | do. |
| (8) Agenda for the meeting of 9. 3. 29 with rough minutes of the meeting.  | do  |
| (9) Complaint Register (bound book).   | do  |
| (10) Circular No. C/95 regarding Minutes of the Adjourned Managing Committee on 27th and 28th 1929, containing 5 pages signed by Z.A. Chowdhary for Hon. General Secy. | do  |
| (11) Payam Majdur of 10. 3. 29.  | do. |
| (12) A leaflet calling for a meeting on 28. 3. 29 in Damodar Thackersey Hall, Parel.   | do  |
| (13) The Spark, dated 10th March 1929.   | do  |
| (14) Letter from Z. A. Chowdhari to Jhabwala dated 19. 2. 29.  | do  |
| (15) G. I. P. Railway Employees' General Union, First Annual Report, for the year ended 31. 3. 28.   | do  |
| (16) Letter from S. H. Jhabwala to Zulmiram, dated Nil.  | do  |
| (17) Press Reports of the International Federation of Trade Unions, dated 7. 2. 29. 6 pages.   | do  |
| (18) Indian Railway Chronicle, Vol. III, No. 3 of March 1929.  | do  |
| (19) The Indian Labour Journal, Vol. VI, No. 5, February 1929.   | do  |
| (20) G. I. P. Railway Employees' General Union Constitution Rules and Regulations Established 1927.  | do  |
| (21) The Industrial Review, Vol. III, No. 2, February 1929.  | do  |
| (22) Stamp Rubber of G. I. P. Railway Employees' General Union.  | do  |

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|------|---|---|
| (23) | G. I. P. Railwaymen's Union, Bombay Register of Railwaymen, Subscriber's date 10. 12. 29 (bound book).                                  | do  |
| (24) | G. I. P. Railwaymen's Union Daily Cash Book, 1. 11. 28 (Bound book).  | do  |
| (25) | G. I. P. Railwaymen's Union, Bombay Managing Committee's Minute Book (Bound).   | do  |
| (26) | G. I. P. Railwaymen's Union, Bombay Meeting Committee Attendance Book (Bound book).   | Window near Secretary's table.            |
| (27) | Letter from P.A.N. Pillay to S.H. Jhabwala, dated 3. 1. 29,   | do  |
| (28) | Letter from G. W. Karkau to Jhabwala, dated 13. 1. 29, with suggestions in connection with the Central Conference to be held at Itarsi. | do  |
| (29) | Correspondence between G. V. Kulkarni and the Hony. Secretary, G. I. P. Railway Workmen's Union (14 sheets).                            | do  |
| (30) | Register of Receipts (Stitched book).   | do  |
| (31) | Register of Receipt book, Donation books Head Office. Bombay, (Stitched book).  | do  |
| (32) | Remington type writer No. 10. R. X. 06457, made in U. S. A.   | Typist's Table.                           |
| (33) | 11 carbon papers.   | do  |
| (34) | 7 letter forms of G. I. P. Railwaymen's Union Head Office.  | do  |
| (35) | Note book (white papers stitched).  | do  |
| (36) | Voucher file containing vouchers with signatures of different people.   | do  |
| (37) | Publication file.   | Top of a cupboard near Secretary's table. |
| (38) | Head bills (bundle) announcing a big meeting at Shahabad. 17. 1. 29.  | do  |
| (39) | Hand bills (bundle) announcing General meeting of Commercial Staff of Bombay Division 20. 1. 29.  | do  |

- (40) Hand bills (bundle) announcing a meeting Extraordinary of the G.I.P. Workers on 28. 3. 29. do
- (41) Hand bills (bundle) warning the gangmen on G.I.P. to wake up. do
- (42) Letter from S. H. Jhabwala to Sadasheo Trimbak, Secretary, Itarsi dated 18. 3. 29. Clerk's table.
- (43) Letter from Z. R. Chowdhari to the Secretary, Satna, dated 19. 3. 29. do
- (44) Letter from S. H. Jhabwala to the Chairman, Reception Committee, Punjab Provincial Workers' and Peasants' Conference, Rohtak, together with manuscript copy of the same and letter from Daulat Ram Gupta, Chairman, Reception Committee, Rohtak. do
- (45) Marathi manscript copy of hand bill in Marathi, warning and waking up gangmen. do
- (46) Letters from Mr Karkare, Secretary, Bhusawal, to the Hony. Secy. G. I. P. Railway Employees' General Union. dated 19/20. 2. 29 together with Railway Times, dated 16. 2. 29. do
- (47) 2 Receipt books. Book No. 2 and 4. On the shelf behind Typist's Table.
- (48) File of "Sawtantra" containing each copy of 17. 1. 29, 24. 1. 29, 31. 1. 29, 7. 2. 29, 14. 2. 29 and 21. 2. 29. Hanging on a nail on the wall near clerk's table.
- (49) G. I. P. Railwaymen's Union Postage Book No. 3. (Bound). Clerk's Table.
- (50) G. I. P. Railwaymen's Union Inward Register, 13. 7. 28 (Bound). do
- (51) G. I. P. Railwaymen's Union Outward Register, 13. 7. 28 (Bound). do
- (52) Statements showing monthly collection of Bina, Jhansi, Bina, Wadi June Satna, Sholapur, Nagpur, Kalyan, with 2 applications for membership, Manmad. Registration clerks table room adjoining Secy's room.

- (53) Letter in a covered packet, addressed to K. N Joglekar, Managing director, G. I. P. Railwaymen. do
- (54) Subscription Register Sholapur, Wadi and Dhond. (Bound). do
- (55) General Subscription Register. do
- (56) G. I. P. Railwaymen's Union, Postal Book of 24. 11. 28. Found on a spare table near Registration Clerk's table
- (57) Letter File General (Kaem) up to G/ 162 from G/1 along with certain letters which are not numbered. Found on a rack near Registration Clerk's table.
- (58) Copy book showing the names of subscribers and names of different papers to whom 'Railwaymen' is given in exchange. Found in an open cupboard kept near the entrance of the office.
- (59) 2 lists, one described as "List of Leaders on South East Line" and the other as "List of Paper Distribution". do
- (60) Block of group photo. do
- (61) Old Minute Book of the general meetings from 29. 5. 27 to 18. 8. 28. (Bound book). do
- (62) Strike Committee Outward Book 22. 11. 28. (Bound Book). do
- (63) Register of Strike Fund Tickets from 10. 12. 29. (Bound book). do
- (64) Group photo of the Deputation invited by the Agent, G. I. P. Railway on 7. 11. 28. Hung on the wall near the cupboard kept near the entrance
- (65) Group photo of G. I. P. Railwaymen's Union, Bhusawal Conference Session (12th and 13th May 1928 group photo of the Delegates). do.
- (66) Block revised letter form. Found near bench close to the table of registration clerk.

- (67) Great Indian Peninsula Railway-  
men's Union General Register of  
Members. (Bound book). do
- (68) Remington Typewriter No. 11 Re- Lying on a chair  
gistered No. R. P. 63749. close to the above  
bench.
- (69) Freedom of Association volume III Found in a cup-  
International Labour Office, Geneva board near wooden  
1928. partition dividing  
2 rooms.
- (70) The Logic of the Machine by W. F. do  
Hog.
- (71) The working class by Karl Kantsky. do
- (72) Monopoly or How Labour is robbed do  
by William Morris.
- (73) Wage Labour and Capital by Karl do  
Mark.
- (74) Useful work Versus Useless Toil by do  
William Morris (3 copies).
- (75) Socialism Versus the State, by Vand- do  
avelve.
- (76) Die Gewerkischafts und Genosse- do  
nochafts Bewegung in ungar.
- (77) Letter from G. D. Karkari to Head Found in a loc-  
Office dated 12. 3. 29. ked cupboard  
which was close  
to the Secys. ta-  
ble locked and  
forced open.
- (78) Letter from V. S. Sapre to General  
Secretary, G. I. P. Railwaymen's  
Union, dated 13. 3. 29 Letter from  
V.S. Sapre to General Secy. dated  
14. 3,29 with 4 resolutions to be  
placed before the Annual General  
Meeting.
- (79) Bound Book of Accounts of Re- do  
ceipts and Expenditure Railway-  
men's Union.
- (80) File No. A/ C/ 114 Subject "Agen- do  
da" containing 28 sheets.

- |   |    |
|---|----|
| (S1) File No. A/ G/ 23 Miscellaneous.   | do |
| (S2) A copy of "Kranti", dated 17. 3. 29  | do |
| (S3) "Save us from our Friends". Conspirators in G. I. P. Railwaymen's Union. Abominable attempt to exploit innocent workers by Z. R. Chowdhry, Hon. Secy. with the manuscript original copy. | do |
| (S4) Statement without signature 20 sheets, (page 17 missing).  | do |
| (S5) 3 group photographs.   | do |
| (S6) Two Ledger Books. (Bound).   | do |
| (S7) 3 cash Books. (Bound)  | do |
| (S8) File No. A/ C/ 113 Propaganda file containing 9 sheets.  |    |

The above Panchnama was read over to us and it contains a full and true account of what we have witnessed during the search

Before me.

Sd/- H. Hussanali.	(1) Sd/- Sitaram Kalicbaran.
Dy. Inspector of Police. Bombay City.	(Signed in Vernacular) (2) Sd/- Allauddin Abdul Rahman.
Dated 20. 3. 29.	(Signed in Vernacular).
1 P. M. Concluded.	

## P. 1445.

A file marked "Publications," and containing amongst others  
Exh. Nos. P. 1445 (1) to P 1445 (6).

P. 1445 1.

**BUNDLEKHAND  
Peasants and Workers Conference.**

**Resolution Against Imperialism.**

Our Jhansi correspondent wires that the Bundlekhand workers and Peasants Conference resumed its sitting again on Tuesday after noon und the Presidency of Mr. Jhabvala Hon. Gen. Secretary of the G. I. P. Railway men's Union when stirring speeches were delivered by the President, Messrs. Bhulekon, Narayan, Swami, Lashmani Narayan, Vishu Prasad, Babu Sharma, Pandi Verna and others and the following resolutions were unanimously passed:—

This meeting of the workers and peasants conference declares emphatic opinion that the present agricultural and working classes have been dis of their regretful ownership of all property and that therefore to crush capitalism and remove imperialism shall be their avowed creed and they shall therefore organise themselves for self determination.

Moved by R. V. Dhulekar. Supported by Shibcharandas.

The meeting condemns the action of the Government in unlawful thrusting the Simon commission upon the masses of India against her will and while boycotting the same calls upon all the sons of India to reply to Great Britain's high-handed action of sending the confusion by creating organisations of workers all throughout the land who would be the only potent factor in offering effective resistance for India's political redemption.

III—This conference strongly protests against the Governments alliance with Indian capitalists in endeavouring to break the back-bone of Labour Movement in India by brining forth such legislature measurers on the anvil of the Assembly as Public Safety Bill, Trade dispute Bill etc., by which Imperialism wants to assert its undeserved power upon the mute millions of this unhappy land.

IV—This conference its hearty greetings to the heroic mill-workers of Bombay, the brave steel worker of Jamshedpur and the Self sacrificing Railway workers almost everywhere in the country for the courageous stand they made during the last few months against iron capitalism under strictest trials of prevations, hunder and even death and it also congratulates all those who give them help to fight their righteous struggle especially the Russian workers of Moscow.



V—This conference offers its cordial greetings to the brave Sathiyagrabis of Bardoli who in spite of great privations imposed upon them by the Government successfully resisted against unjust principle of taxation and thus setting a marvellous example to all India bear national battles could be won by the force of Satyagrahis.

The meeting terminated late at night and in closing the conference Mr. Jhabvala made a stirring speech appealing to the peasants and workers assembled to remove the dire course of India's proarty by organisation as the masses were not cared for by any parties in the country. They must respond to the call of the men by creating unions among themselves which could afterwards be inter allied an industrial line of co-operation. The swaraj that we wanted ought to ensue complete food to every man and woman and child born in India, Swaraj that we wanted ought to recognise their claim of the humblest and poorest even in the country for it ought to be the Swaraj of Truth, love and justice above all. The Govt. had allowed Bolshivism in the land by their own hands by fostering famines, industrial strikes, non-recognition of adult from classic suppression of wages, agricultural and revenue systems and disastrous economic policies and Mr. Jhabvala asserted that he never knew what Bolshivism was yet he would be the worst revolutionary if he found that his neighbour starved and died of poverty owing to a bad or social administrative system. He congratulated the larged crowd assembled there and their courage in passing some of the most frightful resolutions and told them that the next time they met they themselves agree to lead the movement. The conference terminated amidst great enthusiasm at about 11.p.m. and Mr. Jhabvala left Jhansi early next morning.

V. R. Rele.

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P. 1445 2.

### **Nagpur Workers Demand Minimum Living Wage. Leaders Fervent Appeal.**

Our Nagpur correspondent writes in his communications of yesterday that on Saturday morning Mr. Jhabvala the General Secretary of the Railway Worker's Union arrived at Nagpur where he had laid down a programme of two meetings, one at Humpyard and the other in the Nagpur Railway Yard. Two great meetings were held, one on Saturday and the other on Sunday, when

Mr. Ruikar the President of the local centre presided. Mr. Jhabvala in opening his proceedings said the 28 crores of the Indian masses were dying of starvation and they had not got the minimum-living wage any where to subsist themselves on. Moreover they had not got their rights recognised. All that was purely due to the fact that Government was blind to the situation and that the employers did not recognise that the workers were an essential factor in the production of the wealth of the land. Mr. Jhabvala maintained that such a state of affairs should be early remedies and the only means for remedying such a state of affairs was by strong Trade Unionism. In a Union all met on lines of equality and all got the rights quickly recognised. A Union reckoned caste, creed or community. If all the workers combined together the 28 crores would easily oust, the few imperialists that were at present holding sway over the unfortunate masses. He urged that the present Legislative Councils were of no value and any man nominated by Government was imported. He passed therefore that the workers themselves must adopt the reins of Government in their own hands. There after Mr. Jhabvala explained the various demands submitted to the Agent of the Railway Committee for consideration, and the reply raised thereto. He asserted that the Agent was prepared to come to terms if the men offered reasonable resistance. The speaker was out to prepare a lakh of men as organised workers before the year was out and then all the demands of the workers would be immediately conceded.

Mr. Ruikar strongly denounced the Trade Dispute Bill which gog the mouths of leaders and would stifle the Trade Union Movements in the land. At the end resolutions were passed suitable to the occasion Mr. Jhabvala left Nagpur for Bomay on Sunday night

( Sd. ) S. H. Jhabvala.

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P. 1445 3.

## **Jubbulpore Division Demands better Conditions.**

### **Union of Workers Leads to Freedom**

(From our correspondent.)

Our Jubbulpore correspondent writes that Mr. Jhabwala the

Secretary of the Railwaymen's Federation on his way back from Calcutta complied with the report of the Jubbulpore workers and halted on Friday to address the meeting on their situation and Kahad best they could secure freedom. A large meeting of Railway workers and others was held in the Jubbulpore Town Hall in the evening when Mr. Gadgil, Barrister, Presided. Mr. Jhabvala in a freeful and long address advised the men to solve their question of slavery by uniting and making a common cause among themselves. The way to freedom was one and that was the way of Unity. 28 crores of Indian workers were suffering from painful grievances, they had nothing to eat and the women had but the garment to cover themselves with, the children had no facilities for schooling so that some of the best intelligence remains suppressed. Government was a lifeless institution Mr. Jhabvala contended and the owners use a heartless hand of blood suckers. The only remedy that lay in the hands of the men was unity irrespective of caste, creeds and communities. If the grievances of the men would not be redressed constitutionally he was prepared to be unconstitutional. Strike was the last idea Mr. Jhabvala said he would press for, but he would not allow his control over the final measure as a matter of sheer necessity. He failed to believe in committees or commission but he believed in direct action after all constitutional measures were exhausted, Mr. Jhabvala then referred to the mischievous propagandā set afoot by the Times of India and a certain section of the interested labour workers who were the enemies of labour movement and warned them against the activities. He also explained the working of the Railwaymen's Union, the benefits accruing from joining the Union that was of the men. On his Union there were no outsiders except one or two and ever there would go as soon as the men were ready. Referring to the Agents attitude he believed that he was a sportsman and wanted a sports-manlike fight. Therefore he called upon the men to become one lakh strong before the year was out.

Thereafter Mr. Pillay, Mr. Ramachandra Rao, Mr. Shrinivas and others spoke on very important Railway matters pertaining to Jubbulpore. Thereafter, the following resolutions were passed:

Mr. Jhabvala left late at night for Nagpur to address meetings on the 1st and 2nd.

#### RESOLUTIONS.

1. This meeting strongly condemns the action of this decision introducing the fact of "C" grade Guards which is not in force in any decession up to now.
2. This meeting proposes and strongly urges a Standard scale of pay the same as on all other State Railways and why this has not been settled by the administration.

3. This meeting resolves that the Railway administration be requested to put a stop to the practices of allowing P. W. I. to do the work of I.O.W. even now. Resolved further that the proposal of Mr. Jog suggesting the appointment of an inquiry Board with equal number of representatives from the workmen and the administration to enquire into the working of the State Railways be adopted.

4. This meeting resolves that the employees should be given preference at the time of engagements.

(Rubber Stamp) S.H. Jhabvala.

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### P 1445 4.

A manuscript article in pencil headed "Jubbulpore Division demands better conditions".

(Vide Exh. P 1445 (3).)

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### P. 1445 5.

#### ORGANISED VIOLENCE.

Though ten years have leaped since the tragedy of the Jallianwalla Bagh had been enacted on the soil of India yet our Nationalists and other stalwarts in political battles have gone on merely pleading the cause of the country before the Government with their knees and heads bent. There has been a regular monody of true complaints and pitiful crisis, and the the Government are more powerful to day and more firmly established than they were ten years ago. Add to this there have serious splits to our political camps, there have been divisions and ranks from religious and social points; so that there is no united front to offer to-day in as firm and great a manner as it was ten years ago. The reason is not far to seek. The whole direction of our nationalist struggle is laid in the wrong channel. There has been direct effort made since

Mahathma Gandhi moved in the year 1929, in the direction of mass organisation. The masses not being at the back of our political struggles the superior classes that decorate the chairs of Legislations and Councils did not get any kind of success in their efforts at political freedom, even though they were sufficiently well intentioned. The organisation of the masses is the only programme before the country to-day. All our slavery originates from legislatures and legislation is nothing but a legalised efforts at organised violence. All government is organised violence. In ancient times robbers held pistols at the heads of poor innocent people and deprived them of their property. To-day the capitalists, the employers, the land holders and such other sections of the Imperialistic class in a more fashionable way. Thus though the action and the result are the same yet the methods between the modern and the ancient times are different. Therefore, just as in ancient times robbers were caught and hanged by the crowd, so in modern times the masses require to be organised who will be able to hang the ruling communities on the gallows of truth and justice.

Our direction needs to be changed towards a well organised scheme of Revolution. By Revolution is meant a speedy change in the existing order of economic and political conditions. As long as Imperialism lives secure on this soil Capitalism will flourish and its brood of poverty, distress, misery and slavery will continue. The Revolution can be very peaceful, if the workers are all organised on economic basis. The most effective Revolution brought about in the world without any blood-shed or very little was that which was about by the brought Russian in 1917 under the iron direction of the great Lenin. Huge organisations of workers in different industries in our country are perfectly possible as injustices exist in a variety of shape from the employed community which is largely due to their capatalistic ideas and the Imperialist control of the Government. They may be given a political direction at a later stage of their existence and they may be created into an effective central political machinery for the winning of India's rights. Hitherto this most clear and possible sign of our activity has been totally neglected, and that is the reason why any number of Congress meetings or Councils and Corporations have failed in the past to bring about anything like tangible progress in the country.

(Sd., S. H. Jhabvala.

P. 1445 6.

## Railway Official Sues Jhabvala.

HIS UNAMBIGUOUS REPLY " WILL FIGHT TO THE END."

MASS MEETING AT MANMAD.

( From Our Manmad Correspondent ).

A mass meeting of Railway workers was held on the night of Saturday last at Manmad at 9 under the auspices of the G. I. P. Railway Employees Geneneral Union when Mr. Jhabvala presided. Reviewing the work of the Union for the last 6 months that it has been in existence Mr. Jhabvala said that in spite of victimization and difference created by the administration system among the members of the staff there was considerable enthusiasm prevailing all over the line and when recently on a visit to—Cawnpore he found that the men so far as Jhansi were all prepared to Join the Union. Members were rapidly enrolling themselves and funds swelling and he had started a monthly journal also to agitate the men's cause. Continuing further he said, "I have been served with solicitor's notice by a certain Railway official on the allegation of defamation in the above newspaper and unconditional apology is demanded of me. But I re-affirm what I have written and even if I am to be sent to jail for the suffering masses I will fight to the end. I am of sterners stuff that the officials may take me to be."

*Councils and Masses:*—Proceeding further Mr. Jhabvala emphasised that the Government and management were not to be relied upon for they were—institutions apart from the masses. The Government was for the classes the rich and the powerful while the voice of the poor and the helpless was suppressed. "Therefore do not put faith in the Government nor in the legislatures but depend upon yourselves. Organise yourself and if all the seven lakhs of Railwaymen united together the Government would be yours. Your effort should be to capture the means of production yourselves. You must govern the land. Unite to change the law of the land."

Mr. Patack thereafter read the report of the work done by the Manmad Centre of the Union Mr. D. R. Thengdi thereafter delivered a long discourse on the ethics of unionism, in the course of which he asked the men not to continue to suffer but to learn to drive out suffering and that would be possible only by unity. Unionism required sacrifice in the beginning and no one should expect immediate results but in the course of time all would be benefitted. He pleaded for a respectable majority at the end to effect a strike if necessary.

The following resolutions were thereafter proposed by the chairman and passed unanimously.

1. This meeting of the G. I. P. Railway Employees General Union of Manmad Centre earnestly requests the Agent to introduce 8 hours duty as settled at the All India Railway Agents Conference held at Simla.

2. This meeting of the G. I. P. Railway Employees' General Union of Manmad Centre earnestly requests the Agent that equal treatment in case of privilege leave, passes, sick leave, P. T. Orders should be given to the menial and clerical staff.

3. This meeting of the G. I. P. Railway Employees General Union of Manmad Centre resolves that since the present procedure of periodical Medical Examination on this Railway is far from nature and humanity and against the stability of the service and it earnestly requests the Agent to abolish the same with immediate effect.

4. This meeting of the G. I. P. Railway Employees' General Union of Manmad Centre protests against the racial discrimination with regard to rate of pay, allowance, leave, passes, house accommodation, education to Railway Employees' children etc. and requests the Agent to abolish the same forthwith.

With a vote of thanks the meeting terminated at a late hour in the night.

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P. 1446

Bombay 15th Feb. 1929.

The Chairman,

Reception Committee,

**Punjab Provincial Workers and Peasants  
Conference,**

*ROHTAK.*

Comrade,

I have your kind invitation to attend the Punjab Provincial Workers and Peasants Conference, the Second Annual Session of which is to be held early in March. I wish I could attend the Conference; but my preoccupations here and the increasing anxiety with regard to the various Unions with their multifarious questions

demand my personal attention and guidance. I, therefore, regret I cannot personally be present on this important occasion. At this critical juncture in our struggle for political and economic freedom, the organisation of the Workers and Peasants of the country, who form the back-bone of the nation is a task fraught with immense potentialities. The national Congress has recognised this fundamental factor and it is up to us who are engaged in this onerous task to devise some sort of machinery by which the political and economic flanks of the great national movement could be harnessed to take joint action and present a united front to the enemies of India's freedom. It should, however, not be forgotten that ours is a greater and more difficult struggle. Ours, is a triple boudage —political, economic, caste-oligarchic. We alone can create the sanction for any demands of either the National Congress or any demands that might be forwarded in the name of the Indian people. In fact the Workers and Peasants, the depressed, oppressed and suppressed classes of the population, hold the key of complete freedom. In our fight against capitalism, both Indian and foreign, Imperialism and caste-oligarchy, we should allow any extraneous matters to engage our attention. Let it not be said by posterity that those who are engaged in this task frittered away the energy of the masses by ourselves being victims of plausible catchwords, blatant War-cries. Our work should be guided by courage, forbearance, honesty and above all self-sacrifice. Vigorous propaganda, unconfused thinking and clarity of Vision are sure to beat down any opposition. My message therefore, is unite, organise and federate. Nothing succeeds like success. Let not "failure" enter your through. Push on with the mantra of "Victory" - and we win! I wish the conference every success.

Yours fraternally,

{(Sd.) S. H. Jhabvala.

P. 1447.

*Rejected.*

WORKERS' WELFARE LEAGUE OF INDIA.

The Agent of the Indian Trade Union Movement in Great Britain.

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



President.

Treasurer

Dr. K. S. Bhat.

Mr. K. Sheldrake.

Secretary.

Indian Secretary.

Mr. J. E. Potter-Wilson.

Mr. S. Saklatvala, M. P.

December 13th. 1928.

Dear Comrade,

I have noticed recently that quite a number of new publications have appeared in India, with the object of furthering the cause of the workers, and many of them have a connection with your name. I would be very much obliged if you would forward me a few copies of each publication, with the idea of my obtaining as much information as possible of the Labour movement in India. I sincerely hope that you will be able to help me in this matter because it is really important that we obtain as much as possible, information, firsthand.

Thanking you in anticipation.

Yours Fraternally,

J. E. Potter-Wilson.

(Sec)

Secretary.

Mr. S. H. Jhabwala.  
Shetye Buildings  
Poibavdi.  
Parel. Bombay.  
India.

P. S. I would also be very much obliged if it is at least possible to have as complete list as is possible of all LABOUR PUBLICATIONS published in India ?

P. W

P. 1448.

*Rejected.*

# G. I. P. Railwaymen's Union

(HEAD OFFICE)

Out

2022

4/1/29

No. G/124

Shetye Building,

Poibavdi, Parel,

Bombay No. 14.

Dated 29th. December 1928.

Centres:—  
Bombay  
Kalyan  
Lonavla  
Poona  
Kasara  
Manmad  
Igatpuri  
Bhusawal  
Khandwa  
Itarsi  
Wardha  
Murtizapur  
Nagpur  
Amli  
Chalisgaon  
Jubbulpore  
Sutna  
Mahoba  
Katni  
Damoh  
Jhansi  
Agra  
Bina  
Bhopal  
Sholapur  
Dhond  
Wadi  
Shahabad.

To

Workers' Welfare League of India,  
The Agent of the Indian Trade Union  
Movement in G. Brt.  
182, Buckingham Palace Road,  
London, S. W. I.

Dear Sir,

Thank you very much for your letter of the 13th. I send you herewith a Bundle of such literature and papers as are available in my office for your enlightenment, and I have asked my office to send you regularly one copy for each mail. Should you ever fail to receive the same in good time please inform me and I shall see to its properly being sent.

Yours faithfully  
Sd/- S. H. Jhabvala.  
Hon. Gen. Secretary.

Below this type written letter the following note occurs in manuscript :—

*Copies of Railwayman, Feb. to Dec. and some Sundry literature. S.H. Jh. 4/1/29.*

P. 1449.

## "UNION IS STRENGTH"

G. I. P. Railway Employee's General Union.

President :—

F. J. Jinwala, M.A., LL. B., M.L.C.

Vice-President :—

B. G. Horniman

Head office :—

Yusuf Building.

Nawab Tank Road,

Mazagaon.

Hon. Gen. Secretary. C/16

S. H. Jhabwala, B.A.

Bombay, April 7, 1928.

To

Sohan Singh Esq.

Editor, "the Kirti",

AMRITSAR.

Dear Sir,

I am glad you published my article on "Slavery for food". I am sending herewith an article on "Organised violence" for your acceptance in your new issue. Kindly send me five copies of that paper in which appeared "Slavery for Food", and also make it convenient to send five more when the new article, which I am sending herewith is published.

Yours faithfully

Sd/- S. H. Jhabwala.

Hon. Gen. Secretary.

---

P. 1450.

**"UNION IS STRENGTH"**

**G. I. P. Railway Employees' General Union.**

President :—

Head office :—

F. J. Jinwala, M. A. LL.B., M.L.C.

Yusuf Building,

Vice-President :—

Nawab Tank Road,

B. G. Hormiman.

Mazgaon.

Hon. Gen. Secretary.

S. H. Jhabwala, B.A.

Bombay, March 28, 1928.

To

K. R. Joglekar Esq.

Fanaswadi, Bombay.

Dear Sir,

With reference to your letter dated 17/3/28, I beg to forward herewith the resolution arrived at by the Managing Committee of the above Union at a meeting held on 27/3/28.

## RESOLUTION.

“That Mr. Joglekar's appointment is confirmed. That he be paid Rs. 45 per month for his personal expenses, for which no bills should be asked and that Rs. 30/- be given to him as initial travelling allowances and when the fund is exhausted on his submission of bills a further sum be given to him to cover his travelling charges. That he should be on the line for three months commencing from the first of April.”

Yours fraternally

Sd/- S. H. Jhabwala,

Hon. Gen. Secretary.

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P. 1451.

### “UNION IS STRENGTH”

G. I. P. Railway Employee's General Union.

President :—

F. J. Jinwala M.A., LL.B., M.L.C.

Head office :—

Yusuf Building,

Vice-President :—

B. G. Horniman

Nawab Tank Road,

Mazagaon.

Hon. Gen. Secretary. C/13

S. H. Jhabwala, B.A.

Bombay, March 28, 1928.

To

The Hon. Gen. Secretary,

Bombay Trades Council,

Bombay,

Dear Sir,

With reference to your letter dated 26th. March 1928, I beg to inform you that the Union Congratulates you on the move you are taking in connection with May Day Celebrations, and that you can get hearty support from the Union and the Union will be glad to do everything possible for the success of the same.

Yours faithfully

Sd/- S. H. Jhabvala.

Hon. Gen. Secretary.

## P. 1452.

A piece of Raliway form containing the following manuscript entries on one side:—

### Income and Expenditure account for the month of June 1928.

Income through Head		Printing	... 78 4 0
office	... 126 12 0	Rent 2 months	... 43 0 0
Donation	... 8 14 0	Salaries	... 11 1 0
Bhusaval	... 150 0 0	Raliway Parcel	... 2 10 0
Joglekar	... 300 0 0	Travelling	... 19 9 0
Khandwa	... 150 0 0	Meetings	... 22 8 0
Bhopal	... 235 0 0	Postage	... 23 13 0
Itarsi	... 240 0 0	Sundry	... 1 3 6
Charry	... 91 0 0	Stationery	... 13 7 6
Bina Life member	... 20 0 0	Remunerations	... 300 0 0
Jhansi	... 35 0 0		515 8 0
Sundry	... 20 0 0	Cash on hand	... 14 14 0
Refund from Free		" in Bank	... 3535 0 0
Press.	... 30 2 0	on 30-6-28.	
	1406 12 0		
Sd/- B. F. Bradley		Sd/- B. D. Marathe	
<i>Passed.</i>		7-7-28.	

P. 1453. *Rejected.*

Some pencil notes written on a G. I. P. Ry. Stock Report  
from, presumably by Mr. B. F. Bradley:—

50%

20% for office.

Clerk 40

Peon 25

1. Put Head Office in order, clerks.
2. Common Program to be accepted for whole of Line.
3. Amalgamation. Workshop S.C. Joshi all to be written.  
Write all Centres.
4. 6 Delegates to P.T.U. C.G.

P. 1454.

**G I.P. Railway Workmens' Union.**

F.J. Jinwala, Solicitor

Shetye Buildings.

President

Poibavdi, Parel

B.G. Horaiman

P.O. No. 14.

Vice-President

S. H. Jhabvala

Bombay, 26th January 1928

Hon. Secretary

V.P. Rele

Assistant Secretary.

To

The Secretary,

G.I.P. Railway General Employees' Union

Mazagaon.

Gentleman,

I beg to enclose herewith a copy of resolution passed at the

extra ordinary general Meeting of the above Union which was held on Thursday the 26th inst at 5. 30 P.M. in Jivraj Nensey's Wadi at Matunga.

In accordance with the same I beg you also will ask the members of your Union to observe one Day's Hartal on Friday the 3rd. February 1928 or even any part of it. You may follow the the noble example set by the Railway and Municipal Workers of Bombay.

Yours faithfully

Sd. S.H. Jhabvala.

Hon. Secretary.

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P. 1454 A.

26th January 1928

**Extra ordinary General Meeting.  
Resolution.**

1 This meeting of G.I.P. Railway workers supports the action of citizens of Bombay in boycotting the Royal Commission on Statutory reforms believing as it does that India's day of freedom cannot come by this or any other commissions but by united mass action in the direction of setting up a true form of Government unlike the present in which every worker shall have a full share; and it further resolves to observe one day's strike on Friday the 3rd February 1928 in which it seeks the Co-operation of other Bombay Labourers as well.

Sd/- S.H. Jhabvala.

President.

P. 1455.

A file bearing no. A/C/113 and marked "Propaganda File".  
It is formed of G.I.P. Railway forms.

P. 1455 1.

Copy of a type written Letter D/ 18/2/28 from the Executive  
Committee of the Workers' and Peasants' Party, Bombay, to all  
Trade Unions and their executive committees.

(Vide Exh. P 827 (1)).

P. 1456.

A pamphlet in Urdu entitled "Presidential Address of  
(Pride of the Motherland) Lala Kedarnath Sahib Sehgal. President  
of the Kisan Mazdoor Conference, Meerut, held at Meerut on the  
13th 14 thand 15th October 1928.

P. 1457.

ABSTRACT REPORT.

*Typed*.

Speaking in support of a resolution pertaining to *Bardauli  
Peasants*, Mr. Spratt delivered a brief speech lasting for about  
7 minutes on the night of the *14th Oct.* The following is the



abstract report of his speech, *at the Peasants' and workers' conference.*

He said "I am speaking on this resolution on the handicap of not being able to follow my predecessors. But I would say what I have to say. We are in agreement on the cause which they put up against the Government. We, communists are generally in rather disagreement with those people who were responsible for leading and conducting the peasants Satyagrah. I am not able to agree with Mahatma Gandhi and other leaders in this respect. I believe that in this case Mahatma Gandhi and other leaders were clearly shown that they had the best opportunity for mass propoganda against the Government. But it was a political error on their part that they did not seize the opportunity."

He was not satisfied with the demands put forward by the leaders of Bardauli on behalf of the peasants. He believed that on an occasions like that of Bardauli and on similar occasions they should put forward demands of fundamental requirements of the people, even if it were rightly apprehended that those demands would not be granted by the Government, because they were in movements for the independence of the country. He said "defeats in such movements are valuable because they serve for the preparation, training & education for the future propoganda and solidarity which should work out to acquire the those fundamental requirements."

He thought that the leaders in that respect were mistaken. Mahatma Gandhi was mistaken in his opinion in restricting the demands to those which he had thought he could obtain.

Refusal on the part of the leaders of the Bardauli peasants satyagrah to call on other movements to their movements was a great blunder when Carnatic Peasants' conference etc. had passed resolutions to undertake the Satyagrah. He said there was opportunity for special machinery for propoganda work at the disposal of the leaders and the resources were unlimited. He considered that to utilise the services of other, was advisable, because it would have beveloped many times more revolutionary meaning. He also thought that it was a mistake to attach so much importance as was observed in Bardauli to non-violence principle. He said "I think it is correct once to attach importance to the nonviolence priciple as a tactict but this time it was a fundamental mistake. In my opinion the principle of non-violence weakens the power of self determination to work for the independence and also the spirit of violent action to over come the goal. Never-the-less there were fundamental difference & we, communists, were not prepared to compromise those difference in these days of plioicy."

He said " The peasants stood for six months under very hot

conditions against the Government. We are used to industrial strikes but this peasants strike with extraordinary zeal on their part and with practically negligible assistance from outside is unparalleled in the history of the world. It has perplexed an outside observer. This has opened the possibility of mass action by peasants. We can use this as an example for the work which remains to be done for the leaders to undertake. In U. P. next year there will be an occasion for an action of this sort. There will be re-assessment in Meerut which may work out disadvantages and then recourse may be had to such mass action on the part of the peasants against the Government. I have nothing more to say than that this can be taken as an ideal of what to do in the circumstance. I have very great pleasure in supporting this resolution.

Mardan Singh.

Sub-inspector of Police,

D. I. S. Meerut.

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P. 1458

ABSTRACT REPORT. *Typed.*

The following is the abstract of the speech delivered by Mr. Spratt in support of the *independence resolution* at the second sitting of the *Delhi Provincial Political conference* Meerut before an audience of about 3,000 men on the *14th October, 1928*.

He expressed his deep sense of gratitude for being called upon to speak on the resolution. He regretted for his being able to speak only in a foreign language.

He considered the agenda as the most important one as it was for the first time that they were seriously thinking of complete independence. He said "they who take a communist point of view were thinking that Indians were as happy as they were. But it was men like Mr. Sakalatwala who explained to them the conditions prevailing in India. We had taken the view that the Indian National Congress and other national movements for the freedom of India were superfluous movements by persons of vested interests."

He said "we were more or less correct in this respect. But we were startled when the Indian National Congress and other

district and provincial bodies enthusiastically passed resolutions for complete independence. It was the inner most voice of the younger generations of Indian and they are in right place on this question. "

He believed that in some places and in some quarters people did not understand what complete independence meant. He believed that from complete independence they mean only political independence would convey nothing unless it is carried in a serious manner to achieve economic independence also.

He said it was rather inconsistent to advocate independence and at the same time to support the Nehru Committee's report. He said that efforts must be made to achieve complete economic independence also. He estimated that from Lb. 5 to 10 millions, that is to say,  $3/4$  of the total capital invested in the firms was British capital in India. He said this question must be chappled first as there could be no complete independence without complete economic independence. ?

For complete independence he considered the necessity of complete Indian army. He considered that Indian could better defend themselves than their self interested enemies could do.

Taking the Indian States he said "We cannot obtain serious independence without getting on our side the majority of masses of the population within the native states of India and we cannot get independence without their cooperation. We cannot leave them in justification in the conditions in which they are at present."

He said "The fundamental question if we have to take up independence seriously, we have to take up a revolutionary line because independence means revolution for India.

He considered the holding of peasants' and workers' conferences side by side the congress conference as an important development towards the realisation of complete independence, and considered it to be a good sign.

In conclusion he supported the resolution for complete independence for India.

Mardan Singh

Sub-inspector of Police

Meerut. D. I. S.

P. 1459.

Abstract Report

Tyler

On the 16th October, 1928 a meeting in the Town Hall compound was held under the president-ship of J. B. Kripalani at which Mr. Spratt of Calcutta delivered a speech the abstract of which is given below.

He stated that he belonged to that section of working class of Europe and particularly of Britain which was turning in a *revolutionary direction*. His Party has been bitterly opposed by the governing section. The opposition instead of getting better has gone from bad to worse as consequence of which the members of his party have been driven to revolt against the governing class and they have to devise means to over throw the present government and to replace it by another. He believed in the policy and his party were engaged in a struggle to over throw the present Government. While he did not presume to give any material help to Indians but he wanted to put their ideas before the public for the work to be adopted by Indians.

He wanted that the forces of the working classes of different countries should unite together in the struggle to over throw the imperialisms and capitalism.

He said that his party has its head quarters in Moscow as it is only Russia which has so far obtained complete success in the struggle while countries such as China and Germany were only attempting in that direction.

He traced the history of Socialistic, Bolshevik and communism theories and pointed out to the audience that all meant the same thing. In doing so he described the works of Dr. Marks, Lenin etc. According to his statement these theories originated in the 18th century when the philosophers of the different countries set to devise means to solve the social problems of the poor classes. He narrated how the capitalists of different European countries have been exploiting the labours of the working classes without giving proportionate share of the profits to the labourers. He said that the French revolution and other strikes were a result of the struggle between the working classes and the capitalists. He characterised the capitalist and imperialist classes as selfish people who what to speak of doing anything for the service of mankind did not do anything for the service of their own class. This policy of the capitalist classes brought about economic crisis in European countries.

When the capitalists were no longer able to exploit the labour of the working classes to such an extent as they wanted to do, they sent their men to explore the eastern countries. With the help of

their commercial agents and railway experts it soon became easy for them to divide the eastern countries for their own interests. When there were no more countries to be seized and there remained no more possibility of appropriating these lands the capitalists went against each other and brought about the great European war of 1914.

He described the horrors of the last war in a manner to show that the capitalists were an undesirable class of people who for the sake of their own interests bring about sufferings on human beings.

He said that the communist theories were based on principles which would rescue mankind in general. He appreciated the advice of certain philosophers who held that the workers ought to overthrow the imperialistic and capitalistic governments. The speaker pointed out that it was not an easy job to do so because the capitalists were armed with powerful weapons such as C. I. D. and army which frustrate their attempts to overthrow the government. The speaker was against the factories and manufacture in large scale. He preferred the age when there were no factories. He advocated strikes on the part of the workers to bring about disasters and ruins of factories as it would give a serious blow to the capitalist governments. But he deplored that the non-violence principle was stupidly preached in India. He also held that the plying of the Charkha would not bring about the objective in view but he held that it is only revolutionary methods which would solve the problem.

He said that China, Egypt and Ireland have obtained only their partial freedom because the agents of the capitalist government brought over tactfully the rich and selfish people of these countries to their side and caused horrible bloodshed by putting the rich and the workers to fight against each other. He led the audience to believe that the picture of the Chinese affairs was not such in reality as was painted in the newspapers in India. He showed that the news from foreign countries were censored and stories in the papers were only manufactured ones so that Indians might not have any sympathy with the Chinese. He indicated that the same thing going to be brought about by the agents of the governing class to happen in India, that is to say, he hinted that the British people by granting some concessions to well-to-do class were making efforts to continue to exploit the labours of the workers.

He said that it was only a handful of Englishmen of the capitalist class who ruled over England, India and other countries and there is need only to do away with these few English people. He held that vigorous preparations were being made for another great war and armies were being collected in the frontier of India to be ready to crush Russia which is proceeding in a direction to rescue mankind in general.

He said that the workers and peasants of all the countries should unite together and change the wars between different nations into class wars, that is only capitalists of <sup>the</sup> country should fight against the capitalists of another country and peasants and workers of any country should not take any part in the wars.

The speaker held that though the labourers in European countries were getting numerically more but they were not much better than the Indian workers.

The speaker said that they had been thinking that the capitalists would change their way but there was no change for any prospects and solution of the difficulties of the workers. He thought that the time has come to get rid of capitalism.

He said that there should be some scientific method to alter the government as they did not want to be rustic. Their method was revolution. He held that the workers in the factories were disciplined and they could do good work towards bringing about the revolution. He did not want the large scale of manufacture as in his opinion it was intolerable to the world. He expressed that the revolutionary energy of the workers must be used to alter the government. For this object he said that there was need to organise the workers on sound lines. As India according to the speaker is composed of 90 per cent of the working class so the speaker laid great emphasis on re-organisation of the working class to bring about the revolution. He believed that they would be helping mankind in general by this revolution.

Discussing the question whether Indians would be able to manage their own affairs if the Britishers were expelled from India. He said that when Russians overthrew the Imperial Government they were just as backward as the Indians were but they had managed their affairs quite well. He said in Russia the same sort of illiteracy prevailed as existed in India at present. But the Bolshevik people in Russia have turned hill tribes in a very short space of time into good citizens by education. Russian hoped to teach read and write to 98 percent of their population by 1933. In the same way the speaker indicated that the communists have made appreciable progress in matters pertaining to health, sanitation and other matters which they would not have achieved ever in the time of the Imperial government.

Quoting the instance of Russia he said that he believed that the communists were justified in their revolutionary methods. In conclusion he said that in the next war the workers and peasants of India should not take any part. He also held that if they succeeded in overthrowing the British rule in India they (communists) would have acquired a great success because the freedom of India would mean an end of the British empire.

When the speech was over the substance of the speech was translated into the vernacular, by one Parmatama Saran Vakil of Meerut.

Mardan Singh

Sub-inspector of police,

D. I. S. Meerut.

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## P. 1460.

A booklet in English entitled

'A call to Action'

(Vide Exh. P. 523).

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## P. 1461.

A small pamphlet in Hindi containing the Resolutions adopted at the Mazdoor Kisan conference, Meerut, held at Meerut under the Presidentship of Patriot L. Kedarnathji Sehgal of Lahore, on the 13th, 14th, and 15th October 1928.

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## P. 1462.

A leaflet in Marathi issued under the signature of A. A. Alwe, President Girni Kamgar Mandal, Bombay, under the following headlines :—

Warning to Mill Labourers.

Mayekar has betrayed the people.

The Dark conspiracies going on in the Girni Kamgar Mahamandal.

Mismanagement of work and Confusion in the accounts of Public monies.

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## P. 1463.

A handbill in Marathi issued under the signature of A. A. Alwe, President Girni Kamgar Mahamandal and Executive Committee the handbill gives a warning to all the Mill labourers against dealing with Mr. D. R. Mayekar who was dismissed by the committee of the Mahamandal from his office of secretaryship.

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## P. 1464.

A handbill in Marathi issued under the signature of A. A. Alwe, President, Girni Kamgar Maha Mandal, Bombay, advising the Mill labourers to unite and declare a general strike, as otherwise the Millowners have adopted the course of cutting the wages on various pretexts.



## P. 1465.

A handbill in Marathi of 9-4-28 issued under the signature of A. A. Alwe, President Girni Kamgar Mahamandal, Bombay, advising the Mill labourers to declare a general strike if they wanted to oppose the plan of the Millowners to cut their wages.

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## P. 1466.

Telegraphic money order No. Meerut city—T 1572 D/- 11th October 1928 for Rupees Twenty from Gourishankar of Meerut to Kedarnath Sahgal, Chowkmati, Lahore. The M. O. form is signed by Gourishankar in English and the entries regarding the amount and the address of Kedarnath Sahgal are supposed to be in the hand writing of Gourishankar.

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## P. 1467.

Receipt for T. M. O.

No. D. I. 1572 Date of issue: 11-10-28. Office of issue: Meerut city (Meerut).

Payee : Kedar Nath Sahgal.

Chawk Mati, Lahore.

Amount : Rs. 20/- Twenty.

Received the sum specified above Date 12-10-28.

Sd. Kedarnath Saigal.

Paid by me on 12-10-28.

at 11-20 a.m.

Sd. Bustan Khan

Postal seal

Lahore

Officer who paid the amount.

12-Oct. 28.

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P. 1468.

Transcription in Urdu of the shorthand notes submitted by  
S. I. Jagat Singh regarding the speech made by Sohan Singh  
Josh on 10-3-29 at the Kirti Kisan Conference, Rohtak.

P. 1469.

Yeravda

Poona

18-5-28.

To

Mr. Ginwalla.

Bombay.

Dear Sir,

I hope to be released on the 23rd inst. and will require a  
few small articles of clothing. Please arrange to send me twenty  
(20) Rupees to the prison here before the 23rd and oblige.

Yours truly

Sd. D. Campbell

There is the following remarks at the end of the letter  
in ink :—

"Not sent".

Initials Illigible.

**P. 1470.**

S. V. Ghate.

Shri Krishna Lodge,

Sahdhrust Road.

Bombay, 4.

5-10-27.

To

The Superintendent,  
Yerawda Central Prison,

Poona.

Dear Sir,

Some days back I addressed a letter to D. Campbell alias George Allison, who is doing time in your prison. I have not received any reply as yet from him, which makes me and my comrades anxious about him. You will kindly therefore, let me know his present state of health, and relieve me of this anxiety

I shall thank you let me have an interview with him, since it is more than six months, he has been seen by any of us. Please let me know when I may do so.

Yours faithfully

Sd. S. V. Ghate.

**P. 1471.**

Dhoondi Raj Thengdi.

229 Sadashiva Peth,

Engineer.

Deccan Gymkhana, Poona

City.

The Superintendent,

Date, 18th April 1927

Central Prison,

Yeravda Nr. Poona.

Sir,

The undersigned request you to kindly grant them permission to see Mr. D. Campbell, a prisoner in Yeravda Jail. Mrs. Thengdi

would also like to know if she can bring any eatables and sweets for Mr. Campbell, if she is allowed to see him. The time convenient for us to see Mr. Campbell will be in the evening after 4 P. M. if it does not clash with prison regulations. In case this time does not suit you, we shall come in the morning any day. Hoping to hear favorably at an early date.

we are yours faithfully,

Sd/- D. R. Thengdi. (In English.)

Sd/- Tarabai Thengdi (in Marathi).

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**P 1471. (E)**

The envelope has the following superscription:—

The Superintendent,

Central Prison,

Yeravda.

Nr. Poona

---

**P. 1472.**

Shantaram S. Mirajkar.

2/3 Khandke Building,

Dadar, Bombay,

4th. July 1927.

The Superintendent,

Yeroda Prison,

Yeroda,

Poona.

Sir,

I want to meet Mr. D. Campbell who, I understand is in your prison at present.

Will you kindly let me know the date and hours when I can have an interview with him.

Thanking you in advance,

Yours etc.

Sd/- S. S. Mirajkar.

R. S. No. S. D. 1300

8-7-27.

Confidential.

N. 5446. of 1927.

Central Prison Office.

Yeravda, Dt. 6-7-1927.

Forwarded with compliments to the Secretary to Government, Home Department, Bombay, for favour of orders, with reference to Home Dept. No. S. D. 388 dated 26. 4. 1927, (Political).

Sd/. E. E. Doyle.

Major, I. M. S.

Superintendent,

Yeravda Central Prison.

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**P. 1473 1.**

An unsigned letter dated, Y. M. C. A. Wodehouse Road, Bombay 25/3/27, to the Superintendent, Yerroda Jail, Poona.

( Vide Exh. P 1957. )

**P. 1473 2**

*Confidential.*

No. 10724 of 192

Prison office

Dt. 28-11-28.

From the Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prison.

To

The D. I. G. C. I. D.

Poona.

Sir,

Ref. your D. O. dt.  $\frac{S. B. 1653}{27-11-28}$  Enclosed is the letter required. It is unsigned and was therefore not replied to. From remarks made by Allison it is clear that the letter had been written by Spratt, from whom he expected the toilet articles referred to in the letter.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant

Sd/. EE. Doyle.

Major, I. M. S.

Superintendent

Yeravda Central Prison.

**P. 1474.**

1 T. P. B./29

Telegraphs: "Ganavani" Calcutta. Phone Cal. 3270.

WORKERS' & PEASANTS' PARTY OF INDIA.

2/1, EUROPEAN ASYLUM LANE, CALCUTTA.

BENGAL PROVINCIAL BRANCH.

Organs:

"Ganavani"

( Bengali Weekly )

FEBRUARY 9, 1929.

*The Director General of Post and Telegraph,*

NEW DELHI.

Sir,

We, the undersigned are desirous of sending foreign Press Telegrams from India. We are members of the above named Party which has got Inter National connections. We are also Editor and Sub Editor of "GANVANI". (Reg. No. C. 1440) respectively. We request you to be so good as to allow us to send Press Telegrams severally to foreign countries.

Yours faithfully,

Sd. Muzaffar Ahmad,

Sd. Abdul Halim.

---

P. 1475.

A baggage declaration form signed presumably by Philip Spratt, Bookseller, when he arrived at Bombay, from London, per S. S. Kaiser-I-Hindi, in December 1926.

P. 1476.

List of books, papers and letters taken from  
Mr. Motiram Gajanan Desai ex S. S. Aquileia  
D/ 28-11-27.

Prohibited	{	Sunday Workers	....	2 copies.	
		Labour Monthly	....	2 "	Nov. & Dec. 1924.
Do.	Do.	....	....	8 "	1925.
Do.	Do.	....	....	13 "	1926.
Do.	Do.	....	....	11 "	1927.
		Communist Review	....	1 copy	Jany. 1926.
		Trade Unionism	....	1 "	
		Socialist Annual	....	1 "	1925.
		Wage, Labour and Capital	....	1 "	
		Songs for Socialists	....	1 "	
		New China	....	2 copies	Part I and II.
		Russian Revolution published by Labour Research Dept.	....	1 copy.	
		The Mass Strike	....	1 "	
		Labour Unrest in India	....	11 pages.	
		The Commune	....	1 copy.	
		British Imperialism in Malaya	....	1 "	
		Reconquest of Ireland	....	1 "	
		Workers History of the Great Strike	....	1 "	
		Labour Imperialism and Experts Report	....	1 pamphlet.	
		The Wanshien Massacre	....	1 "	
		American Communism on Condi- tions in Ireland	....	1 copy.	
		Workers International	....	1 "	
		A Short History of British Workers	....	1 "	
		Hundred per cent Indians	....	1 "	



The Labour Party and the Empire	1	„	
Socialism and the Empire	....	1	„
British Imperialism in China	....	1	„
Conditional Rural and Political Movement	....	1	„ Chapter VI.
Foundations of Imperialists Policy	1	„	
Socialism and the Living Wage	....	1	„
Problem of India	....	1	„
Clerical Workers in Russia	....	1	„
The Machine Wreckers	...	1	„
— Labour in Irish History	..	1	„
Poems for Workers	...	1	„
Russia turns East	...	1	„
✓ — The Crisis in Russia by Arthur Ransom	...	1	„
Labour and the Empire (Africa)	..	1	„
Imperialism (from page 13).	..	1	„
Socialists and the Labour Movement in Japan	...	1	„
A Guide to the Study of Marx	....	1	„
Revolution by Reason	...	1	„
✓ New Leader	...	3	copies.
Nationalist Revolutionary Front and the Class War (from page 5).	....	1	pamphlet.
One Note Book	...		
Personal letter by Arthur Field	..	5	pages.
Letter from N. M. Joshi	...	1	
Letter from Paul, Editor-Sunday Workers.	...	1	
China's Fight is Labour's Fight	...	1	leaflet.
Private letter dated 23-4-26 by Kabadi	....	1	
✓ Private letter by H. N. Brailsford dated 27-10-25.	...	1	
The Congress Rank and File	...	11	typed sheets.

Private letter by Arthur Field dated  
27-3-26. ... .. 1

Workers Welfare League of India  
7th. Annual Report .... 1 leaflet.

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P. 1477

A baggage declaration form filled in and signed presumably  
by G. Adhikari, Physical Chemist, 16/17 Simplex Buildings Girgaon,  
Bombay, when he arrived at Bombay per S. S. Pilsna on 10-12-28.

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

P. 1478.

**List of books and other literature detained from Mr.  
Gangadher Adhikari, a passenger arrived by  
S. S. Pilsna on 10-12-28.**

- 
1. 4 files containing typed and hand-written literature and letters.
  2. 1 small file containing letters in marathi.
  3. 1 Cover containing letters etc.
  4. Writing pad containing letters.
  5. One diary book.
  6. One bundle of International correspondence.
  7. Printed pages Eiufohrung.
  8. A. T. Z. Magazine.
  9. Unto Dun Banner Des Marxismus books 1 to 6 (5 books).

10. Marxistische Biblio-thek 9 books.
11. Das Neue Russland.
12. Elementar-Bucher Des Kommunismus.
13. Lenin.
14. N. Lenin.
15. Die Wirtschaft etc.
16. Revolution in China.
17. Methode Trachtenderg.
18. Linin and religion.
19. Linen and revolution.
20. The anti Imperialist Review.
21. Durer.
22. Das Voltslied.
23. N. Bucharin.
24. Michaelangelo.
25. Bitriebsrategefeb.
26. Cuttings from German papers including one about Lajputrai.

---

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

P 1479 - 1375

Simplex Buildings

Bombay,

2-6-38.

My dear Dada,

I could not reply last week, as I had just then a severe attack of my usual complaint. I was pained a little by the tone of your letter to Kaka. I am referring of course to your letter... lecturing him on the international outlook and "sexual conflict". If really all these things are far above his head, as you plainly suggested by your underlinings, the simple reason must be quite plain to you...overwork..overwork and nothing else. I am sure you could explain to him in milder words

However, you will be glad to know...if you are following Indian Political news for the last few months...that we *are* now more and more entering into an international outlook. I have been watching very carefully the present gigantic mill strike and nothing is more plain to me. The Russian's, the International textile Union help was brought home to one lakh mill hands of Bombay... the international solidarity of labour. What a fuss Times made over the Red Moneys : And what a fine reply the moderate leader N.M. Joshi made to the criticism. What is most significant in this strike is that the workers are completely controlled by the extremist leaders-Messrs Nimkar, Dange, Zabwalla-all members of the Peasants and Workers Party. I attended some of the daily meeting at the now famous Nagoo Sayaji's Wadi, and was amazed at their solidarity no communal poison working here and also the audacity of the leaders preaching in the words of "Times" "Rank Communism." I must say that the work that the Peasant and W's Party of Bombay has done during the last year particularly during this strike is simply prodigious. And all are with the exception of the well fed Bradley, thin, young boys.

One good result-howssoever the workers may fail in obtain all their demand-is sure to come i. e. the new Unions that are now formed will be far more of militant character than the older ones. Dange the brain and the satistician of the Party is writing in Marathi articles on "The Trade Union".

The report of the Party could not be published for want of funds. I will, however, as soon as I am well, will try to secure a typewritten copy for you. Nothing has been done so far as the Peacant side is concerned. None of the Party has so far put forth any programme for the work among the Peasants. The same is to be said about the Party at Calcutta.

Will you let me know what exactly are your plans-in all their details, I again warn you, you will have to be very careful and cool if you wish to do any real work *here*. You can be as plain and outspoken as you please in Europe but here you will have to tread most warily—as the extremist (P. W. Party) leaders are doing here.

Yours

affly

Jagoo.

---

## P. 1480

A letter in Marathi D/ 3-12-27 from one signing himself as Jagoo, to one Dada, introducing to the latter a gentleman named G. B. Madkholkar.

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## P. 1481.

A letter in Marathi D/ 29-12-27 from one signing himself as Jagoo to one Dada, informing the latter that issues of the Indian National Herald for the past week were being forwarded to him by that mail.

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## P. 1482.

A letter in Marathi D/ 24-12-27 from Jagoo to Dada. The

letter says that the Political atmosphere here has been very much disturbed on account of the Simon Commission, and gives an account of certain boycott meetings held in the Congress House.

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### P. 1483.

A letter in Marathi D/9-12-27 from Jagoo to Dada. The writer enquires whether any arrangements could be made to get "The Masses of India".

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### P. 1484.

A letter in Marathi D/13-1-28 from Jagoo to Dada. The writer says in the letter that he got a good idea of Bolshevism after reading the book "The mind and Face of Bolshevism—A survey of culture of Soviet Russia".

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### P. 1485.

A letter in Marathi (without date) from Jagoo to Dada. In this letter the writer says that he was fully convinced that the most important thing was the organisation of the Workers and Peasants, and that it was essential for them to cooperate with the Bourgeois National leaders, till the Workers and Peasants were fully organised, etc.

---

## P. 1486.

Issues of International Press Correspondence in German of  
the following dates :—

3-7-28	28-9-28	13-12-27
6-7-28	8-11-27	28-2-28
17-7-28	4-11-27	28-2-28
7-9-28	15-11-27	23-2-28
4-10-28	22-11-27	1-3-28
16-10-28	18-11-27	13-3-28
30-10-28	29-11-27	16-12-27
1-10-28	9-12-27	19-1-28
10-11-28	2-12-27	
26-10-28		

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## P. 1487.

**A Book in German Entitled.**

**ELEMENTAR BUCHER.**

**DES**

**KOMMUNISMUS.**

**DAS**

**KOMMUNISTISCHE**

**MANIFEST**

---

P. 1488.

A typewritten article headed.

“ Thesis on the revolutionary movement in the colonies and semi-colonies.

(Vide Exh. P. 334).

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P. 1489.

**A Book in German Entitled.**

LENIN

UBER

RELIGION.

---

P. 1490.

**A Book in German Entitled.**

PROBLEME

DES LENINISMUS.

By

J. STALIN.

---



P. 1491 S.

RECEIPT FOR T. M. O.

No. 059. Original date of issue 23. 1. 28

Office of K 216 Vanschall Bridge Road, near  
Victoria Station, London.  
Name & P. Spratt c/o K. N. Joglekar  
Address of No. 1, Congress House  
the payee Girgaon,  
(in full) Bombay.  
Amount in Rs 527/8/-Five hundred and twenty  
words and Seven and Annas eight only.  
figure.  
Sd. N. M. Joshi  
Signature of witness.

Received the sum specified above.

Dated 28. 1. 28.

Sd. Philip Spratt.

Paid by me on 28. 1. 28

at 17 hrs 10 mts

Sd. Illegible.

P. 1492

IN THE COURT OF THE CHIEF PRESIDENCY  
MAGISTRATE, BOMBAY.

I, SHRIPAD AMRIT DANGE, do hereby declare that I am the PRINTER and PUBLISHER for the "KRANTI" a MARATHI WEEKLY PAPER to be printed at the SHRAD-DHANAD MUDRANALAYA situated at Khatav Building, Girgaum Bombay and Published at Shetye Building, Parel, Bombay.

Age 28

Caste Hindu Brahmin.

Sd. S. A. Dange.

Declared this day

27th June 1928.

BEFORE ME.

Sd. H. P. DASTUR.

CHIEF PRESIDENCY MAGISTRATE, BOMBAY.

*TRUE COPY.*

H. P. DAS TUR

CHIEF PRESIDENCY MAGISTRATE,

B O M B A Y.

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P. 1493.

IN THE COURT OF THE CHIEF PRESIDENCY

MAGISTRATE,

B O M B A Y.

S I R,

I, KESHAV NILKANTH JOGLEKAR, do hereby declare that I am the KEEPER of the "LABOUR PRESS" situated at 388 Thakurdwar Bombay No. 2.

Age: 26

Sd. K. N. Joglekar.

Caste Brahmin.

Declared this 8th day of December 1923.

Before me,

Sd. Frank Oliveira.

Ag: Chief Presidency Magistrate, Bombay.

TRUE COPY.

H. P. DAS TUR  
CHIEF PRESIDENCY MAGISTRATE,  
BOMBAY.

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P. 1494.

Hotel register of the Royal Hotel, Delhi, for 1927, Containing the names & particulars of those who put up in the Hotel, during the month of March 1927. The following names amongst others appear in the register:—

Name	Date	Object
P. Spratt Bookseller.	12-3-27	To attend Trade Union Congress.
P. Spratt.	12-3-27	(Not mentioned)
S. V. Ghate accompanied by K. N. Joglekar S. S. Mirajkar R. S. Nimbkar Muzaffar Ahmad	12-3-27	T. U. C.
D. R. Thengdi accompanied by H. S. Zabwala.	12-3-27.	To attend A. I. T. U. Congress.
Gohar Rahman Khan accompanied by	13-3-27.	To attend T. U. C
x x x x x & M. A. Majid.		

## P. 1495.

Visitor's Book of the Hotel Majestic Bombay for the period between 1st May 1926 to 30th June 1928. On page 1 of the register the following entry occurs:—

Date & hour of arrival	Name	Room no.	Address
3-5-26. 12noon.	D. Campbell.	29	London.
	Nationality	Date of Departure	
	British.	Noon, 14-5-26.	

## P. 1496.

A printed list of passengers by the P & O S. S. Razmak leaving Bombay for Marseilles on 10th April 1925. On page 2 occurs the name of Glading, Mr. P.

## P. 1497.

PARTNERS:  
Lord Swaythling.  
E. L. Franklin.  
Hon: G. S. Montagu.  
S. E. Franklin.  
Hon: S.A.S. Montagu.

SAMUEL MONTAGU & Co.,  
114, Old Broad Street,  
LONDON,  
14th, December 1926.

No. 0165744

Gentlemen,

Be pleased to hold at the disposal of Philip Spratt Esq. the sum of Rupees Two Thousand Six hundred Ninety Four, Eleven

annas, taking his receipt and endorsement on the back hereof for any amounts paid and charge the same to the debit of

Your obedient servants.

Rs. 2694/11/-.

(Stamped & signed illegible).

To

P A I D

18 Jan. 1927.

The Imperial Bank of India.

B O M B A Y.

The following manuscript endorsements are found on the back of the above credit Note :—

Received from the Imperial Bank of India Rs. 660/- (Six hundred and Sixty) deducted from this credit.

Sd/- Philip Spratt.

(Stamped)

18. Jan. 1927.

IMPERIAL BANK OF INDIA.

Received Balance of the Credit amounting to Rs. 2034/11/-  
(Two thousands and Thirty Four rupees eleven annas).

Sd/- Philip Spratt.

(Stamped)

18/Jan. 1927.

IMPERIAL BANK OF INDIA.

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P. 1498.

114 OLD BROAD STREET

London, 14th Dec 1926.

THE IMPERIAL BANK OF INDIA,

Bombay.

Dear Sir,

We herewith beg to advise our Letter of Credit as under

which please protect to the debit of our a/c advising us as amounts are paid.

No.	Date.	Amount.	Order	Drawee.
0165744.	Dec. 14.	2694/11/-	Philip spratt.	Your good selves.

(Specimen-Signature herewith.)

Yours faithfully,

Per pro Samuel Montagu & Co.

Sd/ Illegible.

Rubberstamp

of Paid, 18 Jan. 1929.

Endorsements in red ink:—

Paid Rs. 660/- on 18-1-27.

Paid Rs. 2034/11/- on 18-1-27.

---

Rs. 2694/11/-

---

P. 1499.

SAMUEL MONTAGU & Co.,

114 Old Broad Street.

G.P.O. 525.

London 3rd March 1927.

The Imperial Bank of India,

BOMBAY.

Dear Sir,

We shall be glad if you will kindly pay the sum of Rs. 5351/15/- (Five Thousand three Hundred and Fifty One rupees Fifthen annas) to Mr. Philip Spratt, c/o Y.M.C.A., Wodehouse Road, Bombay, by order of Mrs. Olive N. Parsons. against receipt in duplicate,

a copy of which send us, debiting our account when the payment has been effected.

Yours faithfully,

Sd/- Illegible.

Per pro Samuel Montagu & Co.,

---

P. 1500.

Bombay 25th March 1927.

Received from the Imperial Bank of India the sum of Rupees five thousand three hundred fifty one and annas fifteen only on account of Samuel Montagu & Co. by order of Mrs. Olive N. Parsons.

Rs. 5351-15-0.

one

anna

Sd/ Philip Spratt.

stamp.

Messrs, Philip Spratt Esqr.

c/o Y.M.C.A.

Wode House Road, Bombay.

Please receive the sum of Rs. 5351/15/- as per annexed receipt for the Imperial Bank of India.

Sd/- Illegible.

Secy. & Treasurer.

On the back of the above receipt is seen the following endorsement:—

Pay F. X. Monteiro

Sd/ Illegible.

Superintendent

Savings Bank Department.

Sd/- F.X. Moteiro

P. 1501.

SAMUEL MONTAGU & Co.

114 Old Broad Street

G.P.O. Box 525.

*London 8th February 1928.*

The Imperial Bank of India,

Bombay.

Dear Sirs,

We shall be glad if you will kindly pay the sum of Rs. 1,328 12-0 (one thousand three hundred and Twenty eight Rupees twelve annas) to your goodselves this sum to be held at the disposal of Mr. Philip Spratt, by order of Mrs. Douglas Parsons, London, debiting our account when the payment has been effected.

Yours faithfully,

Per pro Samuel Montagu & Co.

Sd/-

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P. 1502

Philip Spratt.

In account with the Imperial  
Bank of India.

Note—The next account, when rendered, will commence with the Balance shown below. It is therefore necessary that this sheet be preserved.

Dr. 1928 March 7 To Amt. paid to him 1328-12-0.

Cr. 1928 February 24 By transfer from Samuel  
Montagu & Co. by order of 1328-12-0  
Mrs Douglas Parsons.  
London.

Certified that the above is a true copy of the entries and that the above entries are contained in the ordinary books of the Bank and were made in the usual and ordinary course of business and



the said books are still in the custody of the Bank.

Bombay, 30th August 1929.

For Imperial Bank of India.

Sd/ Illegible.

Chief Accountant.

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P. 1503.

Imperial Bank of India.

14

Bombay, 7-3-1928.

Rs. 1328-12-0.

Debit Sunday deposit a/c. Philip Spratt Rs. One thousand  
Three hundred twenty eight and ans. 12/- Amount paid to him.

Rubber stamp of

There is a rubber stamp of:

7 Mar. 1928 Paid.

"Pay cash" across the Debit Slip.

---

P. 1504.

Duplicate of receipt No 977265 of 3rd May 1928 passed by  
B. F. Bradley Apollo Hotel Bombay to Thos. Cook and Son  
(Bankers) Ltd. in respect of the sum of one Hundred pounds sterling  
in Travellers cheques, being the amount of a telegraphic transfer  
from their London office in his favour as per their tel. of 1-5-28

Sd B. F. Bradley

C/o Apollo Hotel

Bombay

£ 100-0-0.

P. 1505.

225290 G.

Thos. Cook and Son. (Bankers) Ltd. chief office 30-4-1928.

Order for Telegraphic Payment. On Bombay in favour of  
Mr. B. F. Bradley. Amount: £ 100 Sterling.

Will payee apply for the } Yes.  
payment.

If not by what means is } Traveller's cheques.  
payment to be effected.

Payee's address: Apollo Hotel, Bombay.

Signature and permanent } Sd. H. P. Rathbone Green bank  
address of sender. } Sefton Park Liverpool.

On the back of the order the following manuscript entries  
are seen:—

T. chqs.	£ 100 cable.	100 0 0
	Coding.	17 0
	Comm.	10 0
		<hr/>
		£ 101-7-0

Prnt. Recd. Cheque # A 214 757.

Sd. Illegible.

Paid.

Sd. Illegible.

P. 1506.

No. 991180. Bombay office 7th Dec. 1928

Received of Thos. Cook and son (Bankers) Ltd. the sum of

Rupees six hundred and fifty only, being the amount of a telegraphic transfer from their Sydney office in my favour.

Signature— John Ryan.

Rs. 650-0-0

Y. M. C. A.

Bombay.

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## P. 15 07

Report regarding the speech of Mr. L. Hutchinson delivered by him on 21-4-29 at a meeting organised by the youth League Dadar near Dadar Railway Station. Mr. Raja, Secretary of the Dadar Youth League presided.

Note: This is printed separately.

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## P. 1508.

Passport application by R. S. Nimbkar presumably in his own handwriting and signed by him. The purpose of journey has been mentioned as follows:—

'Entering China, Japan, United States of America and Great Britain for travel and Journalistic studies.

In the passport application Mr. Nimbkar has stated his profession to be "Publicist (also a student).

The application is dated 30th March 1927.

## P. 1509.

Passport application by K. N. Joglekar presumably in his own handwriting and signed by him. The purpose of journey has been mentioned as follows—

“Attending the Asiatic Labour conference at Canton, China, as a labour delegate for India, and travelling on a business trip to Japan America, Great Britain and the continent viz, Italy, Switzerland, Begium, Russia, Germany”.

In the application the profession has stated to be “Commission Agent”.

The application is dated 5th April 1927.

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## P. 1510.

Passport application of Dhoond, Raj Thengdi presumably in his own handwriting and signed by him. The purpose of journey has been stated to be as under :—

“Touring round the world, China, Japan, U. S. A., England, France Germany, Switzerland, Belgium.”

The profession has been stated to be “Mec. Engineer.”

The application is dated 5th April 1927.

---

## P. 1511.

Passport application of Shantaram Sawlaram, Mirajkar presumably in his own handwriting and signed by him. The purpose of journey has been stated to be as under:—Travelling to the United States of America for the purpose of qualifying myself in Textile Engineering course”.

The profession has been stated to be “student”.

The application is dated 3rd Sept. 1921.

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**P. 1512.**

Moscow, Jan. 14/29

Messrs. Chakurverty, Chatterji & Co. Publishers.

**CALCUTTA.**

Gentlemen,

Enclosed herewith is a summery of the contents of a book on China. As far as I know such a book has not yet appeared in India, although a comprehensive study of the origin, history development and the present outcome of the nationalist movement in China is sure to find there hosts of interested readers.

In case you wish to enquire about my competence to write such a book, it may be pointed out that I was present in China taking a leading part in the movement during the fateful period of 1926-27. Previous to that I had been closely connected with the guidance of the movement in all its aspects. For this purpose I had to acquire a thorough knowledge and understanding of the history of the country and its present conditions social cultural, economic political.

If you are willing to under the, publication of the book, the MSS will be sent to you by post on the receipt of your terms.

Yours truly,

✓ M. N. Roy

Please address all communications to

Mr. A. C. N. Nambiar

C/o Rhode

Berliner St. 66

Berlin.Charlottenburg

Germany.

P. 1512 A.

## Revolution and Counterrevolution in China.

(Subject matter of the book: A study of the character and perspective of the Chinese Revolution, and a critical examination of the roles played by the different classes of the people in National Revolution in the colonial countries.)

**INTRODUCTION.** (Statement of the contents of the book)

### *Chapter 1. Social Structure of China*

(Brief historical retrospect bringing out the characteristic features; Chinese philosophy (Confucianism) compared to the contemporary speculative thoughts of India and Greece; teachings of Confucius-their socio-economic basis; intellectual stagnation etc.-reasons; historical background of Chinese conservatism; persistence of social organization, cultural codes and theories of state based upon Asiatic pre-capitalist production; peculiarity of the relation in the ownership of land -not strictly feudal in form in European sense, but essentially so; economic organisation of the village artisan's guilds; pre-capitalist forms of production subjected to capitalist exploitation; the result is stagnation, exhaustion and pauperization; general economic condition of the people and the country.

### *Chapter 2 Foreign Aggression.*

(Early contacts; Opium Wars; Forced Treaties; Open Ports; Penetration of trade; extra-territoriality; concessions; Operation of Finance Capital loans; mortgage of state revenue; loss of sovereignty; policy of partition checked by rivalry among imperialist powers; spheres of influence.

### *Chapter 3 Taiping Revolution.*

(Taiping-essentially democratic (primitive) movement in the form of mediaval peasant war; its social composition and political theories; its suppression with foreign aid)

### *Chapter 4. Boxer Rebellion.*

(Boxer essentially represented the same social forces and tendencies as Taiping; historically revival of the former revolt; anti-imperialism its peculiarity; shows how imperialist intervention disturbs the normal development of a country)

*Chapter 5. Overthrow of the Manchus.*

(Decay and Corruption Reform movement - object to stabilize feudal monarchy with the support of the rising bourgeoisie (as Louis XIV did); Opposition of the Dowager Empress; theories of reform; promise of constitutional reform; secret revolutionary societies; revolution of 1911)

*Chapter 6. The Republic and Yuan Shi Kai.*

(Counter-Revolution: dissolution of the parliament; attempt to restoration of monarchy; causes of the instability of the republic-weakness of the social basis, inactivity of the masses-resulting from the violent suppression of the Boxer rebellion and foreign intervention.)

*Chapter 7. Sun Yat Sen and His Three Principles.*

(Life; his earlier scheme of national reconstruction with the aid of foreign capital; believer in paternalism which is the essence of his principles; his theory of state - a mixture of old Chinese conception and modern constitution (not necessarily republican); his evolution under pressure of circumstances; attitude towards the Russian revolution and communism.)

*Chapter 8. Kuo Ming Tang.*

(Its forerunners; social basis; theories; role during the first and second revolutions; its plan of Military intrigues; reorganization in 1924; new orientation and programme; relation with the Communist Party.)

*Chapter 9. Foundation of the Nationalist Government & Army.*

(Triumph of reaction in Peking; the meeting of the constitutionalists at Canton in 1917; the decision to organize a revolutionary army with the object of defeating reaction and uniting the country through military victory, according to Sun's scheme; Versailles Treaty frees the nationalists from the illusion of Wilsonism; popular wave of anti-imperialism; Nationalist movement becomes a mass movement; Labour and Peasants organise themselves; Hong Kong Strike, and boycott.)

*Chapter 10. Militarism.*

(The struggle for the supremacy in Peking and the control of the Maritime provinces; various military groupings; causes of militarism - 1. decentralized structure of the state making the provincial governors practically independent chiefs (feudalism politically speaking) and 2. existence of a huge

landless peasantry totally deprived of a place in the economic organism of the country)

*Chapter 11. The Thirtieth of May and After.*

(Nationalist movement enters a new stage of revolutionary mass action; the working class becomes the driving force of the movement; the rise of the communist party; its attitude to the National Revolution; its programme and tactics.

*Chapter 12. Canton.*

(Development of the mass movement pushes the nationalist Government and the Kuo Ming Tang into a revolutionary struggle against imperialism (Hong Kong Boycott) and native reaction (the suppression of the Paper Tiger revolt); alliance with the Soviet Republic; three policies of Sun Yet-Sen - alliance with the Soviet Republic, promotion of the interests of the workers and peasants and collaboration with the Communist Party; ascendancy of the left wing - Liao Chug Hai and Wang Ching Wei; bourgeoisie alarmed by the course of development; schism in the Kuo Ming Tang; right leaders go away from Canton; struggle for the hegemony in the struggle for national freedom begins; the domination of the proletariat; role of the Strike Committee; reaction assassination of Liao; the coup of March 21 - Chiang Kai-She representing the feudal bourgeois elements captures power.

*Chapter 13. The North Expedition.*

(The forces contending for the leadership of the national revolution operate in conflicting directions; bourgeois and feudal elements undertook North Expedition as the means of increasing their power their objective was Shanghai, the capitalist paradise of China; on the other hand, the period of expansion provided the workers and peasants the opportunity to develop their organizations as preparatory for a higher stage of revolutionary fight; the success of the North Expedition threatened the supremacy of the bourgeois and feudal elements in the Kuo Ming Tang; the revolution was on the point of exceeding the limit set by them.

*Chapter 14. Nationalists occupy Shanghai.*

(Importance of Shanghai in Chinese National economy; imperialist intervention to keep the nationalists out of Shanghai; proletariat as the decisive factor in the situation; insurrections of the November 1926 and March 1927; proletariat attempt to capture power; Chiang Kai-She betrays the Shanghai workers after these had risen in revolt against the joint forces of native militarism and foreign imperialism; nationalist



occupation of Shanghai; brutal suppression of the revolutionary democratic movement by the nationalist militarists; anti-communist policy; break with the Soviet Republic.

*Chapter 15. Kuo Ming Tang Splits.*

(Class conflict inside the nationalist ranks sharpens; struggle between the right and left for the control of the party Chiang Kai-She violates party authority and bids for dictatorship; Nationalist Centre moves to Hankow.)

*Chapter 16. The Critical movement.*

(Position of the Nationalist Government of Hankow; its strength and weakness; communists support it unconditionally; bankruptcy of petty bourgeois radicalism; social problems of the revolution; agrarian question; sharpening of class struggle in the nationalist territories; civil war in the county-side; controversy over further condituation of the North-Expedition; territorial and social base of the revolution; Peking or Nanking; petty bourgeoisie surrenders to the feudal militarists and decides in favour of march to Peking as a means of avoiding the social problems of revolution; crisis in the relation between the Kuo Ming Tang and Communist Party.)

*Chapter 17. Neo-Militarism.*

(Feng Yu-Hsiang and Yan Hai-Shan; result of the second North Expedition; rivalry among the generals for power; Feng on the market, ready to sell his nationalist support to the highest bidder; his plan to concentrate the forces of reaction against the threatening tide of revolution; treachery of the Hankow "left"; establishment of military dictatorship; plan of counter-revolution hatched.

*Chapter 18. Counter Revolution:*

(Hankow "nationalist" generals demand suppression of the peasant movement; Hsia Tao-Yein's revolt suppressed by communist troops; Nationalist Government tacitly encouraged its generals to revolt against itself; coup d'etat of Changsha; reign of terror in Hunan the centre of peasant revolt; attack upon the communists; workers disarmed at Hankow; counter-revolution triumphs.

*Chapter 19. Nanchang Insurrection.*

(Beginning of a new stage; social character of the revolution changes; proletariat as the only leader of National Revolution; from a bourgeois democratic revolution the National Revolution develops into proletarian socialist revolution; organization of the workers' and peasants' army; new slogans; occupation of Swatow.

*Chapter 20. Canton Soviet.*

(Workers' and Peasants' Government in Canton; its historic significance; defects and defeat; reign of terror.)

*Chapter 21 Nanking Government.*

(Collapse of the Kuo Ming Tang; it becomes an agency of counter-revolution; liquidation of anti-imperialist struggle; national revolution not complete; role of imperialism; its policy of strengthening the position of the nationalist bourgeoisie as a counter-revolutionary factor; contradictions of the situation weakness of the Nanking Government; attempt to create a bourgeois state without having accomplished the bourgeois democratic revolution.

*Chapter 22. Perspectives.*

(Forces of revolution; forces of counter-revolution; solidity of the former; instability of the latter; the role of the Communist Party; bourgeois democracy versus proletarian dictatorship; the former cannot be realized without destroying imperialist domination; workers and peasants are the only unrelenting anti-imperialist force; democratic revolution under the leadership of the proletariat directly develops into the struggle for the realization of socialism; national revolution in the colonies is essentially attack upon capitalism, and therefore part of socialist world revolution; stability of Chinese counter-revolution bound up with the stability of imperialism; defeat temporary-prelude to the final fight for the establishment of the Socialist Republic of China.

---

P 1512. (E)

An envelope having the following address:—

Messrs Chakervarty, Chatterji & Co.,

Publishers,

15, College Sqr.,

Calcutta,

India.

P. 1513. *Rejected.*

**TELEGRAM.**

**MOSCOU C. 651 14 15 INDO TF.**

Ninth All India Trade Union Congress Joshi General Secretary  
Sandhurst Road 4th Bombay.

Central Council Trade Unions Ussr sends your Congress and entire proletariat India Warm Fraternal Greetings behalf of whole Soviet Trade Union Movement stop although working class of your country and your Trade Unions have little contact with.

( 50 )

Working class and Trade Union Movement of Ussr Comma we separated by Great distance and despite insufficient connection pursue same proletarian class aims and tasks stop the great strikes of Workers India show that Indian Proletariat Comma notwithstanding United Opposition of British Imperialists and Indian Employers Comma has taken.

( 100 )

Decisive action to Press its class demands stops this action of Broad Masses of Indian proletariat has perturbed British Imperialists and Indian Employers and together with them the Agents of International Capital Comma European Social Reformers who are attempting to subject Labour Movement in your country to their influence and.

( 150 )

Leadership stop delegations who came in recent times from British Labour Party and General Council of Trade Unions Parenthesis Graham Paul Comma Tom shaw Comma Purcell Comma Hallsworth Parenthesis being agents of British Imperialism Comma had as their task to divert working class your country from this struggle and subject Labour.

( 200 )

Movement India to redormis influence and guidance stop none of these delegates took a stand for Independence of Indian people Comma none dared take a stand against British Imperialists Comma These oppressors of India for centuries stop all these delegates called you to Amsterdam International Comma Picturing your Adhesion to.

( 250 )

That International as stop to Unity stop but your joining Amsterdam International will not advance cause of Unity stop Amsterdam

International is organiser of split in Trade Union Movement in all countries and obedient tool in hands of Robber League of Nations and carries out on International scale same policy.

( 300 )

Of class Collaboration and Treachery which Leaders of British Trade Union Movement are pursuing stop paragraph Indian workers some time ago spoke in favour of Anglo Russian Unity Committee which these same Purcell Tom shaw Hallsworth and others Comma having betrayed the General strike Comma heroic struggle of British Miners

( 350 )

Comma helping British Executioners strangle workers who are carrying on revolutionary struggle for their emancipation Comma tore up in interest of British Bourgeoisie agreement of brotherhood & friendship concluded with Ussr ssto stop these people pursuing with regard to Trade Unions our country same policy which conservative Government of Baldwin.

( 400 )

Carried out with regard to Soviet Workers Government Comma thereby are aiding capitalists in preparing new Imperialist Wars and first all attack upon Proletarian State Ussr stop having done all this before eyes of working class of whole world these Agents of British Capital have audacity to assert in.

( 450 )

India that breakup of Anglo Russian Committee occured at fault of Trade Union Movement of Ussr Stop paragraph soviet Trade Union movement follows with greatest attention grave struggle of Indian Proletariat against foreign and Local Employers stop in order to conquer it is necessary create powerful revolutionary Trade Unions and.

( 500 )

Steadily carry on struggle against Imperialists and their Agents in Midst of Workers stop we know how difficult your struggle is and how strong your enemies are stop in this struggle you can count on fraternal solidarity of whole Soviet Trade Union Movement stop paragraph organised Trade Union Movement of.

( 550 )

Ussr will be glad welcome representatives Indian Proletariat on Territory Ussr stop we hope you will Participate in Pacific Trade Union conference summoned by panpacific secretariat early August ninteen hundred twenty nine at vladivostok where together with representative of Ussr Cctu you will discuss all questions which interest Labour Movement.

( 600 )

On pacific cost and whole stop down with British Imperialism  
stop long live revolutionary class Trade Union Movement India stop  
long Fraternal Alliance of Workers India and Ussr stop long live  
International Proletariat and Unity of world Trade Union Movement  
stop Nr. 14—

PRESIDIUM USSR CCTU DOGADOV SECRETARY.

51

---

P. 1514

*Receipt for T. M. O.*

Leo Mandat, No. 0382. Date of issue: 12-3-29. Office of  
issue: London.

Name of Payee: B. F. Bradley care Mrs. Sandwell,  
Apollo Chambers, Fort, Bombay,

Amount: Rs. Five Hundred Twenty Seven, As. eight only,  
(527/8/-)

Received the sum specified above.

Date, 16-8-29. Sd/ R. Milner- White.

Addl. Dist. Magtt.

Paid by me on 16/8/29.

at 10 hours 30 mts.

Sd/. Illegible.

P. M. Meerut.

*T. M. O. Acknowledgement.*

I acknowledge to have received payment of telegraphic  
Money Order No. 0382 date 12-3-29. for the sum of Rupees  
(words) Rs. Five Hundred Twenty Seven as. eight only, 527/8/-

Sd/ R. Milner- White.

Date: 16/8/29.

Addit. Dist. Magistrate.

P. 1515

*Receipt for T. M. O.*

Leo Mandat: no. 0383. Date of issue: 12/3/29.

Office of issue: London.

Payee: B. F. Bradley, care Mrs. Landwell, Apollo Chambers  
Fort Bombay.

Amount: Rs. Five Hundred Twenty Seven, as. eight only.  
(527 8/-)

Received the sum specified above.

Date, 16-8-29.

Sd/. Milner-White.

Addit. Dist. Magte.

*T. M. O. Acknowledgement*

I acknowledge to have received payment of Telegraphic  
Money order No. 0383 dated 12-3-29, for the sum of Rs. (words)  
Rs. Five Hundred Twenty Seven as. eight only (527/ 8/-)

Sd/. R. Milner-White.

Addit. Dist. Magistrate,

Date: 16/8/29. Meerut.

Private Communication.

(To be cut off and retained by the payee.)

FROM MOTHER WIRE RECEIPT LEAGUE.

P. 1516

*Telegram*

357 GBI SNC

K 686 London 17 15 1804

LCO MANDAT 0988 Calcutta.

One Hundred Thirty one Rupees fourteen annas

R. P. Arnot ASREWPEONY Mr. Philip Spratt Care  
Kishorilal Ghosh Vakil Kantapukur Lane.

Postal Seal: Rs 131/14/ Rubber Stamps of Mandat  
Bombay. Duplicate not to be trans-  
mitted  
G. P. O.  
16 Dec. 27 A. A.

---

P. 1517

**Receipt for T. M. O.**

Not found.  
16/ 12 167  
17/ 12

Nag. No. 0937 Date of issue 15- 12- 27. Not found  
18/ 12/ 27

Office of issue: London LCO Mandat

Name and address } Mr. Philip Spratt  
of payee } Care Kishore Lal Ghosh Vakil  
Kantapukur Lane

Amount: Rupees one hundred thirty one and annas fourteen  
only (Rs. 131/14)

Date 19/ 12/ 27 Sd/- Philip Spratt

---

P. 1518.

*Telegram*

=NWJACKSON=GBI

K 672 LONDON 22 15 1530.

LCO Mandat 0937 Calcutta.

Five Hundred Twenty Seven rupees eight annas.

583 R.P. Arnot | NICHEHATCH | Mr. Philip Spratt Care

Kishorilal Ghosh Vakil Kantapukur Lane Merry Xmas more by letter.

Rs. 527/8/-          Rubber Stamps of          Postal seal of Bombay  
Duplicate, not to be          G. T. O.

transmitted.

16. Dec. 27.

Mandat

A. A.

P. 1519.

Not found

16/12 167

*Receipt for T.M.O.*

17/12

Not found

18/12/27.

NAG.

No. 0937      Date of issue: 15-12-27.

Office of issue: LONDON LCO Mandat.

Name and address } Mr. Philip Spratt, care Kishori Lal Ghosh  
of payee                } Vakil.

Kantapukur Lane.

Amount: Rupees Five Hundred Twenty seven and annas Eight  
only. Rs. 527/8/-

Date 12/12/27.

Philip Spratt.

Signature in ink of payee.

Paid by me on 19-12-1926

at 11 hrs. AM mts.

Sd/- Illegible,

Signature and designation of  
Officer who paid the amount.



P. 1520.  
TELEGRAM

RR. 128/23  
O.T. 12/23  
23

1  
Postal seal of  
Bombay  
G. T. O.

23 December 27.

DMO. 17.35 128/23 London 21 IRT 12.

Lco mandat 0967-Bombay.

Bradley Folio Jetty Rs. Three Hundred ninety five annas Ten.  
Mr. B.F. Bradley Apollo Hotel.

P. 1521.

Receipt for T.M. O.

LCO Mandal

No. 0967. Date of issue 21/12

Office of issue: London.

Payee: Mr. B. F. Bradley Apollo Hotel.

Amount: Rs. Three Hundred and Ninety Five annas Ten  
only. .395/10/-.

Date, 24-12-1927 Sd. B. F. Bradley.

P. 1522,

TELEGRAM.

Postal seal of  
Bombay G. T. O.

RR. 124

23 December 27.

23

D M O. 1725 124/23 London wrds-21 IRT 15.

LCO Mandat 0969 Bombay.

Bradley

NICHEHATCH

Rs. Five hundred.

Twenty seven annas eight—Mr. B. F. Bradley Apollo Hotel  
cable receipt Bradley.

1951.9

P. 1523.

Receipt for T M. O.

L. C. O. Mandat

No. 0969. Date of Issue: 21/12/-

Office of Issue: London W. C.

Payee: Mr. B. F. Bradley.

Apollo Hotel, Bombay.

Amount: Rs. Five Hundred Twenty seven annas eight  
only. Rs. 527/8/-

Date 23-12-27.

Sd. B. F. Bradley.

Postal seal of

Paid by me on 23-12-27

Bombay G. P. O.

at 4.30 P. M.

P.

Sd. B. V. Haldankar.

24 Dec. 27.

**P. 1524.**  
**TELEGRAM.**

True copy.

Postal seal of  
Bombay G. T. O.  
15 Mar. 28.

K. 621 London South Western District office (16) 17 14  
18.30.

LCO Mandat 0216 Bombay.

Five Hundred Thirty Rupees.

L. C. Bradley

NONCE

B. F. Bradley.

Apollo Hotel Five Hundred Thirty rupees.

**P- 1525.**

I. R. T. R. 3535

Receipt for T. M. O.

LCO Mandat

No. 0216

Date of issue: 14-3-28.

Office of issue: London South Western District office.

Payee: B. F. Bradley

Apollo Hotel, Bombay.

Amount: Rupees Five Hundred thirty one Rs. 530/-

Date 15-3-28.

Sd. B. F. Bradley.

Postal seal of

Postal seal of

Paid by me on 15-3-28.

Bombay G. P. O.

Bombay G. P. O.

at 12-30 P. M.

P

B

Sd. B. G. Chavan.

15 March 28.

15 March 28.

P. 1526.

T. M. O. Acknowledgement.

I acknowledge to have received payment of Telegraphic Money Order L. C. O. Mandat No. 0216 dated 14-3-28 for the sum of Rupees (words) Rupees Five hundred thirty only Rs. 530/-.

Sd. B. F. Bradley.

Postal seal of \_\_\_\_\_ Date 15-3-28.

Bombay G. P. O.

On the reverse the following entries are seen :—

T. M. O. Acknowledgment (on postal service)

Remitter: L. C. Bradley.

Office of issue: London, South Western District Office.

P. 1527.

True Copy of a Telegram.

Mandat.

Postal seal of  
Bombay G. T. O.  
15th March 28.

K 620 London South Western District office.

(13) 14 18-30.

LCO Mandat 0217 Bombay.

Five Hundred Thirty Rupees.

L. C. Bradley

NONCE

B. F. Bradley.

Apollo Hotel Five Hundred Thirty rupees.

P. 1528

I. R. T. R. 3535.

Receipt for T. M. O.

LCQ Mandat

No. 0217

Date of issue : 14-3-28.

Office of issue : London South Western District office.

Payee : B. F. Bradley, Apollo Hotel, Bombay.

Amount: Repees Five hundred thirty only Rs. 530/-

Signature of witness      Received the sum specified above

Sd. J. P. Alwida.      Date 15-3-28.      Sd. B. F. Bradley.

Postal seal of      Postal seal of      Paid by me on 15-3-38.

Bombay G. P. O.      Bombay G. P. O.      at 12-30 P. M.

P      B      Sd. R. G. Chavan!

15 March 28.

15 March 28.

---

P. 1529.

T. M. O. Acknowledgment.

I acknowledge to have received payment of Telegraphic Money Order LCO Mandat No. 0217 dated 14-3-28 for the sum of Rupees (words) Rs. Five Hundred thirty only 350/-

Date 15-3-1928.

Sd. B. F. Bradley.

Postal seal of

Bombay G. P. O.

M. O.

15 March 28.

On the reverse the following entries are seen :—

Remitter : L. C. Bradley.

Office of issue: London, South Western District office.

P. 1530.

**TELEGRAM**

DMO Mandat.

HBBURBY

K 343 LONDON 20<sup>21</sup> 12 1203.

LCO Mandat 0567 Calcutta.

Five hundred and twenty seven Rupees eight annas.

68

R Arnot

**NICHEHATCH**

P. Spratt.

C/o Kishori Lal Ghose 1 Kantapukur Lane For representative  
Manchester Conference Robin

Five hundred and thirty seven rupees.

Rubber Stamps of

Postal Seal of

Mandat

Bombay G. T. O.

Duplicate, not to be  
transmitted.

13 Jun. 28.

Rs. 527/8/-

P. 1531.

Not found Not found

Receipt for T. M. O.

14/6

19/6

Mandat

Date of issue: 12th June 1928.

No. 0567

Office of issue : London.

Payee: P. Spratt c/o Kishori Lal Ghosh

1 Kantapukur Lane.

Amount: Rupees Five hundred twenty seven and eight annas.

Rs. 527/8/-

Received the sum specified above.

Date 21-6-28 Sd. P. Spratt.

Postal Seal of Bow Bazar  
Postal Seal of Bow Bazar Calcutta  
Paid by me on 21-6-28 at 5. 25  
1 Calcutta 7 A Sd. G. Nabi.

14 Jun. 28

Money Orders

P. 1532.

TELEGRAM

Rubber Stamps of  
Mandat  
Duplicate, not to be  
transmitted.

RR. 67/13.

London	Date	Hour	Minute	Words.
	12	12	26	16

L C O Mandat 0568 Bombay.

Bradley NICHEHATCH Five hundred and twenty seven

Rupees—eight annas B. F. Bradley Apollo Gotel towards sending  
delegate Len Five Hundred and Twenty Seven Rupees.

Rs. 527/8/-

P. 1533

Receipt for T. M. O. R 3535

LCO Mandat

No. 0568 Date of issue 12-6-28.

Office of issue: London.

Payee: B. F. Bradley, Apollo Hotel, Bombay.

Amount: Rs. Five Hundred Twenty seven as. eight only.

Signature of witness Received the sum specified above:

Sd. J.P.L. Alwida.

Date 15-6-28 Sd. B. F. Bradley.

Postal Seal of Postal Seal of Paid by me on 15-6-28

Bombay G.P.O. Bombay G. P. O. at 12-40 P.M.

Sd. D. S. Rane

15 Jun. 28.

13 Jun. 28.

Money Orders

P. 1534.

T. M. O. Acknowledgment.

I acknowledge to have received payment of Telegraphic Money Order LCO Mandat No. 0568 dated 12-6-28 for the sum of Rupees (words) Rs. Five hundred twenty seven as. eight only 527/8/-

Postal Seal of Date 15-6-28. Sd. B. F. Bradley.

Bombay G. P. O.

M. O.

15. Jun. 28.

On the reverse the following entries are seen :—

Remitter: Bradley.

Office of Issue: London.



P. 1535.  
INWARD.

Foreign sterling Money Order.

Postal Seal of  
Bombay F.  
15 Jun. 28.

No. F 3089 Date 15/6

For Rs. 265/- @ £1=Rs. 13/4/- Rs. two hundred and sixty five only.

Sd. B. B. Navalkar

Sd. Illegible.

Issuing Clerk.

Issuing Post master.

Amount: £. 20.

Payee: Herrn Mutaffar Ahmad.

Address: Bengal Peasants' Workers Party, Calcutta, 2/1  
European Asylum Lane,

Remitter: Max Ziese, Wilhelmstr, 131/132 Berlin S.W, 48

GERMANY.

To  
The Post Master  
Calcutta.

Postal Seal  
Bombay  
15 Jun 28.  
Money Orders.

P. 1536.

INWARD.

Foreign sterling Money Orders.

Postal Seal of

Bombay F.  
15 Jun 28.

No. F 3090

Date: 15/6.

For Rs. 265 @ £1=Rs. 13/4/- (in words) Rs. two hundred and sixty five only.

Sd. B. B. Navalkar

Sd. Illegible.

Issuing Clerk.

Issuing Postmater.



To  
The Postmaster  
Calcutta.

Postal seal of  
Bombay  
5 July '28  
Money orders.

P. 1538.

INWARD

Foreign Sterling Money orders.

Postal Seal of Bombay F.

5 July '28.

No. Fs. 219

Date: 5-7-1928.

For Rs. 265 @ £ 1 = Rs. 13-4-0 (in word)

Rupees Two Hundred Sixty Five only.

Sd/ Illegible. Sd/ Illegible.

Issuing clerk Issuing Postmaster.

Amount: £ 20

Payee: Mr. Ghate B.A.

Address: 751 Girgaon Road, Bombay 4.

Remitter: Max Ziese Berlin 66 Germany.

To  
The Postmaster

Postal seal of Bombay  
5 July 28

Girgaon (Bombay)

Money orders.

P. 1539.

INWARD

Foreign Sterling Money Orders.

Postal seal of Bombay F.

2 Jly 28.

No. F. 3585

Date 21-7-28

For Rs. 265 @ £ 1 = Rs. 13/4/- (in words) Rs. Two Hundred  
and Sixty Five only.

Sd/- Illegible

Sd/- Illegible

Issuing clerk.

Issuing Postmaster

Amount: £ 20

Payee: Mr. Muzaffar Ahmad.

Address: Bengal Peasants Workers Party 2/1 Euro-  
pean Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

Remitter: Max Ziese Wilhelmstr Berlin S.W. 48

To

The Postmaster  
Calcutta.

Postal Seal of Bombay  
21 Jly 28  
Money orders.

P. 1540.

INWARD.

Foreign Sterling Money orders.

Postal seal of Bombay F.

21 Jly 28

No. F. 3584.

Date 21-7-28.

For Rs. 265 @ £ 1 = Rs. 13/4/- (in words)

Rs. Two Hundred Sixty Five only.

Sd/- Illegible

Sd/- Illegible

Issuing clerk

Issuing Postmaster.

Amount: £ 20

Payee: Mr Ghate B.A.

Address: 751 Girgaon Road Bombay 4.

Remitter: Max. Ziese

Wilhelmstr 131 Berlin S.W. 48.

To

The Postmaster

Postal seal of Bombay

Girgaon.

21 Jly 28

Money orders.

P. 1541.

OUTWARD

Foreign Sterling Money Order.

T 146

M. O.

Postal Seal of Bombay G.P.O.

18 May 28.

No. S 5962

Date: 18-5-28.

For £ 5-0-0 equivalent in Indian currency to Rs. 68 9-0.

68	9	0
0	12	0
<hr/>		
69	5	0

Amount: £ 5-0-0 Five Pounds.

Payee: L. C. Bradley.

Address: 4 Elmsdale Road.

Walthamston, London (England) E-17.

Country of

payment England

Remitter: B. F. Bradley, c/o Mr. De Burgh Apollo  
Chambers, Fort, Bombay,

Date 18-5-1928.

Sd/ B. F. Bradley.

P. 1542.

28th April 1928.

C.I. 1977

The Deutsche Bank, Berlin.

Pay seventhousand six hundred ninety dollars without deduction  
S. H. Ihabvala Vice President-Textile Labour Union, Sandhurst  
Road, order Voronoff Moscow—reimburse—National City Bank of  
New York—Test. No. 591—(signed).

This is certified to be an exact copy of a D.L.T. telegram in English  
received by us from the Deutsche Bank, Berlin, on April 30th 1928.

FOR THE NATIONAL CITY BANK OF NEW YORK.

*Sd/- Illegible.*

Sub-Accountant.

P. 1543.

30th April 1928.

C.O. 1762.

The Deutsche Bank, Berlin, Germany.

Referring to your telegram of 28th instant understand Ihabvala no  
longer Vive-president-telegraph instructions—(signed).

This we certify to be an exact copy of our telegram to the Deutsche

Bank, Berlin, sent by us on 30th April 1928, with reference to their telegram of 28th April.

FOR THE NATIONAL CITY BANK OF NEW YORK.

*Sd- (Illegibl).*

Sub-Accountant.

---

P. 1544.

7th May 1928.

C.I. 2053.

Deutsche Bank, Berlin.

Ours twentyeighth yours thirtieth instead Jhabvala pay to Joshi—  
President Textile Labour Union, Bombay. Test. No. 137 (signed).  
This is certified to be an exact copy of a telegram received from the  
Deutsche Bank, Berlin, on May 7, 1928 in reply to our telegram to  
them on April 30th 1928.

FOR THE NATIONAL CITY BANK OF NEW YORK.

*Sd- Illegible.*

Sub-Accountant.

**Bills purchased Register.  
Clean, Sight Drafts on New York.**

**The National city Bank of New York,  
Bombay Branch.**

**Entry responded to by New York as  
Remitted on 9th May 1928.**

Our number	Drawer or last endorser	Drawee.	Number of set	Amount.	Remarks.	Rate.	Amount
B.P. 9283	National City Bank of New York Bombay.	National City Bank of New York New York.	2	\$ 7690-	Drawn on a/c of DEUT- SCHE BK. Berlin T.T. for like amount favour of Joshi President Textile Labour Union.	272	Rs. 20916/12/9. <hr/> 20916/12/9

45

Dollars Seven Thousand Six hundred Ninety only.

This is Certified to be a true copy of our Schedute to New York  
in regard to payment of \$ 7690 from the Deutche Bank, Berlin.

For the National City Bank of New York.

Sd/- Illegible.  
Sub-Accountant.

P. 1545.



PM 1546.

The National City Bank  
of New York.

ESTABLISHED 1812

Bombay

CABLE ADDRESS "CITIBANK"

IN REPLYING PLEASE QUOTE INITIALS

POSTAL ADDRESS  
FORT, BOMBAY (NO. 1)  
P. O. BOX 175

102

COPY

COUNTER CASH WEDNESDAY 9th MAY, 1928 BOOK PAID

Date	On whose a/c	Amount	To whom paid.	Specification of notes	Total	Cash	Total
May 9	Bombay Provincial Cooperative Bank, Limited.	20,916/12/9	Kashinath Ladkuji	20 of 1000 9 of 100 1 of 10 1 of 5	20,915	1/12/9	20,916/12/9

Certified to be correct.

FOR THE NATIONAL CITY BANK OF NEW YORK.

Sd/- Illegible.

Sub-Accountant.

P. 1547

The National City Bank of New York Bombay Branch.  
Attach to the relative Bill and Forward to Outward Bill  
Department.

**Duplicate**

Bombay Provincial	Foreign currency	Local currency
Cooperative BK. Ltd. Bombay	\$ 7690	Rs. 20916-12-9
		<u>Rs. 20916-12 9</u>

Bill purchased from the above at exchange @ 272.

Drawn on Natl. City Bank of New York

NEW YORK.

a/c. Deutsche Bank. Berlin. T. T. Fav, of Joshi.

Initialled by G. F. Thrall for the National  
City Bank of New York.

Certified to be a true copy of duplicate of outward cash  
Voucher. Payment made to the Bombay Provincial cooperative Bank.

For the National City Bank of New York.

Sd/- Illegible Sub. Acct.

P. 1548

OFFICE COPY

THE NATIONAL CITY BANK OF NEW YORK.

*Bombay Branch 10th May, 1928*

In Replying Please Quote Initials

THE DEUTSCHE BANK, BERLIN ( GERMANY )

Dear sirs,

We have paid the following telegraphic transfers, in accordance with your instructions, to the debit of our account with:

our New York Office.

Very truly yours

(Sd) G. L. Thrall.

Sub-accountant.

Date.

In favour of

Amount.

1928.

May 9 Joshi, President, Textile Labour Union Sandhurst Road,  
\$ 7,690. 00

( Dollars Seven thousand six hundred and ninety only )

Note:—In reimbursement we have drawn on our New York Office for like amount attaching the duplicate receipt signed by Mr. Joshi.

This is to certify that this is an exact copy of our advice to Deutsche Bank, Berlin with regard to their payment of \$ 7,690. 00 to Joshi, President of the Textile Labour Union, Sandhurst Road, Bombay. The original of the signed receipt was attached to this advice.

Sd/- Illegible

For the National City Bank of New York

( Sub-Accountant )

P. 1459.

**COPY**

DEUTSCHE, BANK

Berlin 13th August, 1928.

The National City Bank of New York, Bombay.

Dear Sirs,

We request you to kindly debit us the following amount and

against receipt in duplicate to be sent to us pay same to: £1,059-8-5  
 Mr. S. H. Shabvala, President, Bombay Mill sight with-  
 Workers Union, Room No. 1, Improvement Trust out dedu-  
 Chawl, Block No. 17, Foras Road, Bombay - - - ction  
 BY ORDER OF Allrussische Genossenschafts-  
 bank, Moskau, and for account of Central Komitee  
 der Textilarbeiter

*We say:* One thousand fiftynine pounds sterling 8sh 5d-which amount we have remitted To the National City Bank of New York, London, in your favour.

Your truly.

( Sd ).....

DEUTSCHE BANK.

This is certified to be a true copy of the advice received by us from the Deutsche Bank, Berlin, authorising us to make payment of £1,059. 8-5 to S. H. Shabvala, President Bombay Mill Workers Union, payment effected on September 10, 1928.

For the National City Bank of New York,

Sd. Illegible

Sub-Accountant.

P. 1550.

The National City Bank of New York

ESTABLISHED 1812

BOMBAY

IN REPLYING PLEASE QUOTE INITIALS

" CABLE ADDRESS CITIBANK "

POSTAL ADDRESS

FORT BOMBAY NO. 1

P. O. BOX 175

COPY

260 COUNTER CASH MONDAY 10th SEPTR, 1928 BOOK PAID.

Date,	On whose account.	Amount.	To whom paid.	Specification of notes.	Total	Cash Total
-------	-------------------	---------	---------------	-------------------------	-------	------------

Sept.	Foreign Branches	)				
-------	------------------	---	--	--	--	--

10	our a/c London	)				
----	----------------	---	--	--	--	--

	paid S. H. Jabhwala)					
--	----------------------	--	--	--	--	--

£1059-8-5- ) Rs 14101-2-0 S. H. Jhabwala. 14 of  
Rs. 1000, each.  
1 of Rs. 100  
Rs. 1-2-0 Rs. 14101-2-0

Certified to be correct.

For THE NATIONAL CITY BANK OF NEW YORK,

Sd. Illegible

Sub-Accountant.

P. 1551.

Form 31.

ORIGINAL,

BOMBAY, 10th Sept. 1928.

Received from National City Bank of New York, the sum of Rupees Fourteen Thousand one hundred one, 2/-equivalent of £. 1059. 8. 5 @ 1/6, 1/32 as per Mail advice from London.

The Bombay Mill Workers' Union

Rs. 14101-2-0.

S. H. Jhabwala.

President.

**P A I D**

(The following endorsements are seen on the back: )

BOMBAY MILL WORKERS' UNION.

S. H. Jhabwala.

President.

Shravaksh Hormusji Jhabwala.

( Stamped )  
The National City Bank of  
New York.  
B O M B A Y.

P. 1552. *Rejected.*

**TELEGRAM.**

1928 Dec. 24 am 4 29.

W 270 LONDON. 73 21 1635.

WLT Muzaffar Ahmed 2/1 European asylum lane  
Calcutta.

2070

withheld under  
orders of D.I.B.  
Home deptt Pol  
Govt. India, ND  
and sdr, not to  
be informed vide  
D. I. B. No. 28  
P.A. 26-II dated  
New Delhi 29th  
Decr. 1928.

A.S. I/R  
3-1-29.

British Communist Party joyfully greets Workers  
peasants Congress Congratulates Revolutionary  
mass fighters on heroic Achievements and through  
you voices Solidarity class Conscious British  
Workers with struggle oppressed masses India stop  
convinced your Congress will draw lessons from  
rich Experience recent strikes correct Opportunist  
mistakes and prepare Victorious advance mass  
struggle Workers peasants under leadership prolet-  
ariat stop we eagerly look forward establishment  
strong Indian Communist Party.

P. 1553. *Rejected.*

**TELEGRAM.**

1928 Dec. 24 A. M. 4 29.

W 271 LONDON. 95 21 1635.

0271

Withheld under  
orders of D.I.B.  
Home deptt. Pol  
Govt. of India  
N. D. and Sdr.  
not to be infor-  
med. Vide  
D. I. B. No. 28  
P.A. 26-II date  
New Delhi 29th  
Decr. 1928.

A.S. I/S  
3/1/29.

WLT National Congress 36 Wellington Street  
Calcutta. British Communist Party sends through  
your Congress warmest Greetings all fighters Indian  
National Struggle stop hope you stand firm for  
independence with deeds not empty words as only  
road freedom from Imperialist oppression stop  
simultaneous support dominion status and indepen-  
dence equivalent abandonment latter stop hope  
Congress will repudiate Nehrus Report surrender &  
betrayal mass interests by private property pledges  
stop International Working Class solid behind  
Indian National Struggle asks you support Indian  
Toilers as mightiest force National emancipation  
repudiate reformist Imperialist agents join world  
fight against Imperialism exploitation.

P. 1554.

Confidential No. 19 of 27

From

The sub-Inspector of Police

Thana town

To

The Dist. Supdt. of Police

Thana.

Thana 13th—May. 17

Sir,

I beg respectfully to submit the confdl report for the week ending 11th inst. as under:—

#### PUBLIC MEETING

On 7th May a public meeting under the auspices of the Thana young Men's cosmopolitan association was held at Thana in Shivaji Theatre when Mr. P. Spratt B. A. (Contil) member of the British Labour Party, member of the labour Research Department London, addressed to the citizens of Thana on the subject "Task of organization before the Indian youth".

At the outset Mr. Shantram Bhagwat Shingarpure a student S. B. Shringarpure of Thana introduced to the audience Mr. P. Spratt and during the course of the speech said "The importance of the organization of the Indian Youth was great. The masses were still illiterate, and hence literate ones ought to bound themselves together, for the uplift of the masses. Free rational thinking and bold expression of it is essential. The programme that one labour party had chalked out before itself was sufficient to give Swurajya to India. The doctrines preached by the present day leaders would have been possible if India would have been segregated from the rest of the world. The Editor of Times of India freely calls the labour movement as revolutionary but it is not so. Look at the progressive party of Turkey, The Communist party of Germany and above all the Soviet party of Russia. All these parties consists mainly of young men. Mr. Sheringarpure added that Mr. Spratt came from North—Baltersea."

Mr. Spratt on rising to speak expressed his thanks for the chairman's sympathetic remarks, about the Trade Union movement. He said that it was impossible to divorce-economics from Politics and that we must concentrate all our attention on the economic question. First of all we must study the social phenomenon. The society is divided into classes and these classes have to perform their economic functions. Today an average Indian is out for

swarajya; I am for it too, but how to get at it? The political situation has become hopeless. The uselessness of the Congress has become manifest. The whole question must be tackled from the Social-class point of view. The peasants have their grievances against the big landlords since this has become manifest at Alibag. The non-Co-operation movement was at its height in 1921 and the real reason of its failure lies in its being led by the rich land-owners. Some of the leaders had already left the movement, long before Bardoli decision. Take the example of Turkey. There was no definite form of Govt., but only a financial control and the young Turk party took it in their hands. The movement must be for the betterment of the masses. The masses "dont care a damn" for Swarajya. They dont care who pays them. The question must be connected with the economic problem. We must look for the betterment of the poor masses.

Then Mr. Spratt turned to the question of youth and labour movement. At present he said the workmen have to work for a great length of time in Bombay Factories. As a result of this they get wearied out and consequently they get drunk at night. Their housing situation is pitiable. Increase of pay must be demanded. Their food, clothing and the necessaries of life must be adequately supplied, and this is the object of the labour movement. The peasants and the labourers are heavily in debts, and they have to pay heavy taxes besides. These ought really to be the demands of the Swarajya movements. The big members of Legislatures at Delhi and Simla cannot be expected to do this work.

Coming to the practical proposals Mr. Spratt frankly admitted that he did not know how organizations worked in India. In fact he believed that they do not work at all. If Shivaji and Napoleon had not been backed up by excellent organization, they could not have been able to achieve, what they did achieve. Lenin organised and disciplined the Soviet party of Russia. The above would have been useless. Keep one Congress, under its old name, but change the constitution. Affiliate peasant unions to it. In Bombay at present a small beginning is made by Mr. Shantaram Sawlaram Mirajkar who has started the "Workers" and Peasants' party with a beginning of about 20 members. A newspaper called "Kranti" (Revolution) is started.

Then Mr. Shingarpure put a resolution before the meeting protesting against the proposal increase in the tram-ways fares in Bombay and the resolution was carried by eclamutations. Then some spare copies of the "Kranti" newspacr were distributed. The meeting dispersed at 7-20 P. M.

About 150 educated persons had assembled.



Nothing is heard of as yet about Nalini Gupta.

I beg to remain,

Sir,

Your most obdt. Servt.

Sd/-(illegible)

13-5-27

S. I. of Police Thana Town

\_\_\_\_\_

P. 1555

Warrant of arrest issued by the District Magistrate, Meerut, for the arrest of Shaukat Usmani, Son of Ghulam Bahauddin, Moholla Ustan, Bikaner, Room No. 2, 4th. floor, Block No. 8 Aga Khan Building, Haines Road, near Jacob Circle, Bombay.

Executed by the Bombay city C. I. D. on 20-3-29.

P. 1556.

Search warrant issued under Sec. 96 C. P. C. by the Dist. Magistrate, Meerut, for searching the place of Shaukat Usmani son of Ghulam Bahauddin, Moholla Ustan, Bikaner Room No. 2, 4th. floor, Block No. 8 Aga Khan Building, Haines Road near Jacob Circle, Bombay.

Executed by the Bombay city C. I. D. on 20-3-29.

P. 1557.

Bombay 20th March 1929.

**Punchnama.**

We the undersigned members of the Punch viz.

- (1) Sakaram Tukaram, 20 years, Vani Bidi Shopkeeper, Lakhpat Building, Jacob Circle,
- (2) Chandulal Nathabhai, 23 years Bania Clerk, Dhobi Ghat, Jacob Circle,

were present at the time of the execution of arrest warrant No. — dated 15th March 1929 by the court of E.H.H. Edye, Esqr., Meerut, to witness the search of the person of Shaukat Usmani at Agakhan Building, Block No. 8, Room No. 2, Heares Road, at 6-30 a. m. on 20th March 1929.

The above search was conducted by Dy. Inspector A. K. Chaudhari in our presence and the following articles were taken possession of by the officer conducting the search.

S. No.	Name and description of article seized.	Place.
1	A piece of paper with Urdu writing on it entitled "Communist Party Kia Hai"— (What is Communist Party).	Left lower coat pocket.
2	A piece of paper with Urdu writing on it entitled "Nehru Report and Mazdoor"— (Nehru Report and Workers).	do.
3	A small piece of paper bearing the name of Mohd. Taqi—Kapra Khan, 100 copies.	do.
4	One Note book.	do.
5	Three printed receipts of Jhangir, Ulavi Press Bombay.	Upper coat pocket left found in the purse.
6	One piece of paper bearing the address "Roses too Istrasse, Hamburg."	Purse in the Upper left side coat pocket.
7	One receipt for Rs. 135/- of P. S. Warden & Co, Delhousie Square, Calcutta for a typewriter.	Purse in the upper left side coat pocket.
8	One small piece of paper bearing B. F. Bradley's London address—4 Elmsdale Road, E. 17.	do.

- ✓ 9 One small piece of paper bearing the words "Potassium Iodide (15 grs) and water 120 grs. apply with Hydrogen-Perchloric". do.
- 10 One piece of paper. One side Agha Khan Building, etc, and on the other written in Marathi (Rent--Kacha receipt.) do.
- 11 Issue No. 8 of B. P. T. Dockman, dated 15-3-29. do.
- 12 One note book ('Sen's Diary 1929) Red cover. do.
- 13 One small black covered note book bearing "Notes." do.

The above Punchnama was read over to us and it contains a full and true account of what we have witnessed during the search.

Before me. (1) Sd. SAKHARAM TUKARAM,  
Sd. A.K. CHANUDHARI, (2) Sd. CHANDULAL,

Dy. Inspector,

NATHABHAY PATEL.

20-3-29.

P. 1558.

*Bombay 20th March 1929.*

PUNCHNAMA.

We the undersigned members of the Punch viz:—

- (1) Sakaram Tukaram, 20 years, Vani Bidi Shopkeeper, Lakhpat Building, Jacob Circle.
- (2) Chandulal Nathabhai, 23 years, Bania Clerk, Dhobi Ghat, Jacob circle,

Were present at the time of the execution of search warrant dated 15th March 1929 issued by the court of E.H.H Edye, Esq., Meerut, to witness the search of the room No. 2, Blook No. 8, Agha Khan Building, Heires Road in the occupation of Shaukat Umsani, at 6-50 a.m. on 20th March 1929.

The above search was conducted by Dy. Inspector A.K. Chandhari in our presence and the following articles were taken possession of by the officer conducting the search:—

S. No.	Name & description of article seized.	Place where found.
1	One slip of paper bearing names of places such as Kranti Office and figures 100 etc.	On a cane table near the bath place
2	One printed Urdu Handbill of Bombay Mill workers' Union.	On the bath wall.
3	Issue No. 1 of "Chingari", dated 13/3/29.	On easy chair next to bath.
4	One typed letter from J. Bukhari, Karachi to Shaukat	do.
5	One pamphlet entitled "Manifesto of the Communist Party by Karl Marx Frederick Engels.	do.
6	One pamphlet entitled "What is this Communist Party?"	do.
7	One P.C. in Urdu from K.B. to Shaukat Usmani.	do.
8	No. 3 of "Payam-e-Mazdoor", dated 17-3-29.	On the bed in the centre of the room.
9	One book entitled "Workers" Opposition in Russia by Alexandra Koldontay.	Cane bookcase standing against the eastern wall of the room.
10	One blue titled book, entitled "Awakening of China", by Jas. H. Dolsen.	do.
11	One red covered book entitled "The Harvester", by Gene Stratton Porter.	do.
12	Socialist series No. 18 "The Politics of Oil."	do.
13	Socialist Series No. 10 Logic of Socialism.	do.
14	A novel entitled "Thais or the Monks Temptation.	do.
15	A book entitled Ghandi vs. Lenin by S.A. Dange.	do.
16	Pamphlet Scientific Socialism by Wm. Paul.	do.

- |    |   |     |
|----|---|-----|
| 17 | Pamphlet "Monopoly or How Labour is Robbed."  | do. |
| 18 | Pamphlet "The Industrial Crisis, by Labour Research Department.                           | do. |
| 19 | A pamphlet "The Workers and Peasants' Party of Bengal" constitution.                      | do. |
| 20 | A pamphlet "All India Trade Union Congress.   | do. |
| 21 | A pamphlet "The League of Nations and Labour.   | do. |
| 22 | A small pamphlet "A Statement" by Messrs Joshi, Ginwalla, etc.                            | do. |
| 23 | New Era Series No. 1 "Hundred Percent India by C.G. Shah.                                 | do. |
| 24 | Socialist Series No. 16 "Useful work vs. Useless Toil. Two copies.                        | do. |
| 25 | Socialist Series No. 12. The Principles of Socialism by Hamilton.                         | do. |
| 26 | A small leaflet printed and entitled The Bengal Peasants' and Workers' Party constituted. | do. |
| 27 | Socialist series No. 13 "Women of the Future".  | do. |
| 28 | Socialist series No. 12. The Principles of Socialism.                                     | do. |
| 29 | A small book entitled "Br. Imperialism in East Africa" Col. Series No. 1.                 | do. |
| 30 | Red covered pamphlet "What is the Pan Pacific Trade Union Secretariat.                    | do. |
| 31 | Socialist Series No. 17. Wage Labour and capital.   | do. |
| 32 | Blue covered pamphlet "The Bombay Port Trust Railway Employees Union."                    | do. |
| 33 | One red covered map of Europe.  | do. |
| 34 | One blue and red map of Asia.   | do. |
| 35 | One black covered copy book with accounts of "Payam-e-Mazdoor".                           | do. |

- |    |   |     |
|----|---|-----|
| 36 | The Pan-Pacific Worker Nos. 3,4,9,10,11 and 14 of 1928.   | do. |
| 37 | "Far Eastern Monthly" No. 17 & 19 of  | do. |
| 38 | A small printed pamphlet entitled "Governing by Starvation".  | do. |
| 39 | A small printed pamphlet entitled "Engineering Wages and Profits.                                   | do. |
| 40 | A small printed pamphlet entitled "What the Coal Report means".                                     | do. |
| 41 | A small printed pamphlet entitled "The Coal Shortage".  | do. |
| 42 | A small printed pamphlet entitled "Rivals.....Grocery concern".                                     | do. |
| 43 | Printed leaflets of Motor Industry Workers' Union Building.   | do. |
| 44 | One small piece of paper written in Urdu with the heading "Mazdooron ki Tehrik" Workers' Movement". | do. |
| 45 | Pages 17-20 from Mitropa Zeitung with a map of Berlin.  | do. |
| 46 | Typewritten Mss. of "A page from Russian "Revolution".  | do. |
| 47 | Aftermath of Non-cooperation" by M.N. Roy.  | do. |
| 48 | On red cover note book containing Account notes in Marathi about "Kranti".                          | do. |
| 49 | One file containing the following documents re. W. & P. P. of India:—                               | do. |
|    | (1) Presidential Address of Sohan Singh Josh in Urdu and English two copies and Urdu one copy.      |     |
|    | (2) Thesis on the Trade Union Movement.   |     |
|    | (3) Thesis on the Workers' and Peasants' Party Principles and Policy.                               |     |
|    | (4) Thesis on the Political Resolution.   |     |
|    | (5) Report of the Executive Committee of W. & P.P. Bengal, 4 copies.                                |     |

- (6) Political Resolutions of the 1st A. I.W. & P. Conference in Urdu.
- (7) Address by P. Dinda.
- (8) Two copies of a Marathi leaflet "Kamkari" etc.
- (9) One copy of "Address" to Saklatwalla by Marwari subjects of Indian States residing in Bombay.
- (10) Typed carbon copy) of Report of the 1st All-India Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference.
- 50 One file containing the following issues of International Press correspondence:— Cane book case.  
30, 41, 42, 44, 66, 67, 68, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 81, 83 and 88 of 1928.  
*Note*—Nos. 44, 66, 67 and 74 bear the name of Mr. Dange.
- 51 Nos. 2, 3, 4 and 5/1929 of Spark. do.  
*Note*—No. 5 is 2 copies.
- 52 New Leader No. 51, dated 1928 do.
- 53 Nos. 193 and 194/1928 of Sunday Worker do.
- 54 Workers' Pictorial No....of Nov. 1928. do.
- 55 A small note by K.N. Joglekar about the betraying policy of Jhabwalla. do.
- 56 One typed letter dated 1-2-29 from Daulat Ram Gupta, bearing the name of Mr. Dange in hand. do.
- 57 Pictures from newspapers (B. C.) of Lenin's wife, Stalin, Kálinin and group photo re. Soviet Anniversary. do.
- 58 One cover bearing the inscription Necessary Papers containing (1) one piece of paper bearing the address of New Mass of New York and (2) the address of Pritam Singh of Amritsar in Urdu. do.
- 59 Leaflets (printed in Marathi) of the Girni Kamgar Union one in Urdu on the reverse of which is written an account of Bombay streets during the disturbances.

- 60 One pencil draft "Appeal to All Workers Hindu Mohomedan Resume work at once by Bombay Girni Kamgar Union. do
- 61 Socialist Series No. 4 Communism by R. Palme Dutt. On a chest near the book case.
- 62 48 copies of Payam-e-Mazdoor No. 3 dated 17-3-29, 38 copies of the same paper No. 1, dated 3-3-29, and 310 copies of No. 2 dated 10-3-29. On a Mattress.

The above Punchnama was read over to us and it contains a full and true account of what we have witnessed during the search

Before me (1) Sd/ Sakharam Tukaram  
 Sd/ A.K. Chaudhari (2) Sd/ Chaundulal Nathabhay  
 Dy. Insp., Patel.

20-3-29.

1071  
 P. 1559.

A piece of paper with Urdu manuscript writing, the purport of which is as follows:—

What is the Communist party? The Communist Party is a society of the working class, and its members are the miners, engineers, railwaymen, printers, clerks and workers of every class men & women. Land owners and factory owners are not in this party exactly in the same way as they will not be in the Union. The communist party is an active party of such men who have got no land."

At the end of the Urdu writing there is an endorsement in English which runs as follows:—

NEHRU REPORT

Main question of constitution is of powers.



P. 1560.

A half sheet of foolscap paper with Urdu manuscript writing,  
the purport of which is as follows:—

NEHRU REPORT AND WORKERS

Nehru Report is an echo of that system of Government in  
which the Swadeshi Capitalist will replace the foreign Capitalists,  
and the Swadeshi Capitalists will keep the Workers exactly in the  
same position as the foreign Capitalist kept them and that is the  
reason why the Workers should be against it. But this does not  
mean that because they are against the Nehru Report they should  
tolerate the present form of Government.

P. 1561

A piece of paper containing the following addresses:—

Roses Toods trasse

No. 81

Hamburg.

Julius Trasim

St. Pauli

Heine Strasse 10

Flat one

or

Juliar khar (in Marathi Script)

walter.

P. 1562.

A piece of paper with the following addresses on it presumably in Mr. Bradley's own hand writing:—

B. F. Bradley,

4 Elmsdale Road

London

E 17.

P 1563.

A piece of paper Containing the following:—

Potassium Iodide (15 grs.) x water (120grs.) apply with Hydrogen Perchitor.

P. 1564.

Rejected.

A pocket diary book for 1929, bearing the name of Shankat Usmani, 1-1-29, Aga Khan Building. The following entries amongst others appear to be important:—

21 Jan. 29.

2 P. M. Mirajkar

9 A. M. Dange

Between 1 & 2 Shah

25 Jan. 29.

Red cloth for banner.

Post cards to be written for.

22 Jan. 29.

12 J. J. Hospital.

11 Adhkar

9 A. M.

7 Feb. 29.

Spark;

1 Jharia F. T. B.

2 Public safety Bill

3 Bombay unrest.

20. Feb. 29. M. Mirajkar's name is written & then scored through.
10. Mar. 29. 3. P. M. C. G. Shah for Liberator.
11. Mar. 29. 8. 30 P. M. Kranti office  
3. 30 P. M. at Party office
12. Mar. 29. 11. Genl Motor works.
17. Mar. 29. 8 a. m. Dange.
18. Mar. 29. To bring out newspaper on every Saturday.

P. 1565.

*Rejected*

A pocket note book written in English the following entries amongst others are important.

- Page 2 Pendsi  
Kothari Building.  
Abdul Gafur Jobber.
- Page 3 Lalij Pendse.
- Page 4 P. C. Joshi  
34 Holland Hall  
Allahabad.
- Page 5 to 13 An account about the Bombay oil Company strikes which runs as follows :—  
17th October Bombay oil company Employees union formed. Since 1920 continuous strikes. Men always defeated. Strikes never lasted for more than 2 weeks. 1920. Baptista and others started a union. That was dissolved along with strikes. On the function of their union they began to barass the supporters of the unions. On the of December a worker was assaulted by the officials and his tooth broken. On the 7th they wanted to dismiss summarily 18 hands. Since 1920 the workers have got no increment. All this resulted in a strike of oil workers on 7th of December. On the 8th union wrote to the mangemtt that they

would like to settle the strike. Since the 12th the management began to employ the Pathans as black legs. Paid them more wages than the workers. Gave them rations and made lodging arrangement within the premises of the Mills installation. Police were guarding the installation. On the 11th of December the Stand Oil Com. and Indo Burmah Co. workers came out on sympathetic strike. Union was registered on 18th of December. This fact also was communicated to the owners. Before recognising the union they demanded a list of the members which the unions refused. In the last week of December picketing was resorted to. In the first week of January the union approached the General Member of the G. O. Bombay. Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayat ullah. On the 11th of January the Union officials had an interview with him and he expressed his inability to bring the owners round for negotiations. 11th evening a meeting was being held and the workers was held in Sewri. Authentic news came that the management was planning a Pathan Raid on the workers. The leaders asked the men to be on the defence. At about 6 when the meeting dispersed the pathans did actually attack the strikers near the Ry station and they also looted the shops, and beat women and children. One worker of the oil company was seriously assaulted. He was removed to the hospital K. E. M. and he died.

16th again there was another attack of the Pathan on strikers.

After riots in Feby. last week picketing was again resorted to and union officials have approached the Government of Bombay to bring about (?) the trike. The president of the union had an interview with the private secretary to the Governor. Though a week has passed no reply yet.

Now the situation stands as this. The strikers are from all communities, christians, Mahs. Hindus and Jains. The management has secured 450 Pathans and 200 Bhayas, and though the starvation has gone to a pitch no negotiations are open.

Page 40

Dange.

Page 44

Apollo Chambers.

Mrs. Deburgh

Mr. Bradley.

**P. 1566.**

A booklet in English entitled  
"Manifesto of the Communist Party"

by

**Karl Mark Frederick Engels.**

**P. 1567.**

A booklet in English entitled.

"What is this Communist Party?"

Published by

**Communist party of Great Britain,**

**16 King street, covent Garden W. C. 2.**

**P. 1568.**

Issues of the Urdu Newspaper 'Payam-i-Mazdoor of the following dates:—

17-3-29, 3-3-29 and 10-3-29.

8012  
Z 205W-71129

Q3.1

**P. 1569.**

A Booklet in English entitled.  
'The workers' and Peasants' party  
of Bengal, constitution 1928".  
(Vide Exh. P. 514).

**P. 1570.**

A booklet in English entitled "The Bengal Peasants' and  
Workers' Party constitution".  
(Vide Exh. P. 549 (8)).

**P. 1571.**

A booklet in English entitled  
"Women of the Future."  
by  
Lilienthel.

## P. 1572.

A booklet in English, entitled "What is the Pan Pacific Trade Union Secretariat?" Issued by the Labour Research and Information Bureau, Sydney, 1928.

(See column 100, Appendix to

(1928, N. 1, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100)

## P. 1573.

Issues of the "Pan Pacific Worker" of the following dates:—

15 September 1928.

1 September 1928.

15 August 1928.

1 November 1928.

15 May 1928.

1 May 1928.

## P. 1574.

A Typewritten Copy an article headed "A page from the Russian Revolution."

(Vide Exh. P. 727).

In addition to the to the above article there are two typewritten pages which are reproduced below. The first is a footnote to the paragraph headed "Events During half a decade," and the second is the "Author's preface."

\*Foot Note.

Name of Case.	Place of trial.	Accused.	Sentence.
Tashkent Conspiracy Case 1921.	Peshawar	1. Akbar Khan Qurreshi.	3 years.

- 2. Hafizullah Khan. Acquitted.
- 3. Bahadur 1 year.

**Chamarkand Conspiracy Peshawar. Case 1922-23.**

- 1. Akbar Khan 7 years.
- Qureshi.
- and
- 2. Ghulam Mahboob 5 years.
- 3. Md. Hasan. 5 years.

**Moscow Conspiracy Peshawar.**

**Case I 1923:**

- |                                 |                           |            |  |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------|------------|--|
| Arrested 22nd<br>November 1922. | 1. Gohar Rehman           | 2 years.   | } Passed full sentence<br>plus 6 month U. T. |
|                                 | 2. Akbar Shah.            | 2 years.   |  |
|                                 | 3. S. Habib Ahmad Nasim.  | 1 year.    |  |
|                                 | 4. S. Rafiq Ahmad Manzoor | 1 year.    |  |
|                                 | 5. Abdul Majid.           | 1 year.    |  |
|                                 | 6. Feroz Din Mansoor      | 1 year.    |  |
|                                 | 7. Sultan Md. Khan.       | 1 year.    |  |
|                                 | 8. Abdul Qadir Sahrai.    | Acquitted. |  |

9. Ghulam Ahmad. Approver. Pardoned.

10. Fida Ali. Approver. Pardoned.

**Moscow Conspiracy Case II. Peshawar. 1924.**

1. Md. Sheffiq Siddiqi (still under internment). 3 years.

2. Professor Ghulam Hussain M. A. Approver. Pardoned.

**Bolshevik Conspiracy Case. Cawnpore.**

**1924.**

1. M. N. Roy. Trial in absence.

2. Singervellu Chetty. Case withdrawn.

3. R. C. Sharma, absconded to French territory.

4. Nalini Gupta. 4 years.

Kept under Regulation 3, 1818 from December 1923; to March 1924.

Passed only 1/4 of the sentence was released on condition owing to bad health.

5. Muzaffar Ahmad. 4 years.

(Kept under Regulation 3, 1818. from May 1923 to March 1924.

Passed only 1 year and 4 months of the sentence; was released unconditionally owing to bad health.



## P. 1572.

A booklet in English, entitled "What is the Pan Pacific Trade Union Secretariat"? Issued by the Labour Research and Information Bureau, Sydney, 1928.

"2021 000000 000 000000 000"

0000 00 0000 0000

## P. 1573.

Issues of the "Pan Pacific Worker" of the following dates:—

0000 00 0000 00

15 September 1928.

1 September 1928.

15 August 1928.

1 November 1928.

15 May 1928. (2) 0000 00 0000 00

1 May 1928.

## P. 1574.

A Typewritten Copy an article headed "A page from the Russian Revolution." "0000 00 0000 00"

(Vide Exh. P. 727).

In addition to the to the above article there are two typewritten pages which are reproduced below. The first is a footnote to the paragraph headed "Events During half a decade," and the second is the "Author's preface."

\*Foot Note.

Name of Case.	Place of trial.	Accused.	Sentence.
Tashkent Conspiracy Case 1921.	Peshawar	1. Akbar Khan Qurreshi.	3 years.

2. Hafizullah Khan. Acquitted.

3. Bahadur 1 year.

**Chamarkand Conspiracy Peshawar. Case 1922-23.** 1. Akbar Khan 7 years.  
Qurreshi.

and  
2. Ghulam Mahboob 5 years.

3. Md. Hasan. 5 years.

**Moscow Conspiracy Peshawar.**

**Case 1 1923:**

Arrested 22nd  
November 1922.

- 1. Gohar Rehman 2 years.
- 2. Akbar Shah. 2 years.
- 3. S. Habib Ahmad Nasim. 1 year.
- 4. S. Rafiq Ahmad Manzoor 1 year.
- 5. Abdul Majid. 1 year.
- 6. Feroz Din Mansoor 1 year.
- 7. Sultan Md. Khan. 1 year.
- 8. Abdul Qadir Sahrai. Acquitted.

Passed full sentence  
plus 6 month U. T.

9. Ghulam Ahmad. Approver. Pardoned.

10. Fida Ali. Approver. Pardoned.

**Moscow Conspiracy Case 11. Peshawar. 1924.**

1. Md. Sheffiq Siddiqi (still  
under internment). 3 years.

2. Professor Ghulam Hussain  
M. A. Approver. Pardoned.

**Bolshevik Conspiracy Case. Cawnpore.**

**1924.**

1. M. N. Roy. Trial in absence.

2. Singervellu Chetty. Case withdrawn.

3. R. C. Sharma, absconded to French  
territory.

4. Nalini Gupta. 4 years.

Kept under Regulation 3, 1818 from  
December 1923; to March 1924.

Passed only 1/4 of the sentence was  
released on condition owing to bad health.

5. Muzaffar Ahmad. 4 years.

(Kept under Regulation 3, 1818, from May  
1923 to March 1924.)

Passed only 1 year and 4 months of the  
sentence; was released unconditionally  
owing to bad health.

6. S. A. Dange 4 years

Passed full sentence.

7. Shaukat Usmani. 4 years.

(Kept under Regulation 3. 1818. from May 1923. to March 1924.) Passed full sentence.

Moscow Conspiracy Case. III. Peshawar.

i. Master Abdul Hamid. Till the rising of the COURT.

Moscow Conspiracy Case. IV. Peshawar. 1927.

i. Fazle Ilahi. Qurban, 5 years (reduced to 3 years).

#### AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

I do not pretend to have written anything more than a concentrated account of the events of that great historic drama, which stands alone as the liberator of the once-oppressed people on Earth.

The credit of effecting that liberation goes to that class which has tackled every subject according to the materialistic conception of history, and who analysing the past and the future in a dialectic way has shown the talents of scientific prophets.

Only those and those alone are the worthy of leading a movement of emancipation of the oppressed who are a most advanced and resolute section of the working-class and who clearly understand the lines of march, the condition and the ultimate results of the political movements.

They do not much count on sentiments and never do they base anything on what they wish. They say what they have fully analysed. For instance when they say War is sure to come about the year 1930, or that India is going to become a land of free people before 1935, assuredly they analyse all the factors which lead to war, similarly do they analyse all the causes and developments in the Indian emancipatory movement.

The fundamental difference between the sentimental socialists and the realist Marxists is that the former wail and moan and invoke all the latent powers of legislation; whereas the latter never beg but act. They always remain firm and determined, never shirk an inch even when they are branded and despised.

In this brief narration I have tried to depict to some extent the causes which put the Bolshviks at the helm of such a vast country as Russia against overwhelming odds. The secret of their success lies in their directly espousing the cause of the masses, and the appreciation of their sincerity by the masses. They Bolshviks have proved it they that they were not an opportunistic scalp, but instead were the advanced element of the workers and peasants movement. The constitution they framed was one more proof of their earnestness to put the entire state power into the hands of the masses. They have proved it once for all: "Revolution for the Masses and not the Masses for the Revolution." The system which has been introduced by them lays down full rights for all without distinction of sex at the age of 18. Economic, social and political equality has been recognised as the entrance to full freedom. For the first time in the history of the world the working people feel themselves the arbiter of their destinies.

All other systems are imposed from top to bottom, the Soviet system rises from bottom to top, resembling a huge Pauchayat. Under it the village Soviets are the foundation of administration. Villages elect representatives for the districts the districts for the division, the division for the province and the provinces for the Central. And in this way the Russia of to day is being governed.

For the dates and the events mentioned in this book I had to take my imagination back to the days of my studies in Moscow. May be there is some discrepancy about the dates, yet it will not in any way interfere with the validity of events. It is pity not much material even for the sake of reference, is available in India. India needs a great deal information about Russia whose conditions have been very much similar to that of her in many respects.

DELHI. 1st May, 1928.

AUTHOR.

DELHI

**P. 1574 E.**

A large envelope containing the above article with the following superscription on it:—

The Secretary,  
Bombay Millowners' Union,  
Shetye Building, Poibavdi  
Parel, P. O. No. 14.  
Bombay.

**P. 1575.**

A file containing miscellaneous reports on conferences of several Unions.

**P.1575 1**

2 copies of a pamphlet in English and one copy in Urdu entitled the Presidential Address of the First All-India Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference, Calcutta, December 21, 1928, delivered by Comrade Sohan Singh Josh.

(Vide Exh. P 596).

**P. 1575 2.**

A pamphlet in English entitled Workers' and Peasants-Party Principles and Policy.

(Vide Exh. P. 161).

P. 1575 3

A pamphlet in English entitled "The Trade Union Movement."

(Vide Exh. P. 51).

P. 1575 4

A copy of a pamphlet in English entitled "Political Resolution" together with a copy of a pamphlet in Urdu on the same subject.

(Vide Exh. P. 56).

P. 1575 5

4 copies of a pamphlet in English entitled "The Peasants' and Workers' Party of Bengal, Report of the Executive Committee 1927-1928."

(Vide Exh. P. 218).

P. 1575 6.

A typewritten copy of the "First All-India Workers and Peasants Party Conference, Report."

(Vide Exh. P. 669).

P. 1575 7.

2 copies of a leaflet in Marathi headed WORKERS' and PEASANTS' PARTY.

An affectionate message to brother labourers. Below this there is a picture showing in the background some mills and a procession of workers carrying banners with the inscription "bread, bread, work, work", while in the foreground there is the picture of an emaciated labourer in fatters.

Below the picture the following note is printed :—

This leaflet is published by Shantaram Savlaram Mirajkar, Secretary Workers' and Peasants' party, Dwarkadas Mansions, Girgaon.

P. 1575 8.

### An Appeal to the Bombay Clerks!

by

A Clerk.

**ORGANISE YOURSELVES INTO A UNION TO  
FIGHT THE BOSSES.**

Comrades,

I propose to address you the following words, I who am a clerk like yourself, a miserable ill-paid exploited clerk. And I feel confident that my words will not be vain for they only describe the bitter hardships of a clerk's life and suggest the methods to improve his conditions.

Like thousands of you in Bombay, I am a clerk slaving for long hours in an office, doing mechanical work for the master, on a miserable wage. I know from experience how hard our life has been, how difficult has been the struggle to make both ends meet.

Like thousands of you I have a family to maintain and like you I also have suffered agonies when the caprice of the employer threatened me with the loss of my job which would only lead me and my family to the public footpath. I too have shed hot tears when a dear one of the family fell ill but could not be provided with nutritious food and adequate medical treatment simply because I had no surplus money to spend on doctors and medicines. And I know my experiences are only an instance of what thousand and tens of thousands of clerks suffer in the city of Bombay."

Comrades, we clerk belong to the "lower middle" class of the society and feel we have a certain social status. This only makes it incumbent on us to live up to that status, and this, is only an aggravation of our already unbearable burdens.

Though we suffer such appalling hardships which take all life-blood from us and make us prematurely old, *still* we refuse to organize ourselves into a compact militant Clerks' Union, *still* we shun the successful methods used by workers labouring in factories and workshops to develop our strength and better our lot. And this because we think it (quite wrongly Comrades!) below our dignity to call ourselves *workers* and employ workers' methods to strengthen our position.

Comrades, it is a mere hallucination, but a dangerous hallucination that we are labouring under. We *are* labourers, mental workers and as such we clerks are not different from the Working Class but a part of it. We must therefore organize ourselves and evolve methods of resistance like all other groups of workers.

There are two main classes in the present-day society. The first is the master class or the class of employers better known as Capitalists, and the second is the slave-class or class of employees who live by selling their labour-power to the Capitalist. When class do we clerks belong to? Surely we belong, we, ill-paid-exploited—drudging clerks belong to the second class, the class of employees. We have no means of ours to support us and consequently we have to go to the Capitalist and say "Oh, good Sir, give anything, even a miserable pittance, but give me a job" We sell our labour-power to the Capitalist and allow ourselves to be exploited.

Comrades, we are in this way reduced to the level of ordinary articles of commerce. We are a Commodity in the market and our price, like that of any commodity, is determined by the lawless law of supply and demand. So when there are too many clerks in the market, our price falls and our wages go down. And when our wages go down or our job is lost, our hardships and privations multiply and our life becomes an unbearable agony.



Comrades ! Can we endure this for ever ? Can we see our families continue to decline and perish for want of sufficient and nutritive food ? Can we see our children go without milk ? Can we see them robbed of their rights of adequate education and social benefits because of the inhuman workings of the Capitalist system ?

We must unite ourselves together to insist on decent standards of life for us and our dependents. We must form a strong Union which will strengthen us for the inevitable struggle with our employees and employers.

Why should we feel ashamed to join a Union ? Clerks working in a number of offices and organizations have already formed their Unions. Witness the Unions of clerks engaged in Postal Offices, Currency Office, Port Trust, Railways, Telegraphs etc. And these Unions have brought great power and benefits to their members.

Comrades, let us follow the example of our fellow-clerks who have already formed their Unions. Let us benefit by their experience.

Then Comrades !

Up with a compact well-organized militant Clerks' Union !

On with the labouring Clerks' struggle for their human right !

Lokasevak Press, Bombay 4.

P. 1576.

Several issues of the International Press Correspondence of the following dates :—

12-12-28	23-11-28	12-10-28
*25-10-28	21-11-28	4-10-28
*28-9-28	26-10-28	1-8-28
*25-9-28	19-10-28	30-7-28
+ 3-8-28	17-10-28	6-6-28

Those marked \*bear the pencil remark "for Dange", while  
that marked + bears the remark "all for Dange".

P. 1577

Issues of the English Newspaper "Spark" of the following  
dates :—

3 March 1929 (2 copies)

24 February 1929.

17 February 1929.

10 February 1929.

P. 1578.

~~Rejected~~

2 issues of the English Newspaper "Sunday Worker"

of 18-11-28 and 25-11-28.

P. 1578. 1.

Rejected

A picture from a newspaper showing Lenin's wife addressing  
a meeting.

**P. 1578. 2.**

Pictures from newspaper showing Stalin, (Lenin's Successor) and Kalinin, President of the Central Executives of the Soviets.

**P. 1579.**

A book in English entitled "Communism" by R. Palme Dutt.

**P. 1580.**

Issues of Payam-i-mazdoor in Urdu of the following dates:—  
3rd March 1929 (35 copies).  
10th March 1929 (370 copies).  
17th March 1929 (47 copies).

**P. 1581.**

Search Warrant issued under Sec. 96 C. P. C. by the additional District Magistrate, Meerut, for searching the house of H. L. Hutchinson, C/o Miss Cattopadhyaya, 5 Napier Road, Fort, Bombay.

Executed by the Bombay City C. I. D. on 15-6-29.

P. 1582

## Search of Hutchison's residence 36 Khatav Building.

### PUNCHNAMA.

Bombay 15th June 1929.

We the following members of the Punch

- (1) A. Monteiro, 30 years, service- Government Telegraphs, res. Khatav Building, Block 31.
- (2) J. F. Mascarenhas, 35 years, Stewart, Res. Khatav Building 32.

were called by Mr. A. K. Chaudhari of the Bombay C. I. D. to remain present with him at the time of the search of room No. 36, at Khatav Building, at the time of execution of search warrant under Sec. 56 C. P. C., issued by the District Magistrate, Meerut on the 15th June 1929. In our presence the brass lock of the room which is in the occupation of one Mr. Hutchinson was broken and the following articles were taken charge of by the Police:—

	Name and description of article.	Place where found.
1	One pamphlet entitled Communism by R. P. Dutt.	Fancy Cloth bag on Cot.
2	Rent receipt for R. No. 36, for May 1929.	Found in the fancy cloth bag lying on the cot.
3	The New Spark dated 26. 5. 29.	do
4	One piece of paper with pencil writing thereon, beginning advertisement.	do
5	One cover with name written in pencil.	do
6	One brown flap of cover bearing names in pencil.	do
7	One diary of the Commercial Stationery Mart.	Found lying on a small country stool.
8	One Note Book: Autographs.	do
9	One red pamphlet in Marathi entitled "Communism".	do

- 10 Young Liberator, No. 8, Vol. 1, dated April 1929. do
- 11 The new Spark Nos 1 to 4 and 6 of 1929. do
- 12 Railwayman (G. I. P.) dated 5/6/29 do
- 13 One pink coloured price list of 30 books for 1928 of International Publishers. do
- 14 Two tickets one for Hutchinson and another for Mr. and Mrs. Chattopadhyaya, two copies of resolutions, one copy of the speech of the chairman of the reception Committee and one copy of the Presidential address of the Bombay suburban district Youth Conference, Khar. do
- 15 F. C. B. Leaflet No. 1, entitled "The case for F. C. B." do
- 16 Editorial notes entitled "The Bombay Mill Strike", written in pencil. do
- 17 One piece of lined paper bearing entries in pencil redistribution of copies of the New Spark and accounts re. Meerut Defence Fund. do
- 18 Bill No. 1656 for Rs. 4/- of the competition Press. do
- 19 One blue closed cover addressed to 65 Harrison Road, Calcutta. It was opened in our presence and it contained
  - 19 (a) a letter in Bengali probably number 19 a). do
  - 20 Four letters addressed to Mrs. Nambiar. do
  - 21 Letter from H. D. Rajah to Hutchinson. do
  - 22 Two letters addressed to Hutchinson do
  - 23 One blue coloured memorandum from Narciso to Subhasini. do

- 24 One letter from Nambiar to Babu from Berlin. do
- 25 One piece of paper bearing an entry in red pencil. do
- 26 Two photographs of Hutchison and one in Sepia of another man. do
- 27 3 cuttings from newspaper. do
- 28 One copy of welcome address by P. Found in the Dinda, Chairman, Reception Committee of the 1st A. I. W and P. P. No. 161. Suitcase bearing tee of the Conference.
- 29 Two copies of "Workers Pictorial".
- 30 One blue note book signed by H.L. Hutchinson. do
- 31 One blue covered account book bearing name of Suhasini Nambiar. do
- 32 Letter from M. K. Gandhi to Suhasini Nambiar dated 13/ 12/ 28. do
- 33 Letter dated 16/ 6 from Hyderabad from Varada Devi to Sisyrgh. do
- 34 Letter dated 17 May from Hyderabad to Baby girl from Varada Devi. do
- 35 Letter dated 1st Oct. 1913 from A. E. to baby. do
- 36 Letter dated 1st May 1913 addressed to Mrs Mrinalini Chattopadhyaya. do
- 37 Letter written on the letter paper of R. M. S. "Archangel" by Lester to Suhasini Nambiar. do
- 38 One letter dated 15/9/19 addressed to Babu. do
- 39 One handwritten article covering 12 pages entitled "The Surprising Peragrinations of one Tutanini Summary". do
- 40 One handwritten article covering 15 pages entitled Irony in the Forest. do
- 41 Typed article entitled "The Man of Letters".

- 42 do do do do by do do do do  
H Lester Hutchinson Sunny Leaning  
Withington do
- 43 One exercise book of the New High  
School for Girls bearing Suhasini's  
name do
- 44 One article entitled "India and the  
General Elections" do
- 45 One letter dated 1st Jan. 1929 address- do  
sed to L. do
- 46 One piece of paper entitled "To A B do  
etc, do
- 47 One photograph of 3 persons, a ticket do  
of Hutchinson and a certificate of Hut-  
chinson do
- 48 Press cuttings about Russia and Youth do.  
Movement.
- 49 Four photographs. do.
- 50 One cover containing photographs of do.  
Hutchinson, Mrs. Nambiar, B. T. do  
Randive, B. F. Bradley and others—  
14 in number. do
- 51 One copper plate with Hutchinson's do.  
name on one side and a card of S. R. do  
Tawade pasted on the other.
- 52 One copper badge of R. F. B. do.
- 53 Two files entitled "Golden File" one do  
(a) pink and the other light yellow con-  
& taining typed copies of letters, rules do  
(b) and programme of the Independence do  
for India League, Letters are address- do  
sed to Hutchinson M. K. Gandhi and do  
Mrs. Nambiar.
- 54 One leather cover (black) cardboard Found in a small  
case containing a blue printed receipt fancy cloth bag.  
for £ 10/- from Amir Haider Mohamed.
- 55 The New spark No. 1 dated 5-5-29. do.

- 56 One Delegate Badge in the name of Mrs. Suhmini Nambiar of the Bombay Suburban District Youth Conference, Khar. Found on the camp cot.
- 57 One P. C. dated 23-3-29 from Yusuf J. Meharally to Hutchinson. do.
- 58 One Rusholme Labour Club card in the name of Hutchinson. do.
- 59 Press cuttings re. "An Appeal to the teachers of India, and Lahore Murder Conspiracy." do.
- 60 One proof copy entitled "The Causes of Anglo American Difference". do.
- 61 Pamphlet entitled the League of Youth Madras, 1928. do.
- 62 One small leather covered diary bearing "Addresses". do.
- 63 Poem entitled "Russia". do.
- 64 Three pages written in pencil entitled Reply to British T. U. C. do.
- 65 Two photographs of Narciso. do.
- 66 Young Liberator No. 8. Two copies. Found on the top of suit case 161.
- 67 Pamphlet, The, League of Youth—Madras 1928. do.
- 68 Two photographs of Hutchinson and Mrs. Nambiar. do.
- 69 One Miniature photograph in a frame. do.
- 70 A bunch of handwritten papers with sketches sewn up in a cloth purse do.
- 71 One pamphlet entitled the Bombay Presidency Secondary Teachers' Conference, Bombay. Found in a fruit basket lying near bathroom.
- 72 One typed letter addressed to Your Highness. do. ✓
- 73 Two copies of New Spark No. 1. do.
- 74 One book "Srikanta". do.
- 75 One book "Prussian Officer". do.



- 76 One book "1600 Worte" do.
- 77 "The T. U. Movement of Germany, by Richard Seidal." do.
- 78 Report of the All India Youth Congress, 3rd Session, Calcutta, 1928. do.

This punchnama was drawn up in our presence and was read over to us. We put our signatures to testify the veracity of its contents.

- 1. Sd/- A. Monteiro.
- 2. Sd/- J. F. Mascarenhas.

Before me

Sd/- A. K. Chaudhari.

Dy. Inspector.

C. I. D.

15-6-29.

**P. 1583.**

- A book in English entitled "Communism" by R. Palme Dutt

**P. 1584.**

- A Magazine in English named "The Young Liberator" for the month of April 1929.

P 1585.

Some issues of the newspaper in English named "The New Spark" printed and published by Hugh Lester Hutchinson, of the following dates:—

5 May 1929.

26 May 1929.

12 May 1929.

9 June 1929.

19 May 1929.

P. 1856.

5 Pieces of paper containing manuscript notes in English either for a lecture or for writing an article. The notes run as follows:—

### India and the General Elections.

#### I. Introduction.

- (a) British elections in time.
- (b) India cannot remain indifferent. The more re-actionary the Govt. in Great Britain, the greater repression in India.
- (c) India's interest should be in the struggle between Labour and Communists, because India cannot achieve freedom without the help of the working class.
- (d) That is why the coming elections are more than usually interesting because the C.P. are openly taking the field against the official Labour Party

#### II. Classification of Parties.

Conservatives, Liberals, Labour (I.L.P.) and Communists.

#### III. Record of the Baldwin Government. (1924).

- (i) By Naval Pacts, General treaties on the verge of war.
- (ii) Loss of trade by expulsion of A.R. Cos.
- (iii) General Lockout.

- (iv) Unemployment and local boards of guardians.
  - (v) Sir W. Joynson Hicks, the Communists.
  - (vi) Egypt (1924) India, Afganistan.
- IV. Labour Party. Its Govt.
- (a) Brief history of Labour Party.
    - (i) The Dawes Plan.
    - (ii) Spithead Review and beginning of post hoisting the Naval Competition 5 cruisers.
    - (iv) Porton, Poison gas experimental ground
    - (v) 1924 Bombing in Irak. — Lord Thomson. (page 72).
    - (vi) Bengal Ordinances.
    - (vii) Egypt & Zaglul Pasha.
    - (viii) Campbell Case
- V. Effects of probable Labour Gov. in India.
- Chaman Lal Page 612 (11)

(a) Simon Commission. Labour Party attitude.

*Macdonald in "Forward"*

Monkeying with revolution at a same distance is not the sort of thing in which we should indulge.

- (b) Public Safety Bill
  - (c) Trades Disputes Bill.
  - (d) Attitude of Ind International towards Colonies.)
  - (d) Division of Colonial countries into 3 chapters.
    - (i) These fit for complete Independence and to be admitted to the League of Nations-China, Egypt, Syria, Irak.
    - (ii) These to be granted self-determination - Phillipines and India.
    - (iii) Backward colonies such as Crown Colonies for whom a mixture of autonomy and trusteeship is devised.
  - (e) India will be the same under Labour as Conservative.
- V. Labour Party V Communism.
- (i) Labour Party reformist - merely wishes to have power in that changing the structure of society.



P. 1587 1.

A photograph of Bradley having on its back the signature "B. F. Bradley".

\_\_\_\_\_

P. 1587 2.

A group photograph of Mr. Hutchnison, Mrs. Suhasini Nambiar and three others.

\_\_\_\_\_

P. 1587 3.

A group photograph of five persons including Hutchinson.

\_\_\_\_\_

P. 1587. E.

An envelope of the Byculla photo stores containing the above three photos.

\_\_\_\_\_

P. 1588.

**Marine Engineer's Beneficial Association Certificate No. 33 in favour of Amir Haidar Mobamad.**

P. 1589.

**Russia.**

**1. Historical Introduction.**

- (a) Description of Czarist Russia.
- (b) 1905 Rebellion Potsmkin-Winter Place. (1st step in workers revolution).
- (c) Nihilism, Anarchism and Social Democracy.
- (d) Split of Social Democratic Party into Mensheviks Bolsheviks.
- (e) Conditions of Soldiers, workers and peasants during Great War.
- (f) Bourgeois Revolution of Kerensky. Deception and continuation of War.
- (g) October 1917-Workers take power.
- (h) Civil War-Allied intervention.
- (i) Social reconstruction.

**2. Russia to-day.**

- (a) Difference between a Socialist State and Communist Society.
- (b) Nationalization and Co-operation Societies.
- (c) Workers Government for workers. Better conditions (clubs, schools etc.).
- (d) Education of the Peasants-results.

**3. System of Government.**

- (a) Soviets. (town and village committees).
- (b) Soviets send delegates to Central Soviet.

- (c) Central Soviet elects Central Executive Committee.
- (d) Executive Committee appoints People's Commissars.

4. Communist Party. Link in International class.

- (a) Supreme Moral force. Sets example to working class.
- (b) Vanguard of working class.
- (c) Backbone of Government.
- (d) Necessity of restricted membership.
- (e) Preparing for international Communist Society.

5. Attitude towards Crime.

- (a) Espionage and Counter-revolutionary activities only entail Capital punishment. Necessity for this.
- (b) Crime treated as a disease. Remedy healthy condition and regular work.
- (c) No private property (basis of bourgeois crime) but property of Workers' State. (basis of Socialist crime). "Stealing from one is stealing from all".
- (c) Prison System-Differences from Capitalist Countries.
- (d) Prostitution.
  - (i) Causes,
  - (ii) How Soviets treating this?
- (e) Drink Question.
  - (i) Effects to combat and by propaganda, and high prices.
  - (ii) Drinking chiefly bourgeois and all profits go to the Workers' State.

6. Religion

- (a) Evil affects of religion on uneducated minds.
- (b) Greek Church and progress.
- (c) "Religion is the opium of the People".
- (d) Soviet way of coping with it.
- (l) Communist Education. (Youth free from religious superstitions).

(II) Priests and churches not supported by State, but by private contributions of old religious people—consequently poverty-stricken and without great influence.

(e) Religious propaganda in Russia is essential political and counter-revolutionary and must be suppressed.

(d) Materialism V. spirituality.

#### 7. Communist International (Comintern).

(i) Not Russian but International.

(ii) Delegates from C. P's of all countries.

(iii) Object: World revolution and the ultimate establishment of Communist Society.

#### 8. Russia and Internationalism.

(i) Russia is vanguard of world revolution.

(ii) Sets example to working-class all over world.

(iii) Anti-Imperialist-China-Persia etc.

P. 1590.

Search of the Office of the "New SPARK" at Krish Building.

Bombay 15th June 1929.

### Punchnama II.

We the following members of the Punch

- (1) Sukhdev Saṅkār Rām Pandya, Estatewala, 23 years, service Res. Krishna Building - Hornby Road,
- (2) Bhagwanji Dulabhji Mehta, 30 years, Accountant (Gujrati), Res. Jir, J. J. Office (Surveyors), 209, Hornby Road, were called by A. K. Chaudhari of the Bombay C. I. D. to remain present with him at the time of search of the office of the New Spark on the top floor of Krishna Building, Hornby Road, in persurance of the execution of search warrant issued by the D. M. Meerut, on the 15th June 1929. In our presence the lock on the



door of the office was broken after the sign boards of the New Spark were taken off.

The following articles were attached by the Police in our presence :—

S. No.	Name of article and description.	Place where found.
1	New Spark packet addressed to Bal-Krishna Sarma, Cawnpore.	Found on table near partition wall.
2	do. addressed to Phadnis bros, Bejapur.	In the drawer of the above table.
3	Packets containing copies of the New Spark, addressed to M. V. Chundra Bazwada, N. S. Vinekar, Manager, Grawadhikari P. P. Pijapur, Miss Sarla Mehta Santa Cruz, Jivanal, Madras, J.N. Setalwad Byculla, Narayan Menon - Parel and Jehangir C. Patel Congress House, Bombay.	Found in the drawer of table near the partition wall.
4	Eight leaves of paper written in copying pencil.	do
5	Three leaves of paper writren in pencil.	do
6	One handbill of the Bombay Suburban Dist.-Youth Conference, Khar.	do
7	Leaf of paper written in pencil also three times in type.	do
8	Four pages of the Indian Daily Mail, dated 3/5/29 with a group photograph of Labour leaders of the Girni Kamgar Union.	do
9	One article (in pencil) of seven pages entitled An Appeal to Madras.	do
10	Letter dated Bijapur 11/5/29 from Phadnis and others.	do
11	Piece of paper bearing the names and addresses of Manganlal D. Desai, and Kakalbhai.	do
12	The New Spark Nos. 5 & 6/1929.	do
13	One piece of paper "Editorial Notes A Disgrace to India".	do

- 14 An article written in pencil entitled The Scale. Found in the drawer (left) of writing table in the centre of the office.
- 15 An article written in pencil beginning since the day. do
- 16 An article written in pencil entitled "When Will the Sleeper Awaken?" do
- 17 One receipt No. 4326 for a Regd. packet addressed to P. Mannadia, Calcutta. do
- 18 Name—card (visiting card) of B. P. Joshi. do
- 19 Two slips of paper bearing account entries in pencil. do
- 20 Two copies of the New Spark No. 3 and one of No.6 of 1929. Also two pages of New Spark dated 9/6/29. do
- 21 Two note books containing list of subscribers one blue and the other red. Found in the right drawer of the said table.
- 22 One Gl. Ledger with V. P. receipts and other receipts of reg. packets. do
- 23 One visiting card of S. B. Shringapur Thana. do
- 24 One pamphlet entitled "Girni Kamgar Cha Powada." do
- 25 Letter dated 28/5/29 from H. V. Chaudhari to Hutchinson. do
- 26 Visiting card of K. Vencate Rao, 1st Grade Pleader, Bellary. do
- 27 Piece of paper bearing addresses of R. Nanavaty, Union Chemical Co. and Narottamdas. do
- 28 One P. C. from K. N. Ghanekar Guard G. I. P. Ry. Shahabad to Hutchinson. do
- 29 One letter dated 29/5/29 from Hon. Sec. G. I. P. Railwaymen's Union, Bhusawal to Hutchinson. do
- 30 One letter dated 27. 5. 29 from Amrital, Parel Station to Hutchinson. do

- 31 Five typed copies of a letter dated 22/5/29 signed by K. F. Nariman, about the Meerut Defence Fund. do
- 32 One cover containing a copy of a cable gram from Hutchinson's mother, bearing E. D. Karkane's address. do
- 33 Letter dated 21/5/29 from Vedantam to Mrs. Nambiar and two ½ yearly subscription receipts in the names of Hutchinson and Mrs. Nambiar. do
- 34 A cutting entitled "A word to Comrade Hutchinson and a typed contribution entitled An open Letter to Mr. Lester Hutchinson, signed by K. Rajagopala dated 17/5/29. do
- 35 Printed page - The Causes of Anglo-American Differences. do
- 36 One red covered note book with entries re. N. Spark, etc. do
- 37 One red covered register containing account entries. Found on the same book stands. do
- 38 Young Liberator No. 8 dated April 1929. do
- 39 The Youth Movement in the Bombay Presidency. do
- 40 Four packets containing copies of New Spark, addressed to Y.G. Hilekar, Satya Murthi, B. Raja Rao and Chandura Venkata Raddi. do
- 41 Six bundles of the New Spark Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 & 6. do
- 42 One bundle of yellow coloured printed placard of the New Spark. do

This punchnama was drawn up in our presence and read over to us and we hereby put our signature to confirm its contents.

(1) Sd/- S. S. Estatewala.

(2) Sd/- Bhagwanji Dulabhji.

Before me.

Sd/- A.K. Chaudhari.

3058 . 91

Dy. Inspector of Police, ...

C.I.D.

15/6/29.

Sd/- S. S. Estatewala.

Sd/- Bhagwanji D. ...

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...

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P. 1591.

A few pages from the Indian Daily Mail of May 3, 1929. On page the following three photographs are published:-

- (1) May Day Celebrations in Bombay, Chowpali Mass Meeting.
- (2) Another view of the meeting, one of the leaders addressing huge gathering.
- (3) Mill strike Leaders confer with the general Member.

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P. 1592

An issue of New spark of June 2, 1929.

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P. 1593.

Search of Miss Chattopadhyaya's rooms at No. 5, Napier Road.

Bombay 15th June 1929.

### Panchnama. III.

We the following members of the Punch:—

- (1) Mohamed Hussain A. Karim, 22 years, Service in Gillet and General Stores, 307, Hornby Road,
- (2) Manchand Raichand Shah, 20 years, Service Vasani Stores, 305 Hornby Road, were called by A. K. Chaudhari of the Bombay C. I. D. to remain present with him at the time of the search of the 2nd floor of No. 5, Napier Road, where the lady Principal of the New High School for girls resides on the 15th June 1929. The search was conducted by the Police under the authority of search warrant, dated to 11th day of June 1929 under Section 96 C. P. C. issued by the Additional D. M. Meerut.

The following articles only were taken charge by the Police:—

S. No.	Name and description of article.	Place where found.
1.	Two copies of the Young Liberator, No. 10 for June 1929, with a photograph of B. T. Randive and S. V. Deshpande.	Found in the drawer of writing table.
2.	Three copies of the New Spark-one copy of No. 2 and two copies of No. 6.	do.
3.	Two copies of Wage Labour and capital, by Kari Marx.	Found in the cane box in the verandh.
4.	One copy of Young Liberator, No. 9, for May 1929.	do.
5.	One copy of the International Press Correspondence, No. 22, Vol. 9, dated 10th May 1929.	do.

S. No.	Name and description of article.	Place where found.
6.	The New Spark 2 copies of No. 1 One bundle of No. 2. 14 copies of No. 3. 1 copy of No. 4. 2 copies of No. 5. 3 copies of No. 6.	Found in the cane box in the verandah.
7.	One copy of Teachers' International No. 5-6 for March-April 1928.	Found in a trunk lying in the verandah.
8.	One copy of Teachers' International No. 2 for November 1927.	do.

This punchnama was drawn up in our presence and was read over to us and we hereby put our signatures to confirm its contents.

1. Sd/- Mohamed Husain A. Karim.

2. Sd/- M. R. Shah.

Sd/- A. K. Chaudhari.

Dy. Inspector of  
Police.

C. I. D.

15/6/1929.

P. 1594.

An issue of the International Press Correspondence dated 10th  
May 1929.

P. 1595.

Three issues of the Teachers' International, for the month of March-April 1928 (together) & November 1927.

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

1928

P. 1596

Bombay 12th Sept. 1928.

List of documents taken charge of by the police from the customs authorities. These were found in the box belonging to M. A. Hakim, saloon boy on the S. S. "Nevasa" and bunk, which were searched on the arrival of the steamer 12-9-28.

*Found in the box.*

- (1) One closed cover addressed to Muzaffar Ahmad Esqr., 2/1 European Asylum Lane Calcutta.
- (2) Two membership cards of the Indian Seamen Union London, one without number bearing the name of N. J. Upadhaya and the other bearing No. 1136 belonging to Abdul Hakim.
- (3) One diary with black leather cover.
- (4) One note book.
- (5) Fourteen covers addressed to M. A. Hakim or Sh. Abdül Hakim or Abdul Hakim.
- (6) One closed cover addressed to Sk. Nuruzzaman 11/1 Ikbalpor Rd.—Kidarpore, Calcutta.
- (7) One empty cover bearing the address of Abdül Hamid Barber H. M. J. Neuralia.
- (8) One cover addressed to Sh. Abdul Hussian.
- (9) do do Sh. Ababyen Abdul Hamid Barber.
- (10) do do Abdul Rouff, Miah.
- (11) do do Abdul Agazi.
- (12) do do Abdul Rehman.
- (13) do do Noorudin Ahmad.
- (14) empty Jalap.
- (15) do do Address in Bengali 5/7-
- (15) do do Hasane.
- (16) do do Minoo.
- (17) do do Southern Daily Echo.
- (18) do do Sh. Musa.
- (19) do do Sh. Sowar Mia.



SECRET

(20) do do Ethruth Husain.

(21) do do Sh. Mugar.

(22) One note bearing M. A. Hakim.

(23) A number of letters etc. in Bengali and Urdu.

**Found in the Bunk.**

(24) Two empty covers ad. to Sona Mukhi.

One do Abdul Manavar Chauhary.

(25) One do Hosaini.

(26) One do Manick.

(27) One do Abdur Roaf Mia

(28) One closed cover addressed to Farriya and Butler  
16 Bright St. Calcutta.

(29) One cover do Bachoo.

(30) Six cover M. A. Hakim.

(31) One cover closed Vekerie Saloon Topoy.

(32) do do Sh. Abdul Razak.

(33) do do Sayed Ali

(34) A number of cards and loose letters and papers in Bengali  
and English and Urdu

Sd. A. K. CH.

Sd. M. N. DEŚAI, 12-9-28.

Insp. B. B. 12-9-28.

12-9-28.

The closed covers were subsequently opened and contents  
scrutinised.

Sd. A. K. CH.

12-9-

(31)

P. 1597.

Berlin, Den 22, Mai 1928.

S. V. Ghaté B. A.

751 Girgaon Road.

Bombay 4 (India).

Durch Postanweisung übersende ich den Betrag Von 20—  
Pfund Ich bitte nach Eingang um Empfangsbes-tätigung.

Mit Gruss

Sd. Max Ziese,

Berlin Sw. 48.

Wilhelmstr 131/32.

21 8051 9

P. 1597. E.

Envelope for the above having the following superscrip-  
tion:—

An

S. V. Ghaté B. A.

751 Girgaon Road.

Bombay 4.

British Indien.

Place of posting: Berlin

Date of posting: 23-5-28.

2051 9

P. 1598.

Berlin, Den 19-6-1928.

Ghaté B. A.

751 Girgaon Road

Bombay 4.

Durch Postanweisung übersende ich den Betrag von 20

Pfund. Ich bitte nach Eingang dieses Betrages um Empfangs  
bestätigung an untenstehende Adresse.

ARCTIC

Mit Gruss

Max Ziese, Berlin Sw 48

Wilhelmstrasse Nr. 131/32

Sd. Max Ziese.

P. 1598 E.

An envelope for the above having the following superscription on it:—

An

S. V. Ghatе B. A. 8071 91

751 Girgaon Road

Bombay 4.

British—Indien

Date of posting: 23-5-28.

Place of posting: Berlin.

P. 1599.

Berlin, 19th June 1928.

Ghate B. A.

8071 91

751 Girgaon Road

Bombay 4, Indien.

Dear Friend,

I was ordered to send telegram as follows: "Three months

money for textile workers paper wire receipts Tagore's  
However I found it very critical to wire this wording and  
therefore I send it by letter.

About the amount I have written you separate and I am  
awaiting your receipt.

With greetings

Sd. Max Ziese.

P. 1599 E.

An envelope for the above with the following subscription:—

Ghate B. A.

Postal seal of,

751, Girgaon Road

BERLIN?

Bombay 4.

19-6-28.

Indien.

P. 1600.

Berlin, 30th June 1928.

Ghate B. A. 751 Girgaon Road.

Bombay 4.

India.

Dear Comrade,

According to my sooner later I beg to inform you that I  
beg to inform you that I have sent by money order to your address.

the further amount of 20 pounds. Till now unfortunately I did not get an acknowledgement from you. I hope you will fulfil my wish in order I can inform my friend who ordered me to send the money.

With Greetings

Sd. Max Zeise.

Three months money for Textile workers paper. Wire receipt. Tagore.

P. 1600 E.

Envelope with the following superscription on it:

Mr.

Ghate B. A.

751 Girgaon Road

Bombay 4.

Indien.

Date of posting: 1-7-28.

P. 1601 E.

Letter dated 28th June 1928 from C. P. Dutt, London Secretary, Workers' Welfare League, 162 Buckingham place Rd., London S. W. I. to S. V. Ghate, c/o Dr. Narayan Rao, Girgaon Road, Bombay.

(Vide Exh. P. 1348 (34)).

9 8001 9  
P. 1602.

Workers' and Peasants' Party.

17 Dwarka Das Mansions

Sandhurst Road

Bombay 4

20th August 1928.

Dear Comrade

The Executive committee at its meeting yesterday, has adopted the names of the following member to contest the ensuing Municipal elections in the city of Bombay, on behalf of the Party

R. S. Nimbkar	} To stand from	G. Ward.
S. S. Mirajkar		
S. H. Jhabwala	...	F Ward.
J. B. Patel	...	E Ward.
Lalji Pande	...	D Ward
K. N. Joglekar	...	C Word

It is the duty of every party member to assist these comrades in getting themselves elected.

Sd. S. V. Ghatе.

Secretary

Superscription on the envelope :—

S. A. Dange.

Wadekar Bldgs.

9 8001 9  
P. 1602  
Bombay 4.

**P. 1603 P.**

**League Against Imperialism,**

**And for National Independence.**

**International Secretariat.**

**24 Friedrichstrasse Berlin S. W. 48.**

**Berlin, September 5th 1928.**

**The workers' & Peasants' Party of**

**Bombay.**

**Dear Comrade Ghaté,**

We have not yet received any communication from you regarding the affiliation of your party to our League which was to be discussed at the meeting of your—Executive Committee, we are anxious to have an official statement as early as possible and should be much obliged if you could see to it that the matter receives immediate attention.

with sincere regards,

Yours fraternally,

Sd. V. Chattopadhyaya.

League against Imperialism.

International Secretariat.

Berlin S. W. 48. Friedrichstr.

**P. 1603 P E.**

**Envelope with the following Superscription:—**

**Workers & Peasants Party**

**Mr S. V. Ghaté, Secretary.**

**Dwarkadas Mansions**

**Bombay 4.**

**In lien.**

P. 1604.

1928, No. 7

September 5th.

PRESS SERVICE

League Against Imperialism

International Secretariat

Cable address:

24, Friedricestrasse

Telephone:

Ankolina Berlin

BERLIN, S. W. 48

Donhoff 6061

*Executive Committee Meeting of the League Against Imperialism*

An important Session of the Executive Committee of the International League Against Imperialism was held in Berlin on August 18th and 19th, 1928. The following members of the Executive Committee were present: James Maxton, M. P., President of the Independent Labour Party of Great Britain and Chairman of the League; S. Saklatvala, M. P. ( England ); R. Bridgeman, Secretary of the British Section; Mohamed Hatta, President of the "Perhimpoenan Indonesia"; the two Secretaries of the League: W. Munzenberg, M. P. ( Germany ) and V. Chattopadhyaya ( India ), and Liau Han-sin ( China ).

The general report of the International Secretariat for the three months, May June and July, was given by W. Munzenberg, who described the progress that the League had made in various countries, while V. Chattopadhyaya gave a short account of the work of the League in India as well as of the new *Anti-Imperialist Review*, the Press Service and other publications of the League. The report on the British Section was given by R. Bridgeman and Van Munster, the Dutch Secretary, reported on the work of the League in Holland.

Among those who had been invited to attend the meeting of Executive were Georg Ledebour, Chairman of the Socialist Union, and Professor Theodor Lessing, who are both members of the General Council of the League; General Teng Yen—ta, a prominent member of the party of Mrs. Sun Yat—Sen; and Mrs. Camille Drevent, of the Women's International League for peace and Freedom, representing the French Section of the League Against Imperialism.

General Teng Yen-ta, speaking on behalf of Mrs. Sun Yat-Sen, gave a general survey of China's struggle for liberation. There were two delegates who had specially arrived from China; one, Yu Fe, brought fraternal greetings from the All-China Labour Federation while the other, Chow Kai, spoke of the Kounintang White Terror regime now prevailing there.



Mrs. Drevet, who had just returned from a voyage in Indo-China, gave a heart-rending picture of the condition of the Indo-Chinese under French imperialist exploitation. Mohamed Hatta gave a brief report of the present condition of Indonesia under Dutch rule.

Maulana Mohamed Ali, the well-known Muslim leader of India, had also been invited to attend the meeting and had accepted the invitation; but on his arrival in Frankfort on the Main, he suddenly fell ill and was unable to continue his journey to Berlin.

Mrs. Duchene, president of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and member of the Executive Committee of the League Against Imperialism, sent a telegram regretting her inability to attend the Meeting and wishing it all success.

Mr. Isidro Fabela, well-known anti-imperialist writer of Latin-America and former Minister of Foreign Affairs in Mexico, wired the following message: "Pray do me the honour of counting me as one of yours. I consider it my duty to express my old conviction and my profound agreement with your committee which has met to protest against the attacks of Imperialist governments and groups of the whole world."

Mustapha Chedly, member of the presidium of the "Destour" Party and of the Executive Committee of the League Against Imperialism has been condemned to three months' imprisonment and a fine of Frs. 1,000 for having written an article against the barbaric bombardment of Damascus which appeared in "Le Liberal", of Tunis at the end of 1925. He sent fraternal greetings from Tunis just before his imprisonment, declaring that he was proud "to be able to contribute his part towards the achievement of liberty for all peoples."

The Executive Committee of the League Against Imperialism sent the following telegram to the World Youth Peace Congress which was recently held in Eerde, Holland:

"Executive Committee, League Against Imperialism sends cordial greetings World Youth Peace Congress, appreciates earnest efforts being made to discuss ways and means of bringing about world peace draws attention of worlds youth to fact that no peace is possible until Imperialism has been annihilated and colonial and half colonial countries completely liberated. This can only be attained by united front of subject nations with working class of imperialist countries. Executive Committee hopes that World Congress will recognise urgent necessity establishing anti imperialist youth league and thus give active support International League Against Imperialism. (Signed: ) James Maxton president Edo Fimmen Vicepresident Murzenberg Chattopadhyaya Secretaries."

The Executive Committee Meeting adopted three resolutions, viz.: Resolution on India; Resolution on the Situation in China; and Resolution on the Attitude of the Congresses of the IIrd. and IIIrd. Internationals towards the colonial problem and the League Against Imperialism.

One of the most important decisions arrived at by the Executive Committee was to hold the next *World Congress of the League Against Imperialism in Paris in July 1929.*

The International Secretariat has been empowered to make all the necessary preparations for the Congress and to invite every anti-imperialist organisation in the colonial as well as in the imperialist countries whether affiliated, associated or sympathising with the League, to send delegates. All communications regarding the coming Anti-Imperialist World Congress are to be addressed either to the International Secretariat of the League Against Imperialism, 24, Friedrichstrasse, Berlin, or to the specially authorized organising Committee in each country.

The Executive Committee of the League has resolved to continue the publication of "The Anti-Imperialist Review" as its quarterly organ and to issue its press service regularly both in the principal European as well as in the most important Oriental Languages.

## LEAGUE AGAINST IMPERIALISM

### Executive Committee Meeting

Berlin, August 18th, 19th.

The following resolutions were passed at the Meeting of the Executive Committee of the League Against Imperialism held in Berlin on August 18th and 19th, 1928.

### RESOLUTION ON INDIA

The Executive Committee of the League Against Imperialism reaffirms its determination to support the policy of complete national independence for India.

It condemns the resolution on the colonial question recently adopted by the IIIrd Congress of the labour and Socialist International at Brussels which divides the subject races into three categories & while stipulating complete independence for China, Iraq, Syria & Egypt, denies a similar right to India, despite the fact, that the Indian people through the National Congress has definitely demanded complete national independence.

The Executive Committee of the League Against Imperialism holds that the progress and development of the workers and peasants of India is impossible under foreign domination and further that

British control of India is an insuperable obstacle to general disarmament and a standing menace to peace, while the economic exploitation of the Indian workers is the root-cause of unemployment and of the lowering of standards in Great Britain and other capitalistic countries.

It therefore draws the attention of Indian political leaders to the fact that unless they are prepared to betray the freedom of the people of India and to undermine the foundation of world socialism, any compromise with British Imperialism is not only a gross betrayal of the rights of the people of India to freedom but also perpetuates a principal cause of international war and destroys the hopes of world peace.

#### RESOLUTION ON THE SITUATION IN CHINA.

The Executive Committee of the League Against Imperialism at its meeting in Berlin in August 1928 declares that the Resolutions adopted at its meeting, in Cologne August 1927 and at the meeting of the General Council of the League in December 1927 in Brussels in which the Kuomintang was represented to be the tools of the Imperialists, as the betrayer of the Chinese Revolution, as the murderers of Workers and Peasants, were perfectly correct. The Kuomintang has advanced further along the path of betrayal. The Commanders of the troops of occupation and the administrative officials of the English robbers are officially recognised as the closest friends of the Kuomintang. The War of the Japanese against the population of Tsinan which was taking part in the struggle for freedom, and the occupation of Shantung are welcome measures to the Kuomintang by means of which it gains the right of coming forward in North China as the political compradore of the Imperialists. On account of the increasing differences between the Imperialist Powers and the rivalry of the Kuomintang generals towards each other, the imperialist war danger in the Pacific Ocean with a view to a partition of China has greatly increased. During the past 18 months 310,000 persons have been the victims of the Kuomintang terror and of the Imperialists carried on against the Workers and Peasant.

There is still another development which must be noted with reference to the Chinese question. The Second International not only veils the murder by the Kuomintang of the Workers and Peasants, but it conferred with the leaders of the Kuomintang at its world Congress in Brussels.

The opponents of the Chinese emancipation movement therefore today constitute a trinity consisting of the Imperialists, the Kuomintang and the Second International.

The present situation in China is characterised by the rule of the Feudalists in the Hoang-ho district and in the province of Chekiang and by the rule of the commercial bourgeoisie in the Yangtse valley. The position of the working masses of China is more intolerable than it ever was before. Boycotts, strikes and rising in the country and in the towns follow one after the other.

The sacred duties of the League Against Imperialism in the struggle against the imperialists and for the support of the Chinese Revolution are as follows:—

- (1) To strengthen the struggle against the imperialist policy of intervention in China, and especially to demand the immediate withdrawal of the troops of occupation and of the warships from China.
- (2) To expose the policy of the Second International as being a help to the Imperialists and the counter revolutionary Kuomintang, for the purpose of creating an united front of the international proletariat for the support of the Chinese Revolution.
- (3) To strengthen the struggle against the terrible storm of Imperialist Terror China, and to collect for the fighting-fund for the Chinese Workers and Peasants.
- (4) To prevent loans and delivery of arms to the counter-revolutionary Kuomintang generals.

Resolution on the Attitude of the  
Congresses of the II<sup>nd</sup> and III<sup>rd</sup>  
Internationals towards the Colonial  
Problem and the League Against Imperialism.

The International Executive Committee of the League Against Imperialism has noticed with the indignation the attacks which have been made on the League by several speakers—and especially by Friedrich Adler—at the Congress of the II<sup>nd</sup> International in Brussels. The purpose of speeches was to discredit the League Against Imperialism and it represents a fresh attempt to receive the legend that the League is a section of the Communist International.

The Executive of the League Against Imperialism recalls the fact that when the General Council of the League met in November 1927 in Brussels it then protested against these foolish statements. The Executive Committee declares once more that the League Against Imperialism is not a section of the Comintern, nor is it a section of the Communist Party, but that it is a non-party organisation for which all men and women—regardless of their political and social outlook—can join on the condition that they acknowledge the principles of the League. It makes no difference whether they are Communists, Socialists, Anarchists or Pacifists. The great, common

idea which unites all members and friends of the League, is the common determination to support and further an earnest and really revolutionary struggle of the oppressed peoples against their imperialist oppressors.

The Congress of the II<sup>nd</sup>. International has made the emancipation movement of the oppressed peoples more difficult, not only by its attacks on the League Against Imperialism but also by its whole ideological and political attitude towards the Colonial question. The attacks made at the Brussels Congress of the II<sup>nd</sup>. International upon the League were directed not only against the League but especially against the struggle of the oppressed peoples for their freedom.

The Executive of the League protests against the decisions of the II<sup>nd</sup>. International in Brussels on the Colonial question, it condemns them as being unsocialist and describes them as a service to imperialism which is most harmfully expressed in the arbitrary and shameful division of the oppressed peoples into three categories of culture.

Inconformity with the principles laid down by the First Brussels Congress, the Executive of the League Against Imperialism demands and fights for the complete independence of all oppressed peoples and declares that the cultural backwardness of some nations has been caused by the policy of oppression pursued by the imperialists which has even led to the complete annihilation and extermination of certain communities and races.

The Executive Committee regrets that the Left Wing Opposition which was in evidence at the Brussels Congress of the II<sup>nd</sup>. International did not take resolute action against the disgraceful decisions on the Colonial question at the Brussels Congress of the II<sup>nd</sup>. International which might have led to a refusal of the left wing delegates to accept the decisions; and further that even on the Indian question all attempts to fight for the complete independence of India were renounced.

Without taking up any attitude towards the different theses and decisions of the II<sup>nd</sup>. International on the Colonial question, the Executive Committee declares that the decisions and resolutions on the Colonial question at the Congress of the III<sup>rd</sup>. International correspond entirely to the aims and principles of the League Against Imperialism and are calculated to give effective support in the struggle for freedom of all oppressed peoples and nations.

The Executive Committee of the League also takes notes of the discussion at the Congress of the III<sup>rd</sup>. International on the subject of the League Against Imperialism. The Congress of the III<sup>rd</sup>. International is right in stating that the League is not one of its sections, neither is it a Communist organisation. If, in spite of

this, the Communist International has charged all its sections to support the League Against Imperialism. the Executive Committee of the League which is sitting today recognizes in this action the earnest desire of the Communist International to support the revolutionary struggle of the oppressed peoples. The Executive Committee of the League places before the broad masses of the workers of all countries, and especially in the colonial and semi-colonial countries the attitude of the Third International in contrast with the attitude of the Congress of the Second International.

The Executive Committee of the League appeals to all sections of the League, to all its members and friends to carry on with all strength and energy the battle which was begun at the Brussels Congress for the support by the League of the colonial emancipation struggles.

The Executive Committee of the League is convinced that in spite of the sabotage of the Second International the League will receive in this historical struggle not only the support of all Communist workers, but also the help of all members of the Proletariat, of all manual and intellectual workers with really revolutionary ideas, as well as of national revolutionary groups and organisations, to whom the colonial emancipation struggle means more than the party struggle of individual parties and groups.

P 1605.

Letter dated 4-6-27 from S. A. Dange, to K. N. Joglekar,  
168 Fanaswadi, Bombay.

My dear Keshava,

Poona, work took place very nicely as was expected. Thengdi was there. He inquired of you. I told him, you could not come because of the Paper-day being near.

I am proceeding to Nasik. You will let me know if anything comes from Sambamurti. I mean to wire to him from Nasik also. If nothing is heard from him, will you arrange for my north trip? You know going North is very important. Please let me know your idea and possibility of the same, will you please?

(Sd.) S. A. DANGE.

P. 1606. ✓

Letter dated nil from C.P. Dutt, The Labour Monthly, London,  
to S.A. Dange, Wadekar Building, Bombay. *14/3/28*  
Censored at Bombay on 23-3-28.

Dear Dange,

Many thanks indeed for the proof copies of the resolutions of the Cawnpore Session of the A.I.T.U.C. which I had asked for. I shall be glad to use them for the Labour Monthly.

There is a terrible preponderance among the resolutions of entreaties and requests from the Government and very little of action by the T.U.C. Out of sixty odd resolutions, the bulk seem to be "to urge the Government" or the employers to do something or other and I note only two that refer to definite action by the Indian T.U. Movement, viz. the setting up of the "Labour Constitution" Committee and of the Council of Action. It would be very good if you could send us any news as to whether this latter body is functioning or not. I have not seen any news either whether the other Committee has yet met; if you could send any reports for publication or information over here, they would be very welcome.

I was sorry to notice that no resolution was passed about the Workers' Welfare League of India, and have been inclined to suspect some malicious activity somewhere. The League has been doing some useful work over here, it has played an important part in directing in India and it would be a great pity if its status was undermined because of jealousy or dislike by some trade union officials here. I hope that the Executive Council of the A.I.T.U.C. will rectify the omission about the League as soon as it meets.

The National Research and Publicity Institute seems to be an interesting concern, though on very commercial lines, and I hope it will prosper. It seems, however, to be rather far removed from the prospectus of the Labour Research Department that was earlier published in the Bombay Chronicle. I notice that you have asked Dr. Vakil to arrange for a news letter for the Institute. I can't say at the moment whether this will be possible, though I will try to get something done about it, but I can help by getting labour papers and journals sent to the Institute if that will be of any value to you. Please let me know if there are any particular things which you would like me to try and arrange for and I will do my best. I will arrange what I can, anyway, without hearing from you. If also you prepare reports on labour conditions and so on in India, it would be very valuable if you could supply copies to the L. R. D. or the Workers' Welfare League (at 162A Buckingham Palace Road, S.W. 1).

I note your suggestion about a series of articles on the Reserve Bank and the financial policy of British Imperialism and think that it might be possible to do something about it almost immediately, for publication in India. There is a Comrade here who has made a special study of this subject and I will consult him about it.

Wishing you every success,

Yours fraternally,

Sd/ C.P. DUTT.

~~(XXXX)~~

P. 1607. *cm* ✓

Letter dated nil from C. P. Dutt, Workers' Welfare League of India, 18 Featherstone Building, High Holborn, London, W.C.I. to S. A. Dange, National Research and Publicity Institute, Girgaum, Bombay 4.

W/ Censored on 6-4-28.

Dear Comrade,

Many thanks for your letter of February 29 regarding the Executive Council Meeting. I have arranged for a copy to be sent to the R.I.L.U. Congress as I think it is very important that they should know what took place.

The whole business, both as regards affiliation to Amsterdam and the cutting off the Workers' Welfare League, savours very unpleasantly of intrigue since they are both subjects which should only properly be decided on by the full Congress and they were not raised in November at Cawnpore which was the proper opportunity to do so. You will have received copies of a letter from Comrade Saklatwalla on this subject.

I wish to thank you very much for the material sent from the N.R.P.I. If you send me an account I will forward a remittance for the books. I hope you will do everything you can to send any other material available as it is very useful ever here. I read the book by Usmani with very great interest and have arranged for a review in the "Sunday Worker".

We shall be glad to let you use the above address of our office as the address of the London Office of the N.R.P.I. and I will do my best to secure subscriptions and to send other material to you. You should however send me more particulars of what



the Institute supplies to its subscribers, not the things that can be specially obtained, but what ordinary subscriber can expect to receive for paying you 26 yearly subscription.

Yours fraternally;  
Sd/- C. P. Dutt.

P. 1608.

Letter dated 14th. July 1928 from Sohan Singh c/o "Kirti", Amritsar, Gen. Sec. Workers' and Peasants' Party, Punjab, to S. A. Dange, Wadekar Building, Girgum, Bombay. It runs as follows:—

Dear Comrade Dange,

We are going to hold a Conference, of the Workers and Peasants of the Punjab at Lyallpur on the 28th., 29th. & 30th. September along with the Provincial Political Conference. We hope that you will not refuse, if we pass this in our Commite. We will let you know officially when we properly elect you.

Should I hope that you will contribute an article for August number of the "Kirti."

Hoping to listen from you very soon.

Yours fraternally

Sd/- Sohan Singh.

P. 1609

W. Thelwell

August 2, 1928.

✓ Dear Comrade Dange,

I am enclosing herewith a Bank Draft for Twenty Pounds(20) this being a collection made at Tashkhent, U.S.S.R., to be devoted

specifically to CLASS WAR PRISONERS, dependents, etc.,  
(The message mentions "the Calcutta Amritsar victims.")

I am forwarding this money on to you so that you can use at  
your discretion.

I would suggest though if there is an organisation for Red  
Aid for helping Class War Prisoners, similar to the International  
Class War Prisoners Aid Organisation in Britain, that that would  
be the best organisation to use the money. Failing such organi-  
sation then the Workers' and Peasants' Party should assume  
charge and distribute in the most advantageous way, publicity being  
essential. I am therefore leaving it to your discretion.

Please advise the Press of India and also forward  
acknowledgement to:— (with appropriate message)

Bob Lovell,

I.C.W.P.A.

10 Fetter Lane,

LONDON. W.C.

With Fraternal Greetings.

R. 1609 A.

**WESTMINSTER BANK LIMITED.**

21 Lombard street.

**LONDON E.C.3.**

No. M44—11783. Twenty seventh July 1928. Rs. 266/10.

Pay against this cheque from our balance to S. A. Dange,  
Two hundred and Sixty Six Rupees Ten Annas for and on behalf  
of WESTMINSTER BANK LIMITED.

Sd/- Illegible.

Sd/- Illegible.

To

Honkong & Shanghai

Banking Corporation.

**B O M B A Y.**

**P. 1609 E.**

An envelope bearing the following superscription:—

<b>R</b>	LONDON S.W. 13
	No. 113.

Postal seal of,  
Ebury St. 1541.  
S.W.1.  
2 Aug. 28

Mr. S. A Dange

Ass. Secretary All India T.U.C.

Servants of India Society Buildings.

Sandhurst Rd.

Girgaon.

Bombay.

INDIA.

**P. 1610.**

**League Against Imperialism And for National Independence  
International Secretariat**

24 Friedrichstrasse, Berlin S. W. 48

*Berlin, September 18th 1928.*

My dear Dange,

I have learned from a mutual friend who recently saw you that our letters do not reach you at all. I am therefore sending this letter to Mr. Joshi's address and I hope that you will at least receive it this time.

It is necessary for you to be in constant correspondence with us and send us your literature including even the handbills of the Party. We also need contributions from you for our press-services as well as for our quarterly "Anti-Imperialist Review" of which a copy is being sent to you also c/o Mr. Joshi.

We received sometime ago an invitation from the General Secretary of the TUC to send a fraternal delegate to the next

Congress in Jharia. We are doing our very best to find a suitable trade-unionist who can present the League point of view before the Congress, and at the same time save himself from deportation under the new law which is likely to come into force before the end of November. We are now depending upon you and other comrades to take care this time of the affiliation of the TUC to the League Against Imperialism. Last year it seems to have been due chiefly to Purcell and Hallsworth and to Chaman Lal's vacillation, that the question of affiliation was put off. I have now spoken with Chaman Lal and obtained his promise (which I hope he will keep) to support the affiliation. We recognise the difficulties at home but if you wish to prevent the Amsterdam people from obtaining control of our Labour movement it seems to us absolutely necessary that the T.U.C. should become an affiliated member of the League, since in the present phase of the movement and under the difficulties created by the Government it is not easy for the T.U.C. to affiliate to the R.I.L.U. I may inform you that we are on the point of obtaining the affiliation of very important unions in Europe and the next meeting of the Executive Committee which will take place in the beginning of December will be devoted almost exclusively to the question of the participation of the Trade Union Movement in the Anti-Imperialist struggle. Delegates are expected from Great Britain, France, Finland, Norway, Sweden, Czecho-Slovakia Mexico and Russia and it would be excellent if a suitable delegate could be sent by you to represent even unofficially the Indian Trade Unions. It will probably be very difficult for you to spare any one on account of your own Congress, but if it is in any way possible for you to do so, please make every attempt to let your delegate sail from Bombay not later than the 15th of November.

Our mutual friend must have told you about my idea of establishing an illustrated paper for the workers as an organ of the W. and P. Party. I do not know how far you have accepted the idea but I should like to hear what suggestions you have to realise the project.

I should be glad to hear from you often. Our mutual friend will be able to tell you where you can write to me.

With heartiest greetings to all our comrades, Nimbkar, Ghate, Mirajkar etc.

We remain  
Yours very fraternally  
League against Imperialism  
International Secretariat  
Berlin S.W. 48 Friedrichstr.  
Sd/- V. Chattopadhyaya

P. 1610 P E.

An envelope bearing the following Superscription:—

Mr. N. M. Joshi.

C/o Servants of India Society.

Sandhurst Road

Girgaon  
Bombay.

R Berlin  
215 f

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P. 1610 A

LEAGUE AGAINST IMPERIALISM  
AND FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE.

INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT

24 Friedrichstrasse Berlin SW 48.

Berlin, September, 1928.

To all

National Sections of the

League Against Imperialism

Organisations Collectively

Affiliated with the League

Against Imperialism

Committees, Members and Friends of  
the League Against Imperialism

Dear Comrades,

The Executive Committee of the League Against Imperialism unanimously resolved at its Session held in Brussels on April 28th to convene the next World Congress of the League in the coming year.

At its Session held in Berlin on August 18th and 19th the Executive Committee confirmed the abovementioned decision and resolved definitely to begin immediate preparations for holding

the Second World Congress, of the  
League Against Imperialism in  
P a r i s, July 1929

The Agenda of the Congress will be fixed at the next Meeting  
of the Executive Committee which will take place the 1st and 2nd  
December next.

It is intended that the proposed International Congress shall  
be an imposing demonstration of the organised anti-imperialist  
forces of the world.

The following organisations are invited to participate in the  
Congress:—

With Decisive Vote:

(1) All National Sections of the League Against Imperia-  
lism, Viz:

League Against Imperialism, ( British Section ).

Ligue contre l' Oppression Coloniale et l'  
Imperialisme, ( France ).

Liga Tegen Imperialisme en Koloniale Overheer-  
sching, ( Holland ).

Liga gegen koloniale Unterdrückung und Imperial-  
ismus, ( Germany ).

All-America Anti-imperialist League ( U. S. A. )

Liga Anti-Imperialista de Las Americas, ( Latin  
America ).

Sections: Argentine  
Colombia  
Cuba  
Ecuador  
Honduras  
Mexico  
Peru  
Porto Rico  
San Salvador  
Santo Domingo  
Uruguay

2.) All organisations that are collectively affiliated or  
associated with the International League Against  
Imperialism as e. g.

The Indian National Congress

Perhimpoenan Indonesia

Persian Socialist Party

Etoile Nord-Africaine

Confederacion Obrera Nacional Dominicana  
( San Domingo )

Workers' International Relief

The Educational Workers' International

International Women's League for Peace and  
Freedom.

War Victim's International

International Anti-Militarist Bureau etc

With Consultative Vote:

3.) All organisations ( trades unions, labour associations  
cultural and sport organisations etc. ) that are  
collectively affiliated to National Sections of the  
League Against Imperialism.

4.) All organisations that sympathise with the League  
Against Imperialism and are prepared to cooperate  
on the basis of the principles laid down at the First  
Congress held in Brussels in February 1927.  
It is intended to invite also important persons  
( men of letters, scientists, artists, etc. ) in their  
individual capacity.

The Executive Committee of the League Against Imperialism  
hereby authorises the following organisations and comrades to  
proceed immediately to the establishment of Central Organising  
Committees in their respective countries:

(a) *In Europe.*

The International Secretariat of the League in con-  
junction with the National Sections of the League  
( Great Britain, France, Holland and Germany ) or with  
special Committees, ( Belgium, Portugal, Austria, the  
Scandinavian countries etc. )

(b) *In the U. S. A.*

The U.S.A. Branch of the League Against Imperialism  
under the direction of Roger Baldwin, Member of the  
Executive Committee of the International League  
Against Imperialism, 100 Fifth Avenue, New York.

(c) *In Latin-America.*

The Central Committee of the Liga Anti-Imperialista  
de Las Americas with headquarters in Mexico under  
the direction of Diego Rivera, Member of the Executive  
Committee of the International League Against Imperial-  
ism. ( Address of the Secretary: Frederico Bach,  
Apartado 613 Mexico D. F. )

(d) *In North Africa*

Chedly ben Mustapha, of the "Destour Party" Member of the Executive Committee of the International League Against Imperialism, Boulevard du Cardinal Lavignerie, La Marsa.

(e) *In Persia*

Aga Suleiman Mirza, Member of the Majlis, Teheran.

(f) *In India, Burma and Ceylon:*

The General Secretary of the Indian National Congress Jawahar Lal Nehru, Member of the Executive Committee of the International League Against Imperialism, Anand Bhawan, Allahabad.

(g) *In Indonesia.*

The President of the Perhimpunan Indonesia, Mohamed Hatta, Member of the Executive Committee of the International League Against Imperialism, 18, Charlotte de Bourbonplein, Den Haag.

(h) In South and East Africa, for the Arabian countries, (Egypt, Hedjas, Syria and Irak) and for the Far East special organising committees of the Congress will shortly be nominated.

We request all those comrades who have been charged with the establishment of Congress Committees to lose no time in organising Central Committees and Sub-Committees (if possible in each individual town) in their respective countries. These Committees should be called "Organising Committee of the Second Anti-Imperialist World Congress, Paris, 1929".

These Committees will have the following functions:—

- (1.) To popularise the idea of the World Congress among the broad masses of the workers and peasants.
- (2.) To send out invitations in the name of the Executive Committee of the League to all affiliated, associated and sympathising organisations in their respective countries as well as all organisations (trades unions, institutions etc.) that are engaged in the struggle against imperialism.
- (3.) To collect funds for financing the delegates to the World Congress by issuing collection lists etc.
- (4.) To collect statistical, documentary and other material and to prepare memoranda on the problems to be



discussed at the World Congress.

- (5.) To maintain regular weekly correspondence with the International Secretariat in Berlin and to keep the latter informed about the progress that is being made in the preparations for sending delegations to the World Congress.

We request all comrades to acknowledge without delay the receipt of this letter and to inform the International Secretariat in Berlin what steps have been taken to establish the Congress Organising Committees.

With fraternal greetings,

For the Executive Committee of the League Against Imperialism.

James Maxton, President

Edo Fimmen, Vice-President

Willi Munzenberg)

V. Chattopadhyaya) Secretaries.

P. 1611. P.

Telegraphic address: "GANAVANI" Calcutta.

**The First All-India**

**Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference**

**2-1, EUROPEAN ASYLUM LANE, CALCUTTA.**

Nov. 5, 1928

Ref. No.

My dear Dange,

I have not heard from you for a long time. The time of the Conference is drawing nigh and I do not know what you will do. While at Bombay we made underestimate of the expenses of the Conference. Now, we have found that nothing can be done with a sum which will be less than Rs. 2,000. This sum we are to collect. Of course major portion of it will be collected in Bengal. But we

shall require help from other Provinces also. Please do begin to collect some money there at Bombay. I have sent to-day a receipt book to Ghate. If you take up the matter seriously you will certainly be able to collect a considerable sum.

As regards the resolutions and theses we have thought out the following subjects:—

- (1) Manifesto to the Workers' and Peasants' of India.
- (2) Thesis on the Functions of the Workers' and Peasants' Party (Comprehensive.)
- (4) On Relations with the Congress and the Independence League.
- (5) T. U. Movement.
- (6) Peasants.
- (7) On candidates for councils, Municipalities etc.
- (8) Affiliation
- (9) Nehru Report (?)

Please let me know what is the idea of you all about these resolutions and theses.

Please reply at once.

Your fraternally

Muzaffar Ahmad.

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P. 1611. P E.

An envelope having the following superscription:--

S. A. Dange

"Wadekar Buildings"

Girgaon

Bombay No. 4.

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## P. 1612 P.

Letter dated March 1, 1929, from Muzaffar Ahmed of the Workers' and Peasants' Party of India, to Comrade S. A. Dange, General Secretary, Girni Kamgar Union, Bombay.

(Vide Exh. P. 955).

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## P. 1612 P E

An envelope with the following superscription on it:—

Mr S. A. Dange.

General Secretary, Girni Kamgar Union.

Kondaji Building, Parel.

Bombay.

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## P. 1613.

Letter dated 16-1-28 from Muzaffar Ahmed of the Peasants' and Workers' Party of Bengal, Calcutta, to S. A. Dange, Wadekar Building, Girgaon, Bombay.

My dear Dange,

I have arranged with a friend Basak for the publication of your book "Hell Found." He has just started a branch of his father's library in Calcutta. This library will entirely be managed by himself. So please send the manuscript of the book to me at once. Please see if a type written copy can be sent. After type-written you must correct the copy.

The executive of one Party is going to meet tomorrow to decide about the Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference. Please let me know how far you have proceeded with your thesis.

We have just formed here a scavenger's Union. It seems that the Union will become a strong one. One glass workers' Union also has been formed. I am sending herewith a copy of the Hindi appeal issued by us to the scavengers.

With fraternal greetings to you and to comrade Ushabai.

Your,

(Sd.) MUZAFFAR AHMED.

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P. 1614.

Letter dated 11-2-28 from Mzuaffar Ahmed C/o Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal, Calcutta, to S. A. Dange, Wadekar Building, Girgaum, Bombay.

My dear Dange,

Herewith I send the letter of the Secretary of the newly formed "Scavengers' Union of Bengal", addressed to the Secretary of the Council of Action, A. I. T. U. C. Please request Comrade Jhabwalla to do his best for the grant of this money! I shall see that the members here may not raise any objection to the grant of this demand.

As to Kharagpur meeting I find that the invitation has been extended to all quarters excepting ours. I cannot understand how we can go there uninvited.

With greetings,

Yours fraternally,

(Sd.) MUZAFFAR AHMED.

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Copy of the enclosure:—

The Scavengers' Union of  
Bengal Central Office,  
2-1 European Asylum Lane,  
Calcutta, 12th Feb. 1928.

To,

The Secretary, Council of Action;

All-India Trade Union Congress, Bombay.

Dear Comrade,

We organised in January last the above named Union and are working for the present amongst the scavengers employed by the Calcutta Corporation, Calcutta Port Trust, Tollygunj Municipality and Howrah Municipality. They are many thousands in number and most oppressed and down trodden of all the workers. The lot of scavengers here is worse than Bombay. Here they are getting only Rs. 12 Rs. 14 a month. A few cartmen are only given housing accommodation while the majority of the rank and file are to hire houses for themselves, their wages being scanty and the bribery system being prevalent all through, the scavengers are compelled one and all to borrow money on interest of 12 1/2% a month. To make such depressed and over-exploited section of worker class-conscious a continued educational propaganda is necessary and this alone can organise them on a firm basis. Those who are organised by now under the banner of this Union have got little capacity to pay any subscription.

Under the circumstances we badly require the financial aid from the Council of Action for organising the scavengers and fervently hope that at least a sum of Rs. 300 will be granted to the Union for the purpose as early as possible. So far we can understand the Bengal members of the Council of Action will not grudge the small grant for the work of the poor scavengers.

With greetings.

Yours fraternally,

(Sd.) DHARANI KANTA GOSWAMI.

Secretary.

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P. 1615.

Letter dated 2-3-28 from Muzaffar Ahmed of the Peasants' and Workers' Party of Bengal, Calcutta, to S. A. Dange, Wadekar Building, Girgaum, Bombay.

My dear Dange,

Your letter written from Delhi reached me in time. The registered cover containing your manuscript and letter was delivered to me after detaining it for 3 or 4 days. I have already sent the cover to the Post master General. Let us see what he does in the matter. Please do write the preface and other portion as early as you can and send the same to me. The Press wants to finish the whole thing in a week. The leaflets on Usmani's book were delivered to me quite in time. But the registered cover containing the typed papers of the Party has never reached me. I wrote to the postal authority to enquire into the matter. But they have asked me to supply them with the number of registration and the name of the office of issue. Please do let me know these particulars at once. Please do send also a complaint to the Postal authority yourself.

At yesterday's meeting of the Executive Committee it has been decided to hold the Annual General Meeting of the Party on the 17th and the 18th instant at Bhatpura, a factory town 22 miles of from Calcutta. So the draft resolutions are required at once. Please do send the copies of them immediately under an insured cover. Please do wire to me saying that you have sent the papers. Can you come to Calcutta during those days? Please try your best to come.

We are faring pretty well with the organisation works. One more branch of the Scavenger's Union of Bengal has been formed at Dacca. A Branch of our Party is just going to be formed in the interior of the Mymensingh District. The Peasants of hundreds of villages of that particular part of the District are going to be deprived of their homesteads by the conspiracies of the landholders with the Govt. So the occasion is quite a nice one.

We expected some help from the Council of Action. Please let me know what has become of it. Why Jhabwalla is unable to do anything?

Please reply at once with greetings to all.

Yours,

Sd. MUZAFFAR AHMED.

P. 1616.

Letter dated 3-8-28 from Muzaffar Ahmed of the Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal, Calcutta to S. V. Ghatge of the Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bombay.

My dear Ghatge,

I am sorry I could not write to you so long. To speak the truth, I had scarcely any time to do so. Your telegram was duly received by us and I hope mine also reached you in time. Comrade Spratt did not like to go to Madras because he is not member of any Ry. Union. It is needless to go there without any credentials. We received a copy of the resolution passed by the Bombay executive regarding the workers Welfare League of India. But I am afraid that the action taken by the Bombay Party was too late. We however passed a resolution to this effect in our last annual Conference. I expect your reply regarding the Provincial Committee Meeting every moment. Please let us make haste. On hearing from you we shall arrange to send you money. The Punjab people also expressed their willingness to attend. So I must inform them timely. Everything depends upon you. We have already neglected too much this important matter of the Party. I sent to you yesterday 50 copies of "Call to Action" per registered post from the Entally Post office Calcutta 25 copies of them are for distribution and others for sale. I shall send you more along with comrade Dange's book which is out today only. Please give free copies of "Call to Action" to Comrades Shah, Mirajkar, Nimbkar, Joglekar, Parvate, Bradley and others. Please push the sale as much as you can. Regarding the scavengers' strike it was difficult to come to a settlement with 80 or 90 Councillors. There is no board or committee with a delegate power to settle the labour dispute. The representatives of different parties met us in a conference and the settlement was arrived. Citizens also were pressing us very much. Com. Spratt gets fever every now and then. He did not care of his health for a long time. Halim and myself also faring very badly with our Health.

With greetings

Yours fraternally,

Sd/. MUZAFFAR AHMED.

P. 1617

Letter dated 7th August 1928 from Muzaffar Ahmed of the Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal Calcutta, to S. A. Dange, Wadekar Building, Girgaum, Bombay 4.  
Dear Comrade,

Your letter is to hand, I shall send you tomorrow per railway parcel the copies of "Hell Found" along with a few more copies of "A Call to Action" Fifty copies of "A Call to Action" have already been sent to comrade Ghate per registered Post.

We have decided to fix the Provisional Committee Meeting on the 22nd instant. I hope, that will suit you and Com Ghate. After finishing the business here you will be able to attend the "All Parties Conference" Lucknow on your way back to Bombay. The Punjab comrades also are willing to attend the meeting. So please inform me and your willingness at once so that I may ask the Punjab friends to come.

We (Spratt, Goswami, Roy and myself) are going out to Dacca and Mymensingh on Saturday next. We return to Calcutta in a week's time. We too have been invited to the Lyallpur Conference. We shall talk over it when we meet.

Com. Bradley's letter was sent to Calcutta through mistake Please inform him.

Yours fraternally,

Sd/- Muzaffar Ahmed.

P. S.

Please sign the enclosed form and return to the Press by post.

Sd/- M. A.

Rejected.

P. 1618

Letter dated January 22, 1929 from Muzaffar Ahmed, of the Workers' and Peasants' Party of India, Calcutta, to S. V. Ghate, 17 Dwarkadas Mansions, Sandhewrst Road, Bombay.

(Vide Exh. P. 1346)



P. 1618 P. E.

An envelope with the following address on it:-

Mr. S. V. Ghatge B. A.

17 Dwarkadas Mansions,

Sandhurst Road

Bombay no 4.

P. 1619 P.

Dear Comrade,

You must have read from the papers the account of the Conference here. You will be glad to learn that a permanent organisation has been formed in U. P. and I am supposed to be its Secy.

There is held a big fair at Gurbunkteshwar for 17-24 Nov and a gathering of abt. 2 lac peasants besides the classes. We intend to hold a special Conference there for propaganda work, popular lectures and a training camp for active workers. Could you afford to come? Or any tried worker from Bombay to talk on, besides party ideas, on the ways and methods..... of organisation—strategy. We are sure if any of you should come at any cost so much spade work should be done—I am absolutely sure.

To popularize party ideals we are publishing a no. of pamphlets in Eng, Urdu and Hindi. We hope to send you the copies of each pamphlet during the mela. Comrades, Spratt and Muzaffar suggested us to ask you to write the pamphlet on Bardoli. No bourgeois formalities. We are sure you will do it or if you are too busy you will ask the best theoretician in the party there to do it. *Language* English—we would translate it into Hindustani, absolutely popular expressions such as many express to the daily experience of the workers and peasants and easily grasped by them. 20-30 pages of the Home University library size.

It must reach me at Allahabad by the 5th Nov. I will translate it to get it printed for the mela Plan. Please do not even mention the name of Gandhiji, only refer to Satyagraha and nonviolence. Lay stress on the victory of mass action and not of non-violence. Do not refer to persons at all, only ideas (for tactical reasons). Of

course you will write it after careful study and give reference to authorities in copious foot notes. I am coming to the Jhansi conference. Won't I see you there? I hope at least Com. Joglekar and Jhabwala are coming there. I will talk to them all the things.

Could you send me one copy each of the Bombay Party publications and pamphlets and constitution. Having read them I will send orders for the bookshop at the mela and for hawking in U. P. Please write to me *immediately* what you think of all this.

Yours fraternally,

Sd/-P. C. Joshi.

34 Holland Hall.

Com S. A. Dange.

P. 1619 PE.

Superscription on the envelope:—

S. A. Dange

17 Dwarkadas Mansions.

Sandhurst Road.

BOMBAY No. 4.

P. 1620 P.

34 Holland Hall

Allahabad.

6th Nov. 1928.

Dear Comrade,

You must have read in the papers of the Meerut and Jhansi Conference and the formation of the U. P. and Delhi Workers'

and Peasants' Party. To popularise our resolutions we are getting a set of tracts out. Organisational work is almost impossible unless preceded by scientific propaganda. We urgently want a

pamphlet on the Workers' and Peasants' Swaraj, the True Swaraj. Comrade Spratt suggested your name and asked me to write to you and see if I could move you out of your inactivity as he smilingly called it. May I hope Comrade that you would do it for the Party

It should be 32-48 P. P. of the Bengal Party's "A Call to Action" size. We should publish it in English and also get it translated into Hindi and Urdu. It should be a highly popular exposition. If we may suggest the plan, the emptiness of the ideal of political democracy, alone, and how Swaraj should mean democracy all round—please illustrate it with the experience of the Labour of Europe. In the end please refer to the method in which it could be established.

We have already started a weekly party-organ from Jhansi-Krantikari, 16 P. P. in Hindi. Since it is not proper to give a place to opportunists we are very short of contributions- and surely the party paper should not be trash. May we hope you would send us regular contributions-popular expositions of the ideas and strategy Address. Krishna Sobal, The Krantikari, Jhansi.

Hoping to hear from you soon as to the time when you will be able to send me the pamphlet done.

With greetings

Yours fraternally,

Sd/- P. C. Joshi.

---

P. 1620 PE.

Address on the Envelope:—

C. G. Shah

Workers' and Peasants' Party, Bombay

17 Dwarkadas Mansions

Sanhurst Road

Bombay no. 4.

P. 1621 P.

34 HOLLAND HALL

ALLAHABAD,

4 Nov. 28.

Dear Comrade,

I regret I could not hear from you in answer to my last letter from Meerut. May be, you are too busy these days. Have you been able to write the pamphlet on Bardoli? You will please send it on to me here as soon as possible.

You will be glad to learn that a 16 P. P. Hindi Weekly "Krantikari" will be published from Jhansi. It will be our official organ the first number being out in a day or two. We are very short of contributors. Could you please send them a review of the history of the Bombay Party as also of its actual work, that will do propoganda work and stimulate fraternal feelings. Could you also manage to send them a fortnightly letter reviewing the political and labour events of the Presidency or ask Comrade Mirajkar to do it. On our behalf you will please ask the Comrades there to contribute to the "Krantikari" regularly. Krishna Gopal, Editor, Krtikari Jhansi.

If possible could you send him a list of friends likely to be subscribers there. With greetings.

Fraternally,

Sd/- P.C. JOSHI.

Gen. Secy. W.&P. Party, U.P.

P. S:—They would themselves get the articles translated but they should be highly popular exposition of ideas and strategy.

Superscription on the Post card:—

S. A Dange

Worker's and Peasants' Party

17 Dwarkadas Mansions

Sandhurst Road Bombay No. 4.

P. 1622.

Letter dated 6-7-27 from D.R. Thengdi, Poona, to S.S. Mirajkar.

Khandke chawl No. 2 Dadar, Bombay 14.

My dear Mirajkar,

How is it that I did not hear from you in reply to last card about engaging the room of Rs. 15/- p.m. Did you engage it?

Herewith I enclose one MS on Unemployment. You can translate the unscratched portion into Marathi and insert it in your paper.

I am likely to come to Bombay before the 15th. Geneva Labour Delegates are returning home and they (should be) given a good reception by the Labour of Bombay. Will you make the necessary arrangements?

With salams to friends.

I am your fraternally,

Sd/- D.R. THENGDI.

P. 1623.

Rejected.

Letter dated 21-12-27 from D.R. Thengdi, Engineer, Labour and employment office, Poona, to K. N. Joglekar, 168, Fanaswadi Bombay, No. 2.

(Vide Exb. P. 1128.)

P. 1624.

Letter dated 2-4-28 from shaukat Usmani, C/o The Oriental Information and Publicity Bureau, Sadar Tram Terminus, Delhi.  
My dear Dange,

Just to-day I have written a letter to Ghate. You will in due time learn its contents.

You will do me a tremendous good if you kindly promptly send me a copy of the Russian Revolution by R. Page Arnot (in a registered cover). There is such a copy in the Party Office. You will kindly also supply me with the information asked for in Ghate's letter.

Respects to Madam,

Yours fraternally,  
Sd. Shaukat Usmani.

P. S.

See that you do not trouble me to remind you again.

Sd. S. Usmani.

P. 1625.

Letter dated 29-4-28 from Shaukat Usmani, Director, The Oriental Information and Publicity Bureau, Delhi, to S. A. Danges, Wadekar Building, Girgaon, Bombay.

Dear Dange,

Seeing that I cannot pull in this inert state, I have made up my mind to take to organising Madras Labour in cooperation with Comrade Singaravelu. I will also assist him in his labour Union Gazette as well as shall take advantage of his literary that is one big attractions.

While going to Madras I intend to go via Calcutta so that I may see Muzaffar. But before I proceed I will have to find the means to do so. At present I have got nothing. I have spent my last pie by coming over to Allahabad to get J. L. Nehru's preface written.

B. C. to all. Success to strikers.

Let me hope your early reply.

Yours.

Sd/- S. Usmani.

B. regards to Madan.

*Most Urgent.*

I require and require very badly facts and figures of strikes in Bombay Presidency and near abouts in this year. Do please mention the causes of their occurrence. Dange! I need them as badly as a man needs food. Do please send them within a week. The delay will do me unimaginable harm. And moreover all this will do you immense good if your report reaches me in due time. These are historical requests Dange!

Yours,

Sd. Shaikat Usmani.

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**P. 1626.**

Letter dated 22nd July 1928 from M. A. Majid, Lahore. Punjab. To S. A. Dange Vadekar Building, Girgaum, Bombay 4. Dear Com. Dange.

Since long I have not heard anything from you and am quite unable to know the cause of this long silence. We are going to hold the Conference of the workers' and Peasants' Party in September 1928 and have suggested your name as a President. So I request you to kindly please us by approving the same.

Moreover it is quite evident to you that we are short of funds and except that all the expenditure in connection with this shall be born by you. We are also inviting Com. Mirajkar, Nimbkar, Bradley, Mrs. Dange, Ghate, Muzaffar and P. Spratt. Kindly send your presidential address in Urdu immediately and enable us to get it printed.

Yours

Sd/- M. A. Majid,

P. 1627 P.

THE FIRST ALL-INDIA

**Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference**

2-1 European Asylum Lane, CALCUTTA.

The 21st October 1928.

The Secretary,

WORKERS' & PEASANTS' PARTY OF BOMBAY

Dwarkadas Mansions, BOMBAY 4.

Dear Comrade,

Herewith I am sending the announcement of the Conference which you will be pleased to publish in the English and Vernacular newspapers of Bombay. It has already been published in all Calcutta papers.

With greetings,

Yours fraternally,

Sd/- D. K. Goswami.

Secretary, Reception Committee.

THE FIRST ALL-INDIA

**Peasants' and Workers' Party Conference**

It has been decided to hold in Calcutta on 21st, 22nd and 23rd December next the "First All-India Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference." The object of holding the Conference is to co-ordinate different workers' and Peasants' Party, specially (1) Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal, (2) Workers' & Peasants' Party of Bombay, (3) Workers' and Peasants' Party of the Punjab and the newly formed (4) Workers' and Peasants' Party of U. P. & Delhi into a Workers' and Peasants' Party of India. All workers', peasants', Political and youth organisations are invited to send representations to watch the proceedings. A Reception Committee has, under the auspices of the Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal, been formed with Mr. Pullin Behari Dinda, Bar-at-law, Chairman, and Mr. Dharani Kanta Goswami, Secretary. The office of the Committee is at 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta. A statement on the policy and programme of the Party is available at the office of the Reception Committee at 4 As.



Superscription on the envelope :-

**Printed matter only.**

*The Secretary,*

**Workers' & Peasants' Party of Bombay**

Dwarkadas Mansions

Sandhurst Road

**BOMBAY No. 4.**

P. 1628 P.

Bengal Trades Union Federation. (Provincial Committee of the All India Trade Union Congress).

Office: 34 Bhawanipur Str.

Calcutta the 3-1-1929

Dear Dange,

Bakhale must have by this time given you an account of what took place at the E. C. meeting at Jharia. We missed you very much, believe me, and were surprised to find that the party for which, we all know, you did so much giving preference to Joglekar over you in the selection of the Asst. Secretary to the A. I. T. U. C. At Cawnpore I found you to be the hot favourite and Joglekar not very seriously taken. What can have happened in the meantime excepting the fact that Joglekar is hand in glove with Bradley that he would become the hot favourite at Jharia? However that is not our lookout. As soon as we found out from the statement made by Bakhale that you did not expressly renounce the idea of standing as candidate for the Asst. Secretaryship as we were led at first to believe from what Joglekar said we all voted solidly for you. Your party, if you permit me to be frank, does not consist of so many members having any adequate intellectual equipment that it can afford lightly to throw over one who is perhaps the most intellectual among them, specially during his absence.

Sometime back I addressed twenty five letters to Labour leaders all over India including yourself, Bradley and Jhabwala c/o Mr. N. M. Joshi at the T. U. C. Office at sandhurst Road, Girgaon.

I was suprised to learn that none of these letters reached its destination excepting the one addressed to Rai Saheb Chandrika Prasad. From the fact that I received no reply from you I conclude that you did not receive the letter. The letter was about Bouria strike of which a short account was given and contained a request for a message expressing your sympathy, support and goodwill.

At the E. C. meeting I made a statement about the situation at Bouria. Jamshedpur Labour Union, G. I. P. Union and Girgini Mahamandal (the Textile Union with which you, Joglekar and Bradley are connected) amongst others promised on the spot to pay a contribution of Rs. 100/- each to the Bouria Relief Fund. I met Bradley to-day and reminded him of his promise made at the E. C. meeting and he requested me to write to you in his name and further to ask you to refer the matter to Joglekar who would be able to confirm Bradley's promise on behalf of the Union. Bradley might, as he told me, start for Bombay tomorrow but as I am hard pressed for money I am forced to write to you to-day particularly because I have reasons to believe that Bradley's departure might be delayed by one or two days as we are trying to keep him at Calcutta till day after tomorrow when the Federation meets. Pundit Jawahar Lal Nehru the President, A. I. T. U. C. I trust you would kindly do the needful as soon as you receive this letter, and send the remittance to me as provincial Secretary and President, Bouria Jute Workers' Union at 1 Kantapukur Lane, Bagbazar, Calcutta which being my home address you may also direct here letters addressed to me. Bradley is going to Bouria to-day and Pundit Jawahar Lal tomorrow. The situation is rather bad and the need for money is as great as urgent. Kindly be very prompt in remitting the amount and oblige.

Yours truly,

Sd/- Kishorilal Ghosh.

Superscription on the envelope:—

Bengal Trades Union Federation.

Sj. S. A. Dange.

Wadekar Building.

BOMBAY 4.

P. 1629. P.

GUDRI BAZAR,

Jhansi, 17th Sept. 1928.

L. N. KADAM,

Municipal Commissioner,

Secretary G. I. P. Railwaymen's

Union, Workers' & Peasants'

Party and District Congress Committee.

My dear Mr. Jhabwala,

You might have read in the News papers that the U. P. Provincial Political Conference is going to be held on the 19th, 20th, and 21st October 1928. It has also been decided that a session of the Bundelkhand Peasants and Workers Conference be organised side by side.

I feel the great pleasure to intimate you that we are unanimously in favour of your being elected as President of the latter Conference. I earnestly request you to accept the proposal and bestow the occasion with your gracious presence.

I shall feel highly obliged if you would kindly favour me with the names and addresses of all the Comrades to whom the invitation be issued.

An early reply is solicited.

Your sincerely,

Sd. L. N. KADAM, SECRETARY,

Reception Committee,

Workers' & Peasants' Conference.

P. 1629 PE

An envelope with the following superscription on it.

S. H. JHABWALA Esqr.,

General Secretary,

G. I. P. Railwaymen's Union,

Kondaji Building Parel,

Bombay.

P. 1630 P.

Reception Committee

The Bundelkhand Peasants' and Workers' Conference.

Jhansi 25-9-1928.

My dear Mr. Jhabawala,

I have the pleasure to inform you that you have been un-  
animously, elected as president of the Bundelkhand Peasants' and  
Workers Conference, to be held on 28th and 29th October 28.

The Reception Committee earnestly requests you to accept the  
proposal and bestow the occasion with your gracious presence.

I shall also feel highly obliged if you would kindly favour  
me with your Presidential address as early as possible so that it  
may be translated and published in Vernacular. Moreover I beg  
to inform you that it has also been decided to present you a  
welcome address at that time by the Municipal corporation. Copy  
of the address will be sent you in time.

An early reply is requested.

Yours sincerely

Sd. L. N. Kadam Secretary

Reception Committee.

P. 1630 P.E.

P. 1630 P.E.

An envelope with the following Superscription on it:--  
Reception Committee.

22nd U. P. Political Conference, Jhansi

To

S. H. Jhabwala Esqr.

Kendaji Building,

Poibawdi

Parel

Bombay.

P. 1631 P.  
Reception Committee.

The Bundelkhand Peasants' and Workers' Conference.  
Jhansi, 17-X-28.

S. S. Mirajkar Esq.

Bombay.  
Dear Comrade,  
The Bundelkhand Peasants' and Workers' Conference will be held here on 28th and 29th October 1928 under the presidentship of Comrade S. H. Jhabwala along with the U. P. Provincial Political Conference to be held under the presidentship of P. Jawahar Lal Nehru. The Reception Committee therefore requests you to kindly grace the occasion with your presence.

Yours faithfully,  
Sd. L. N. Kadam.

P. 1631 P E.

Superscription on the envelope;—

Bundelkhand Workers' and Peasants' Conference  
Jhansi.

S. S. Mirajkar

Khandke Building

Dadar

Bombay.

P 1632.

1932

An issue of the Eastern and Colonial Bulletin (issued by the Red International of Labour Unions) dated 1st May 1928.

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P. 1632 E.

Y A S M O S

Cover with the following Superscription :—

**DRUCKSACHE.**

Dear Sir,  
I have the pleasure to inform you that the enclosed copy of the Eastern and Colonial Bulletin for May 1928 is now ready for distribution. It contains a special issue on the subject of the Indian labour movement.

Postal seal of  
Berlin S. W.

23-4-28

S. H. Jhabwalla,

Secretary of the Central Labour Board,  
Shetye Building, Poibavadi.

Parel

Bombay

Indien

Inde  
Max Ziese  
Berlin S. W. 48  
Wilhelmstr.  
131/132 V.III.

P. 1633.

Ligue Internationale Contre l'Imperialisme

et pour l'Independence Nationale

BERLIN SW 48, FRIEDRICHSTRASSE 24.

BERLIN, May 16th. 1928.

S. H. Jhabvala

Central Labour Board

Shetye Building

Poibawadi, Parel

BOMBAY.

My dear Comrade Jhabvala.

We are very much obliged to you for your letter of April 19th. and especially for the announcement that three more unions have declared their affiliation to the LEAGUE AGAINST IMPERIALISM. We follow your activities in the Labour movement with very deep interest and have no hesitation in expressing the appreciation of the International Secretariat for your work on behalf of the League and in the movement of freedom generally.

You are aware that Jawaharlal Nehru, a Member of the Executive Committee of the League and represents the interests of the League in the nationalist movement. The ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE has recently made a first contribution of £50, - towards the expenses of the International Secretariat, and the interest which is taken in the League movement is growing. We should feel very much obliged to you if you would always send to Jawaharlal Nehru a copy of every letter you write to us, so that he may keep in touch with you and your work in Bombay.

The "Workers' and Peasants' Party" of Bengal at its last Conference held in Calcutta on April 1st. passed a resolution in favour of the League and expressed the opinion that a propaganda center should be established in India. We take the view that the International Office must first obtain the affiliation of as many Indian nationalist and Labour organisations as possible, in order that these may all be federated later on into a strong section of the anti-Imperialist League in India. We are writing to the various Workers' and Peasants' Parties and other organisations, asking them to affiliate to the International League and we hope that you will continue your efforts to obtain the affiliation of as many trade-unions as possible.

It is also necessary that strong propaganda should be made among the members of the Executive Committee of the Trade-Union Congress so that the affiliation of the T. U. C. to the League can no longer be hindered by the intrigues English and Indian reformist leaders. Unless the influence of these gentlemen be destroyed in the early stages of the Indian Labour Movement, they will succeed in using that movement for the service of the Imperialist Government.

We enclose herewith 5 copies of the Press Service No. 6 containing a brief report on the Meeting of the Executive Committee held in Brussels at the end of April as well as the resolutions passed at that meeting. Copies of the Press Service are being sent to all the important Indian papers, but in any case it would be good if you could see to it that it is reproduced in as many papers in Bombay as possible.

You will see from the report that Gibarti has retired from his post as Secretary.

We sent you by the last post 5 copies of the pamphlet containing the Resolutions of the General Council. We are forwarding to-day under separate cover another 5 copies and we request you to give 1 copy each to Comrades Dange, Mirajkar, Nimbkar, Ginvala and Thengdi.

Please let us know if you need more copies of the pamphlet for distribution among trade-unionists or members of the Workers' and Peasants' Party. The Resolutions are of importance because they contain a summary of both the Political and organisational principles on which the League is built.

With our renewed thanks to you for the excellent work you have been doing.

We remain, Dear Comrade,

Yours fraternally,

**LEAGUE AGAINST IMPERIALISM**

International Secretariat

Berlin SW 48 Friedrichstr. 24

(Sd.) V. Chattopadhyaya.

JOINT SECRETARY.



**P. 1633 E,**

A cover having the following superscription on it:—

Postal Seal of

Berlin SW.

16-5-28.

S. H. Jhabvala, B. A.

Central Labour Board

Shetye Building

Poibawadi, Parel

Bombay.

Indien.

**P. 1634.**

**NOTICE**

Editors are requested to give the widest publicity to the Resolutions of the General Council of the League Against Imperialism contained in the present pamphlet, and, if possible, to reproduce them in full in their journals.

The International Secretariat would be thankful, if Editors would place the League on their mailing list, as full use is made by the League of the information contained in the Press of the Colonial as well as of the Imperialist countries, to carry on the campaign against imperialism.

**League Against Imperialism**

**(International Secretariat)**

BERLIN SW 48.

24 Friedrichstra Be

**LEAGUE AGAINST IMPERIALISM**  
**AND FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE**  
**RESOLUTIONS**  
**PASSED AT THE SESSION**

**OF THE**  
**GENERAL COUNCIL**

**HELD IN**  
**BRUSSELS**

**ON THE**  
**9th, 10th and 11th December, 1927**

Issued by the  
**League Against Imperialism (International Secretariat)**  
**24, Friedrichstrasse**

**Berlin SW 48**

**POLITICAL RESOLUTION**

1. Since the Brussels Congress of the League, imperialist policy in the colonies has become increasingly aggressive. In a number of oppressed countries the movement for national freedom has suffered defeats in the face of formidable imperialist attacks. French imperialism has crushed the revolts in Morocco and Syria. The American army and navy have helped reaction to gain supremacy over the democratic forces in Nicaragua, reducing it to the status of a veritable colony. In all the other Latin American countries, United States imperialism supports reactionary Governments against the will of the democratic masses. The insurrections in Java and Sumatra have been defeated by brutal measures of repression. Dutch imperialism has introduced a veritable reign of terror in Indonesia. Even the Chinese revolution has met a set-back, mainly owing to the concentrated efforts of all the Imperialist Powers. Finally, British imperialism has thrown down a most insolent challenge to the Indian nationalist movement by refusing the Indian people the most elementary rights of self-determination.

In this situation the task of the league is to intensify its activities with the object of mobilising, in a world-wide resistance to the imperialist offensive, all the revolutionary forces fighting for freedom and democracy in the oppressed colonial countries. The heroic efforts of the oppressed peoples to free themselves can be

frustrated by imperialism if they are not united and are not fully and effectively supported by the toiling masses in the imperialist countries. The gigantic upheaval of the Chinese people, which has dealt a severe blow to the power and prestige of imperialism in the Far East, enlisted the sympathy of the toiling masses in the imperialist countries, but this sympathy could not find a sufficiently effective expression in action to prevent imperialist intervention in China.

2 The reformist and social democratic leaders of the labour movement in the imperialist countries are largely responsible for the insufficient action of the proletariat in the imperialist countries to assist effectively the struggle for national freedom in the colonies. These leaders not only sabotage the action of the proletariat in support of revolutionary movements in the colonies, they actually endorse the imperialist policy of colonial exploitation. They fully believe in the imperialist doctrines of the "white man's burden", "civilising mission" etc. The official policy of the Socialist International and of the International Federation of Trade Unions (Amsterdam) as regards imperialist intervention in China, for example, was to make a hypocritical protest while agreeing with the imperialist government on the necessity of taking measures "to protect foreign lives and property in China."

The General Council of the League, which has on it a number of representatives of the revolutionary sections of the political and industrial labour movement in the imperialist countries, is of the opinion that the official policy of the Socialist and Amsterdam Internationals as regards imperialism does not correspond with the interests of the proletarian masses in the imperialist countries. There was a time when a small part of the superprofit derived from colonial exploitation could be devoted to create imperialist prejudice among the home proletariat. The situation has radically changed. From this period of capitalist decline the superprofit derived from colonial exploitation must be increased by intensified exploitation and is badly needed for the stabilisation of capitalism at home. Thus colonial exploitation is an indispensable method of capitalist rationalisation having an adverse influence upon the economic conditions of the home proletariat. By exploiting more intensively the cheap colonial labour through industrialisation, imperialism seeks to lower the standard of living of the home proletariat.

In these conditions the interests of the proletariat in the imperialist countries demand an end of colonial exploitation. And colonial exploitation cannot cease to have an adverse effect upon the economic conditions of the home proletariat, unless the oppressed peoples become completely free. The league, therefore, must explain the situation to the toiling masses in order to mobilise them in a real struggle against imperialism in conjunction with the oppressed peoples. It must be explained to the masses that the

social democratic theory of helping the backward races to advance gradually on the road to self-determination is a direct aid to imperialism and therefore detrimental to the interests of the home proletariat.

3. Since its formation, the League has done considerable work of agitation and propaganda. The call of the League has found a response in the colonial countries. A certain amount of sympathy for the League has also been aroused in the imperialist countries. To give definite organisational shape to these preliminary achievements is the task of the League in the immediate future. The League must penetrate proletarian mass organisations in the imperialist countries. In the colonial countries it must base itself upon all the social classes that are prepared to carry on a real struggle against imperialism for national freedom. While endeavouring to mobilise all available forces in a joint struggle against imperialism, the differentiation inside the nationalist movement in the colonies should be noted. As the movement for freedom inevitably develops revolutionary social aspects (liquidation of feudalism and other forms of native reaction), the upper strata of the colonial population leave the movement and tend to a compromise with imperialism. This process of class differentiation greatly helps imperialism in its fight against the Chinese revolution. As the national revolution developed, the feudal bourgeois elements left the nationalist ranks and allied themselves with imperialism against the revolution. Finally, the Kuo Min Tang as a whole betrayed the national revolution. A similar process is to be expected in other colonial countries also. In India the land-owning class and the big bourgeoisie are willing to compromise with the British imperialists in return for some concessions on the part of the latter. These elements weaken the nationalist movement by creating the illusion that national freedom is possible inside the British Empire. While supporting and organising every form of resistance to imperialist domination, the League must base itself primarily on those classes that must conduct a revolutionary struggle for complete national freedom, namely the workers, peasants and the democratic petty bourgeois masses.

4. As regards the right of exploiting the so-called backward races, all the imperialist powers are united, but the rivalry of particular interests creates conflicts between imperialist governments. This conflict can be often utilised to promote the cause of freedom of this or that colonial people. But the League is of the opinion that this tactical policy should under no circumstances be adopted at the sacrifice of the struggle against imperialism as such. The League should also support the semi-colonial states, for example, of Central and south America (Mexico, Nicaragua etc.) in their resistance to the aggression of the great Imperialist Powers.

5. Finally, the General Council of the League, is of the opinion that the set-backs suffered by the movement for freedom in a number of colonial countries do not provide reason for pessimism. On the contrary, they impose upon the League the great responsibility of organising active support for those peoples who are bearing the brunt of imperialist attack and terror. For example, the debacle of the Kuo Min Tang has left the workers and peasant masses alone in the struggle for national liberation. They are faced with a formidable counter-revolutionary united front of the imperialists, militarists, native feudal reaction and the renegade bourgeoisie. The Chinese people need international support more urgently than ever. The League must undertake to organise this support for the Chinese revolution.

The General Council resolves to create a powerful organisation of the League embracing militant mass organisations in the imperialist and colonial countries to face the offensive of imperialism.

## II

### RESOLUTION ON THE WAR DANGER

The General Council of the League against Imperialism, and for National Independence records its appreciation of the great gesture for peace made by the Soviet Delegation at the Disarmament Conference at Geneva, in its proposals for total disarmament by land, sea and air. The Council considers this proposal the more significant, because it is in striking contrast with the public announcement made a few days later by President Coolidge on behalf of American imperialism, — as it were in reply to the Soviet Republic's proposal for complete disarmament, — that the piling up of armaments by the U.S.A. would continue under the guise of safeguarding "national security". Similar statements were also made by British ministers.

Nor are these mere empty boasts. In America and Britain first and foremost, but in every other capitalist country also, the burden of expenditure on armaments grows greater every year, and the productive forces of society are diverted more and more from constructive to destructive ends. Year after year sees the invention and mass production of more and more hideous and costly means of destruction — tanks, big guns, air bombs, poison gas etc. Simultaneously the moral and ideological preparations for war are being intensified, by propaganda through the schools, the press, the film, military displays etc, to cast a false halo around militarism, navalism and imperialism.

The Lithuanian-Polish crisis, the constant friction between Fascist Italy and her neighbours, above all, the constant provocation offered to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics by hostile acts (which in other circumstances would inevitably entail war (the attacks on Soviet consulates and officials in particular) demonstrate how powerful are the forces making for war and how ever-present is its danger. But these and similar incidents are only the pretext, not

the cause of war, just as the monstrous growth of armaments is only a visible proof of the peril, not an explanation of its cause.

The war peril is growing once more because the robber imperialist powers are once more finding themselves locked in conflict throughout the world, first of all over the re-distribution of the right to oppress the colonial peoples and subject races, to monopolise colonial markets and sources of raw materials, to sweat super-profits out of cheap colonial labour. The struggle between British and American imperialism over the right to export China, Central and South America and the peoples of Eastern Europe; the struggle between French and Italian imperialism over the economic control of the Mediterranean shores and between French and British imperialism over the right to exploit Syria, Palestine, Arabia and the Near East generally — these are typical of the fatal internal antagonisms of imperialism which show themselves, now here, now there, but always and everywhere bring the peril a step closer.

Even those antagonisms, however, are temporarily reconciled whenever the imperialist world as a whole finds itself face to face with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the first great challenge to world imperialism. The U.S.S.R. does not depend for its existence on the subjection and exploitation of colonial peoples, since the power of the imperialist bourgeoisie who formerly ruled Tsarist Russia has been utterly destroyed. Consequently the U.S.S.R. is the only power which could come to Geneva with a genuine and practical scheme for disarmament. On the other hand, the very existence of the U.S.S.R. is a standing encouragement to the oppressed colonial peoples and therefore an object of perpetual and increasing hostility to the imperialists of all countries. Military, diplomatic and moral preparations for war on the U.S.S.R. have been pushed ahead by British imperialism in particular, ever since its present Conservative Government came to office, and the rupture of diplomatic relations in May, 1927, was an important step forward towards this object.

The bloody intervention of British imperialism in China during 1927 and the heavy temporary defeat it has inflicted upon the Chinese revolution both directly and through its agents, the Northern and the Kuo Min Tang militarists, are a further measure of the fact that war today is inseparable from imperialism. The revolt of the 400 millions of the Chinese people, in which the exploited masses — the working class and the peasantry — were playing an increasingly active part, was encouraging similar movements for national liberation in all oppressed countries. And for this very reason British imperialism, supported more or less actively by Japanese, French and American imperialism, was determined not only to destroy it by force of arms, but to launch an attack, if

necessary, upon the Soviet Union also, as the ally, guide and champion of revolutionary China.

The League against Imperialism and for National Independence calls upon the toilers and the exploited of the whole world to realise that, so long as imperialism lasts, so long will new bloody catastrophes menace the peace of the world and the lives of millions. So long as a few robber cliques of financiers can continue to appropriate and monopolise the exploitation of natural resources, of human labour, of the ordinary requirements of existence, so long will they continue the struggle over these privileges at the price of countless lives, endless suffering, boundless destruction. In these wars it is upon the colonial peoples that falls the main burden of suffering, of material loss, and of wastage of human life. Their countries become the theatre of military operations, their manhood becomes cannon fodder in the war to rivet the chains of imperialist slavery still more firmly on their own bodies. Therefore, it is to the special interest of the colonial peoples to fight against the war danger and, in the event of imperialist wars breaking out, to refuse to aid participate in them. The League declares that all the imperialist talk of disarmament and of security are an impudent fraud, since they continue to rely upon arms to shoot down their own workers and colonial slaves, and the only security they conceive of, is security for their profits at the price of the misery and the destruction of the human race. The league calls on the workers of the imperialist countries, in particular, to realise that in a close, fraternal and effective alliance with oppressed peoples for the overthrow and destruction of imperialism lies the only hope for the salvation of mankind from new fratricidal massacres.

### III

## RESOLUTION ON ORGANISATION

### *I. Basis of Organisation.*

All political organisations, all parties, trade-unions and persons who are fighting against capitalist-imperialist domination, for the self-determination of all nations, for the national liberty of all peoples, for the equal rights of all races, classes and individuals shall be allowed to affiliate to the "League against Imperialism and for National Independence."

### *II. Plan of Organisation.*

1. The Executive shall aim at organising in each colonial and each capitalist country, so far as practicable, a Section of the League consisting of all organisations and individuals that endorse the policy of the League and affiliate to the Section.

2. Taking into account the particular situation in each country, The Executive shall seek to obtain affiliation to International League of all organisations, at the same time informing the National Section in question of the new affiliation.

3. Wherever possible, the Executive shall encourage the holding of Conferences or Congresses by the National Sections or Group Conferences in which representatives of both the exploiting Empire and its exploited colonial peoples should participate.

### *III. Immediate Organisational Steps.*

1. The Executive must publish regularly a News-Bulletin in several languages to disseminate information about imperialist oppression and the activities of the League.

2. The General Council empowers the Executive to explore the possibilities of publishing a monthly organ of the League. The organ should be a journal dealing with imperialism, the attitude of various classes and parties in relation to it, colonial exploitation, all aspects of the struggle for freedom in the colonies, etc.

3. National Sections of the League must be created and developed in the most important imperialist countries, namely England, France, and the United States. The main basis of the League should be secured by the affiliation of Parties, Sections of Parties, Trade-unions and other organisations prepared to take an active part in the struggle against imperialism. To guarantee that the affiliated sections of the League will be live organisations, promoting the anti-imperialist struggle, they should be mainly upon the basis of dues-paying individual membership.

4. In the colonial countries, the League must seek the affiliation of the nationalist organisations, and chiefly of the peasant and labour organisations.

5. All affiliated organisations shall pay dues either to the national sections or to the central office of the League according to agreement reached between the League and its sections. The proportion of dues received by the sections and paid by them to the central office, shall be determined in each case by agreement between the Executive Committee and the section involved.

6. The Executive should seek to secure the affiliation of all trade-unions, and particularly of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Federation.

7. The central apparatus of the League should be strengthened by the creation of an efficient secretariat. The Executive is empowered to decide which is the most suitable seat of the International Secretariat and how the efficiency of the Secretariat may be strengthened.



#### IV.

### RESOLUTION ON THE ATTITUDE OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL

With reference to the document of October 7th., 1927, published by the L. S. I. (Second International) purporting to be a "History of the League against Imperialism" and alleging that the League was nothing but a "communist manœuvre", the General Council of the League against Imperialism.

*protests emphatically* against the publication of this misleading unjustified and untrue document, which this General Council regards as a direct attack on the numerous nationalist organisations of the oppressed peoples, affiliated to the League, and on all revolutionary workers taking part in the work of the League;

*declare* that by its action the Second International is violating the principles of Socialism and assisting the capitalist and the imperialist Governments, which are continually and everywhere arresting and condemning active nationalists for alleged "communist" activities, "relations with Moscow", etc.;

*and urges* all Socialist workers, members of the parties affiliated to the Second International, to adhere to their socialist principles, to support by all means the struggle for freedom of their comrades in the oppressed countries, and consequently to disregard the attitude of the leaders of the Second International and to affiliate individually or by groups to the sections of the League in their particular country.

#### V.

### RESOLUTION ON THE CHINESE QUESTION.

After having heard the reports of the delegates from the All China Labour Federation, from the peasants' unions as well as of several other Chinese comrades, who have until recently been official representatives of the Kuo Min Tang in Europe and America, the General Council of the League against Imperialism make the following declarations:

1. Imperialist intervention and the betrayal of the native bourgeoisie have dealt a series of defeats to the national revolution in China.

2. The official policy of the Second International and the International Federation of trade Unions (Amsterdam) as regards the Chinese revolution is a flagrant violation of the principle of self-determination and a direct support for imperialist intervention.

3. In spite of imperialist and militarist terror, the Chinese working class stands firmly and loyally on the road to revolution.

The fascist unions set up in Shanghai by the militarists and the renegade nationalist bourgeoisie do not have the support of the proletarian masses who are behind the All-China Labour Federation.

4. The national revolution not only weakened the position of foreign imperialism but also threatened to liquidate native reaction (feudalism) as the means to the democratisation of the political & economic life of the people. In view of this, the reactionary feudal bourgeois elements left the nationalist front and began a fierce attack upon the workers' and peasants' movement. After a period of vacillation between revolution and counter-revolution, the Kuo Min Tang as a whole finally betrayed the national revolution. The Kuo Min Tang has surrendered itself to the feudal militarists and frankly repudiated its own ideals and programme. The workers and peasant masses had suffered and sacrificed so heroically for the national revolution and had stood loyally by the Kuo Min Tang while under the fire of imperialist guns the feudal bourgeois element deserted it. Now in the territories of the Kuo Min Tang there is a reign of terror. Workers and peasants are massacred in thousands. The Kuo Min Tang flag is soiled with the blood of the working class. The Kuo Min Tang has abandoned the struggle against imperialism and has undertaken the task of crushing the revolution. Consequently it has become an instrument of imperialism. The national revolution can no longer develop under the Kuo Min Tang flag. As a matter of fact, having betrayed its own ideals and programme, the Kuo Min Tang has destroyed itself. It is broken up into warring groups with only one thing in common, namely, hatred for the workers and peasants who stand true to the cause of democratic national freedom.

5. Foreign imperialism, native reaction and the renegade nationalist bourgeoisie have made a united front against the Chinese revolution. Over 90 per cent of the population of China belong to the exploited classes. They must continue the struggle against imperialist oppression and native reaction. More than ever they are in need of support from the toiling masses in the imperialist countries and revolutionary democratic movements in the colonial countries. They must organise their support and help the Chinese masses to overthrow imperialism and destroy native reaction in spite of the treachery of the Second International and the debacle of the Kuo Min Tang.

## VI.

### RESOLUTION ON INDIA.

The General Council of the League against Imperialism declares its complete solidarity with the Indian people in the latter's opposition in the British Government's proposal of a Commission of the British Parliament to investigate India's fitness for self-government.

The appointment of this Commission of the exploiters to grant reforms to the peoples whom they exploit is nothing but an impudent farce and the General Council heartily supports the Indian national movement's resolve to boycott the Commission.

The General Council notes with disgust that the British Labour Party leaders and Members of Parliament have made common cause with the British imperialists on this question, by supporting the Conservative Government's proposal of a Commission and by endorsing, without any but the weakest support to Comrade Saklatvala in Parliament, the participation of two Labour representatives.

The General Council declares that this open united front of the British capitalists and British Labour leaders in defence of British imperialism, which has no parallel since the black days of August, 1914, is as harmful to the workers of the oppressed countries, since they are exploited by the same ruling class.

The League against Imperialism pledges the whole-hearted support of all its adherent organisations and sections to the Indian national movement in this struggle. At the same time it urges all genuine enemies of imperialist oppression in India to concentrate on rallying the masses around the positive slogan of complete independence for India—the sole real threat to the power of British imperialism—and on the election of a Constituent Assembly to consider the entire question of the political future of India, which should be prepared by the creation of the local committees, mass demonstrations and the widest possible participation of the masses of the people generally.

## VII.

### RESOLUTION ON INDONESIA

The General Council of the League against Imperialism and for National Independence, held on December 9th, 10th, and 11th, 1927 at Brussels, having heard the report of the Indonesian delegation concerning the conditions in Indonesia, protests energetically against.

1. the mass arrests and deportations of Indonesian fighters for freedom without any trial;
2. the arrest of the leading members of the Perhimpunan Indonesia who have been kept in prison for more than three months:—

*decides* to support with all its might the Indonesian liberation movement; and

*appeals* to the Dutch proletariat to strengthen the power of the Indonesian movement for freedom, which is labouring under a regime of ruthless oppression, by rallying to the Dutch Section

of the League to which the Perhimpunan Indonesia, representing the Indonesian emancipation movement is affiliated.

## VIII.

### RESOLUTION ON PERSIA

The Socialist Party and the Republican Revolutionary Party of Persia submit the following resolution to the General Council of the League against Imperialism:

The General Council of the League against Imperialism Demands:

1. that all unequal treaties made with Persia shall be abolished;
2. that no secret agreements of imperialist governments that may harm the independence of Persia shall be recognised;
3. that an end should be put to the exploitation of Persia by foreign capitalists who, in virtue of the unequal treaties are able to exploit the Persian Worker in a most brutal manner, especially in the petroleum concessions of the Anglo-Persian Company.

The General Council of the League against Imperialism asks those members of the British Parliament who sympathise with the aims and objects of the League to protest against the following four demands which the Government of Great Britain has addressed to the Persian Government and which constitute a flagrant violation of the independence of Persia;

- ( a ) Recognition of the Persian debts,
- ( b ) Establishment of air lines between the central regions of Persia and the Persian Gulf,
- ( c ) Recognition of the Government of Irak,
- ( d ) Re-establishment of Sheikh Khazaal.

The General Council of the League against Imperialism calls upon the international proletariat to give effective support to the Persian masses in their struggle for emancipation.

SOLEIMAN MIRZA,

Delegate of the Persian Socialist Party.

Ahmed Assadoff,

Delegate of the Republican Revolutionary Party of Persia.

IX.

RESOLUTION ON THE PHILIPPINES

The Philippines delegate, realising that another world war is inevitable and is likely to be fought in the Pacific, at the expense of the workers of the world in general and the workers and oppressed peoples of the Pacific in particular, submits the following resolution:

1. That the General Council shall instruct the Executive Committee to devise ways and means by which the workers of the North and South American countries, the workers and nationalists of Indonesia and China, and the workers and nationalists of the Philippines could come into close connection, so as to help one another.

- (a) in the event of an imperialist country trying to suppress by force any national movement; or
- (b) in the event of an imperialist country attempting to use force behind its concessions and investments; or
- (c) in the event of an imperialist country trying to use the workers to fight for its own greed and profits.

2. That the General Council shall instruct the Executive Committee to establish a branch of the League in the Philippines, the function of which shall be

- (a) to win by all means the Philippine nationalists and workers into the League;
- (b) to keep reminding them that to win back their freedom they should use force with the help of all workers throughout the world;
- (c) to keep the Executive Committee informed of the Philippine situation in order that, in the event of a Philippine revolt against American imperialism, the Executive Committee could give immediate instructions to the different secretarits throughout the world as to the method to be used in helping the Philippine revolution to a successful end.

X.

RESOLUTION ON THE CONGRESS OF THE  
PAN-AMERICAN UNION.

After having heard the reports of the delegates of Latin America on the role of the "Pan-American Union" in the penetration of Latin America by Yankee Imperialism, and in view of the fact

that that organisation is to hold its Congress next year in Havana, the General Council of the League against Imperialism considers that the time has arrived for the delegations of the Latin American Republics to compel the United States of North America to adopt an unequivocal attitude—either as collaborators in the progress and prosperity of the Latin American nations, or as oppressors who conceal their real designs under cover of professions of friendship. The General Council adopts the following resolution:

The General Council of the League against Imperialism and for National Independence is convinced that the United States of North America has organised the "Pan American Union", in its greedy desire, on the one hand, to capture as rapidly as possible the markets and the great resources in raw materials of the Latin American countries, as well as for the unlimited exploitation of their labour power, to the exclusion of its rival and competitor, England. On the other hand, the "Pan-American Union" pretends friendship for the Latin American nations, in order to persuade them to sign one-sided treaties containing the "most-favoured nation" clause, to grant concessions for the exploitation of their raw materials, etc. The General Council, therefore calls upon all organisations (Workers' Peasants', Students' and Cultural organisations) in Latin America to ask the delegates of the Latin American Republics to place the following demands before the Above-mentioned Congress:—

1. As proof of the recognition by the U.S.A. of the right of weaker peoples to freedom and independence,

- (a) the immediate recognition of the independence of Porto Rico and of the Philippines;
- (b) the evacuation of Nicaragua and Haiti;
- (c) the renunciation of the right, acquired through the "Emmienda—Platt Agreement", of interfering in the internal affairs of Cuba;
- (d) the cancellation of the debts of San Domingo and the grant of a free customs administration;
- (e) the mutual application of the clause relating to the "most favoured nation."

2. As proof of the recognition by the U.S.A. of the right of every people to govern itself according to the laws of its own political and economic development,

to refrain from all interference in the execution of national legislation and from lending armed support to American citizens who are subject to the national laws of other countries; in other words, to renounce the Collidge doctrine, which asserts: "*Wherever the property*

*of a North American exists, there exists the U.S.A., and the laws and armed forces of the U.S.A. will protect it."*

3. The immediate transference of the seat of the "Pan-American Union" to one of the capitals of Latin America, and the appointment of the foreign Minister of a Latin American State as General Secretary of that organisation, as a proof that the "Pan-American Union" is not an instrument in the hands of the Foreign Office of the U.S.A.

Sieber & Nickl, Berlin-Schoneberg

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P. 1634 E.

S. H. Jhabwala, B. A.

Central Labour Board

Shetye Building

.....Indien

Poibawadi, Parel.

Bombay.

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P. 1685.

A copy of the *Press service No 6* of the League Against Imperialism, Imperial secretariat, 24 Friedrichstrasse Berlin S. W. 48.

(Vide Exh. P. 1360)

P. 1636.

Shanghai,

14th March 1929.

S. H. Jhabwala,

Bombay.

Dear Comrade,

We are informed that you are either President, Vice-President, or secretary to the following Unions :-

British India Steam Navigation Co's Staff Union.

Bombay Dock Workers' Union.

Tramwaymen's Union.

Bombay Port Trust Employees Union.

Bombay Presidency Telegraph Peon's Union.

Government Peons' and Menials' Union.

Bombay Port Trust Railwaymen's Union.

Bombay Port Trust Docks staff Union.

Jari Workers Union.

Professional Motor Drivers' Union.

Bombay Kasbi Karigars' Union.

Press Workers' Union.

Shop Assistant's Union.

Bombay Mill Workers' Union.

Bank Peons' Union.

We therefore enclose herewith an invitation for delegates to attend the II Pan-Pacific Trade-Union Conference to be held at Vladivastock on August 1st next. We shall be very glad if you will have this invitation brought to the notice of the above-mentioned unions, in order that they may possibly send a joint delegation. If they cannot afford to send a delegate for each respective union, to our Conference.

Yours fraternally,

FOR THE PAN-PACIFIC TRADE

UNION SECRETARIAT

(Rubber Stamp of Secretariat)

Sd/- M. Apletin.



## P. 1636 A.

Shanghai 14th March 1929.

Dear Comrade,

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

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

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

Since the Hankow Conference the Australian Council of Trade Unions, the Philippine Labour Congress, the All-China Federation of Labour, the Japanese Council of Trade Unions—(Hyogikai), and the Japanese Trade Union Unity League, the Korean Federation of Labour, the Central Council of Trade Unions (U.S.S.R.), the Trade Union League (U. S. A.), the

British Minority Movement and the United Confederation of Trade Unions (France), have all become affiliated to the PPTUS. These organisations have a combined membership of fourteen million workers, and the PPTUS is now the only body which is a formidable force, co-ordinating the efforts of the Trade Unions in the Pacific area.

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

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

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

However, we are certain our enemies will not succeed, as already we have every reason to believe that every country in the Pacific will be represented at our Conference. The Latin American Republics will be represented, and we are almost certain that every country in the Far East will have delegates present. It would be a great gap in the Pan-Pacific Conference if delegates did not arrive from India. Therefore, our Secretariat has decided to invite the different trade Unions of India to send delegates. We therefore extend a hearty invitation to your organisation to send delegates to the II Pan-Pacific Trade Union Conference, which will open at Vladivostock next August 1st. If it is impossible for you to send delegates due to lack of finance, you could probably arrange with some other union or unions to be jointly represented by a delegation. This should be possible. To have delegates at our next Conference will be a fitting reply to the exploiters of the Indian workers and peasants who have finally decided to cut off Indian trade unionists from their fellow workers abroad by passing the "Public Safety Bill", which, with the aid of the Anti-Trade Union Act, is intended to smash the Indian trade unions.

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

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

Fraternally yours  
For the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat  
(Rubber stamp of the Secretariat)  
Sd/- M. Apletin.

P. 1636 E.

An envelope with the following Superscription on it: —

Mr. J. S. Jhabwala

Mapla Mahal

Thskurdwar

Bombay,

India.

P. 1637.

Sat Shri Akal.

"KIRTI"

The only Labour Organ in Punjabi.

Amritsar, 13th March 1928.

My dear Comrade,

We have received no books uptil now. We are waiting for them most anxiously. Kindly send them at your earliest and oblige.

Besides, your article will be published in the Kirti very soon. Kindly write another article and send it as soon as possible.

Ask Mr. P. Spratt to contribute an article to us very soon.

Wishing you God-Speed in your mission,

Yours Fraternally

Sd. Sohansingh.

c/o The Kirti

Amritsar.

P. 1637 E.

An envelope bearing the following superscription :—

To  
Mr. S. A. Dange.  
Wadekar Building.  
Girgaum, Bombay.  
BOMBAY.

P. 1638.

“ KIRTI ”

The only Labour Organ in Punjab.

Amritsar, 4th July 1928.

Dear Comrade,

We request you most earnestly to contribute an article to us on “ FREEDOM AND THE INDIAN YOUTH ” or on any other subject and oblige.

We requested you once before to write for us, but you could not write then. We hope this time you will not disappoint us.

Yours Fraternally,  
Sd. Sohan Singh.

The Editor, KIRTI.

P. 1638 E.

An envelope bearing the following superscription :—

To  
Mr. S. V. Ghate.  
Dwarka dass Mansion.  
Bombay 4.

**P. 1639.**

**"KIRTI"**

The only Labour Organ in Punjabi.

Amritsar, 4th July 1928.

Dear Comrade,  
You are requested most earnestly to send before the 15th of July an article bearing on the present situation in the Bombay Mills strike, stating your demands, the origin of the strike. The attitude of the mill owners etc. etc. We are quite in the dark over here. Please do write out the full account, and send it at once. There should be no delay.

Yours Fraternaly,

Sd. Sohan Singh.

The Editor KIRTI.

**P. 1639 E.**

An envelope bearing the following address on it:—

To

Mr. S. A. Dange.

Wadekar Building,

Girgaum,

Bombay.

P. 1640

"KIRTI"

The only Labour Organ in Punjabi.

Amritsar, 6th August 1928.

Dear Comrade,

We have requested you more than once to contribute an article for the Urdu "KIRTI"; but to our regret you have always paid no heed to our request. This time we call on you again to write out an article for us on "BARDOLI STRUGGLE" from a Communist point of view. We hope this time you will send us the required article without any delay and oblige.

Wishing you God-Speed in your strike,

Yours Fraternally,

Sd. Sohan Singh.

The Editor,

The "KIRTI", Amritsar.

P. 1640 E.

An envelope bearing the following address:—

Mr. S. V. Ghatge.

Dwarkadas Mansion.

Bombay. 4.

P. 1641.

Letter Dated 18th. August 1928, from Sohan Singh Secretary, The Workers' and Peasants' Party, Punjab, to S. A. Dange, Wadekar Building, Girgaon, Bombay, 4.

The letter runs as follows:—

Dear Comrade,

Preparations for the Workers' and Peasants' Conference are going on apace. Propaganda work is being done steadily and I think you will be preparing your address in the meanwhile. Kindly tell Mr. Bradley that, happen what may, he should also come, I suppose that the strike struggle by that time will be settled according to your wishes.

Hoping to listen soon from you,

Yours fraternally.

(Sd.) Schan Singh.

General Secretary.

MI 9 2101 11

P. 1642.

“Kirti”.

The only Labour Organ in Punjabi.

Amritsar

24th September, 1928.

Dear Comrade,

You, with your local comrades, Messrs. Bradley, Jhabwala, Mirajkar and others are invited, whole heartedly to attend the Lyallpur Workers and Peasants Conference to be held on 28th, 29th and 30th September. The success of our conference depends on your arrival in time. We therefore be much pleased and obliged if you grace the conference with your presence.

We hope you, won't disappoint us, and happen what may,



you will come down to attend the conference.

With best greetings,

Yours fraternally,

(Sd) Sohan Singh.

General Secretary,

Workers' and Peasants' Party.

Punjab.

**P. 1642 P E.**

An envelope with the following superscription on it:—

To

S. V. Ghatge

Dwarkadass Mansion

Bombay 4.

1643T. Rejected

**P. 1643.**

4 posters, 2 in Urdu and 2 in Gurmukhi, advertising the Lyallpur Conference of the Workers' and Peasants' Party, Punjab, and inviting peasants to attend it.

The picture in the centre of the poster represents the usual emblem of the Communists i.e. a worker and a peasant with a hammer and a sickle in their hands destroying the old order of things.

Handwritten: *original*  
P. 1644

**League Against Imperialism and for National  
Independence**

International Secretariat

24, Friedrichstrasse, Berlin S. W. 48.

Berlin, October 31st, 1928.

Jawahar Lal Nehru Esq.

Anand Bhawan

Allahabad.

My dear Jawahar,  
I have received your letter No. 07/1935. I am surprised that the circular letter regarding the World Congress did not reach you. We sent out a very large number to India. We enclose a list for your information. Perhaps you will be able to establish a special bureau for organising the delegations to the Congress and for collecting the necessary funds. Of course we clearly recognise the difficulties of sending people out of the country both on account of want of money as well as on account of the political obstacles placed by the Government. In any case you will not be able to do much, I suppose, before your Congress week is over. During that week you ought to be able to make sufficient propaganda for the World Congress by announcing it both at the National Congress as well as in the Conference of your League for Independence.

OCT 31 1928

We are sending out a special press notice which we trust will appear in all the Indian papers. That may also help you to master your forces.

It has been suggested that February 13th, the date of the Brussels Congress, should be celebrated throughout the world as an anti-imperialist date. Perhaps you will be able to have special badges made and that day proclaimed as the International Anti-Imperialist Day. Please let us know what you can do in this matter.

The All-Russian Federation of Trade-Unions has written in answer to our letter to say that they have decided to affiliate to the League and will pay the contribution fixed by the statutes. But they also request us to put off the meeting of the Executive Committee to some date early in January because they are holding their Annual Congress on December 8th and will not be able to send delegates on December 1st which was the date originally fixed as the date of the Executive Committee meeting. We have therefore

decided to put off the Executive Committee meeting and have written to Maxton asking him to fix the date in January.

This morning we have received the affiliation of the "South African Federation of Non-European Trade Unions" recently constituted in South Africa.

We are sending you by to-day's post a copy of the Workers' Illustrated newspaper in which an article appears on Bardoli. The pictures were supplied by a young student who was in Bardoli as a member of the Bombay Youth League. We are also sending you several copies of the "Workers' Pictorial" which is a special number in English issued for the purpose of ascertaining what the market for such a newspaper in English-speaking countries is likely to be.

The "Modern Review" seems to have made the same mischief as the B. Chr. with regard to your speech at the Bengal Students' Conference by quoting you as having said that "you do not believe in Communism as an ideal of society". I have seen your contradiction of this in the daily press. But you should compel the "Modern Review", which has become the organ of the Bengali Fascists, to publish a correction.

Next week you will receive a large amount of fresh material as well as certain news about which it is too early to write, this week. The next number of the Review is in preparation and will appear at the end of this month. The preparations for the World Congress are in full swing.

Yours affectionately

CHATTO.

PS: I hope that you will make your influence felt at the Trade Union Congress at Jharia, to bring about their affiliation to the League. There will be some opposition from Andrews, Bakhale, Joshi and other Moderates, but I think on the whole that if influence is brought to bear upon the members of the Executive and the delegates by properly explaining the situation, we shall be able to get the affiliation. Chaman Lal has promised to support us. I hope he will keep his promise.

Workers' Pictorial

Arbeiter Illustrierte Zeitung

Copy of letter of All Russian Federations of Trade Unions.

Translation.

All-Russian Federation of Trade Unions

M O S C O W.

October 21st, 1928.

To the Bureau of the  
"League Against Imperialism and for National Independence"

Dear Comrades,

The Presidium of the Central Committee of the All-Russian Federation of Trade-Unions acknowledges receipt of your letter of September 20th in which the Trade Unions of Soviet Russia were invited to affiliate with the "League Against Imperialism and for National Independence".

The Presidium of the Central Committee of the All-Russian Federation of Trade Unions discussed your proposal at its Conference on October 5th and decided to affiliate collectively to the League Against Imperialism as a Member.

At the same time we are remitting to you, on the basis fixed by the Bureau of the League, our membership dues calculated for the number individual members belonging to our Trade Union Federation.

The Presidium of the Central Committee considers its participation at the next Session of the Executive Committee of the League as necessary; but the date of this meeting coincides unfortunately with the date of the 8th Congress of the All-Russian Federation of Trade Unions which takes place on December 10th. So it would be impossible for the most important members of the Presidium of the Central Council of the All-Russian Federation of Trade Unions to participate in the deliberations of the Executive Committee of the League.

On behalf of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the All-Russian Federation of Trade Unions I request the Bureau of the League to postpone the Meeting of the Executive Committee to the beginning of January 1929. This postponement would enable the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Soviet Trade Unions to participate in the work of the League.

With fraternal greetings,

I remain,

pp. Foreign Relations Commission of the  
Central Committee of the All-Russian  
Federation of Trade Unions,

Secretary: Figatner.

P. 1644 E

An envelope with the following address on it—

R.	Berlin 11	Einschreibew	Postal Seal of Berlin S. W. 31-10-28.
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Jawahar Lal Nehru Esqr.

Anand Bhawan

ALLAHABAD.

Inc. en.

P. 1644 A.

An illustrated magazine in German for the month of November 1928

The name of the magazine is as follows:

STEUERSTREIK IN INDIEN

A. T. Z.

DIE ARBEITER—ILLUSTRIERTE

Zeitung

10 JAHRE KAMPF.

The above is accompanied by another magazine entitled "Workers Pictorial" in English for the month of November 1928.

P. 1645 P.

LEAGUE AGAINST IMPERIALISM  
AND FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE.

INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT ?

24 Friedrichstrasse, Berlin. S. W. 48.

Berlin, November 14th. 1928.

My dear Jawahar,

The reports in the Indian press of your Presidential speech at the Meerut Conference have caused us considerable anxiety. I am always sceptical about newspaper reports and so, whatever I am saying now is on the assumption that the reports are correct.

In the "BOMBAY CHRONICLE" of October 20th. page 13 a somewhat full report of your speech is given, and you are alleged to have said: "The right moment for accepting Dominion Status might come after independence had been attained and India was free to choose what she liked best." Again in the "People" of October 18th. there is an editorial note on your Meerut speech, in which it is stated that you are reported to have said that "if a constitution could be framed even under Dominion Status but fundamentally framed against Imperialism he would be prepared to support it."

I really fail to understand how these expressions could ever emanate from any one who is determined to overthrow Imperialism. You quite correctly pointed out that the "British Commonwealth of Nations is the strongest exponent of Imperialism" and that "we cannot demolish it under dominion Status." In other words, in order to destroy imperialism India must be completely independent. But if India is free after attaining independence, to choose Dominion Status, it would mean this, that you first destroy British Imperialism in India and then voluntarily revert to a system which according to your own words is the strongest exponent of Imperialism." This is a very remarkable confusion which you are creating first in your own mind and secondly in the minds of others. Then again you are reported to have declared that you would be prepared to support a constitution even under Dominion Status provided it were fundamentally aimed against imperialism. How on earth is that possible? You yourself said that we cannot demolish imperialism under Dominion Status, and, yet you also say that it is possible to have a constitution under Dominion Status which is fundamentally aimed against imperialism. I am really very much disturbed by all these statements and should feel extremely happy if you could either declare that the report in the Press were utterly false or explain the extraordinary contradictions of which in my opinion you have made yourself guilty.

I myself am convinced there is some misrepresentation in the newspaper reports but on the other hand, when I remember that the atmosphere in which you have to live and work and the pressure which is being brought bear upon you from all sides, I think it is possible that you for a moment thought it necessary to make concessions to the Dominion Status people. But if that is so it is a serious political blunder. Your whole strength now and in the future lies

in your giving a clear and unequivocal lead to the youth and the masses generally on the question of the struggle for national independence. As it is, you are rightly dissatisfied with the composition of your League for National Independence. Your chief task for the next few months surely cannot be to make concessions to the Moderates but to radicalize your own League and drive out all elements that are likely to bring about confusion and ultimately treachery to the cause of independence. In this connection it seems to me that there must be an attempt on your part to assimilate all the elements, (however, small their number) that are interested in the progress of the workers' and peasants' Parties and to weld together all these organisations into one single strong mass party with a clear political, social and economic programme. I feel sure that at the coming conferences in Calcutta there will be a very good chance for you,

- (1) to rally all the anti-imperialist elements to your League
- (2) To come to a clear understanding with the Workers' and Peasants' Party for the purpose of establishing a common programme and a united mass party and
- (3) to obtain the majority in the Indian National Congress and thereby capture its organization for our own programme.

These seem to be tasks which must be carried out if you wish to prevent the reactionaries from gaining the upper hand. We are not even so strong as the Irish Republicans were in 1921 and yet the Irish Moderates accepted Dominion Status in spite of the fact that the people had made one revolt after the other. The greatest political sagacity is needed today to organise the masses. But the masses cannot be organized by adopting all kinds of legal quibbles as you have rightly pointed out, and I feel sure that a great deal depends upon you personally as to the extent to which you are prepared to place yourself at the head of a mass movement based upon revolutionary slogans. You have time for organisation during the next few months. According to my reading of the Indian situation the revolutionary ferment will come to a head just after the Simon Commission has reported to Parliament and the Government prepares a plan of reforms for the purchase of the owning class. If you are organisationally prepared by that time, you will be able to strike a blow, just as Gandhi was able to do in 1921. But I hope that this time there will be no sentimental nonsense about the shedding of a few litres of blood, and that the revolutionary movement will be led on purely materialistic lines by trained Marxian revolutionaries.

It seems to me also extremely necessary, in addition to the Weekly and Daily which is admittedly indispensable, to establish a publishing house for the publication in Indian language of short pamphlets in suitable language dealing with the current superstitions

regarding private propriety, religion, caste family, the cow etc. This ideological preparation has not taken place and we therefore have no foundation for a clear political programme. The result is that religious and cultural Conservatives like Subhas are able to give a reactionary and fascist turn to the movement in certain provinces.

In response to our circular letter to our affiliated and associated organisations to send messages to the National Congress we have received so far a confirmation for only one organisation that this has already been done, namely the War Resisters' International, which has send a Gandhi message unfortunately, but which nevertheless supports the plan for full national independence. We know, however that you will get messages from various other organisations. Mme. Sun writes to say that she is unfortunately unable to abandon her trip to moscow, and that she will therefore be unable to attend the Congress. But there is no doubt you will get a message from her also.

I hope you were present at the T. U. C. in Jharia and that you were able to influence the delegates to vote in favour of affiliation to the League. You will undoubtedly have also met certain friends there and received greetings from us.

Yours affectionately

Chatto.

(Superscription on the envelope)

EINSCHREIBEN

Jawaharlal Nehru, Esq.

Anand Bhawan

ALLAHABAD

INDIEN

Berlin 11  
501



P. 1646.

*Withheld*

**League Against Imperialism and for National Independence**  
**International Secretariat,**

24, FRIEDRICHSTRASSE, BERLIN S.W. 48.

Berlin, December 12th 1928.

Jawahar Lal Nehru Esq.

Anand Bhawan

Allahabad.

My dear Jawahar,

Your registered letter of November 22nd enclosing the constitution of the "Independence for India League" has been duly received. I must also acknowledge your letter No. 1/2346 of November 7th announcing that your League has become an associate member of the League Against Imperialism and that the All India Congress Committee has decided to place the question of a delegation to the world Congress before the coming session of the I.N.C.

The progress that your League has been making is fairly satisfactory, judging from newspaper accounts. Your Conference in Calcutta ought to lay the foundations of a mass organisation and I hope that it will be possible to cooperate very intimately with the All India Workers' and Peasants' Party, if it is not possible to carry out at present my suggestion of a fusion.

We telegraphed you yesterday to the following effect "Cooperate with our delegate Johnstone obtain affiliation TUC"

I take it that Johnstone has already seen you and given you a letter of introduction from me. He was delegated especially to the TUC., which has been fortunately postponed till the 14th December, allowing him time to discuss matters with you and with other persons interested in the trade union movement as well as in the national revolutionary organisations. I told him that you would be very helpful in giving him the necessary introductions to trade unionists who did not know much about the League but who might be persuaded to vote for the affiliation of the TUC. We have formidable opponents in the TUC camp, such as Joshi, Bakhale and Andrews, Nevertheless, if personal propaganda is made among the delegates and the real meaning and significance of the League is pointed out to them, I feel sure that the difficulties can be overcome. Your help would, of course be invaluable. If no decision is arrived at the Congress itself it is possible that the question will be referred to a special commission, in which case we shall have to work hard to get the commission to decide in our favour.

You have undoubtedly received a very large number of messages from different parts of the world. A few days ago we received from Romain Rolland a copy of message he has sent you for the Congress. He now writes to say that at the time his message was sent off he did not know the cause of Lalaji's sudden death. He asks us to add to his message the expression of his sorrow and indignation at the "cowardly assassination." His original letter is herewith enclosed. It will unfortunately arrive a day after the Congress is over, but should be incorporated in the official proceeding later.

You will have your hands full when you receive this letter so I shall not worry you with any further details. If there is anything of importance we shall telegraph you.

With sincerest wishes for the succeed of your Independence League,

I remain,

Yours affectionately

Sd/- CHATTO.

Love to Kamala, Krishna, Ranjit and Swarup and of course also the little devil.

P. 1646 A.

VILLENEUVE. (Vaud.)

4 December 1928

Cher Monsieur,

Voici copie du message que j'ai envoji, le 26 Novembre—(Ai double exemplaire: A Jawahar Lal Nehru, et a' des ani, indien, pour etre remis au president du Congres National de L'Inde.)

A la date ou: je l'ai e'crit, je connaissais la mort de Lajpat Rai, dont j'etais l'ami et dont j'admirais le caratere intrepide et la grande intelligence politique. Mais j'ignorais encore les causes de cette mort, sur lesquelles la presse anglaise, uuaime, faisait le silence.

A pre'sent que je les sais, je vous prie de joindre a' mon

message l'expression de mon deuil et de mon indignation pour ce  
triste assassinat.

Veuillez croire à mes sentiments dévoués.

Sd/- ROMAIN ROLLAND.

on attendait d'être reçu par le directeur de l'Institut de France.

qu'il y avait eu une réunion de la commission de l'Institut.

qui s'était tenue le 12 décembre 1928.

à Paris, sous le n° P. 1646 E.

An envelope bearing the following superscription:—

Einschreiben.

Postal seal of

Berlin S.W.

12-12-28.

to be sent to Mr. Jawahar Lal Nehru Esq. 10, Strand, London, W.C.2.

R Berlin 11

Anand Bhavan,

10, Strand, London, W.C.2.

743 k

Allahabad.

Indien.

A 1928

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— Saraswati Machine Printing Press, Meerut (U. P.) India.

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Printed and Published by the Saraswati Machine Printing Press, Meerut (U. P.) India.

Printed and Published by the Saraswati Machine Printing Press, Meerut (U. P.) India.

Printed and Published by the Saraswati Machine Printing Press, Meerut (U. P.) India.

1573

P. 1647 P.

**LEAGUE AGAINST IMPERIALISM**

**And  
FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE.**

Berlin, December 19th, 1928.

Dear Comrade,

We have pleasure in enclosing herewith a copy of the Statutes of the League drafted by the International Secretariat for discussion and approval by the Members of the Executive Committee. The League has been in existence for nearly two years, but no formal statutes have hitherto existed, besides the Resolutions on Organisation passed at the Brussels Congress and at the last meeting of the General Council.

As there is an urgent demand from all parts in the world for our statutes, we should feel extremely grateful if you would take the trouble to read through our draft as early and as carefully as possible and communicate any suggestions and alterations you may wish to propose.

Thanking you for an early reply.

We remain, Dear Comrade,

Yours fraternally,

**League Against Imperialism**  
International Secretariat  
Berlin S. W. 48. Friedrichstr. 24.  
Willi Munzenberg.

V. Chattopadhyaya.

**STATUTES**

*of the League Against Imperialism  
and for National Independence.*

**I**

*Aims and Objects*

In accordance with the programmatic declarations and deliberations and decisions adopted at its inaugural congress in Brussels in February 1927, the "League Against Imperialism and for National Independence" aims at supporting the national-revolutionary and social-revolutionary struggles of the oppressed peoples with all economic and political means at its disposal.

The "League Against Imperialism and for National Independence" has also set itself the task of working for the unification of the National-revolutionary movement with the social-revolutionary organisations and labour unions in the colonial and semi-colonial countries into one great and united mass movement. The League also seeks to establish connections between the movements in the colonial and semi-colonial countries and those movements in the capitalist countries which, irrespective of their special aims, support the struggle for the political and social emancipation of all peoples. The League will also afford all peoples and all organisations such active support as these may require from the international organisation at a given moment in their national-revolutionary struggle.

### II. *The Name of the Organisation.*

In accordance with the decisions of its inaugural congress in Brussels in February 1927, the League shall be known as the:  
**"LEAGUE AGAINST IMPERIALISM  
and for  
NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE."**

Anti-imperialist organisations and associations in various countries wishing to become sections of the "League against Imperialism and for National Independence" shall, if possible, bear the name of the League as the chief name of their organisation, or carry as a sub-title: "Member of the International League Against Imperialism and for National Independence."

### III.

#### *Membership.*

All groups or persons are eligible for membership of the League who strive for the political and economic emancipation of the oppressed peoples, and who are prepared to recognise the principles of the anti-imperialist struggle enunciated at the Brussels Congress and to work for the carrying out of these principles in accordance with the decisions of the organs of the League.

#### (a) *National Sections:—*

##### (1) *Conditions of Admission to Membership:—*

In each country the members of the "League against Imperialism and for National Independence" shall form themselves into a national section which shall then be recognised as a member of the International League Against Imperialism and for National Independence.

The admission of national sections and their recognition as national organisations of the League lie in the hands of the Executive Committee. Each section has the right of appeal against the admission of a new section and each rejected applicant for membership has the right of appeal to the General Council of the League or to its international congress, whose decision is then final.

Resignation from the League may only take place at the conclusion of a calendar year and notice of such resignation must be given to the Executive Committee of the League at least six months beforehand.

National sections of the League may be expelled from the League by decision of the Executive Committee should they fail to pay their annual contribution or any part thereof after having been called upon to do so upon two occasions by the Executive Committee. The Executive Committee may also expel any national Section or sections which violate the principles of the League. Such expelled national sections have the right of appeal against the decision of the Executive Committee to the General Council or the International Congress of the League.

The conditions of membership for individual members shall be laid down by the national sections themselves in their national statutes.

2) *Membership contributions:* The annual contribution payable by the national sections to the International League is determined as follows:—

For 1,000 members or a part thereof ... .. 2 pounds Sterling.  
From 1001 members to 10,000 members ... .. 20 Pounds Sterling.  
From 10,001 to 100,000 members ... .. 50 Pounds Sterling.  
For every further 100,000 members or part thereof 20 Pounds sterling.

**b) Collective membership:—**

1) *Conditions of admission to Membership.*—International organisations may affiliate to the International League collectively, as also may national organisations and groups with the agreement of the Executive Committee of the International League and the national section or sections in question. National organisations and groups in countries where no national section of the League exists may also affiliate collectively. The admission of such bodies to collective membership shall be subject to the same conditions as those governing the admission of national sections. The organisations of such collective members have the right to be represented and to vote at the international congresses of the League in accordance with the provisions laid down in paragraph.....of these Statutes.

2) *Membership Contributions:* The annual contribution payable by such collectively affiliated organisations to the International League is determined as follows:—

For 1,000 members or a part thereof ... .. 2 Pounds Sterling.  
 From 1,001 to 10,000 members ... .. 5 pounds Sterling.  
 From 10,001, to 100,000 members ... .. 20 Pounds sterling.  
 For every further 100,000 members or part thereof....10 Pounds  
 Sterling.

The annual contribution shall be paid half-yearly in two equal parts.

#### IV.

#### The Official Organs of the League.

a) *The International Congress:* The supreme organ of the League shall be the International Congress which shall meet biennially. The Executive Committee shall however, have power to convene the international Congress earlier if it should so resolve or if at least two-thirds of the total votes at the disposal of the National Sections should demand it. The international Congress shall in all cases be convened by the Executive Committee and shall be composed of members of the Executive Committee and of the General Council and of delegates from the National Sections and affiliated organisations.

Sympathising organisations, not being members of the League, may be admitted to the International Congress by decision of the Executive Committee which shall also determine the number of representatives admissible from such sympathising organisations.

Decisions of the International Congress shall be made by a simple majority of the delegates present with decisive votes. Any alteration of these statutes shall, however, only be carried out by a majority of at least two-thirds of the delegates present with decisive votes.

Voting shall take place by a show of hands. Should one fourth of the delegates present with decisive votes demand it, then voting shall be carried out by open ballot.

Delegates with a decisive vote are: the members of the Executives Committee and of the General Council and the elected representatives of the national sections and the representatives of the collectively affiliated organisations.

The number of delegates that may be sent by *National Sections* is as follows:—

Up to 1,000 members	.... 1 Delegate.
From 1,001 to 10,000 members	...: 2 delegates.
From 10,001 to 100,000 members	.... 3 delegates.
From 100,001 to 500,000 members	.... 4 delegates.

From 500,001 to 1,000,000 members	... 5 delegates.
Over 1,000,000 members a maximum of	... 10 delegates.

The number of delegates that may be sent by organisations collectively affiliated to the International League is as follows :—

Up to 100,000 members	.. 1 delegate.
From 100,001 to 1,000,000 members	.. 2 delegates.
From 1,000,001 to 10,000,000 members	... 3 delegates.
Over 10,000,000 members	... 5 delegates.

Membership shall be reckoned upon the basis of the membership dues paid up in the previous year.

Sympatisers, not being members of the League, may receive the right to vote by decision of the Executive Committee.

The tasks of the International Congress shall be in particular the approval or otherwise of the reports of the International Secretariate and of the Executive Committee and of the General Council the settlement of complaints concerning admission to membership, the expulsion of members where necessary and in general, the treatment of the proposals laid before the Congress by the Executive Committee.

b) *The General Council*: The General Council constitutes the highest body of the League between the International Congresses.

The General Council shall be elected by the International Congress and shall consist of the members of the Executive Committee and of representatives of the most important countries.

The number of elected members shall be determined by the International Congress in accordance with the number of organisations that are members of the League. The General Council shall have the right to increase the number of its members by co-opting the representatives of new groups affiliating to the League between the International Congresses.

Decisions of the General Council will be made by a simple majority of the members present. One-fifth of the total number of members shall form a quorum.

The General Council shall be convened annually by decision of the Executive Committee.

The tasks of the General Council shall be to control the activity of the Executive Committee and of the International Secretariat: to deal with complaints concerning the admission or the refusal to admit to membership, and concerning the expulsion of



members; to ratify the contributions proposed by the National Sections and to prepare alterations in the Statutes.

(c) *The Executive Committee*:—The Executive Committee shall consist of 13 members elected by the International Congress from amongst the members of the General Council. The General Council shall have the right to increase the number of members of the Executive Committee if necessary. Decisions of the Executive Committee shall be made by a simple majority vote of those present. Should no majority be obtained, then the casting vote of the Chairman of the League shall be decisive. The Executive Committee shall normally be convened by the International Secretariat every three months, but must be convened at least every six months.

The task of the Executive Committee is to carry out the decisions of the International Congress and of the General Council. Further, it shall control the activity of the International Secretariat.

The Executive Committee shall also organise Secretariat for the support of its work in the most important centres of the anti-Imperialist movement.

(d) *The International Secretariat*: In order to deal with its current work the Executive Committee shall appoint an International Secretariat consisting of the secretaries.

(1) *Functions*: The task of the International Secretariat is to carry out the decisions of the Executive Committee, and to prepare the meetings of the General Council and the International Congress.

The International Secretariat shall also deal with the current business of the League. The International Secretariat shall also issue a periodical as the official organ of the League, as also a press-service in several languages. It shall further edit the reports of sessions of the Executive Committee, of the General Council and of the International Congress and shall build up an archive for the anti-imperialist movement. It shall also establish and maintain relations between the various National Sections of the League and shall arrange for regular information concerning matters of interest to the League.

The International Secretariat shall also publish literature within its own discretion showing the ruinous consequences of national and social oppression in order to support the general struggle for emancipation of the oppressed peoples. It shall also arrange from time to time anti-imperialist colonial exhibitions, congresses, etc., in all countries with the same end in view.

(2) *The Seat of the International Secretariat*: The seat of the International Secretariat shall be determined by the Executive

Committee. That place shall be chosen as the seat of the International Secretariat which offers the relatively best guarantee for unhindered work.

(3) *The Official Organ of the League*: The official organ of the International Secretariat of the League shall be "The Anti-Imperialist Review" which shall appear quarterly.

(c) *The Control Commission*: The General Council shall elect a Control Commission consisting of five members. The task of this Commission shall be to audit the accounts of the International Secretariat before the meetings of the International Congress and to report to the latter the results of its audit.

As audit of the accounts may take place at the decision of the Executive Committee and must take place should a demand to that effect be made by two-thirds of the total votes at the disposal of the the National Sections.

## VI.

### *Special Provisions.*

In case of the outbreak of an imperialist war, or in case any State should attempt to crush the anti-imperialist movement by violence, then the Executive Committee shall be empowered to take extraordinary measures.

Such extraordinary measures made necessary by a threatening war, or by the outbreak of such as war must be decided upon by at least five members of the Executive Committee.

In cases of acute danger the Executive Committee shall place itself in touch with all national and international organisations of the working class and of the oppressed peoples capable of rendering assistance in the struggle against war.

Superscription on the envelope:—

Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru.

Anand Bhavan

Allahabad

India.

R	Berlin 48 123 b
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P. 1648.

Letter dated September 1928 from the League Against Imperialism, Berlin, to the Secretary, W. P. Party, Dwarkadas Mansions, Bombay No. 4.

To all

National Sections of the  
League Against Imperialism,  
Organisations Collectively  
Affiliated with the League  
Against Imperialism.

Committees, Members and Friends of  
the League Against Imperialism.

Dear Comrades,

The Executive Committee of the League Against Imperialism unanimously resolved at its Session held in Brussels on April 28th, to convene the next World Congress of the League in the coming year.

At its Session held in Berlin on August 18th, and 19th, the Executive Committee confirmed the above-mentioned decision and resolved definitely to begin immediate preparations for holding

the Second World Congress of the  
League Against Imperialism in  
Paris, July 1929.

The Agenda of the Congress will be fixed at the next Meeting of the Executive Committee which will take place the 1st, and 2nd, December next.

It is intended that the proposed International Congress shall be an imposing demonstration of the organised anti-imperialist forces of the world.

The following organisations are invited to participate in the Congress:—

*With Decisive Vote:* (1) All National Sections of the League Against Imperialism, viz:—

League Against Imperialism (British Section)

Ligue contre l'Oppression Coloniale et l'Imperialisme, (France)

Liga Tegan Imperialisme en Koloniale Overheersching, (Holland)

Liga gegen koloniale Unterdrückung und Imperialismus, (Germany)

All-America Anti-Imperialist League, (U. S. A.)

Liga Anti-Imperialista de Las Americas, (Latin America)

Section: Argentine

Colombia

Cuba

Ecuador

Honduras

Mexico

Peru

Porto Rico

San Salvador

Santo Domingo

Uruguay

(2) All organisations that are collectively affiliated or associated with the International League Against Imperialism as e. g.

The Indian National Congress

Perhimpunan Indonesia

Persian Socialist Party

Etoile Nord-Africaine

Confederacion Obrera Nacional Dominicana

Workers' International Relief/(San Domingo)

The Educational Workers' International.

International Women's League for Peace and War Victims' International/Freedom

International Anti-Militarist Bureau etc.

*With Consultative vote:* (3) All organisations (trades unions, labour associations, cultural and sport organisations etc.) that are collectively affiliated to National Sections of the League Against Imperialism.

- (4) All organisations that sympathise with the League Against Imperialism and are prepared to cooperate on the basis of the principles laid down at the First Congress held in Brussels in February 1927.

It is intended to invite also important persons (men of letters, scientists, artists, etc.) in their individual capacity.

The Executive Committee of the League Against Imperialism hereby authorises the following organisations and comrades to proceed immediately to the establishment of Central Organising Committees in their respective countries:—

(a) *In Europe*

The International Secretariat of the League in conjunction with the National Sections of the League (Great Britain, France, Holland and Germany) or with special Committees, (Belgium, Portugal, Austria, the Scandinavian countries etc.)

(b) *In the U. S. A.*

The U.S.A. Branch of the League Against Imperialism under the direction of Roger Baldwin, Member of the Executive Committee of the International League Against Imperialism, 100 Fifth Avenue, New York.

(c) *In Latin-America*

The Central Committee of the Liga Anti-Imperialista de Las Americas with headquarters in Mexico under the direction of Diego Rivera, Member of the Executive Committee of the International League Against Imperialism. (Address of the Secretary:—Frederico Bach, Apartado 613, Mexico D. F.)

(d) *In North Africa.*

Cehdly ben Mustapha, of the "Destour Party" Member of the Executive Committee of the International League Against Imperialism, Boulevard du Cardinal Lavigeric, La Marsa.

*In Persia*

Aga Suleman Mirza, Member of the Majlis, Teheran.

(f) *In India, Burma and Ceylon*

The General Secretary of the Indian National Congress Jawahar Lal Nehru, Member of the Executive Committee of the International League Against Imperialism, Anand Bhawan, Allahabad.

(g) *In Indonesia*

The President of the Perhimpunan Indonesia, Mohamed Hatta, Member of the Executive Committee of the International League Against Imperialism, 18, Charlotte de Bourbonplein, Den Haag.

(h) In South and East Africa, for the Arabian countries, (Egypt, Hedjas, Syria and Irak) and for the Far East special organising committees of the Congress will shortly be nominated.

We request all those comrades who have been charged with the establishment of Congress Committees to lose no time in organising Central Committees and Sub-Committees (If possible in each individual town) in their respective countries. These Committees should be called "Organising Committee of the Second Anti-Imperialist World Congress, Paris, 1929."

These Committees will have the following functions:—

- (1) To popularise the idea of the World Congress among the broad masses of the workers and peasants.
- (2) To send out invitations in the name of the Executive Committee of the League to all affiliated, associated and sympathising organisations in their respective countries as well as all organisations (trades unions, labour associations, educational and cultural institutions etc.) that are engaged in the struggle against imperialism.
- (3) To collect funds for financing the delegates to the World Congress by issuing collection lists etc.
- (4) To collect statistical, documentary and other material and to prepare memoranda on the problems to be discussed at the World Congress.
- (5) To maintain regular weekly correspondence with the International Secretariat in Berlin and to keep the latter informed about the progress that is being made in the preparations for sending delegations to the World Congress.

We request all comrades to acknowledge without delay the receipt of this letter and to inform the International Secretariat in Berlin what steps have been taken to establish the Congress Organising Committees.

With fraternal greetings,

For the Executive Committee of the League Against  
Imperialism.

James Maxton, President  
Edo Finmen, Vice-President.  
Willi Munzenberg }  
V. Chattopadhyaya } Secretaries.

P. 1649 P.

**League Against Imperialism  
AND FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE**

International Secretariat 24, Friedrichstrasse Berlin SW 48

Berlin, October 24th. 1928.

Jawahar Lal Nehru, Esq.

Anand Bhawan

ALLAHABAD

My dear Jawahar,

Your letter No. 07/1832 dated September 27th duly received. The two things that interest us here are your League for Independence and the question of a newspaper. As regards the former, there is no doubt that it could be a powerful organisation because it meets the demands of the vast majority of the people. But from the names published in the Indian papers of the people who are participating in your League, I very much fear that you will find it extremely difficult to deal with reactionary elements who are by no means reliable even as regards the Social and economic items of the very moderate program that has been drawn up by the League. What I think is that all elements that stand for absolute independence and some amount of "democracy" should be drawn into the League, but the Central Committee should, in my opinion, consist only of those who are theoretically so sound that they cannot become traitors in practical life. I quite agree with you that there are no competent men, or at least not enough competent men, to direct so important a movement, but this proves the necessity of establishing without delay, firstly a school for training in Social revolutionary principles and tactics, and secondly, an organ that

deals with current Indian problems from the revolutionary stand point. As regards the school, it will be a difficult matter to establish it without the help of European comrades well-trained in the theory and practice of the revolution. It is not impossible that, if the necessary technical arrangements can be made there, one or two good teachers could be sent to India to open school.

The question of the newspaper is even more pressing. Even a weekly paper seems to be an urgent demand of the moment, and, in spite of the fact that there are very few competent writers, I really think that you should lose no time in establishing a good left-wing organ under your own editorship and with a staff of writers both in India and abroad. As regards articles and other material from Europe and Asiatic countries, I have no hesitation in saying that we are in a position to organise a good staff of foreign writers for you. But at home the problem will be more difficult. For, if you receive contributions from well-known Indians whose opinions cannot be allowed to appear in a leftwing paper, you will make many enemies. On the other hand, there appear to be no more than a dozen writers whose articles may be fit to be taken. My own view is that there should be no sentimental toleration for all kinds of views, but a strict adherence to a definite policy and a definite program. If you could succeed in establishing such a weekly, it will be without any doubt the most influential journal in India. I cannot understand why there should be any difficulty for you to find the money to found such a journal. No one expects you to find the money out of your own pocket. It should be a public concern and although it involves the delicate question of properly handling public money, one should not be afraid to take the responsibility. I can assure you that you will receive from abroad all the moral and intellectual support that is possible.

I follow the Indian papers very closely, and keep myself informed about your activities.

The reports of your speeches are extremely unsatisfactory and in some cases misleading. Srinivasa Iyengar's lecture on Russia and especially his remarks about the Red Army have aroused much interest here.

Many thanks for the copy of the full edition of the All Parties' Conference Report. There seems to be no mention in it of your opposition.

I am looking forward with considerable anxiety to your replies to the question raised in my last two or three letter.

Yours affectionately.

Sd. Chatto.



Superscription on the envelope:—

Eiuschreiben

Postal seal of Berlin S. W. 25-10-24.  
Jawahar Lal Nehru, Esq.

R Berlin 48  
505 F

Anand Bhawan  
Allahabad.

P. 1650.

### PROTEST AGAINST THE MURDER OF MELLA.

The Executive Committee of the League Against Imperialism, while assembled at a special session in Cologne, learnt of the very cowardly assassination of Comrade Julio Antonio Mella—a member of the General Council of the League against Imperialism and one of the founders of the All-America Anti-Imperialist League—by an agent of Cuban Government.

Since the historic First World Congress of the League Against Imperialism, which was held in 1927 at Brussels, many members of its General Council have applied themselves most energetically and whole-heartedly in anti-imperialist work, undergoing imprisonment and even dying for their devotion to the cause. Comrade Mella is the latest victim of the imperialists, and his untimely death is an irreparable loss to the cause of freedom. He attended the Brussels Congress as the delegate of the Mexican Peasant's Federation; and as a member of the General Council of the League, Comrade Mella, devoted himself to the arduous task of building up strong sections of the League in the various Latin American countries.

When Comrade Mella was last in Cuba, he was thrown into prison because of his uncompromising stand against Yankee imperialism. The mass agitation which followed Mella's imprisonment compelled the Cuban Government to set him free, but Mella was promptly expelled from Cuba.

Comrade Mella then proceeded to Mexico, in which country he continued his fight for the liberation of Latin American countries from the yoke of Yankee imperialism. And it was in Mexico City where Comrade Mella fell a victim to an assassin of the Cuban Government, at the head of which is Machado, the puppet of Washington.

The executive Committee of the League against Imperialism records its indignation at this dastardly murder, and resolves that the protest begun by the Latin American countries shall be broadcast internationally, and also that the death of this brave fighter shall be remembered on the International Anti-Imperialist Day—February 13, 1929.

The Executive Committee of the

LEAGUE AGAINST IMPERIALISM,

James Maxton, Chairman,

WILLI MUNZENBERG,

V. CHATTOPADHYAYA,

} SECRETARIES.

### TRADE UNIONS AND THE LEAGUE AGAINST IMPERIALISM.

1. Imperialism in the colonial countries expresses itself in the loss of all political and economic rights, destruction of freedom of the press, free speech and public meeting, loss of land, terrible housing conditions, long hours, starvation wages, unheard of exploitation, appallingly high death rates, and complete absence of all protective and social legislation.

All this is achieved by the most naked and brutal violence by the imperialist forces of suppression, their armies, navies and police, which are employed in order to keep the colonial peoples in subjection for the profit of the imperialist exploiters.

2. In the "home countries" of imperialism, the conditions fostered in the colonial countries are made the basis for attacks on what have hitherto been conceived to be the higher standards of the working class and a continued offensive which results in lower wages, longer hours, increased exploitation, increased unemployment, reduced expenditure on social services and the destruction of legal trade union practices and customs—all showing the necessity for the unification of the two anti-imperialist movements, the class struggle in the capitalist countries and the national revolutionary movement in the colonies and semi-colonies.

The struggle for new markets and spheres of influence arising out of the intensified international competitions results ultimately in new wars.

3. The fight against imperialism and against the ever-growing danger of war can only be carried out successfully on condition that the broad masses of the workers of Europe, England and America and all other countries actively take part in this struggle.

3. This is particularly true for the anti-imperialist fight for freedom in the colonial and semi-colonial countries which can never end in victory if the broad masses of the workers and toilers are not

brought into the anti-imperialist struggle. The trade unions can and must fulfill a special role in this fight.

5. The Executive Committee of the League Against Imperialism therefore draws the attention of all its organisations and groups to the necessity of strengthening the work of winning the trade unions for the work of the League either by means of the affiliation of these unions to the League or through special agreement with the trade unions for particular campaigns and activities against imperialism and the war danger.

6. The Executive Committee of the League Against Imperialism recognising to the full the necessity of drawing the trade unions into the common fight against imperialism considers it necessary to emphasise that neither the League itself nor single sections of the League should intervene in the internal work and the inner life of the trade unions.

At the same time the Executive is of the opinion that the development and the strengthening of the trade unions in the colonial and semi-colonial countries can only be successful if its leadership is in the hands of the workers and representatives elected directly by the workers. The trade unions, particularly in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, can fulfill their revolutionary tasks in the day to day struggle if they keep their class character and do not become dependent on nationalist and bourgeois revolutionary parties.

7. The Executive Committee of the League Against Imperialism considers it necessary to draw the attention of all class-conscious and revolutionary trade unions of Europe, England and America to the trade union movement of the colonial and semi-colonial countries, and to point out to them that it is absolutely necessary to render assistance to the latter in organising work and in economic and political struggles.

8. The Executive Committee of the League Against Imperialism appeals to all trade unions and to all workers organised in the trade unions and to the toilers of the whole world to support and further the necessity and difficult work of the League Against Imperialism in all countries and in all its campaigns.

#### DECLARATION ON THE LATIN-AMERICAN SITUATION.

1. The countries of Latin America which although "liberated" politically—were already in the 19th Century economically dependent on foreign capital, have in the 20th Century become more and more a mere field of struggle between the rival investors of the great Imperialist countries and as objects of this struggle are being steadily reduced to the status of semi-colonial countries. Since the war the U. S. A. trade and capital have penetrated what was previously a

preserve of British and other European capital, and is rapidly overhauling the hitherto leading position of British Imperialism. The economic penetration (led by the great American trusts in oil, steel, rubber, meat, fruit electric, power and motors and by Wall Street) is being followed by political intervention, at first in Central America (Cuba, Haiti, San Domingo, Costa Rica, Panama and Nicaragua) and more recently, since the opening of the Panama Canal, in South America (Colombia, Venezuela).

2. As a consequence, everywhere, even in the Argentine, Brazil, Chile, countries of the South the pressure of Imperialist exploitation is felt more and more from year to year and compels all the anti-imperialist forces to rally together.

The League Against Imperialism under these circumstances is not only in closest solidarity with the anti-imperialist efforts, but in itself a natural rallying point for all organisations and persons fighting against the rapacity of imperialist capitalism.

3. Already the violent collisions and rivalry of the imperialist Powers is displayed in the Paraguayan and Bolivian conflict; and in spite of the hypocritical pretences of the Pan-American Conferences on the one hand and the League of Nations on the other, it is only too clear that the States and populations of Latin America will be made aware of their semi-colonial status by being played into war as puppets of one or other of the rival imperialisms. The struggle of anti-imperialism is at the same time a struggle against imperialist war.

4. Inside the Latin American States the anti-imperialist struggle must be carried on by those sections of the population, especially the working class and the peasantry, who are most exploited by imperialism; and against those sections, such as the Church and the landlords (and in certain cases, part of the bourgeoisie) who openly act as tools of the imperialist Powers.

5. The anti-imperialist rally must not be limited to the forces inside Latin America but must include the anti-imperialist forces in North America and Europe, and in the lands of Asia, Australia, etc., bordering on the Pacific. In this connection a special responsibility rests upon the workers of British and American imperialisms.

PRESS SERVICE.

OF THE

*League against Imperialism*

THE INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT

24, Friedrichstrasse,

BERLIN S. W. 48.

Cable Address:  
ANKOLINA BERLIN

Telephone:  
DOENHOFF 6061

*The Executive Session of the League against  
Imperialism in Cologne.*

ANKO. The conference of the Executive Committee of the League against Imperialism which took place a few days ago in Cologne has justly earned the attention and interest of public opinion and of the press. The executive conference in Cologne was one of the most important conferences since the inaugural congress of the League in Brussels. The Brussels congress which took place in 1927 was attended by delegates from the national-revolutionary parties and movements, by a strong group of left-wing intellectuals and by the representatives of a fair number of working class organisations. To-day, the League against Imperialism and for National Independence has a large following of proletarian organisations.

The opening of the Executive Committee session of the League against Imperialism in Cologne was preceded by a characteristic incident. The chairman of the Independent Labour Party of Great Britain, Maxton, the communist Member of Parliament Saklatvala and the Secretary of the British section of the League against Imperialism, Bridgeman were arrested in Ostende on their way to the executive session of the League in Cologne. Only very energetic intervention on their part with both the British and Belgian governments succeeded in securing their release and permission for them to continue their journey to Cologne. The Belgian authorities gave as the formal reason for the arrests the fact that when the executive session of the League was planned to take place in Brussels, the Belgian authorities refused permission for the delegates to enter Belgium.

In his opening speech at the executive session Muenzenberg, the Secretary of the League, expressed the indignation of those present at the murder of the leader of the anti-imperialist movement in the Latin-American countries Anotonio Mella who was a member of the General Council of the League and at the same time the leader of the Mexican Peasant Union, by mercenary assassins of the Cuban Government.

**PROTEST RESOLUTION AGAINST THE MURDER OF  
MELLA.**

The Executive Committee of the League against Imperialism being in session learns with indignation of the cowardly murder of Julio Antonio Mella, a member of its General Council and co-founder of the Latin-American League against Imperialism, by aid agents of the government of Cuba.

Numerous members of the General Council of the League have fought since the historic congress of the League Brussels, with all their energy for the anti-imperialist movement. Many have suffered

imprisonment and even death for their activities. The murder of Mella represents a new and terrible loss.

In 1927 Mella was present at the Brussels inaugural congress of the League as the representative of the Mexican peasants Unions, he was elected a member of the General Council of the League and upon his return to America he devoted himself to building up a strong section of the League there.

On account of his irreconcilable struggle against North American imperialism in Cuba he was flung into prison. Under mass-pressure the Cuban government was compelled to release him, but it then expelled him from Cuba.

At the instructions of the Cuban government, at whose head is Machado, an agent of Washington, Mella has now been murdered in Mexico City where he continued his struggle for the independence of Latin-America from United States imperialism.

The Executive Committee of the League against imperialism protests indignantly against the cowardly murder & decides to extend the protest campaign which has commenced in Latin-America to the whole world. The struggle of Latin-America shall also be dealt with in connection with International Anti-Imperialist Day which is being organised by the League for the 13th February 1929.

The above resolution was adopted unanimously.

Professor Alfons Goldschmidt, a member of the General Council of the League, then reported upon the situation in Latin-America and the strength of the anti-imperialist movement there. In his report Professor Goldschmidt gave a statistical review of the penetration of Latin America by Oil, Metallurgical, Electric Packing and Finance Capital of the United States Great Britain declared Professor Goldschmidt, had already been driven into the defensive in Latin America. The conflict between Bolivia and Paraguay had only taken place as a result of the antagonism existing between the United States and Great Britain, and this antagonism would inevitably lead to still greater conflicts. The Latin-American anti-Imperialist movement was growing and embracing larger and larger sections of the population. In Mexico for instance, the League already had 33 sections, and trade union, peasants and intellectual organisations were affiliated to it. The anti-imperialist forces however, lacked co-ordination and it would be necessary to unite them and to join them up with the general world movement against imperialism.

The most important point on the agenda of the conference was the question of the relations between the trade unions and the League. The composition of the conference alone showed

clearly, that the League had strengthened its relations to the masses of the working class very considerably. No less than nine men and women prominent in the trades union movement in Great Britain took part in the conference, including A. J. Cook, the Secretary of the Miner's Federation of Great Britain S. O. Davies, the Vice-Chairman of the M. F. G. B., Harry Pollit, the leader of the British Minority Movement, and Alex Gossip, the Secretary of the National Amalgamated Furnishing Trades Association (Nafta). Two representatives of the Committee for Trade Union Unity were present from Sweden. Others present were: Baumgartner, the President of the Basel Trade Union Cartel, Herclot, from the Unitarian Trades Union Federation (CGTU) of France, Hui Fei the representative of the Chinese Trades Union Federation, Ford from the American Negro workers Congress, Hamdiel Husseini, the leader of the left-wing of the Arabian national revolutionary movement, and Fritz Heckert from the Red International of Labour Unions. The Central Council of Soviet Labour Unions had sent Melnichansky, Figatner and Josefovitch as its delegates.

Other trade union and labour organisations had sent letters of greetings to the conference, including the Peasant Union of the Phillipines, the Finnish Trade Union Federation, etc. During the session a message arrived from the All-Indian Trades Union Congress announcing its intention to affiliate collectively to the League. To-day the Soviet Labour Unions, the All-Indian Trades Union Congress, the Chinese Trades Union Federation, the British Nafta and over 50 other various trades Union organisations are affiliated collectively to the League against imperialism which has thus considerably increased its influence amongst the workers and peasants and formed a strong basis for the carrying out of its international tasks.

For the first time since the existence of the League, representatives of the workers of the Soviet Union were present at a League conference. The conference recorded its appreciation of this fact by unanimously adopting a declaration pointing out to all its affiliated organisation and to all its friends, that the danger of war was growing and appealing to them to prevent war against the Soviet Union with all the means at their disposal.

In a resolution worked out by Cook and Melnichansky and presented to the conference by Cook the League recommends close co-operation between the national-revolutionary and anti-Imperialist movements. Above all, the broad masses of the workers, particularly those organised in the trade unions in the western European countries must co-operate in the anti-imperialist movement. In the colonial and semicolonial countries the League must assist in the work for the development of the Trade unions without, however, interfering in their internal affairs. The resolution concludes with an appeal

to all trades unions and other working class organisations to affiliate to the League.

Despite certain differences of opinion which showed themselves in the trade union question, the conference was unanimously in favour of a revolutionary policy in the anti-imperialist struggle, and declared its intention of fighting with all the forces at its disposal against imperialist war.

This fighting spirit was expressed clearly in the report of Saklatvala concerning the last phase of the Indian struggle for independence and concerning reactionary insurrection in Afghanistan. In its resolution upon the subject the conference pointed out that the reactionary movement in Afghanistan was the result of British intrigues directed towards destroying the friendly relations existing between Afghanistan and the Soviet Union, strengthening the influence of British imperialism in the East, and drawing Afghanistan into the imperialist united front against the Soviet Union.

In the short period of its existence, the League against Imperialism has proved that important sections and groups exist in the various countries and that these groups are prepared to conduct a serious and energetic struggle against imperialism upon revolutionary lines.

Some of the leaders of the anti-Imperialist movement have already suffered for their convictions and for their activity on behalf of the League against Imperialism. Chedli for instance the leader of the anti-imperialist movement in North Africa has received a long term of imprisonment for this anti-Imperialist activities. Whilst Senghor died before his time on account of the exhausting work carried out by him for the anti-imperialist movement. Our comrade Antonio Mella has been murdered outright in order to remove a dauntless fighter against imperialism from our ranks.

P. 1650 E

Jawahar Lal Nehru

Allahabad

Indien.



P. 1651.

**League Against Imperialism and for  
National Independence**

INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT

24, Friedrichstrasse, Berlin S W 48

Berlin, February 20th, 1929.

Jawaharlal Nehru, Esq.

Anand Bhawan

Allahabad, India.

Dear Comrade Nehru,

We acknowledge with thanks receipt of your two registered letters No. O-1/281 and O-1/445. Pleased note that detailed replies to the foregoing letters will be sent you later.

Enclosed please find a short report covering the activities of the International Secretariat and its various Sections, which undoubtedly will interest you.

Yours fraternally,

League against Imperialism

International Secretariat

Berlin SW 48, Friedrichstr, 24

Sd/. Chattopadhyaya.

Willi Munzenberg.

**League Against Imperialism**

**And For**

**NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE.**

*International Secretariat*

24 Friedrichstrasse, Berlin S W 48

Berlin, February 20th, 1929.

Jawaharlal Nehru, Esq.

Anand Bhawan

ALLHABAD, (India.)

Dear Jawhar,

Your registered letter No. O-1/140, dated January 16th has

only reached us, enclosing a letter for Mme. Sun which has been forwarded to her.

There are likely to be highly important developments in India this year and if we are to succeed in preventing the Indian people from again being victimized, we must keep up a very strong educational and organisational work. Your position as General Secretary of the I. N. C. and president of the T. U. C. gives you exceptional chances of making your influence felt, but we are fully aware of the tremendous difficulties you are faced with for want of trained organisers, well informed publicists and reliable revolutionary propagandists.

The Congress Resolution on China was, of course, a fatal mistake. We read of your opposition. We have asked our Chinese friends to draw up a memorandum for you setting forth the actual pro-imperialist character of the present Government,

As for the Pan-Asiatic Conference, we agree with you that even the mover did not know what he meant. That it was decided on in spite of Panditji's sound warning is strange. This vague idea dates from C. R. Das' last speech and has, in my opinion, been strengthened by the even more silly actions of Mahendra Pratap. The Pan-Asiatic Conference has been nothing but an instrument of Japanese imperialist policy and should not be allowed to take place in India. For if it is Pan-Asiatic, the Japanese imperialists, the Nanking Government, Riza Shah Pehlevi, the Sheikh of Koweit, the King of Iraq and the Nizam of Hyderabad must be allowed to take part. If it is meant to be a conference for liberty, anti-imperialist Conference, it cannot be called a Pan-Asiatic Conference. There would be some sense in convening a "Congress of the Oppressed People of Asia" as a small edition of the Brussels Congress, but the A. I. C. C. would have to take the responsibility of changing the name to suit a definite fighting ideal, without introducing racial factors that militate against the international character of the struggle.

The decision of the Indian National Congress to open a foreign department is good. The Office is preparing for you a special list of organisations with addresses, so that you may get into touch with them and obtain their encouragement and support.

We are very glad indeed that our appeal to all our organisations to send messages to the Congress was well responded to, and that these messages were appreciated. The message of the Perbimpoenan Indonesia was sent by registered letter, and we are surprised that it has not reached you at all. A copy will be sent to you from the Hague and we hope it will be incorporated in the full report which will be published.

We congratulate you on having been elected President of the T. U. C. We have just received a letter from Bakhale informing us

with some emphasis that the affiliation of the T.U.C. to the League is "Only for a year". Enclosed is a copy of the reply sent by us to him. Comrade Johnstone has safely returned to Europe.

Nimbiar has sent a long interview with him to the "Forward."

The new Whitley Commission following on the Public Safety Bill is likely to be used to crush in the first instance the affiliation of the I. N. C. and the T. U. C. to the League. The Times and the Observer have telegrams from their correspondents from Delhi, Lahore and Colombo, in which they go out of their way to bring in the League in connection with the Anti-Communist Bill. In other words, they are creating the necessary atmosphere for our industrialists, business men, landowners and bourgeois gentlemen of the Legislative Assembly to support the Government. They have to prove that all anti-imperialist agitation, for national independence, is *Communist* agitation and therefore must be suppressed. Before the War this used to be called "anarchist conspiracies." During the War it was called "Hun propaganda," and now it is "Soviet Intrigues." And our upper class is always ready to repeat these phrases and let millions of Indians be blown to pieces to "Save" the country. "

Hoping that in spite of your heavy duties, you will remain in constant touch with our Office either directly or through your Under-Secretary.

We remain,

Yours fraternally,  
League against Imperialism,  
International Secretariat  
Berlin SW 48, Friedrichstr. 24  
Sd. Chattapadhyaya.

Willi Munzenberg.

---

P. 1651 E.

An envelope with the following superscription on it:—

Einschreiben.

Postal seal of

Berlin S.W.

20/2/29.

R Berlin II  
096 W

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU Esqr.  
Anand Bhawan  
Allahabad,

India.

P. 1651 A.

**Short Review of the Activity of the International  
Secretariat and of the Sections of the League  
against Imperialism**

**ASIA**

**INDIA**

The connections between the International Secretariat and the organisation in India, and above all with the international executive member Jawahar Lal Nehru, were very active. We have just received news that during the month of December 1928 a further series of Indian organisations affiliated to the International League against Imperialism. These organisations were:—

1. *The All-Indian Trades Union Congress* adopted a special resolution at its congress declaring its affiliation to the International League against Imperialism. Jawahar Lal Nehru was elected president of the congress. The Congress also adopted a resolution protesting sharply against the arrest and deportation of J.W. Johnston, the representative of the League at various congresses and conferences in India. The Cologne session of The Executive Committee of the League against Imperialism granted the Indian Trades Union Congress a seat in the Executive.

2. *League for the Independence of India.* This Organisation was founded by Jawahar Lal Nehru and Srinivasa Iyengar and aims at uniting all those elements in favour of the complete independence of India. Srinivas Iyengar was President of the Indian National Congress in 1927 and has always supported the work of the League against Imperialism. The League for the Independence of India decided at its congress to affiliate to the League against Imperialism.

3. *The All-Indian Workers and Peasants Party.* The Indian workers and peasants party amalgamated into a united All-Indian Workers and Peasants Party in December 1927, and this organisation immediately affiliated to the League against Imperialism. The party made an official protest against the arrest and deportation of the representative of the League J.W. Johnstone.

4. *The All-Indian National Congress.* Jawahar Lal Nehru was re-elected as the General Secretary of this organisation and the decision of its December congress to affiliate to the League against Imperialism was ratified. The Congress has also decided to send a number of delegates to the second World congress of the League in Paris. One of these delegates will be sent direct from

India. A great number of the organisations affiliated to the League sent special letters of greeting to the All-Indian National Congress.

5. *The All-Indian National Youth Congress.* The congress of Indian youth Organisations adopted a special resolution expressing its sympathy with the aims and objects of the League against Imperialism.

#### **The Intervention of Great Britain in Afghan Affairs.**

The International Secretariat and the British section of the League both despatched telegrammes to JawaharLal Nehru welcoming the growing movement of sympathy in India for the progressive elements in Afghanistan and protesting against the interference of the Anglo Indian authorities in Afghan affairs. These telegrammes went through the whole of the Indian press.

#### **The Public Safety Bill.**

The Bill which is ostensibly directed against "communist" activity in India, is in reality aimed at the national-revolutionary and anti-imperialist movement. It is aimed in particular at the activity of the League against Imperialism. The International Secretariat therefore sent special telegrams to S. Iyengar and to Motilal Nehru pointing out the great dangers contained in the Bill for the League. In the Press Service of the League the Secretariat dealt in detail with the connection between the Bombay disturbances and the Public Safety Bill. Despite the prohibition of all publications of the League by the Anglo-Indian authorities, a prohibition which often leads to the confiscation of our material in the post, the League has now as before a broad press in India.

#### **GOA.**

##### **(Portuguese India)**

The International Secretariat of the League has taken up connection with Goa, and the Branch of All-National Congress there has promised to send a delegation to the second world congress of the League in Paris.

#### **CEYLON**

A number of newspapers in Ceylon published the matter contained in our Press Service. The International Secretariat has also taken up connections with Ceylon. In this connection it must be pointed out that the London "Times" published a special article concerning Ceylon attacking the activity of the League.

#### **INDONESIA**

Since November 1928 the International Secretariat issues in conjunction with Indonesian friends Malayan Press Service the

contents of which are published by the whole of the Indonesian national revolutionary press. This is a proof of the great sympathy which exists for the League in Indonesia although, in consequence of the terror regime of the Dutch authorities, this sympathy cannot express itself in organised affiliations. A delegation will be sent from Indonesia to the second world congress of the League.

The relations between the International Secretariat of the League and the "Berhimpunan Indonesia" which represents the demands of the Indonesian people in Europe, were particularly close. A few weeks ago this organisation celebrated the conclusion of 20 years existence and the Secretariat sent a telegramme of congratulations in the name of all affiliated and sympathetic organisations.

#### **Philippine Islands.**

At its congress on the 6th December 1928 the Philippine Peasants Union decided to send 4 delegates to the second world congress of the League and adopted a special resolution expressing sympathy with the aims and objects of the League. In a special communication to all sections of the League the International Secretariat appealed to them to demand independence for the Philippines.

#### **Persia.**

The International Secretariat has received a communication from Suleiman Mirza, the Secretary of the Socialist Party of Persia, informing it that its letters did not arrive with the exception of an invitation to send a delegation to the second world congress of the League. In his letter Suleiman Mirza assured the Secretariat that despite the reign of Terror in Persia a delegation would be sent to the second world Congress of the League against Imperialism.

#### **Palestine.**

The negotiations with Soubri, the leader of the left-wing of the Arabian National Congress in Palestine who was present at the recent executive session of the League in Cologne, have been favourable so that an Arabian Secretariat of the League will be formed in Palestine in the near future. This Arabian Secretariat will issue a Press Service in Arabic and organise the sending of a delegation to the world congress of the League.

#### **Egypt.**

Following upon the declaration of the dictatorship of Mahmud Pasha in Egypt; the International Secretariat issued a special memorandum upon the situation in Egypt which was commented upon by the Egyptian press. The Egyptian press also dealt with the executive session of the League in Cologne and con-

demned the Belgian government for the arrest of the British executive members.

#### **Iraq.**

Following upon the expressed wish of the Nationalist Party, the International Secretariat took up connections with Iraq.

#### **Northern Africa.**

The League has an active representative in Northern Africa in the person of its executive member Mustapha Chedli. Communications have been made more difficult lately by the activity of the French censorship. The organisation "Destour" which had held rather aloof from the League took up closer connections with the International Secretariat which published the memorandum forwarded by the former organisation in full in the Arabic language. A number of Arabian newspapers published the memorandum. Mustapha Chedli who is a member of the executive of the "Destour" and also its French representative announces that this organisation will send a strong delegation to the world congress of the League in Paris. He announces simultaneously that delegations will also be sent from Algeria, Morocco and Tripoli.

#### **South Africa**

The South Africa section of the League has developed very favourably. The South African National Congress decided unanimously at its last congress to affiliate to the League and to found together with the Federation of Non-European Workers which was already affiliated to the League, a section of the League in South Africa. The Chairman of the S. A. section is Josiah T. Gumede who is also the President of the S. A. National Congress. The S. A. section carried out its first public meeting in Johannesburg on Anti-Imperialist day. This meeting was very successful thousands attending. The new section will send 4 delegates to the world congress of the League. The S. A. Trades Union Congress (European workers) will also be represented at the congress.

#### **East Africa.**

The former secretary of the East African Branch of the All-Indian National Congress, Nairobi, has informed the International Secretariat that he intends to form a section of the League in East Africa.

#### **Mexico.**

The movement for the support of the national revolutionary army of General Sandino in Nicaragua is proceeding. The Hands off Nicaragua Committee was formed at the instance of the Mexican section of the League against Imperialism. The murder of

Julio Antonio Mella caused a great movement of protest and demonstrations took place before the American and Cuban consulates. Many thousands of workers and peasants took part in the funeral procession of Mella which took several hours to pass a given point.

The organisational committee of the League against Imperialism in Mexico has arranged for a conference of representatives of the countries bordering on the Caribbean Sea to take place in March in Mexico City. Representatives of Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras, San Salvador, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Panama, Cuba, Santa Domingo, Haiti, Porto Rico, Venezuela and Colombia will be present at the conference. Diego Rivera, a member of the executive committee of the League, Salvador de la Plaza, Gustavo Machado, the representative of General Sandino in Mexico, and Federico Bach, the representative of the International League against Imperialism in Mexico are members of the organisation committee to prepare the conference.

#### Nicaragua.

General Sandino, the leader of the national-revolutionary army of Nicaragua against American Imperialism has sent a communication to the League against Imperialism in Berlin inviting it to send a delegation to Nicaragua. The Mexican Secretariat of the League announces that Sandino intends to send an official delegation to the world congress of the League in Paris bringing with it captured American flags and other trophies.

#### Ecuador.

The section of the League in Ecuador had become stagnant, but recently it has commenced to move forward again. A new committee has been formed and instead of the one branch of the League in Quito branches will be organised all over the country.

#### Guatemala

The anti-imperialist elements in Guatemala organised demonstrations against the "United Fruit Co." which feels itself the master of the country. Demonstrations were also organised against American intervention in Nicaragua & against the South American journey of Hoover. It must be remembered that a state of siege exists in Guatemala since the 25th Sept. 1928.

#### Costa Rica.

The anti-imperialist organisations here organised powerful demonstrations against Hoover in puntaranas and in Son Jose under the slogans "Hands off Nicaragua", "Down with Hoover." and "Down with the Imperialism".



## **Bolivia**

A conference of intellectuals took place in the capital LaPaz and formed an organisation with a radical programme. The new organisation has informed the International Secretariat of the League against Imperialism that it intends to affiliate.

## **URUGUAY.**

The Anti-Imperialist League not only organised demonstration against Hoover when he arrived in Montevideo, but also carried on a campaign against the war between Bolivia and Paraguay.

## **PARAGUAY.**

The League has no affiliated organisation in Para-Guay but immediately the conflict broke out between Bolivia and Paraguay it issued a manifesto pointing out that the conflict was nothing but a reflection of the Anglo-American rivalry. The Union Obrera de Paraguay issued a manifesto placing the whole responsibility for the conflict upon the shoulders of the Bolivian government, the international Secretariat therefore considered it good to publish a special Press Service reporting the Cologne executive session of the League and giving the speech of Alfons Goldschmidt in brief. It also republished the manifesto on the conflict between the two countries and pointed out to the workers that the attitude of the Union Obrera de Paraguay was unworthy of a workers and anti-imperialist organisation.

## **ARGENTINE.**

In Argentine three of the four important anti-imperialist organisations are affiliated to the League whilst the fourth, the Palacios organisation sympathises with the aims and objects of the League. The International Secretariat therefore directed an appeal to these organisations to undertake joint action if not to form a united organisation. In the Argentine also a powerful action was carried out against the journey of Hoover and against the war between Bolivia and Paraguay.

## **BRASIL.**

Sections of the League against Imperialism have now been formed in the provinces also, for instance in Pernambuco. The Brazilian newspapers have reported on many occasions concerning the activity of the League which carried out a campaign for giving both moral and material support to Sandino. Demonstrations against Hoover's South American tour were also organised here.

## **THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.**

The American section of the League has carried out a number of anti-imperialist actions lately, usually in conjunction with other organisations. Public meetings were held successfully in

New York, Pittsburg, Cleveland and Washington. The demonstrations were directed against the shooting down of the Banana workers in Columbia, against the war between Bolivia and Paraguay against the intervention of the I-S. in Nicaragua against Sandino, against the South American tour of Hoover which represented an action of Yankee imperialism against Latin-America, against the murder of Julio Antonio Mella by the agents of Machado the President of Cuba and a tool of Wall Street, and against the arrest of J.W. Johnstone in India and finally against the preparations for war in general and against the Soviet Union in particular.

A liberal-radical organisation, the People's Lobby, which opposes the policy of Dollar imperialism in Nicaragua and which seeks above all to influence the American Congress, has directed itself to the International Secretariat with proposals in connection with the second world congress of the League. The international Secretariat replied expressing the hope that the organisation would participate in them world congress.

William Pickens, the secretary of the Association for the Advancement of Colored Peoples, has informed the International Secretariat that his organisation intends to participate in the Congress.

#### **GREAT BRITAIN.**

Since the executive session of the League in Cologne, the British section has carried out a campaign amongst the working class organisations for affiliation to the League. Upto the present 20 local working class organisations have declared their affiliation to the League.

After the return of the British delegates from the Cologne session a public meeting was held in London on Tower Hill at which Colonel Lawrence was burned in effigy.

In January a social evening of the London organisation of the League was held and the situation in East African dominions was discussed as also was the policy of French Imperialism in French Equatorial African. A number of new members were made.

The question of the arrest of Maxton, Saklatvala and Bridgeman was discussed in the House of Commons. Sir Austin Chamberlain refused to make any sort of representations to the Belgian government in the matter. The dissatisfaction with this attitude of Chamberlain extended even beyond the ranks of the Labour Party and the "Manchester Guardian" criticised it sharply.

The British section of the League also sent a telegram to India welcoming the growing movement of sympathy with the progressive elements in Afghanistan.

On the 24th February a delegate conference of the League will take place in Newcastle on Tyne and Maxton, Pollitt and Fred Tait will speak. The conference will form a local section of the League and will elect a delegate to the second world congress.

Ramsay Macdonald published an article in the "Forward" which was chiefly directed against the League. The secretary of the League Bridgeman answered this article.

#### *IRELAND.*

The Secretary of the Anti-Imperialist Association of Ireland was arrested and the Association attempted to hold a public meeting on the 13th February. News of these meetings is not yet to hand.

#### *FRANCE.*

The French anti-imperialist organisation which sympathises with the International League against Imperialism, has developed considerably of late. In a public meeting it declared itself in favour of independence for Indo-China. In a particularly crass case it appealed to public opinion to secure the release of an imprisoned Annamite. It re-issued its bulletin and demanded independence for Syria in a public meeting. The work of the organisation has suffered from the fact that differences of opinion have developed within its own ranks. The trade union elements organised in the Confederation Generale du Travail Unitaire, demand that the basis of the organisation be widened by recruiting amongst the masses of the workers and by the affiliation of trade-unions which would bring about a radicalisation of the organisation. A certain resistance to these proposals is forthcoming from the intellectual members of the organisation. The International Secretariat is striving to mediate between the two parties.

The International Secretariat has again a representative in Paris, and this representative spoke in the name of the International League against Imperialism in a meeting of the Latin-American Students Union (A.G.E.L.A.) in connection with the murder of Antonio Julio Mella. An other meeting was held in conjunction with the League for the Protection of the Negro Race in connection with the present events in the French Congo. This organisation has expressed a desire to affiliate to the League.

A widespread action is being prepared against the new Bill which is now before the French Chamber of Deputies and which aims at crushing all anti-colonial propaganda with heavy terms of hard labour.

#### *HOLLAND.*

As is known to the members of the Executive Committee from previous reports, a crisis broke out in the Dutch section

caused by the fact that the Dutch social democracy exercised pressure on those of its members. Who were also members of the League with a view to persuading them to resign their membership. In consequence the Perhimpöenan Indonesia decided to disaffiliate from the Dutch section and to work only in co-operation with the International League against Imperialism.

Negotiations between the International Secretariat, the Dutch section and the Perhimpöenan Indonesia resulted in the issue of joint manifesto to the Dutch workers in which the latter organisation declared itself prepared to join in the leadership of a reorganised Dutch section of the League. The campaign was opened with public meetings in Leyden and in the Hague at which representatives of the Perhimpöenan Indonesia and of the Dutch section spoke. According to all reports these meetings were very successful. In the meeting which took place in the Hague alone, 30 new members were won.

#### **GERMANY**

In Germany, great section of the youth movement are interested in the work of the League. A number of youth organisations have already appointed representative to work with the committee for the organisation of an anti-imperialist youth congress at the time of the second world congress of the League against Imperialism as decided upon by the Cologne executive session of the League. Those organisations which took part in the Ommen world youth peace congress are particularly interested in the work of the League against Imperialism and a number have already declared their affiliation.

Public meetings were held by the German section of the League in Berlin and in Frankfurt am Main in the Rhineland on anti-imperialist Day.

#### **THE SOVIET UNION.**

The Central Council of Soviet Labour Unions has been officially informed by the International Secretariat of the League against Imperialism of the intention to grant the former organisation one seat upon the Executive Committee of the League.

#### **SWITZERLAND.**

After listening to a report made by its delegate to the Cologne executive session of the League against Imperialism, the Executive committee of the Trades and Labour Council in Basle decided to apply to the International Executive Committee of the League for permission to affiliate to the League. This decision of the Executive committee of the Trades and Labour Council in Basle must be ratified by a delegate meeting of the affiliated organisations in order to become finally valid.

P. 1651 B.

February 20th 1928.

R. R. Bakhale, Esq Asst. Secy.

All-India Trade Union Congress

c/o Servants of India Society

Sandhurst Road, Girgaon

B O M B A Y , India.

Dear Comrade Bakhale,

We are very much obliged to you for your letter, dated the 26th January, informing us of the resolution passed at the Jharia Conference of the All-India T. U. C. affiliating the latter with the League against Imperialism and protesting against the arrest of our fraternal delegate, Comrade Johnstone.

We note that you emphasize the fact that the affiliation is "only for a year". The affiliation itself is a fact of tremendous importance and the news arrived on the very day when the Executive Committee of the League Against Imperialism met at Cologne to discuss mainly the question of the role of the Trade Unions in the imperialist as well as in the colonial countries in the struggle for the overthrow of imperialism. It was a particularly gratifying event in view of the fact that the All-Russian Federation of Trade Unions had declared their affiliation only shortly before.

But when you limit the affiliation to one year, you mean of course that the matter will be discussed once more at the next Conference at the end of this year. The future of India depends not on the Princes and not on the Nationalist leaders but wholly and solely on the Indian working-class, and it is inconceivable that the workers can ever better their lot except by a determined effort to overthrow both foreign imperialism and its Indian allies. So, if the affiliation has any meaning at all, it must mean that the will of the Indian workers to fight imperialism is clearly expressed and that it will be repeatedly expressed at each Congress until the battle has been won. The time-limit of one year is surely, therefore, a technical matter and not a limitation expressing the possibility of reverting to a compromise with imperialism.

We are faced with serious difficulties in the struggle. You ought to know that the condition of the British workers is not that which it could be, had they abandoned their absurdity of industrial peace and cooperation and taken full political and economic power into their hands, we ought not to be misled any longer by the British Labour Party or the International Labour Office. The only way for the Indian workers is to resist with all their organised

strengthen the Simon Commission, the Public Safety Bill, the Trade Disputes Bill and the new Whitley Commission. We hope that the affiliation of the Indian T. U. C. to the League will mean that the working-class will take the lead in the struggle for independence.

Your letter will be placed before the Executive Committee, on whose behalf we are already authorised to say that it welcomes the affiliation and regards the All-India T. U. C. as one of its most important affiliated organisations.

With our sincerest greetings to you, to the General secretary and to your new President.

We remain, Dear Comrade,

Yours fraternally.

A 2501 11

INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE AGAINST IMPERIALISM

FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

International Secretariat

24, Friedrichstrasse, Berlin SW 48

LEAGUE AGAINST IMPERIALISM

AND FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

International Secretariat

24, Friedrichstrasse, Berlin SW 48

Berlin, March 20th, 1929.

Jawaharlal Nehru, Esq.

Anand Bhawan

ALLAHABAD.

INDIA.

Dear Comrade Nehru:

Kindly be advised that your suggestions and amendments regarding the Statutes have been sent out, in the form of a circular letter, to all the members of the Executive Committee. I hope you have received a copy of this circular letter by this time.

Please be informed that, from now on all correspondence from

you will be promptly dealt with at this Office.

With anti-imperialist greetings, I remain,

Yours fraternally,

League against Imperialism

International Secretariat

Berlin SW 48, Friedrichstr, 24.

Will Munzenberg.

P. 1652 A *Handwritten*

LEAGUE AGAINST IMPERIALISM

AND FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE.

International Secretariat

24, Frieichstrasse, Berlin SW 48

Berlin, March 19th, 1929.

Jawaharlal Nehru, Esq.

Allahabad, India.

Dear Comrade:

We have been sending our weekly English Press Service to over a hundred addresses in India, the majority of them being newspapers; but we fear that the most part of our Press News never reach its destination, for we have not seen our material used by any of the Indian papers. We are now sending our press Service by letter post to a Select number of individuals and newspapers, and not as heretofore to over a 100 per printed matter post.

We enclose our latest news bulletin for your information. We should be very glad if you would give our weekly news service as much publicity as possible, for instance, by supplying the leading Indian papers with it. Kindly let us have your opinion, suggestions and criticisms regarding our weekly English Press Service.

We were recently asked by the leading working-class paper in Basel for information about the activities of the Basel Missionary Society, which has plantations and trading societies in India. We

would appreciate it very much if you could see that some one is put on the job of gathering data of the living conditions wages, etc. of the workers employed by the above-mentioned Society their connection with the British imperialists, etc. It is important for us to have this information in order to fight against the imperialist policy of the missionaries who are closely connected (this is especially so in Basel) with the upper ruling class.

Trusting to hear from you soon, we remain,

Fraternally yours

League against imperialism

International Secretariat

Berlin sw. Friedrichstr. 24.

Will Munzenberg.

*withheld*  
P. 1652 B.

LEAGUE AGAINST IMPERIALISM

AND FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE.

International Secretariat

24, Friedrichstrasse, Berlin SW 48.

Berlin, March 12th. 1929.

To the members of the Executive Committee.

Dear Comrade,

The various alterations suggested by the members of the E. C. who were present at the last meeting in Cologne (Maxton, Fimmen, Bridgeman, Saklatvala, Mme Duchene and Hatta) or who had sent their suggestions by letter (Roger Baldwin) have already been incorporated in the draft Statutes of the League submitted by the Secretaries.

We have now received a letter from Jawaharlal Nehru drawing our attention to certain points in the draft that, in his opinion, may effect the Indian National Congress. Nehru writes:

"I have gone through your statutes. I have no special suggestions to make in regard to them except as to one particular.



While you refer to collective membership you state that "national organizations and groups in countries where no national section of the League exists may also affiliate collectively. The admission of such bodies to collective membership shall be subject to the same conditions as those governing the admission of national sections."

"Now this is by no means clear. It seems to imply that the position of national organisations will be identical with that of the national sections of the League. Where does the Indian National Congress come in? You will remember that at the Cologne meeting of the Executive Council held in 1927 this question was discussed and it was decided to have affiliated organizations as well as associated organizations, the distinction being that an affiliated organization was in complete agreement with the League in regard to every matter whilst an associated organization agreed with the objects and generally with the policy of the League though not necessarily agreeing to everything else that the League might do. This point was made clear in the resolution of the All Indian Congress Committee passed in May 1927 and in deciding to make the Congress an associated organization of the League a special note was added to this effect:"

Under the rules of the League an associate organization is an organization which is not affiliated to the Congress and which need not wholly to agree with the programme and activities of the League."

It seems to me that this distinction might be kept up in your statutes. Otherwise there certainly would be difficulties.

"In the paragraph relating to membership it is said that all groups or persons...who are prepared to recognise the principles...enunciated at the Brussels Congress".

This is a strange way of dealing with the subject. Do you expect every person who reads your statutes to go about hunting for a report of the Brussels Congress in order to find out whether he can become a member or not? Surely your rules must be complete and most certainly your object must be clearly stated. As a matter of fact it is clearly stated in Art. I and a reference to it in Art. III would be quite enough. Why the Brussels Congress has been dragged in I do not understand."

In order to meet this objection we suggest the following further changes in the Statutes:—

Paragraph III (Membership) opening sentence page 2 of draft

In place of

"...who are prepared to recognise the principles of the anti-imperialist struggle enunciated at the Brussels Congress"

substitute

"who are prepared to accept the aims and objects of the League as outlined in paragraph I".

Paragraph III (Membership):

After (b) (1). and (2) add (on page 4 of draft)

(c) Associate Membership:

In countries where no national sections of the League exists, any national organization or group sympathising in general with the aims and objects of the League and willing to co-operate actively in the struggle against imperialism may be admitted to the League as associate members. The conditions (regarding fees, the right to vote, the number of delegates to International Congresses etc.) will be the same as these governing the admission of national sections.

(b) Individual members.

In exceptional cases individual persons may be enrolled as associate members of the International League without, however, having the right to vote.

We should be greatly obliged if you would kindly give these suggestions your immediate attention and let us have your criticisms at your convenience.

Yours faithfully

League against Imperialism

International Secretariat.

Berlin SW 48, Friedrichstr. 24.

V. Chattopadhyaya. Will Munzenberg.

P. 1652 E.

An envelope with the following superscription on it:—

Postal Seal of

14-3-29.

JAWAHARLAL, Nehru Esqr.,

Ahnand Bhawan,

ALLAHABAD,

INDIEN.

P. 1653. *Rejected*

THE  
PRESS SERVICE  
OF THE

League Against Imperialism

THE INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT

24, FRIEDRICHSTRASSE,

Berlin S. W. 48.

Cable Address  
ANKOLINA BERLIN.

TELEPHONE  
DOENHOFF 6061.

**Anti-Imperialist Activity in Brasil**

ANKO. Up till quite recently Brasil had a number of local anti-imperialist organisations, but these organisations had little or no organisational connection with each other. "A Esquerda" now reports that on the 20th February an important meeting of all these organisations took place in Rio de Janeiro at which a Central Committee was formed and an All-Brasil Anti-imperialist League was formed. The President of the Brazilian league is Mauricio de Lacerdo, and the secretaries are; Pedro da Motta Lima, a well known Brazilian author, Raoul Karaik and Francisco Mangabeira. The meeting also decided that an All-Brasil anti-imperialist congress should be held. On the 22nd February the newly formed league held a public meeting in Rio de Janeiro to protest against the murder of Juli Mella. The meeting was very well attended. The League issued a manifesto in thousands of copies to the Brazilian workers and peasants, pointing out the dangers of imperialism and giving a clear programme of the struggle and declaring the new League would work together with the International League against Imperialism. "Folha Academica" which is the organ of the Brazilian intellectuals and which is published in Rio de Janeiro, declares that the intellectuals must support the work of the new league. Now that Brasil and Paraguay are in conflict, it is absolutely necessary that a strong anti-imperialist movement should exist in Brasil in order to quash the preparations for a war behind which the two old enemies of Latin—A, erica stand, *i. e.*, Great Britain and the United States.

**Dollar Imperialism challenges Latin-America**

ANKO. The insolence of the North American imperialists who regard the Caribbean Sea as their own preserves is shown once again by the recent naval demonstration of the U. S. A. fleet off the

harbour of Punta Arenas in Costa Rica. In particular, certain new submarines were tested. The whole manoeuvre was part of a plan for defending the Panam Canal, the result of the manoeuvres being that a hostile fleet (Great Britain's fleet of course) was able to penetrate the lines of defence and destroy the canal in a few hours.

The result of the manoeuvre will of course be that the U. S. will seek new defence bases. The American government is obviously considering the suitability of Costa Rica for this purpose. The people of Latin America will have to unite against North American imperialism if they wish to retain their independence.

#### Lies about General Sandino.

ANKO. The American imperialist newspapers are publishing reports according to which General Sandino the leader of the Nicaraguan national-revolutionary army, has fled from Nicaragua and is at present in Honduras. It is reported from Tegucigalpa in Honduras however, that Sandino certainly has never crossed the frontier into Honduras. A bloody struggle has taken place near Las Chanos between Sandino's men and governmental troops supported by American Marines. The battle lasted several hours and certain fugitives, members of the American Marine Corps, were forced over the frontier into Honduras. The national revolutionary troops were led by Generals Salgado and Ortez, whilst General Sandino was not present at the battle at all. Sandino is now as before Chipota in Nicaragua.

#### U. S. A wins the Bolivian-Paraguayan War.

ANKO. The dispute between Bolivia and Paraguay concerning the Gran Chaco will not come before any "international court of arbitration". It will be brought before neither the League of Nations nor the Hague nor the Pan-American Union. According to the latest report both States have agreed to Brigadier Frank Mc Coy as arbitrator. The Brigadier is well-known in South America, having carried out the "elections" in Nicaragua. Whether the British interests will agree to this solution of the question is another matter. In any case, for the moment the appointment of this peculiar "arbitrator" is a definite victory for North American imperialism, and a sign of the continuous penetration of the latter into South America which threatens the independence of all South American States.

#### German Colonists against native Planters in Tanganyika.

ANKO. The European colonists in Tanganyika are carrying on a furious campaign against the Kilimanjaro Native Planters Association. The leaders of this movement against the native planters are the German colonists, but they are receiving the support of the English and Indian colonists. The European

colonists held a meeting and telegraphed the following to the Governor: KNPA inciting disturbances against government. You should visit district personally in order to examine situation. The colonists declare quite openly that they are not prepared to permit the natives to establish a monopoly of the best lands in Kilimanjaro. The leader of the anti-native movement is General Boyd-Moss. The German colonists have declared: "Unless the European colonists succeed in securing an alteration in the policy of the government, then sooner or later a bloody insurrection will take place amongst the natives and the negrophile idea will collapse. The British authorities will then suppress the insurrection with their customary brutality, thus proving that their allegedly considerate policy towards the natives is really the most brutal and ruthless policy of all in reality". For these German colonists the present policy of the British authorities is "negrophile"!! For them the negroes are not yet being exploited sufficiently.

#### **American Imperialism penetrating Peru.**

ANKO. It is reported from Lima in Peru that an American named Lee has obtained a concession from the Peruvian government for the building of a railroad from Yurmaguas to the Pacific Coast. Seventeen million Dollars are to be invested in this scheme and railroad is to be built by Indios and by unemployed from Central Europe.

#### **The Terror in Ireland.**

ANKO. During the last week in Dublin no less than 136 persons were arrested. In the meantime all but 30 have been released. The names of these 30 who are being detained have not been published and it has not been possible up to the moment to discover who they are and why they are being held. Every day new arrests are taking place and any persons who really wants independence for Ireland and not a sham "Free State" is in danger of being arrested as a "terrorist". The present campaign of persecutions is not enough for the London "Times" which is demanding further repression.

#### **French Authorities against the Destour Party.**

ANKO. Since the release of Mustapha Chedli Khairallah from prison the French have been compelled to recognise that the movement for the independence of Tunis has grown. The French press is therefore clamouring for new repressive measures. The Destour newspaper "La Tunisie Nouvelle" is accused of reprinting "every infamy of the Communists" and of having printed a hymn to freedom appealing to the Tunisians to be prepared to die for the freedom of their country from the oppression of the French. An article which appeared in "El Iraq" in

Bagdad and described the leader of the national-revolutionary movement in Tunis Abdelazis Taalbi who is forced to live in exile, as a "martyr to the cause of Tunis", has particularly annoyed the French newspapers who practically demand that the British authorities should prohibit "El Iraq".

#### Terror and Revolts in Ruanda.

ANKO. The oppressive policy of the Belgian colonial government in Ruanda which is a Belgian mandate territory has borne fruit. Lands were taken from the natives and handed over to Concession companies, whereby the social democratic concession company also received its share of the "expropriated" lands. The former native owners of the lands were carried off work in the copper mines of Katanga. As a result of this robbery and the kidnapping of the natives the fields were not tilled and a famine broke out. The Belgian colonial administration had no assistance to offer of course and the situation of the natives quickly became terrible. As a result, revolts of the natives commenced, not only here but also in the neighbouring territory of Uganda. The leaders of the native revolts were a brother of the King of Ruanda and a priestess of the sect of Nya Bingri. This sect announced that justice in Africa will only return when the European oppressors have been driven out and appeals to the natives to rise against their oppressors. The Belgian authorities regard the female leader of the revolt as particularly dangerous. The natives commenced to revolt in Gatsibou where native princes who were known to be friendly to the foreigners were murdered. The Belgian authorities were driven out and a number of officials killed. A military expedition armed with all modern methods of colonial warfare sent out by the Belgian Governor-General was of course quickly able to defeat the badly armed natives. The leaders of the revolt fled to the neighbouring territory of Uganda where they were immediately arrested by the British authorities and handed over to the Belgians. The brother of the King of Ruanda was one of these who were handed over to the Belgians and his life is now in acute danger. British troops operated jointly with the Belgian troops and occupied Kyante which was regarded as the centre of the revolt. For the moment therefore the back of the insurrection has been broken, but rifles and machine-guns can only establish the authority of the oppressors and exploiters temporarily. The movement for the freedom of Africa from imperialist oppression and exploitation is steadily growing.

#### Ibn Saud must be brought to Heel.

ANKO. The London "Times" points out that the new High Commissioner for Iraq Mr. Clayton has been instructed to come to a final agreement with Ibn Saud concerning all current questions, in other words, Ibn Saud is to be brought to heel once

and for all, with corruption if possible and if not then with force. The strengthening of the British military forces in Iraq and the new squadrons of the Royal Air Force are the preparatory conditions for this "agreement". The "Times" of the 16th March contains the announcement that various officers have received distinctions "in recognition for services rendered in the operations in the Protectorate of Aden during the period June-August 1928". The nature of these "services rendered" is clear, and this list of officers and men decorated is at the same time a fairly plain hint to Ibn Saud what he may expect unless he is able to come to an "agreement" with the High Commissioner Mr. Clayton.

P. 1653 E.



Einschreiben.

Jawaharlal Nehru, Esqr.

Anand Bhawan

ALLAHABAD

INDIA.

P. 1654. P.

The First All-India Workers' & Peasants'  
Party Conference Calcutta!

22-10-1928.

My dear Ghate,

Day before yesterday Spratt and myself returned from

Meerut where we went to attend the Workers and Peasants Conference. You will be glad to learn that Workers' and Peasants' Party of U. P. and Delhi has been formed. Goswami sent you in a separate cover the announcement of our conference. Please copy the same and get it published in the papers of Bombay both English and vernacular. The Calcutta papers have given the publicity twice. In a day or two a receipt book of the Reception Committee will be sent to you under a registered post. Please do collect some money to meet the expenditure of the conference. It has been estimated Rs. 2,000. Please take up the matter with all seriousness. Let us prove that we are worth something.

While we had been there, Comrade Dange promised to write a manifesto on the roll of the Workers' and Peasants' Party. I do not know whether he has done it or not. If he has not drafted it till now no purpose will be served by it. What is about the propoganda for the conference? Please reply at once.

Yours fraternally,

Sd/- MUZAFFAR AHMED.

Superscription on the envelope:—

MR. S. V. GHATE B.A.

Secretary, Workers' & Peasants' Party.

17 Dwarkadas Mansions

Sandhurst Road

Bombay No. 4.

P. 1655 P

**League Against Imperialism**

**AND FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE**

**International Secretariat**

**24, Friedrichstrasse, Berlin SW 48.**

**BERLIN, January 2nd. 1928.**



Jawahar Lal Nehru Esqr.

Anand Bhawan

All India B.A.D.

My dear Jawahar,

Your registered letter Nr-0-1/2678 duly received. You make the surprising statement that you have not been hearing from me regularly, although hardly a week has passed without some communication from the office, mostly by registered letter, I think there must be some mistake on your side, and I feel sure that if you look through your file carefully you will find that there has been no irregularity in our correspondence, unless indeed letters have been confiscated.

The Johnstone affairs needs some clearing up. We wrote to you in good time to inform you that delegate was being sent, and we gave Johnstone letters of recommendation to you personally, in addition to official mandates for the TUC, INC etc. It is necessary to protest against his expulsion. We sent a telegram to the Congress President on December 30. in which, in addition to our greetings etc., we called upon the Congress to protest against Johnstone's expulsion. The Indian papers containing an account of the TUC proceedings will reach us next week and we shall not know until then what attitude the TUC took up with regard to our League as well as to the expulsion of Johnstone. Johnstone, according to a Morning Post telegram, seems to have actually appeared as our delegate at Jharia and to have been served with an order to quit India. It would be a shame if this action was taken by the Government without an energetic protest from the TUC. If you did not know that we had sent a delegate it was undoubtedly because your letters are being held up.

I hope your wounds are better. The news from the Congress camp is not very encouraging. Much will depend upon the work that is done by your League and our League and the TUC during this year. In the meantime war preparations are going on merrily and there is every reason to fear that India will once more be bled.

The next meeting of the Executive is to take place on the 15th. and 16th., most probably at Brussels. We are expecting, in addition to the EC member, Cook, Davies, Pollitt, Gossip from England, Melnichanski and Figatner from Russia, and representatives from Sweden, Finland, Norway and Czecho-Slovakia. It is likely to be an interesting meeting.

I hope you have received the draft statutes of the League and that you already sent them back with your suggestions.

Yours affectionately

Sd. CHATTO.

P. 1655 P E.

An envelope with the following superscription on it:—

Postal seal of

Berlin SW.

2-1-29.

Einschreiben	
R.	BERLIN 11 108 W

Jawahar Lal Nehru Esqr.

Anand Bhawan

Allahabad.

Indien.

P. 1656. *Received*

Letter dated 10th September 1928 from J. E. Potter Wilson and Sh. Saklatwala, Secretaries Worker's Welfare League of India, London; to B. F. Bharucha, 63 Peddar Road, Bombay.  
Dear Mr. Bharuch,

I am enclosing herewith a draft for £. 10 as intimated in my telegram of the 1st September to be paid to the Bombay Textile Strike Committee.

The collections made for the various strike movements in India is now slowing down, in fact the demands made upon the workers to subscribe to various funds is very heavy, and the official support to the Indian workers has not been forthcoming to the extent to which it should. Despite this though, we are still appealing for funds and a few pounds are coming in.

I have to thank you for the services you have rendered to the League in its activities in the past and hope that in the future, our work will be considerably increased especially in the way of publicity for the struggles of the Indian workers.

Thanking you again on behalf of the League.

Yours faithfully,

Secretary, J. E. Potter Wilson,

Sh. Saklatwala.

Note.—Enclosed in the cover was draft No. M44-13082 for Rs. 133/4/- of the Westminster Bank Ltd. London drawn on the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation, Bombay.

P. 1657.

Letter dated 20th November 1928 from A. C. N. Nambiar, Berlin, to Mrs Subasini Nambiar, C/o Miss Mrihalini Chattopadhaya, New High School for girls, 5 Napier Road Fort, Bombay.  
My dear Babe,

Your letters arrive two and three weeks late and often in a disgracefully damaged condition the result I believe of inartistic handling by the crude censor authorities over there. Still they come. Do send me short articles and photos which do not lose value in transit and I shall try and place them in the German press and let you have the honarar that I get. I have done very little work this week. Adhikari is leaving to-morrow and there were several parties in his honour. He is travelling by the Pilsna and is expected to

arrive in Bombay about the 10th of December. I should feel happy if you could meet him on arrival and help him in regard to rooms and such matters for the first few days. I have come to know him well and consider him to be quite sincere. He is at present a bit over-enthusiastic but once he gets to India he will knock against hard facts and find what the Germans call "vichhge norm". Do meet him often. You may be able to arrange some sort of a class. About money, I shall see what I can do from here. I must tell you frankly that I will have to depend on my earnings. Could you kindly get the I. D. M. people to post me a note of appointment. Binnie is away in Holland. The ancient partner has left for China. Hans has just arrived To-day is some sort of a holiday. When you meet Hirlekar please tell him that I have read the letters from the "Hindusthan" and that the affair will receive my best attention. Love to you.

Yours

(Sd.) Nam.

*Enclosure*  
D. B.  
D. B.  
So long since I have heard from you that I've begun to think you've put me on the *black list*. If not please let hear all about it. All kinds of greetings.

(Sd.) D. P.

P. 1658 P.

**Workers' Welfare League of India.**

The Agent of the Indian Trade Union Movement in  
Great Britain.

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

President:            Treasurer:            Secretary:  
Dr. K. S. Bhat.    Mr. K. Sheldrake.    Mr. J. E. Potter-Wilson,  
Indian Secy.  
Mr. S. Saklatwala

M. P.

November 29, 1928.

Dear Ghate,

This is just a tiny note to say how glad I have been to receive your letters and notes on the mill strike and other information. It has been of the greatest use to all of us over here, and not least to the Workers Welfare League, and I hope you will continue to keep us in touch with what is going on. I have been away for some time and hence my silence, as far as writing letters goes, but I hope from now on to be writing to you regularly and will try to be of assistance to you as regards books, and so on.

Can you please see that more than a single copy of the Kranti is sent to us, as it is important for study and information on the movement as well as for Propaganda among Indians here. Further, we do not seem to have received any copies of the Young Comrade, and there must be other literature also which you might be able to send. Please let us have the maximum possible and if possible in more than one copy so that I can send a file elsewhere.

I will write at length in a few days,

B

With best wishes,

C. P. Dutt.

Mr. S. V. Ghate,

17 Dwarkadas Mansions,

Sandhurst Road.

BOMBAY.

India.

P. 1659 P.

**WORKERS' WELFARE LEAGUE OF INDIA.**

The Agent of the Indian Trade Union Movement in  
Great Britain.

President: Treasurer: Secretary:

Dr. K. S. Bhat. Mr. K. Sheldrake. Mr. J. E. Potter-Wilson.

Indian Secretary:

Mr. S. Saklatwala, M. P.

22 Great Windmill Street,

London, W. 1.

January 10, 1929

Dear Bradley,

Your reports and accounts of the mill strike sent to us and to the Sunday Worker have been of great assistance to people over here in getting a proper appreciation of the situation. At least to some extent they have been used in the press and some reward is obviously due to you for this. The situation still continues to be unclear, as far as can be made out from the newspapers and I very much hope that you will be able to keep us informed of what progress is being made.

The League is busy keeping up its propaganda work. The old premises at the L. R. D. have had to be given up as the lease expired and for the time being we are situated in a little office at the above address. So far we have had no news of what took place at the T. U. C. at Jharia. We do not even know what decision was taken with regard to the League. I hope that the reactionary decision to cancel the agency of the Workers' Welfare League was rescinded, but I am very much afraid that the Joshi influence has been too strong. It is a great pity that it was not possible to make any arrangements for telegraphic news to be sent for our press of the happenings at the various conferences. We have still no news of the various meetings that took place along side the National Congress.

It should be very easy to make arrangements for you or some one else that you could suggest to be appointed an official representative of the Sunday Worker (I believe you already have authority as a matter of fact) so as to get the right to send cables at press rates. The paper I know is anxious to do this and would willingly arrange

for expenses to be met from over here. And it would be very useful for our work also. Can you possibly really go into the matter seriously and report to us what can be done.

Another thing, our League is very anxious to have an up to date list of addresses of Trade Unions. We have the addresses of the Unions affiliated to the T. U. C. as given in the February 1923 issue of their bulletin, but this does not give the new Unions not then affiliated to the Congress or the addresses of Trade Union Federations. Could you supply with a list.

Please let us have your impressions and opinions of the various Conferences in which you have taken part. That is most important for judging events in India.

The League will be very glad if it can be of assistance to you in any way. I hope that you are in good health and that your work for Indian Trade Unionism is bearing good results.

Best regards from all friends,

C. P. D.

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P. 1659 PE.

Mr. B. F. Bradley,

c/o Mrs. E. de Burgh

Apollo Chambers,

Fort,

BOMBAY

INDIA

P. 1660 P.

WORKERS' WELFARE LEAGUE OF INDIA

The Agent of the Indian Trade Union Movement in Great Britain.

President:

Treasurer:

Secretary:

Dr. K. S. Bhat,

Mr. K. Sheldrake.

Mr. J. E. Potter Wilson.

Indian Secretary:

Mr. S. Saklatvala, M. P.

22 St. Windmill St. Picca-

Dill Circus.

W. I.

January 31 1929.

Dear Bradley,

On behalf of the W. W. L., I wish to thank you for your letter of Jan. 12 with preliminary reports of the A. I. T. U. C. and A. I. R. F. meetings, which will come before our annual meeting in February.

The League will be sorry to learn that it has been decided not to give it the opportunity to function as the agent of the A. I. T. U. C. in England, while at the same time it is satisfactory to learn at least that an end will be put to the impossible position of attempting to maintain the General Council of the British T. U. C., with its notorious representatives of the A. I. T. U. C.

In spite of the opposition of certain elements inside the A. I. T. U. C., it is clear that there is a growing number of class conscious trade union workers who are performing a great service in helping the trade union movement in a forward direction. In view of the continuation of the rationalisation offensive, both in England and in India, further big struggles undoubtedly confront the Indian workers in the immediate future, and under these conditions the success which has already been gained can only be continued and extended if a strong fighting front is maintained and developed. In this connection, it is evidence of the fighting spirit of the Indian workers that there is such a widespread call for direct action in support of their demands.

The decision of the A. I. T. U. C. to call upon the whole movement to prepare for a general strike in opposition to the reactionary trades disputes Bill is perhaps the most important decision taken by the Congress. If this is to be more than a vague



threat it will require the most energetic measures to be taken in preparation. At the same time, with the X X development of the situation unquestionably pointing to the rise of further big struggles it appears that the T. U. C. is undoubtedly pursuing the correct policy in issuing the call for a general strike. Under this slogan the whole of the trade union work in the country will have to be orientated if a successful stand is to be made. The utmost publicity will be required for the decisions and every section of the movement drawn into the preparations. I note that the proposal for a general strike also came before the A. I. R. F. and was only defeated by a small majority. It is inevitable that the matter will have to come up again as the policy of 'wait and see' reveals its impotence. Last year saw many strike deprived of the success otherwise possible owing to the lack of a coordinated policy. If in the coming year it is possible to organise united action among different sections of workers a great step forward will have been made in developing class consciousness and gaining the aims of the Indian working class.

You have a very difficult and responsible part, faced as you are with the implacable hostility of British Imperialism as well as the opposition of reformists in the Indian trade union leadership, and I should like to congratulate you on the painstaking and excellent work which you have carried out. All of here hope that in co-operation with the many good fighters in the trade union ranks a successful struggle will be waged. The League here will do its best to arouse sympathy and obtain assistance for the Indian workers in this struggle. If there is anything that you can suggest should be undertaken, we shall be very glad to hear from you. Efforts are being made here to guarantee assistance for you in your labour.

Yours fraternally,

J. E. Potter Wilson.

Superscription of the envelope;—

Mr. B. F. Bradley,

c/o Mrs. E. de Burgh.

Appolo Chambers,

Fort,

Bombay

Postal Seal:—

India.

London S. W. I.

Jan. 31

1929,

P. 1661

Letter dated 6-12-28 from P. spratt, 2/1 European Asylum lane, Calcutta, to S. H. Jhabwala, s/o G. I. P. Railway Workers' Union, Shetye Building, Poibavdi, Parel, Bombay.

(Vide Exh. P. 545 (3))

This letter is accompanied by the following articles:—

- (1) functions of the Sub-Committee.
- (2) Draft of Proposed Statement:—  
"Labour & Swaraj."
- (3) Draft of statement, by the Trades Union Congress on the Nehru Committee's Report and constitution.

(Vide Exh. P. 545 (3).)

P. 1662,

RED INTERNATIONAL OF

LABOUR UNIONS.

Address for telegrams: Moscow Profintern.

Moscow, 23rd October 1928. No. 130/11

2627 27. X. 1928

To the IXth, All-India Trade Union Congress

Jariah.

Dear Comrades,

The Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labour Unions sends through your Congress heartiest greetings to the brave India proletariat struggling in such onerous conditions against native capital and imperialist violence and oppression.

Your Congress meets at a time of exceptional importance for the Indian working class. After the lull of the last few years the Indian proletariat is awakening to new life and increasingly realising that it is a class opposing another class.

Just at a time when the living and labour conditions of the Indian workers have been going from bad to worse, the foreign and the Indian capitalists are conducting an offensive against the beggarly wages of the Indian workers and through methods of rationalisation are endeavouring to increase still more the exploitation of the workers and women workers who are living in semi-starvation.

The answer to the growing exploitation and worsening position of the broad masses was the strike movement caught up by hundreds of thousands of workers and women workers. The strikes of the textile workers, railwaymen, and municipal workers of Bombay, Lilloah and other industrial centres are of stupendous significance both of the Indian workers and for the working class throughout the world. In point of fact, what have the strikes during the last year shown? They have demonstrated (1) that the Indian capitalists unitedly with the British imperialists have taken the most brutal measures to suppress the strike movement; (2) that the British Government in India have not only employed armed forces to suppress the workers but they are introducing special legislation (The Trade Disputes Bill) to cripple the working-class movement; (3) that a section of the trade union leaders with the assistance of prominent nationalist politicians held back the movement and continually sought to compromise with the capitalist, putting more hopes on the goodwill of the exploiters than on the forces of the working masses; (4) that, despite their weak organisation, the broad masses of workers and women workers choose the right road when they came out on a wide front, setting up strike organs in the process of the struggle, and, lastly, (5) that, for victory over the capitalists, strong mass trade unions are necessary imbued with the implacable spirit of the class struggle, trade unions that will struggle resolutely against the capitalist and against the adherents of class collaboration in the ranks of the workers themselves. These lessons must surely be noted. The practical experience gained by the masses during the last few months of struggle, when class confronted class, is the most important acquisition of the Indian proletariat since its existence. All the weak and strong points of the movement must be studied and conclusions drawn for the impending class struggles. The experience of the last strikes makes it imperative that every class conscious worker should answer the question: What road has the T. U. movement of the India to follow? *Is it to be the road of class struggle, or that of class collaboration?* In other words, will the trade union movement of India be subservient to and follow the lead of its capitalists and the foreign capitalists, or will it organise the masses and lead them in the struggle against capitalism and Imperialism.

This question is raised for the Indian workers not merely by the position at home but by the external position of India. Being the richest colony of Great Britain, India is subject to constant "concern" on the part of British imperialism. With the growth

of Consciousness on the part of the wide masses of toilers in India, the British imperialists are confronted with the question of new ways and means of consolidating their domination. While, on the one hand, the Conservative Government is suppressing with fire and sword the emancipatory movement in India, on the other hand it is endeavouring to influence India through its democratic and socialist agents. During the last few years the workers of India have been in a position to convince themselves that the only aim of the representatives of the Labour Party (e. g. Graham Pole and Co.) and of the Trade Union General Council (Purcell, Tom Shaw, etc.) was to dissuade the masses from taking up the revolutionary struggle against British imperialism. If there were any doubts on this score, it would be sufficient to remember the attitude of the Anglo-Indian authorities to these "labour" representatives and to contrast it with their treatment of the representatives of the real class-conscious workers of England (e. g., Allison Spratt).

The imperialist character of the British Labour Party and the General Council of the British Trade Union Congress is so obvious that it is remarked on not only such leaders of the labour movement as Chaman Lal, but also by such moderate leaders of the Nationalist Movement as Motilal Nehru and others. Still, when Purcell and Hallsworth, these commercial travellers of British imperialism, arrived in India, there were leaders in the Indian trade union movement who not only welcomed them in their destructive tasks, but concluded an agreement with them to destroy the Workers' Welfare League, which directly connected the Indian trade union movement with the British working class, and chose instead as their agents the very men who are trying to stifle the Indian struggle for independence and who are supporting British imperialism in its exploitations of the Indian proletariat. Is it possible that Congress can fail to condemn this shameful business? The working class and its leaders must definitely reject any and every attempt at compromise with the imperialist agents, who have shipped in their imperialist goods under the flag of Amsterdam.

Messrs. Purcell, Hallsworth & Co., these agents of British imperialism and of the Amsterdam International aspired to take advantage of the paramount need of the working class of India to end this isolation, they sought to make use of its lack of connections with the world labour movement. They urged the labour organisations of India to affiliate to the Amsterdam International, as if such affiliation would put an end to the isolation and estrangement of the Indian labour movement. This would not at all be the case. An International built up on the basis of national egoism and of support of imperialist designs, far from giving any thing real to the labour movement of the colonies, can only prove exceedingly harmful. Why? Because the fundamental task of the Amsterdam International is to *weaken* and to disorganise the

struggle against imperialism, and to surrender the toiling masses to imperialist exploitation. Look at the decisions of all its congresses and you will find no resolution on independence for the colonies, but instead you will see scores of decisions taken directed against those who are struggling resolutely against imperialism.

You will not find there any single decision for the unity of the world trade union movement, for the Amsterdam International is engaged systematically from day to day in disrupting the ranks of the workers in order to facilitate the attack of the capitalists. The Amsterdam International represents the greatest obstacle in the creation of a united world trade union International. *Whoever is striving for unity cannot support Amsterdam.*

The All-India Trade Union Congress endeavoured to put an end to the isolation of the Indian labour movement by setting up connections with the Pan Pacific Secretariat, but thanks to the ban of the British Government this effort was frustrated. It is hardly likely that the Indian trade union movement can continue to remain isolated from the labour movement throughout the world. The question naturally arises: Whither and with whom? With the reformist or the revolutionary wing of the TU movement? With the Amsterdam International or with the Red International of Labour Unions? We are fully aware that the same two tendencies the reformist and the revolutionary, that are struggling in the world labour movement are likewise struggling in the TU movement of India. The experience of recent strikes in India have shown clearly how dangerous is reformism for the Labour movement, which has to struggle against the native bourgeoisie and the foreign imperialists. The working class, striving for victory, must extricate itself from reformist ideology and reformist policy, it must put forward new leaders to take the place of those who fail to carry out their class duty, in a word, for each one who surrenders it must put forward hundreds of new fighters and scores of new leaders.

But this is not all. In order that the struggle shall give the maximum results, it is imperative to maintain organic connections with a militant International, the greatest unity possible being set up in the workers' ranks in each country and on an international scale. The militant Red International of Labour Unions fighting for the unity of the international trade union movement, appeals to you, workers of India: Consolidate your ranks. Draw the millions of workers and women workers into the TU organisations. From out of the rank and file, from the masses themselves, put forward new leaders. Pay no heed to the exhortations of the agents of Baldwin & Co. Have nothing to do with the social-imperialists of the Amsterdam International. Set up connections with the fighting Red International of Labour Unions and jointly with it struggle for



P. 1663.

Letter dated nil from the Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labour Unions, Moscow, to the Workers and Peasants Party, Room 17, Dwarka das Mansion Sandhurst Road Bombay.

JNHH/10

TO ALL AFFILIATED RILU ORGANISATIONS  
TO THE EDITORS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY  
TU PAPERS

TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEES FOR  
PROPAGANDA AND ACTION.

Comrades:

The Workers' Correspondent Movement, already widespread in scope in the Land of the Soviets, is now becoming an increasingly important factor also in the labour movement of the capitalist countries. Several of the large Communist paper and the revolutionary press in general have already commenced to organise contingents of worker-correspondents. Indeed, some of the papers have hundreds of workers correspondence who send in contributions regularly and are closely connected with their respective papers. It should be noted, however, that the small successes seen in this respect have for the time being been... achieved practically exclusively by the party papers. Only very few of the revolutionary TU papers have taken up to a limited extent this extremely important and urgent work. Very little has been done to organise a broad powerful workers-correspondent movement not merely by the papers of the small countries and the various industries, but even by the large revolutionary TU papers and journals of the chief industrial-countries England, Germany, France and Czechoslovakia in Europe.

It is hardly necessary to dwell here at length on the significance that the worker-correspondent movement can and should acquire in the capitalist countries. The worker correspondents must play a tremendous role in the labour-movement as a whole and in the revolutionary TU movement in particular. They must set up—as has already been done in exemplary fashion in the USSR—close connections between the revolutionary press and the broad circles of working-class readers. For they must help the press to get a footing among the broad strata of the working masses so that the papers shall truly become the mouth piece of the workers at large, giving expression to and reflecting through their correspondence and notes the vital needs and interests of the masses

But these facts are not sufficiently realised by all the leaders of the RILu affiliated organisations and editors of the *Revolutionary TU Papers*. Such is the position of things although it is precisely now that the revolutionary TU papers should initiate and advance this work; for it is the TU organisations and their papers that can best penetrate the broad masses of workers.

The Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labour Unions considers the work of organising the worker correspondent movement to be one of the most important tasks of the revolutionary TU movement as a whole and of our agitational and propaganda activities in particular. The Executive Bureau appeals therefore to all affiliated organisations, to the editors of the revolutionary TU papers, to all ranks and file TU organisations and progressive workers to commence immediately this extremely vital and urgent work. The International Conference on Agitation, Propaganda, TU Educational work and the press being convened by the RILU, will be held in March 1929. This conference will carefully consider and discuss in detail also the question of the worker-Correspondent Movement. It is imperative that activities in this respect be immediately commenced in the Locals, so that the consideration of this question at the Conference and the decisions taken shall be based on some experience of the work on a national scale.

In the first place, energetic activities must be undertaken to organise contingents of worker-correspondents around all the TU papers. Efforts must be made so that there will be worker-correspondents as far as possible at every enterprise of any importance, who will make regular contributions and always be in touch with their respective papers. In this respect activities should not be confined merely to getting Communist workers or other workers connected organisationally with the Communist Party or the revolutionary TU movement to participate in this work. Everything should be done to get the *non-party workers, and the rank and file in the social-Democratic Party, in the Christian, Democratic, Neutral and other Unions to send contributions to the revolutionary press.* Contact must be set up with the *factory papers*, endeavouring to get the workers who run them (since these papers are confined to the various enterprises) to participate in trade union life throughout the country, by getting these workers to contribute to the *central trade union press*. On the other hand, more space must be given to notes received from worker-correspondents wherever such are already being published, while worker-correspondent columns must be opened in these papers where such do not exist so far. First of all, this will be instrumental in bringing the revolutionary TU papers nearer to the workers and to factory life, & secondly will give it impetus to the development of contingents of worker-correspondents and improve connections with their respective papers, for they will see at once that their



notes and correspondence are being published and not scraped because of insufficient space.

Attention must be given no less to the establishment of *international worker-correspondent connections*. It must be said that here too, things have been started. We find first of all that these connections are limited almost exclusively to those existing between the worker-correspondents in the capitalist countries and the USSR; secondly that the *revolutionary TU organisations and TU papers* have taken up this work *only to a very limited extent*. But the desire to set up such international contact by carrying on correspondence, is to be felt on every hand. Indeed, correspondence is not only seen among the worker-correspondents themselves but also between the rank and file workers in the USSR and the bourgeois countries. But these connections are far from sufficient. It can be readily understood that if these connections and correspondence activities were carried out *under the leadership of our revolutionary TU movement and of our revolutionary TU papers in particular*, they would soon acquire a character and scope which would turn international worker-correspondent connections into a powerful instrument of agitation and propaganda.

It is precisely our *revolutionary TU organisations and TU papers* that can best organise and lead these activities. Efforts must be made so that these connections shall become broad in scope *throughout the trade union world*. Measure must be taken to organise correspondence not only between the correspondents themselves, but also between the enterprises and individual rank and file workers. The widespread desire to set up correspondence with the workers of the USSR can be well understood, but we must now commence to organise connection between the worker correspondents, and enterprises and the rank and file in the *capitalist countries*. Direct correspondence between the workers and the various industries of England & France, of France and Germany, Germany and the USA, France and Poland etc. etc., will do much to reinforce and strengthen international connections and will prove a powerful impetus to the international worker correspondent movement. Meanwhile, attention must also be given to draw into the international worker-correspondent movement not only the workers of the chief industrial countries of Europe but also of the smaller countries, like the scandinavian, Balkan and Baltic countries.

Such are the fundamental features of the work of the revolutionary TU organisations and their papers in developing the worker-correspondent movement on a national and international scale. We repeat that this question will be discussed at our Conference on Agitation and Propaganda to be held next Spring (1929). The representatives attending the Conference must have some practical experience of this work, even though this be small in extent. That

is why the Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labour Unions urgently calls on you to get down to this work and carry out during the first stage the following measures:—

(1) To organise *Worker-Correspondent Circles* under the auspices of each TU paper; (2) to charge special workers under the Editorial offices of the periodical publications to organise worker-correspondent connections and in particular international connections; (3) to take up the questions of the worker-correspondent movement in the leading bodies of the trade unions and at coming Conferences and Congresses; (4) to study systematically worker-correspondent notes appearing in the press to determine concrete and practical proposals made to improve the work of the TU organisations and bring them closer to the masses; (5) to instruct the worker-correspondents and the workers correspondent circles in accordance with the instructions outlined in "Trade Union Propaganda & Cultural Activities" No. 2, the Bulletin of the RILU Agitation and Propaganda Department.

The greatest attention possible must be given the work of organising the Worker-Correspondent movement in your country and to strengthen connections between the worker-correspondents internationally.

EXECUTIVE BUREAU

RED INTERNATIONAL OF LABOUR UNIONS

GENERAL SECRETARY A. LOZOVSKY

MEMBER EXECUTIVE BUREAU

& MANAGER

ACIT: PROP. & WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL DEPT. I. JUSEFOVICH.

P. 1663 E

An envelope bearing the following superscription on it:—  
Workers and Peasants Party,

Room 17 Dwarkadas, Mansion  
on the corner of,  
Sandhurst Rd., and Banham,

R Moscou  
No. 445

Hall Lane,  
Bombay  
INDIA.

Date of posting : 29-11-28.

P. 1664 P.

NATIONAL MINORITY MOVEMENT.

Hon. Chairman

TOM MANN.

Hon. General Secretary

HARRY POLLITT.

National Treasurer : Geo, Fletcher.

Room 14, First floor,

38 Great Ormond Street

London W. C. I.

Jawaharlal Nehru,

All India Congress Committee,

52, Hewett Road,

Allahabad

INDIA

Tuesday 5th Feb., 1939

Dear Comrade,

I was very pleased to receive your letter of January 16th as will also be my Executive committee to whom it will be read at their next meeting.

You can rely upon the Minority movement doing all in its power to help not only in exposing the Simon Commission and the treacherous Labour leaders who are supporting it, but to help build up the trade union Movement of England on the lines best

fitted to enable it to wage a relentless fight in order to obtain better economic conditions.

All good wishes

Yours fraternally

Sd/- Harry Pollitt,

Hon. Genl. Secretary,

Superscription on the envelope:—

Jawaharlal Nehru

All India Congress Committee

55 Hewett Road Allahabad (India.)

Postal seal of

London W.C.

Feb. 5, 1929.

P. 1665.

February 14-1929

Dear friend,

Next March will be the tenth anniversary of the foundation of the International, and an exhibition is being prepared on this occasion of which details are given in the enclosed letter which I have received and of which I am sending you a copy.

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

Yours fraternally,

C.

January 24th, 1929.

COPY OF LETTER

Dear Sirs,

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

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

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

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

Thanking you in anticipation, we are, Sir,

Yours faithfully,

Encl: 1 list.

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

LIST OF MATERIALS FOR THE EXHIBITION.

Part I

*Historical Exhibition of:—*

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

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

(b) Peasants movement (Akhali and Gurudwara movements, peasants risings like the Moplah revolt etc.)

(c) Youth movement.

(d) Labour movement (Bombay, Madras, Ahmedabad, Nagpur, Jamshedpur strikes, strike committees, trade union statistics statistics on cost of living and wages, conditions of labour and

housing, worker's welfare, children mortalities, prosecution of the political organisations of the working class.

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

#### Part II.

##### *Press Exhibition of:—*

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

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

(c) *Books and Pamphlets*—published on the following subjects: nationalist movement in India, labour movement, India and the political movement in the West India and Russian Revolution.

#### Part III.

##### *Art Exhibition of:—*

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

**P. 1665 E.**

An envelope with the following superscription on it:—

Postal Seal of

London W.C.

Feb. 14, 1929.

Mr. S. A. Dange,

17 Dwarkadas Mansions,

Sandhurst Road,

Girgaum, Bombay.

India.

P. 1666.

**LEAGUE AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND FOR  
NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE**

**International Secretariat**

**24, Friedrichstrasse, Berlin S. W. 48**

*Berlin, March 27th, 1929.*

The Editor

"THE SPARK"

Bombay E.

Dear Sir,

Enclosed please find a copy of our latest Press Service (No. 11) for your use and information. We call your attention to the appeal of the League Against Imperialism, entitled "Against British Terror in India", which please note is being sent all over the world, and we shall appreciate it very much if you will be so kind as to give it as much publicity as possible.

Please be advised that we shall be sending you our English Press Service regularly per registered letter post as we believe that our previous issues, which were sent by ordinary letter post, never reached you.

Trusting to receive an early reply from you, we remain,

Yours very truly,

League against Imperialism

International Secretariat

Berlin SW 48, Friedrichstr. 24

Willi Munzenberg.

Enc/ Press Service  
and Invitation

**For Favour of Publication!**

**INVITATION**

to the

**SECOND ANTI-IMPERIALIST WORLD CONGRESS  
OF THE LEAGUE AGAINST IMPERIALISM  
AND FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE  
FROM THE 20TH JULY TO THE 31ST JULY 1929 IN PARIS**

## PROVISIONAL AGENDA.

1. The Unification of all Anti-Imperialist Groups and Organisations in the League against Imperialism.

Speakers: Henri Barbusse, France, and James Maxton, M.P. Chairman of the Independent Labour Party of Great Britain.

2. The All-India National Congress, the All-India Trade Union Congress and their Role in the National-Revolutionary Struggle.

Speakers: Delegates and representatives of both organisations.

3. The Nanking Government, the Kuomintang and their Attitude to the Anti-Imperialist Movement in China.

Speakers: Madame Sun Yat-sen and a representative of the All-China Labour Federation.

4. The latest Stage of the National-Revolutionary Struggle in Indochina, Indonesia and the Philippines.

Speakers: Delegates of the Phillipine Confederation of Peasants and representatives of the national-revolutionary movements of Indochina and Indonesia.

5. The Necessity of a Joint Struggle of all Arabian Countries against Imperialism.

Speakers: Representatives of the Arabian national-revolutionary movement.

6. The Struggle of the Persian People against Imperialist Aggression.

Speakers: A representative of the Socialist Party of Persia.

7. The Struggle for Emancipation of the Negroes in Africa and America.

Speakers: Professor W. Pickens, U.S.A. and delegates of the South African National Congress and from Central Africa.

8. The Struggle of Latin-America against British and North American Imperialisms.

Speakers: Roger Baldwin, U.S.A. a delegate of the staff of General Sandino, and Diego Rivera, Mexico.

9. The Tasks of the Trade Unions in the Struggle against Imperialism.



Speakers: A. J. Cook, General Secretary of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, Melnichansky, representative of the General Council of the All-Russian Federation of Trade Unions, W. H. Andrews, delegate of the South African Trade Union Congress, and representatives of the Latin-American, Indian and Negro trade unions.

10. The Social, Political and Economic Situation of Women in the Colonial and Semi-Colonial Countries.

Speakers: Mme. Ducuesne, Vice-President of the International Women's League for Peace and Freedom,

Frau Dr. Helene Stoecker, Germany and representatives of the women's movement in the colonies.

11. Two years of the League against Imperialism, being a political and organisational report of the activity of the League.

Speaker: Willi Munzenberg, Member of the Reichstag and Secretary of the League Against Imperialism.

12. Organisational Questions :

- a) The Statutes of the League,
- b) Elections,
- c) Place and Date of the next World Congress.

13. Miscellaneous,

The second World Congress of the League Against Imperialism will be preceded by a special

**INTERNATIONAL ANTI-IMPERIALIST  
YOUTH CONFERENCE.**

All interested persons will be informed of the agenda of this conference, its place and time and other details within the next few days.

We invite you (or your organisation respectively) herewith to take part in the Second World Congress of the League Against Imperialism and request you to inform us by return of post if possible, but in any case not later than the 1st of May 1929, whether you wish to accept our invitation. Please inform us also whether you have any special wishes concerning the supply of material hotel accommodation, further particulars etc.

We wish to draw your attention once again to the fact that the Congress Committee can only guarantee the settlement of the passport formalities

the supply of material, a seat at the Congress, hotel or other accommodation etc., etc., if it is in possession of your affirmative reply to our invitation by the 1st of May 1929. We request you to send your reply to the

**INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT OF THE LEAGUE  
AGAINST IMPERIALISM,**

24, FRIEDRICHSTRASSE, BERLIN, S. W. 48.

**THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE**

**OF THE LEAGUE AGAINST IMPERIALISM.**

James Maxton, M. P., Great Britain, Chairman,

Willi Munzenberg, M. P. Germany, Secretary,

V. Chattopadhyaya, India Secretary,

Mohammad Hatta, Indonesia,

Mustapha Chedli, Northern Africa,

Mme. Duchesne, France,

S. Saklatvala, M. P. Great Britain,

Dr. A. Marteaux, M. P. Belgium,

Reginald Bridgeman, Great Britain,

Roger Baldwin, U. S. A.,

Diego Rivera, Mexico.

Up to the end of February 1929 the following organisations and persons had announced their intention of accepting the invitation to take part in the Second World Congress of the League against Imperialism.

**INDIA.**

The All-India National Congress,

The All-India Trade Union Congress,

The All-India Workers' and Peasants Party,

Hindustani Seva Dal. (Volunteer Corps of the All-India National Congress)

**GOA.**

The Goa section of the All-India N. C.

**INDONESIA:**

Perhimpoenan Indonesia (Indonesian Freedom Party).

**PHILIPPINES.**

Kalipunan Ng Mga Magbubukid Sa Pilipinas (Philippine Confederation of Peasants).

**PERSIA.**

The Socialist Party of Persia.

**NORTHERN AFRICA.**

The Destour Party in Tunis and delegations from Morocco, Algeria and Tripoli.

**SOUTH AFRICA.**

The African National Congress,

The South African Trade Union Congress,

The South African Federation of Non-European Trade Unions.

**UNITED STATES.**

The American Negro Workers' Trade Union.

**MEXICO.**

Liga Nacional Campesina,

Confederacion Obrera de Jalisco,

Federacion Minera de Jalisco,

Federacion Obrera de Tamaulipas,

Confederacion Obreros y Campesinos Occidente Mazatlan,

Camara del Trabajo de Nuevo Leon,

Liga Obrera y Campesina de Coahuila,

Confederacion Social de Obreros y Campesinos Estado Durango,

Federacion Obrera de Nuevo Laredo,

Union Tramoyistas, Electricistas, Escenografos y Similares

Confederacion de Sindicatos Obreros y Campesinos de Nayarit,

Union Internacional Obreros Hojalateros y Ayudantes,

Sindicato Obreros y Empleados Compania Mexicana Petroleo

El Aguila,

Sindicato Social Comunista de Compostela, Nayarit,

Sindicato de Oficios Varios de Cinco Minas.

Liga de Comunidades Agrarias de Veracruz,

Confederacion Social Campesina de Puebla,

Liga de Comunidades Agrarias de Mexico,

**EL SALVADOR**

Liga de Obreros y Campesinos de Santa Ana,

**NICARAGUA**

Personal delegate of General Sandino,

Liga Obreros y Campesinos de Nicaragua,

**CUBA**

Confederación Obrera de Cuba,

**COSTA RICA**

Confederacion Obrera de Costa Rica,

**GUATEMALA**

Sindicato Panaderos de Guatemala,

Gremio Zapateros de Guatemala,

**HONDURAS**

Gremio Choferes Progreso de Honduras,

**COLOMBIA**

Confederacion Nacional Obrera de Columbia,

**VENEZUELA**

Union Obrera Revolucionario Venezolano,

**GREAT BRITAIN**

The National Minority Movement,

**IRELAND**

The Anti-Imperialist Association of Ireland,

**FRANCE**

Confederation Generale du Travail Unitaire (CGTU),

Ligue de Defence de la Race Negre,

**SOVIET UNION**

All-Russian Federation of Trade-Unions,

**NATIONAL SECTIONS OF THE LEAGUE AGAINST  
IMPERIALISM:**

United States, Great Britain, Holland, Germany, Union of  
South Africa, Mexico, San Salvador, Nicaragua, Cuba, Ecuador,  
Porto Rico, Uruguay, Argentine and Brazil.

**INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS:**

International War Registers,

International of War Veterans and War Victims,

Workers' International Relief,

Educational Workers' International,

The Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat.

Up to the end of February the following individuals had  
announced their intention of taking part in and actively supporting  
the second world.

**CONGRESS OF THE LEAGUE AGAINST  
IMPERIALISM:**

Henri Barbusse, France,

Hamdi el Hussein, leader of the left-wing of the Syrian-  
Palestine National Congress,

Mme. Sun Yet Sun, China,

Deng Yanda, former Chief of the Political Propaganda De-  
partment in the Chinese National Army,

Carl Lindhagen, Mayor of Stockholm,

Leon Vernochet, General Secretary of the Educational  
Workers International,

A. J. Cook, General Secretary of the Miners' Federation of  
Great Britain,

S. Saklatwala, M. P., Great Britain,

Chedli Ben Mustapha, Member of the Executive Committee  
of the Destour Party,

Diego Rivera, Mexico,

Salvador de la Plaza, Venezuela,

Roger Baldwin, United States,

Professor William Pickens, Secretary of the National Asso-  
ciation for the advancement of Colored Peoples, United States,

Sen. Katayama, leader of the Japanese working class movement.

W. H. Andrews, General Secretary of the South African Trade Union Congress.

J. T. Gumede, President of the South African National Congress.

Professor Alfons Goldschmidt, Germany,

Frau Dr. Helene Stoecker, Germany,

Ernst Toller, Germany,

Arthur Hofitscher, Germany,

Dr. Kurt Hiller, Germany,

Alfons Paquet, Germany,

Melnichansky, Member of the Central Council of the All-Russian Federation of Trade Unions,

Professor Nejedli, Czechoslovakia,

Ture Nerman, Sweden

and many others.

1929. No. 11.

March 27th.

The

PRESS SERVICE

of the

LEAGUE AGAINST IMPERIALISM.

THE INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT

24, Friedrichstrasse,

Berlin, S.W. 48.

Cable Address

Ankolina Berlin

Telephone

Doenhoff 6061

### AGAINST BRITISH TERROR IN INDIA

ANKO. During the last few months a strong movement for national and economic freedom had made itself felt in India. The resolution of Ghandi which was passed by the All-India National Congress could not solve the Indian question, and 900 delegates to the congress voted against this resolution. The Indian Trade Union Congress and the Workers' and the Peasants party rejected it absolutely.

At its session in Cologne last January, the executive committee of the League against Imperialism pointed out that

an intensification of the operation of British Imperialism was to be expected. And in fact, since then the British imperialists have arrested a number of the leaders of Indian workers and peasants. Not only that, but they also attempted to exploit the religious differences in order to support their own power. The British government is falling back to its old methods of discovering "plots" in order then to pounce on its enemies and put them out of harm's way. In this way the British government hopes to break the back of the young growing revolutionary movement in India.

However, the British government has calculated badly. True a number of the best leaders are now cut off from the masses, including a number of the foremost supporters of the League against Imperialism, but their arrest has created a storm of indignation all over India. The answer of the Indian workers and peasants was couched in terms of great protest demonstrations and strikes. In Bombay alone 20,000 mill workers are on strike as a protest against the arrests. On the Bengal State Railways workers are also on strike. In the Shahbad district the land-workers have also gone on strike.

The British government has now decided upon open terrorist measures. A number of workers have already been killed and wounded. The Indian masses are faced with a difficult struggle and it is the duty of the workers all over the world to assist them.

The International Secretariat of the League against Imperialism appeals to all anti-imperialist organisations and groups, and to all trades and labour unions all over the world to join in one great anti-imperialist front in favour of the Indian workers and peasants!

Meetings and demonstrations must be organised in the great cities! Collections must be taken up on behalf of the victims of the imperialist terror in India. The terrorism of the British imperialists must be exposed in a great press campaign; Long live International proletarian solidarity in favour of the Indian workers and peasants! Long live Independent India!

League against imperialism. Telegramms or resolutions of sympathy should be sent through the League against imperialism, or direct to Jawahar Lal Nehru, Anand Bhawan, Allahabad.

#### **The protest Movement against the Terror**

ANKO. The strike movement in Bombay is extending. Numerous railway workers have joined the striking textile workers in a protest strike against the terror of the British government. The International Secretariat of the League against Imperialism has got into touch with the Chairman of the League James Maxton with a view to calling a session of the Executive Committee immediately in order to render speedy assistance to the Indian Workers and Peasants. At

the same time the International Secretariat has issued an appeal (see above) against the terror, as also has the British section of the League.

#### **The Youth for the Freedom of India**

ANKO. 500 new members of the Youth League have been enrolled in Allahabad. Jawahar Lal Nehru was the chairman at a meeting of the league which authorised its executive committee to take steps to defend Joshi the secretary of the United Provinces and Delhi Workers and Peasants Party who is amongst those arrested by the British authorities. A resolution was unanimously adopted protesting against the campaign of governmental terror aimed at crushing the workers and peasants movement in India. The meeting expressed its sympathy with the arrested and with all the other victims of the terror and assured them of immediate action in their favour.

#### **Preparations for the World Congress in July**

ANKO. The preparations for the second world congress of the League against Imperialism are proceeding every where and are meeting with support and enthusiasm in all quarters. Various organisations in all parts of the world have intimated their intention of being represented at the congress, inter alia, the Philippine Workers Party, the Philippine Peasants Union, the National Amalgamated Furnishing Trades Union of Great Britain, the International of War Resisters, the Educational Workers International, the Red Sport International, the Association of religious Socialists, and many others.

#### **New Affiliation to the League**

ANKO. The Philippine Workers Party has informed the International Secretariat of the League against Imperialism that it wishes to affiliate its organisation collectively to the League.

#### **Youth Organisations against Imperialism**

ANKO. The decision of the session of the Executive Committee of the League against Imperialism in Cologne in January of this year to hold a special anti-imperialist Youth congress in connection with the second world congress of the League against Imperialism has been met with great applause by the various youth organisations which are opposed to imperialism. An international preparatory committee for the anti-imperialist youth congress has already been formed and representatives of the most important countries are on this committee. Apart from European youth organisations, a number of non-European youth organisations have joined the committee, for instance, national-revolutionary youth organisations from China, India, Indonesia etc. Many letters of approval have been received from organisations in all parts of the world announcing that their



organisation will send delegates. In Germany a national preparatory has been formed to do all the preparatory work in connection with the conference. 8 youth organisations have affiliated to this national committee up to the present. A similar national preparatory is in course of formation in France also. The International Preparatory Committee will meet in Berlin on the 11th April in order to work out the agenda for the international anti-imperialist youth conference, to settle the names of the speakers and to discuss other preparatory measures necessary for the conference.

### **No Intervention in Mexico!**

ANKO. There must be no intervention of North American imperialism in Mexico. The American interests were responsible for the moral and material preparation of the present military revolt and a campaign is now being engineered in the United States for military intervention, of course, only "to protect American lives and property." At a hint from the American foreign office the American newspapers have commenced the campaign to make an atmosphere for an intervention. The newspapers are publishing tales of "Mexican atrocities." American citizens are alleged to be in danger, in short, the old old story. The Mexican government is accused of having used barbarous methods and thus endangering the culture of the world. The bomb sensation of the American press was of course the report that the American consulate in Mazatlan had been killed. All the American newspapers in the big towns and in the provinces brought this sensation in block letter. The report was, of course, a lie, but the effect was prompt, numerous volunteers reported themselves to avenge "the murder of the American Consulate." Kellogg himself, who is in charge of America's foreign affairs at the moment, has stated publicly and very categorically that America will take measures to "protect her interests."

The American troops in the neighbourhood of the Mexican frontier have received orders to hold themselves in readiness for immediate action. American warships have also been sent south "in case". Although the American government have supplied the Mexican government with arms, it is also a fact that the insurgents have also been liberally armed by America. There is no doubt that the American government is standing by with a view to fishing in troubled waters in its own interests. Further, a campaign is being carried on to present the insurgents as the "real friends of America". For instance, the rebel general Don Manuel Aguirre has openly recognised the old claims of the Standard Oil Company in the State of Sonores and addressed an official request to the American consul in Guaymas (Sonores) for permission to use the petroleum. Another instance, the son of the rebel general Jesus Aguirre who has been killed, is studying in Chester in Pennsylvania. American newspapers ("Chicago Tribune") bring

a report of how the son of the dead man received the news of the death of his father, "He saluted in a military fashion and declared, "My father died like a soldier. He was a good soldier and died for a good cause". The Jingo press is now honouring the son. Further, a deputation of the rebels under the readership of Escobar has been sent to Washington in order to "enlighten" the American government concerning the intentions of the rebels. That they were received in Washington means very much and shows that governmental circles, are more than "interested" in Mexican affairs.

The workers and peasants of Mexico in their overwhelming majority, support the Mexican government in its struggle against the rebels. The workers and farmers of the United States of America must be prepared to prevent any criminal attempt on the part of their government to conduct a war of intervention against Mexico would be solely in the interests of the reactionaries in Mexico and of the U. S. A imperialists.

**A New Attack upon General Sandino**

**ANKO.** It is reported from Tegucigalpa in Honduras that another attempt was made to crush the rebel leader General Sandino, the head of the national-revolutionary army of Nicaragua against the reactionaries and against North American imperialism. Governmental troops supported by American marines attacked the troops of Sandino but were driven off with great loss after a short fight. Many American marines were killed and wounded. The expedition corps was withdrawn in order to await re-inforcements. North American imperialism has once again bitten out its teeth on Sandino's army. Neither the armed mercenaries of the U. S. A. fleet nor the reactionaries will be able to crush the national-revolutionary movement in Nicaragua.

P. 1666 E.

An envelope with the following superscription on it—

Registered

Postel seal

Berlin S. W.

Einschreiben

28/3/29

The Editor,

"The Spark"

BOMBAY, 4.

British India.

R. Berlin 48

238

P. 1667.

Letter dated 4.12.28, from "MAM", 4, Elmsdale Rd. E. 17, to Mr. B. F. Bradley, c/o E. de Burgh: Apollo Chambers, Fort, Bombay. The necessary extract has been printed below:—  
My dear Ben,

Your ever welcome letter ar'vd yesterday.

I hope you received what came for you, which I enclose in one of my letters, what you asked me to send on to you.

From your loving

Sd/. Mam.

P. 1668. P.

Wednesday 5th. Dec.

4 Elmsdale Rd.

Walthamstoa- E. 17:

Dear Ben,

Thanks for your letter and glad to hear you still keep in good health.

I went and reminded them about your salary again yesterday. I expect you received it by now. You seem to be having a lot of trouble about it, don't go and get yourself in such a fix that you won't have the necessary to come home. Well Ben, it will be just on Christmas by the time you get this, so I will wish you a very merry Christmas. It looks as though it's going to be a very hardup Christmas for us at home. I will see to your Insurance as soon as I get the money from the club so you need not remind

me of it. Well so long, all the best.

Your affectionate Bro.

Sd/ Len.

Superscription on the envelope:—

Mr. B. F. Bradley,

c/o Mrs. E. de Burgh,

Apollo Chambers,

Fort,

Bombay,

India.

P. 1669 P.

Khar

Wednesda y.

Dear Bradley,

I couldn't come yesterday as Suhasini Nambiar was taken with malaria and had a temperature of 105. I hope you didn't wait.

I will come along either to-morrow or Friday about tiffin time.

Yrs.

Hutchinson.

Superscription on the envelope:—

D. F. Bradley

c/o E. de Burgh,

Apollo Chambers,

Apollo Bunder,

Bombay.

P. 1670.

Letter dated 5/9/28, from "MAM", 4 Elmsdale, E.17. London, to Mr. B. F. Eradley, c/o Mrs. E. de Burgh. Apollo Chambers, Fort Bombay. The pertinent portion only has been printed below :-

My dear Ben,

So pleased to receive your welcome letter this Mail. and to hear you are keeping well, all at home are the same, I am pleased to say I hope by the time you receive this you will have received the books we sent also the other you asked for, I hope to hear in your next you have received all, the cable you sent on the 20/7/28 for your salary we never received, we sent on your S. and hope you have had it, long before you re've this. I should enquire about it.

From your loving

Sd/. MAM.

P. 1671

P. 1671

29-9-27. DEAR MAC, Bombay

I expect you are wondering when I am going to write you again. However here it is. I am keeping well. And have been very busy indeed. The bank have been busy on this proposition. I shall have to wait my chance to buy. I have been in touch with F. H. so that is all right. Well I hope things are going well with you and that you are still keeping well. when you wrote me last you asked if I had solved that puzzle. This by attempt let me know what you think of it and don't laugh at the attempt.

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

The weather we are having is not so bad. A fair amount of rain to keep things cool. I will write you again soon. But I want to hear from you to know how thing are going with you. Best

wishes to you and all.

Yours Leonard.

P. S.

Solve this.

8/7. 8/1. 4/3. 2/5. 12/6. 1/10. 7/1 1/11. 5/6. 1/2. 2/12. 1/14. 5/12.

**P. 1671--T**

Translation of the cypher contained in the Letter:—

R.K. Karanth, Gladhurst, Santa Cruz, Bombay. P.S. —  
Report follows.

**P. 1672**

Date of censorship: 1-10-27.

Sender's Name and address: Leonard. Bombay

Date of letter: 29-9-27.

Addressee: E. J. Horseman,

10 Ritching's Avenue,

Welthamston, London. England.

Sir,

I beg to put a cover which I have intercepted from innumerable correspondence for London today at the Mole, in consequence of the information given to me by Mr. Hill, that Bradley had posted some letters at the G. P. O.

As the cover was of the same size and colour as that of yesterday's letter of Bombay, I carefully opened it and found that although the sender's name was not Bradley yet there were the following grounds to suspect that it might have been posted by him under a different name.

- (1) The whole letter is in capital letters.
- (2) It contains figure cipher.
- (3) The name on the cover does not tally with the name inside.
- (4) It is posted at the G. P. O. at 11 a. m.
- (5) A reference was made to Mac. to whom this letter is addressed, in Bradley's letter to Asif of Hyderabad, Deccan, which was extracted by me yesterday from the letters posted in a letter box near the Apollo Hotel.

Copy of the letter is attached herewith.

Sd/; A. K. Ch.

P. 1673.

Apollo Hotel

Lansdowne Road

Bombay.

September 29-1927.

Dear Asaf,

Just a line to let you know I am still alive and going along fairly well. Enclosed you will find some of the snaps we took; the one General view of the Janks at Aden is rather good I think. I have written a letter to Mac. Hope you got over your rail journey all right and are keeping fit. I am keeping well and quite comfortable in the Hotel, and am getting to know Bombay off by heart it is not a bad place and have played a few games of Billiards. Well I must close now. Hope to hear from you and that you are doing well very best wishes.

Sd. B. F. Bradley.

Yours BAN

NOTE:—

This letter is accompanied by a group photo of three persons one of whom is Bradley.

---

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

P. 1674 P.

Munchen

Den 3 February 1929.

Dear Dr. Adhikari,

I had a comfortable journey and I will soon be going to Leipzig, Berlin etc. and thank you for your letter. I have posted the letter.

If anything particularly useful business occurs to me I might write to you again.

Yours sincerely,

Sd. S. V. Sovani.

Address on the Post card :—

Dr. Gangadhar Adhikari Ph. D.

Bombay 2 (India).

Bhivrao's Wadi, Block No. 8

Thakurdwar.

P. 1675 P

2/1 European Asylum Lane,

Calcutta.

14-9-28.

Dear S. V.,

Enclosed is a fatal document. (Please abuse Shah for me, I did not do so enough). Will you do what is needful? You should first see Petigara or some one, to find what they are prepared to do. Then you may leave the form with them. Or get the things from Cooks yourself, as seems proper. Tell Cooks to send the bill to me as I have told them already. For address to which the things should be sent, I suggest :—

C/O H. Pollitt,

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



Nothing has happened here, so far as I can tell. Only this; that Halim's sister-in-law has very thoughtlessly died, leaving him, presumably, in charge of her three young children. Poor fellow.

Yours

Sd. P. Spratt.

P. 1675 P E.

An envelope with the following Superscription on it:—

R 401  
Asylum Lane  
Calcutta.

Postal Seal of  
Asylum Lane  
15 Sept. 28.

Mr. S. V. Ghatе

17 Dwarkadas Mansions

Sandhurst Road

Bombay 4.

P. 1676.

Berlin, Feb. 27/28.

Dear Suhasini,

Would you be kind enough to pass the enclosed on to our friend Adhikari? I suppose you know how to reach him. If not you can find him through his people who live at D/16-17, Simplex Building, Paowalla St. Girgaon.

Hope to be excused for the trouble.

Best wishes,

Feb. 25.

Dear Friend,

You must be relieved to know that we are getting all your letters. On our part, we are glad to know that things sent from here also reach you. Except in one or two occasions, I have sent something regularly every week. I know that all these cannot be published need not be published. But as we agreed on your departure that they can be circulated among our own circle.

The Spark was very, very welcome. I can well imagine the difficulties under which it has to come out, although I fail to understand the reason for some of them. You know I have been happily relieved of the administrative responsibility of our affairs, and therefore am not in a position to be of much practical assistance, or to know why people at home are in such conditions. But I do know that measures have been taken to relieve the difficulty. Now that the agent, who visited the head office, is back, I should think that matters would be in better shape. In any case, it is a pity. All I can possibly do, under the present condition, is to hope that you might find a publisher for the book, for in that case the money got for it could be of some relief to you all. You know I have also to work for my living, which is not an easy thing for one like me and in my position; but I will somehow manage.

Now, I believe you would not mind my making one or two suggestions about the Spark. First, an enquiry. Is it the out-come of private initiative or is it officious? I ask this because in the latter case, I would be very surprised that it has so much difficulties. As far as I know, efforts have been made for months to hasten the appearance of one like it. Another question. Why is it branded as "A Socialist Weekly," or is it really meant to be one? You know "socialist" to day is associated with certain definite conception about everything which is harmful for our movement. Therefore it is advisable not to use that term even as a "deckmantel". I would suggest some such sub-title as "A Working Class Weekly" or "Organ of the Working Class," if you must cover the spark with a coating of ashes. These are quite non-committal designations. The danger of using the term "Socialist" became actual already in the first number. In the leading article the "Daily Herald" of London is cited as the unrealisable ideal! May I draw your attention to the sentence: "It is almost utopian for instance to expect a socialist daily in Bombay like the Daily Herald in London". This sentence made me think that perhaps the Spark in the outcome of private initiative; for, such a sentence would be impermissible in our organ, even officious.

Enclosed herewith are two articles written for other purposes but can be used partially by you. The one on British Empire will help the discussion of the question of "De-colonization" We will

do our best to supply you with ideological food, but only in small quantities as we are neither in the position nor have the means to do more. We could do much within our limited scope, if you were able to have contact with some book-shop or newspapers at your end.

I did write the letter about you. It must have gone astray. I am adding here a few words which should do, if the matter is not already settled as I believe is the case.

Since you wrote the letter, which was received here the last week, great events took place there. We are very hopeful about the situation, but at the same time very anxious about you all. Eagerly waiting for news.

Very best wishes and greetings for all,

R.

To whom it concerns,

G. A. was employed in the firm here, and therefore is entitled to employment in our Indian concern. Everybody, who came in contact with him, has full confidence in his integrity and consider him a valuable asset for our firm.

R.

The two articles mentioned above are being sent to the address of your prof. friend. The one enclosed herewith is for the Spark. It is the copy. The original was sent by the last mail.

As I wrote in my last letter, all the addresses I gave you except the one in London are good. Please do not use the last one any more.

### **The Role of the Proletariat in the National Revolution.**

The historic significance of the events of the last year, particularly of the last months, is that they bring out the working class as the driving force of the national revolution. Ever since 1919, when the nationalist movement became a mass movement, the workers and peasants played an important role in it. But reformist bourgeois leadership systematically obstructed a full and free play of the revolutionary mass energy; and petty bourgeois noisiness sought to belittle the role of the working class. The tactics of the nationalist leaders were to use the awakened masses as pawns in their game for petty concessions and reforms.

Such a relation of classes is not the peculiarity of the Indian revolution. All the revolutions of modern history were fought and won by the masses; But except in the case of the Russian Revolution, the leadership was with other classes who, consequently appropriated all the fruits of the revolution. Naturally, the Indian

bourgeoisie believe and hope that such will also be the case in India and it could not be otherwise, had not Indian revolution been taking place in national and international conditions entirely different from those obtaining in the epoch of the bourgeois democratic revolutions in Europe. In the present conditions, of the country as well as of the world, the roles played respectively by different classes in the Indian revolution are bound to be very much different from the roles of the corresponding classes in the bourgeois democratic revolutions of the past, although the social character of the Indian national revolution is bourgeois democratic. The working class is not only the main fighting factor of the Indian revolution; it is the *driving force*. It not only pushes other classes in the revolutionary struggle; but prepares itself to assume the leadership of the democratic national revolution in its decisive stages.

The recent events herald appearance of the proletariat on the political scene in this role of potential leader. The high degree of class-consciousness and will to fight developed in the great industrial struggles of the last year, qualified the proletariat for the independent political action in Calcutta on December 28. The historic significance of the Calcutta Demonstration cannot be exaggerated. It is a landmark in the history of the Indian revolution. It brought out the proletariat not only as the driving force, but also as the potential leader of the revolution. Only after a month, in Colombo and Bombay, the proletariat demonstrated its fitness for the leadership of the revolution, the claim to which was asserted in Calcutta. When the nationalist bourgeoisie were frantically seeking a strategic retreat into the camp of counter-revolution and petty bourgeois radicalism was cowed by imperialist sabrerattling, the proletariat in Colombo and Bombay challenged the power of the state and proved that, organised on a wide-scale under revolutionary leadership, mass-action can defy and ultimately overcome the formidable forces of oppression. It should not be forgotten that Colombo was practically ruled by the workers for three days. As the Anglo-Cylonese press complained, "the government abdicated its power to the Labour Union." This is a victory unparalleled in the history of Indian revolution; and it was won by the proletariat. Police forces had to be completely withdrawn on the demand of the Labour Union which took over control of the city. Even military forces could not face the revolutionary masses. It was only with the aid of the reformist leader, Gunasinha, that the government could recover the control of the situation. But the fact that the state had to hide its instruments of power, and operate through the popular leader, is highly significant. The lesson of the events of Colombo is not the popularity of Gunasinha, but the power of the masses. Pitted against this power, the popularity of a non-revolutionary leader will be eventually swept away like broken reed.

Not such an easy victory crowned the proletarian uprising in Bombay, owing to the circumstances of the situation. But class-solidarity, courage and determination demonstrated by the proletariat are veritably classical. It was the first real trial of strength between revolution and counter-revolution. In this historic encounter the proletariat had to meet alone the united forces of foreign imperialism and native reaction. The Bombay proletariat did not go to the barricade to win the revolution in one blow. It was the prelude to the great drama. In the prelude the proletariat played its part most creditably. It was the blood-baptism of the leader of the revolution. By glorious martyrdom the proletariat have placed themselves at the front rank of the revolutionary army.

An examination of the events of the period intervening between the Calcutta demonstration and the Colombo and Bombay uprisings, makes the historic significance of these evident. The Calcutta Demonstration may be compared with the Insurrection of the Parisian proletariat in the first days of June, 1793, during the Great French Revolution. Inside the National Convention there was a protracted struggle between the Girondins and Jacobins for power. The later, while representing the radical elements of the rising bourgeoisie, were backed up by the Parisian proletariat. Their leaders (the best and most classical types of bourgeois revolutionaries) could not agree upon the necessity of ruthlessly attacking the Girondins (who represented big capitalist and land-owning interests, and were seeking compromise with the overthrown Monarchy) as the only means of saving the revolution. In that critical moment, the Parisian proletariat, victors of July 14 (1789) and August 10 (1792)—once again intervened in the situation to force the wavering radical bourgeoisie further towards the ultimate victory of the Revolution. On May 31 (1793) they marched to the endlessly debating Convention, besieged it and would not let it disperse until it had purged itself of Girondin reaction, and the Jacobins had firmly taken in hand the guidance of the revolutionary state.

The Calcutta Congress presented a somewhat similar picture. The two wings of the Congress could be roughly compared respectively with the Girondins and Jacobins, although most of the real Indian Girondins are outside the Congress. Nevertheless, through the instrumentality of the right wing leaders of the Congress they exercise a decisive influence upon its policy. So the conflict between the wings of the Congress, when it met in Calcutta at the end of 1928, can be compared roughly with the conflict inside the French National Convention in the beginning of 1793. In both cases, it was the struggle for the leadership of the revolution between two sections of the bourgeoisie—one anxious to brake the development of the revolution so that it did not go further than needed for the immediate interests of big landowning, financial, industrial and commercial classes, while the other advocating a more radical

sociopolitical transformation affecting a much larger sections of the population. In both cases, the latter in spite of its essentially bourgeois character, represented a political expression of the masses; for the realization of the programme of bourgeois democratic revolution advocated by it, objectively contribute to the growth of the working class, and thereby to the ultimate establishment of Socialism. In both cases, the radical elements were dissatisfied with the conservative outlook of the big bourgeoisie, and desired to snatch from them the leadership of the revolution. But as in France of the latter Eighteenth Century, so in India of the earlier Twentieth Century, the radical bourgeoisie must draw their revolutionary inspiration from the working class, and have the latter's support in order to realize their political aspiration. The Great French Revolution proceeded from victory to victory as long as it operated with mass energy. Jacobinism captured the leadership of the revolution with the support of the Parisian proletariat. It went down when its essentially bourgeois nature got better of its proletarian deviation.

The Calcutta demonstration can be compared with the July Insurrection of Paris, because it was an offer of the proletariat to support the radical bourgeoisie in their fight for the leadership of the national revolution. Indeed, the radicalization of the nationalist ranks, which culminated in the abortive conflict in the Calcutta Congress, was the political reflection of rapidly developing working class activity of the proletariat evidenced by the great strike of the last year. The weakness of the radical wing of the Congress was in its inability to understand its own existence. In this, it differs from Jacobinism. It does not consciously operate with revolutionary forces; it is simply driven by them, often reluctantly. Therefore it failed to grasp the mighty hand of fellowship extended to it by the proletariat in the critical moment, and consequently was outmanoeuvred by the reformist leaders acting, inside the Congress as the agents of Indian Girondism.

The failure, rather refusal, of the bourgeoisie to lead the national revolution caused the rise of radicalism; the inability of the latter to capture the leadership when it was there waiting to be captured by a bold hand, opens the way for the proletariat to appear on the scene independently— If the radical bourgeoisie cannot be driven to capture the leadership of the revolution, the proletariat must assume the leadership themselves, otherwise it will be used by its present owners, the bourgeoisie, to liquidate the revolution.

The petty bourgeois radicals do not understand the gravity of the situation; or they do understand it is but are afraid to force it. Whatever it might be, there is no mistake on the part of those whose position is threatened by the recent events. Commenting:

upon the Calcutta Congress the clever bourgeois ideologist Bepin Pal wrote:

"It can no longer be said that the educated classes have no backing from the people...Indeed, it is doubtful whether the lead at all comes from the educated classes, or whether these leaders are no more or less helpless instruments in the hand of the awakened multitudes...The Leviathan has commenced to move. This was demonstrated by the invasion of the Congress by twenty thousand labourers...The time cannot be very far when the working class, once aroused to the sense of their power to coerce the government, will refuse to be exploited by the middle class politicians; 'Red' leaders will rise from among them who will have no respect for any law of order, either economic, political or moral."

Himself an ex-radical, indeed, the father of Indian political radicalism, Pal exposes the hollowness of the present left opposition. The latter's bankruptcy fully warrants the remarks he makes.

He writes:

"Neither the Congress, nor Mosleague, nor Khilafat leaders and much less the leaders of the Hindu Mahasabha will bring about a revolution. None of them is made of the stuff that creates revolutions. Yet all these people have been working for revolution."

This is a very true characterisation of the situation. People with no sympathy for revolution are "Working for revolution." This proves that already the working class dominates the political life of the country.

Testimony to similar effect comes from other sources. For example, the rapidly growing hatred against the Communists and the legislation for their suppression are due to the recognition of the tendencies in the political life of the country. The basic purpose of the Trades Dispute Act is to suppress the political activity of the working class. In his speech opening the new year session of the Legislative Assembly the Viceroy made it clear that imperialism recognises its most dangerous enemy in the proletariat. Commenting upon the speech the official organ of imperialism, the London Times (Jan. 29) made clear what the Viceroy had in his mind. The Journal writes:

"There is no real connection between these two unrests, (labour and Congress opposition). But their very existence and their co-existence, explains and fully justifies the attention which Lord Irwin gave to the Labour problems."

Growing activity of the working class and radicalisation of the petty bourgeoisie are closely connected. The former produces the

atter. Imperialism and the native bourgeoisie understand it, and go to the root of the problem in their efforts to meet the situation effectively. But petty bourgeois radicalism flounders like ship with broken rudder, because it has not the courage to develop into real Jacobinism by placing itself at the crest of the rising tide of revolutionary working class energy. The result is the necessity for the proletariat to assume the leadership of the national revolution betrayed by the big bourgeoisie and deserted by the petty bourgeois radicals.

The uprisings of Colombo and Bombay followed the Calcutta demonstration indicating the bold advance of the proletariat in that direction.

The Calcutta Congress, not so much its hollow "ultimatum" as the events that led up to it and the background of mass activity on which it met, alarmed imperialism and the native bourgeoisie. Cry against revolution, threat to law and order, and communist meance was heard from every direction. Taking advantage of this atmosphere of panic imperialism tried to and easily succeeded in terrorising petty bourgeois radicalism into a retreat. Referring to the Gandhi Resolution, which the radicals had put on as glorious laurels, the *Englishmen* of Calcutta correctly observed: "In India sanction to enforce a national demand can mean only one thing-revolution." The *Statesman* demanded suppression of the Congress as a "seditious body". In the face of this attack, petty bourgeois radicalism was totally unnerved, and shamelessly repudiated the accusation that it had ever wanted a revolution. The most representative organ of petty bourgeois radicalism, the *Forward* of Calcutta, wrote a series of articles, day after day, pleading innocence to the charges made by the imperialist organ. It wrote:

"On a careful analysis of the apparently innocent word 'sanction' our contemporary has discovered that it is dangerous verbal dynamite capable of blowing up all law and order to pieces... The news will, of course, come to every Congressman as a surprise, for they are not aware that there has been any change in the Congress creed, or that the Congress has departed from its policy of non-violence" (Jan. 8)

"Violence has been rightly ruled out by the Congress. The country has to devise an efficacious remedy on lines which may not bring it into conflict with the so-called laws of the country. That is the economic boycott. (Jan. 9)

"When Congressmen talked of 'sanction', they could not mean anything more serious than pressure of public opinion, economic boycott or non-payment of taxes. Our contemporary had to admit that none of these suggested methods of enforcing admission from the British Government should carry the implication of violence."

(Jan. 10)



So, petty bourgeois radicalism successfully pleaded not guilty at the bar of imperialist law, thereby exposing itself as completely unworthy to develop into Jacobinism basing itself consciously on the militant action of the revolutionary proletariat.

Judged in the light of this contemptible debacle of petty bourgeois radicalism, the uprisings of Colombo and Bombay shine as glorious landmarks in the history of Indian revolution. They show that the proletariat is the only class that can really fight imperialism; that is not afraid; that can really sacrifice, while the others talk hypocritically; and that possess potential powers which, when fully mobilized will be able to meet and overcome the most powerful enemy.

History has bestowed upon the Indian proletariat the role to hold high the standard of national revolution.

Abdur Rahman.

P. 1676 E (1).

An envelope bearing the following superscription on it:—

Miss Mrinalini Chattopadhyaya, Principle, New High School for Girls, 5 Napier Road, Fort, Bombay, India.

P. 1676 E (2).

Another envelope with the following superscription:—

For Suhasini.

P. 1677.

Rejected

Letter Dated 26-6-28 from V. Chattopadhyaya, Secretary, League against Imperialism, Berlin, S.W. 48, 24, Friedrichstr., to S. V. Ghate, Honorary Secretary, the Workers' and Peasants' Party, 17 Dwarkadas Mansions, Bombay.

(Vide. Exh. P. 1348 (27) )

P. 1678.

Letter Dated 23rd. June 1928 from P. Spratt, E. I. R. Union, Asansol, to K.N. Joglekar, 168 Fanaswadi, Bombay.

Dear Joglekar,

Godbole, whom you know I believe, is keen that the enclosed from him should be published, and as I am writing to Bombay he sends it for that purpose.

What I am writing about is really superfluous. It is merely to ask you to push on if you can with the G.I.P. business. We as you must know, are in a rather desperate plight. With a little more pressure we may succeed in getting Colvin to agree to what is called an "honourable settlement", i.e. defeat without name. At present he—insists on defeat plain and unadulterated. A little more pressure, I say, but that little needs a lot of effort. The difficulties are very great. So, if the G.I.P. Union creates a little trouble, that may—assist us.

How are you? I have not heard from any body at Bombay since you and the others were beaten by Sergeants or something. I have not heard what happened over Dange's case either.

I am sorry I got your invitation to the C.P. P & W Conference too late. It actually arrived on the second day of the proceedings. So I could not write anything. I understand, too that Joshi was to preside. But to my astonishment a certain mysterious Bradley is reported to have filled the chair. Good work. I hope some permanent organisation was set up there.

I have written to Ghate repeatedly to send me my pair of shoes, which I left under or in the cupboard in the Party Office.

He has not replied, so please remind him if you see him. My only pair is so worn that I have abandoned them, and I hop about in flimsy and ridiculous rubbers. Please ask him to include a Khaki Shirt, which he will find in the big box, in the parcel.

Please convey my love and so on to the others.

Yours,

Sd/- P. Spratt.

P. 1679.

Rejected.

*Letter dated 2nd May 1928 from Agnes Smedley, Berlin to Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru, Anand Bhawan, Allahabad.*

Dear Pundit Jawaharlal,

I am enclosing herewith a medical certificate about Mr. Acharya, whom you know not only from Berlin, but who wrote against you recently in the Indian press. He has also written against my articles, but despite this I write you.

Mr. Acharya is very ill. He has not only been under constant treatment for these malarial attacks, but is now suffering from heart trouble due to undernourishment, chronic starvation one might say. I went to see him a few days ago and found him in bed. He is forced to remain in bed most of the day, arising only to go out and give English lessons from which he earns his living or a part of his living. His income is M. 18 a week, not a Pound, and in Germany that is just about three to four times lower than the normal.

Is it possible for you to place this certificate of his before the Congress Committee, or before some individuals with money, and request a regular monthly support of £. 10 at the very least, £. 15 if possible, for Achrya for the next two years? It may be that many of them disagree with his political viewpoint, well, that is an entirely different matter. He has been an exile for ever 20 years, and his life has been devoted to making India known in the western lands, and to doing political work that exiles have done for years. His condition is really very bad, and he coughs continually, along with other illness. He should go away to the mountains for five or six months and recover his strength, and he should not have to work for a long time to come.

I do not know if there is any fund in the Congress to help such cases. I have told Acharya this when he asked me if I did not think some help might come through the Congress, but he asked me if I could not find out.

Thus I appeal to you to see what can be done in this case. Please try and get help for him. If possible, try and do something as soon as you receive this, for he is in great need. I myself have given him a small sum of money this month but I also earn little and need it for my daily existence.

I have read your letter in the Indian press about the dissatisfaction of youth and the necessity of using this energy. You asked for letters. I am not an Indian, nevertheless permit me to say a word. Why start a new party why don't these young men go into various workers and Peasants' Parties in Bengal, Bombay and in the Punjab? These Parties have a very fundamental programme and are doing excellent work. I do not understand the necessity of forming new parties so long as we have these.

We read with great joy your speeches and your articles. May you remain free that you may work further. But that is very doubtful. In any case, many of us here follow you with the deepest love and hope.

Sincerely,

Sd/- AGNES SMEDLEY,

English Translation of the certificate.

Dr. Med Ernest Eylenburg

Surgeon and Women's Specialist.

Charlottenburg Schuterster.

25 Tel. St. 563.

23-4-28.

Consulting hours Daily of each week:—

Mornings 9-30—10-30

Afternoon 5-30—6-30

Friday afternoons no consulting hours.

Physician's Certificate.

Mr. Acharya has been under my treatment for five years as a result of Malarial attack. As a result of very bad living conditions, his physical condition has become more and more serious, special care is essential for him, and without this no improvement in his condition can be expected.

Sd/- Dr. Med Ernest Eylenburg.

P. 1680.

LIGUE INTERNATIONALE CONTRE L'IMPERIALISME

et pour l'Independence Nationale

24, Friedrichstrasse, Berlin SW 48

Berlin, April 2nd. 1928.

Dear Jawhar,

We have just returned from Bursfels and have only time enough this week to send you a mere Sketch of the proceeding of the Executive Committee Meeting. Tomorrow we shall take in hand the preparation of a complete report for other for you and the other members of the E. C. who were not present.

Out of the fourteen Members only six were present namely Maxton, Fimmen, Saklatvala, Bridgeman, Munzenberg and Liau. Mme. Duchesne was prevented from coming by the sudden illness of her daughter and Mohamed Hatta was engaged on some urgent work for his organisation and therefore could not make the journey from Locarno to Bursfels. The absence of the others has already been accounted for in our Bulletin No. 2 which we trust you have already received. It was impossible to carry out the proposed agenda on the same scale as had been intended, but there was perfectly harmonious cooperation between the various elements of the Committee and certain important decisions were arrived at. As both Gibrati and Liau have retired from their posts, the one by reason of his nervous condition making further work impossible, the other because of his inability to continue living in Germany for financial and other reasons the question of electing new Secretaries was one of the most important that came up for decision. It was unanimously agreed that the principle on which the new Secretariat should be constituted ought to correspond to that on which the League itself is built up. The League depends for its chief factors on the communist movement the Social democratic workers and the national revolutionary movements of the colonies, and it was thought advisable to have a Secretariat of three persons, one to represent each of these movements. The names proposed informally were Schmidt of Holland, a communist and a representative of the colonies. With regard to the two latter there was no choice left open but to consider the most suitable persons from the point of view both of finance as well as of knowledge of the work itself. Only a few days before the Meeting, the action of the Dutch Social democratic party compelled our friend Schmidt, very much against his will to retire from the League, in order to remain in his party. The Executive Committee, after having considered all the pros and cons came to the conclusion that, in view of the uncertainty of

our financial resources, it would be the best thing to left the work of the League be done for the time being from the Berlin Office and that Munzenberg and Chattopadyaya be entrusted with the conduct of the work as Secretaries until the next Meeting of the Executive. In the meantime Maxton has undertaken to prepare a list of suitable candidates, English and continental, from which one might be selected for the secretarial post to represent the Social democratic party. This arrangement is for the present regarded as the most convenient, the most efficient and the most representative. As Maxton explained, the Office-bearers now represent the Socialdemocratic workers ( Maxton ) the trade-union movement ( Fimmen ), the communist movement ( Munzenberg ) and the national revolutionary movements of the colonies ( Chatto ). Besides, the arrangement now proposed is the cheapest imaginable as the new secretaries are not demanding a salary, although it is intended that our funds should be rapidly increased so as to enable the office to pay at least some part of their expenses. The Office in Paris will, of course, be maintained, in order to keep our connections with the South American and Oriental colonies settled in France and also to act as a center of communisation, if possible. The difficulty is extremely great at present because of the severity of the French police against all revolutionaries whether nationalists or socialists. You will therefore admit that for all these reasons the decisions arrived at were the most practical under the circumstances. An important decision was also arrived at with regard to the British Section which, as you know, had hitherto consisted of a few members of Parliament and a few intellectuals, but had no mass organisations of workers to back it up.

The British League will henceforth be constituted on the basis of individual membership and a special attempt will be made to have workers both individually and collectively as members, so as to bring up the membership to a few thousand. This is a step at last in the right direction.

Resolutions were passed on India, Egypt, Arabia, China, Indonesia and Latin America, but unfortunately there is no time to make copies of these resolutions for you for today's mail, and I request you therefore to have patience until the next week when you will duly receive them.

As promised in our previous letters, we took printed receipt forms to Bursells, in order to obtain Fimmen's signature. He has taken these forms with him to Amsterdam, from where he will send you a formal receipt for 100, — Pounds Starling bearing the date on which he actually received the money. He had not received the the cheque you mentioned for 50, —but has promised to send you receipt for that sum also as soon as the cheque is in his hands. I must add that the

Committee expressed great appreciation of the active interest in the League that is being shown by the National Congress.

We are posting today under separate cover 10 copies of the printed Resolutions, of which you received an uncorrected copy by last week's mail. The remaining 40 will be sent by the next mail, for reasons which you will understand.

Baldwin seems to be, quite justly, displeased on account of his having been neglected for very many weeks by the Central Office. But I think you will admit that things have changed somewhat for the better since the beginning of February, and Baldwin will soon have no reason whatsoever to complain of want of contact with the centre. We need the support of the American movement, and I think you could help us a lot by writing to Baldwin not despair of efficient work at the centre and asking him to give us all the support he can, in order to make it possible for us to organise our work on a sound basis. The members of the executive will receive from the central office a weekly letter informing them of developments as well as of difficulties. I feel sure that you yourself can speak from experience in writing to Baldwin and urging him to do all in his power for the League.

This letter is marked Ch. 1 and I shall be much obliged if you will quote the number in acknowledging the receipt of the letter so as to let me know that it has arrived safely.

This letter must now go. More in my next.

Yours very fraternally

League against Imperialism

International Secretariat

Berlin SW 48, Friedrichstr 24,

Sd. V. Chattopadhyaya,

Joint Secretary

P. 1680 E

An envelope with the following superscription on it:—

Via Marseilles.

Postal seal of Berlin 2-4-28.

Jawahar Lal Nehru, Esqr.

Anand Bhawan

Allahabad

Indien.

P. 1681.

Letter dated 30 VI. 1928 from Voronova, Secretary Textile workers union of U. S. S. R. Moscow, to Mr. Joshi, President of the Textile workers union, Sandhurst Road, Bombay.

Dear Comrade,

Your letter of May 25th received. We thank you for the information sent. Evidently you have not received the telegram, sent simultaneously with the money, in which we stated that the money was sent by the Textile workers' Union of the USSR, in support of the striking workers of Bombay.

We are informed from the Indian press that the striking workers are starving, and we are very pleased if the money sent by us will in the least relieve the onerous position of our heroically fighting brothers.

We would request you to transmit to the strikers our heart-felt wishes for success and our readiness in the future again, as far as possible to help them in their struggle for improving their conditions of labour.

With greetings of proletarian solidarity.

/Vorona./

Secretary, Textile Workers' Union USSR.



P. 1682.

A printed letter in English headed.

"Manifesto of the workers' and Peasants' party to the youth conference"

Signed by D. R. Thengdi, President, Workers' and Peasants' Party Bombay.

(Vide Exh. P. 546 (11).)

P. 1683.

Letter dated 13-12-28 from G. Adhikari, 59 Deccan Gymkhana colony Poona, to Mrs. Suhasini Nambiar, c/o Miss. Mrinalini Chattopadhaqa, Principal, New High School for girls, 5 Napier Road, Bombay, enclosing a letter from Mr. Nambiar.

Dear Mrs. Nambiar,

I tried to find your house at Bandra day before yesterday. Was not successful. I shall come to 5 Napier Road, on Monday at 4-30, after noon. Perhaps I shall be able to meet you there. I shall anyway leave the books there and take the correct Bandra address. I must meet you before I leave for Calcutta.

Yours,

Sd/- G. ADHIKARI.

Berlin,

Enclosure

22nd November 1928

My dear Baby,

Kindly help Adhikari to find any convenient and cheap room and till you find one I suppose it will be possible for you to put him up with you. I don't write more because I know you will do all that you can.

Yours

Sd. NAM.

P. S. If you had no place he could I suppose stay at Phippes or with Menon.

Sd NAM.

P. 1684.

Bombay City S. B. September 15th. Under the auspices of

BOMBAY COMMUNIST WELCOME  
SHAUKAT USMANI

the Communist Party of India, a public meeting was held at Marwadi vidyalaya all on Sept 14th to welcome Shaukat

Osmani on his release from jail. Philip Spratt was in the chair. About 150 persons were present.

K. N. Joglekar in welcoming Shaukat Osmani on his release from jail referred to the Cawnpore Conspiracy case and said it was a got up case to nip the Communist movement in the bud in India. The Government of India thought that the British Empire was in danger if the four comrades were allowed to spread communistic propaganda amongst the Indian masses. They were therefore charged for being agents of foreign revolutionaries like M. N. Roy, to bring about revolution in India. The Government failed in their object, as this trial gave a fresh impetus to the Communist movement of which was now on a firmer footing on the release the four comrades communistic propaganda was being successfully spread in India and the day was not far off when when Imperialist Government would collapse.

S. A. Dange complimenting Shaukat Osmani for fighting against both the foreign and native capitalists and exploiters admitted that the Indian Communists had foolishly kept certain things secret as they miscalculated the power of Government. He was questioned by people as to what was a Bolshevik or a Moscow trained Communist and he would explain by referring to Shaoukat Osmani and Ferojuddin who has gone to Russia to take training in spreading revolutionary propaganda in India. They had seen with their own eyes how Russian revolution was successfully carried out by the Proletariat and how problems of poverty and maintainance of the poor were solved.

Attacking the Nationalist leaders and newspapers of India, Dange said that they were both pro-capitalists and pro-imperialists and took, no interest in the emancipation of the masses. They did not accept Russian gold for the national movements in India simply because it was dubbed as Bolshhvik money. They are afraid of the Russian gold because it would bring about such a revolution in India that their own gold would also go, and capitalists like Sir Purshotamdas, Victor Sassoon and Tatas will not be allowed to move in Rolls Royce cars.

Referring to the recent trial of Fazal Ilahi alias Quaban, S.A. Dange said that he was sentenced to 5 years R. I. simply because he came to India without a passport. He further insinuated that Deshbhakat and he (Dange) were not granted passport to go out

of India while Pandit Motilal Nehru was granted one to visit England probably with a hope that he would be persuaded at Private luncheons to bring about a compromise in the back benches of the Assembly. He accused the Nationalist leaders of their apathy towards the Communist propaganda and declared that they were not working for the emancipation of the masses. He also declared that the Communists would still go out and come back without passports, would study revolutionary methods and would go on making propaganda in spite of Government's restrictions and suppression. He asked why Gandhi should not come forward to organise Satyagraha in respect of the passport Act.

After R. S. Nimbkar and S. S. Mirajkar spoke, exhorting the people to follow the activities of the Communist party of India and Workers' and Peasants Party and not to be frightened by the misleading propaganda of the Government and the Capitalist Press against the Communist activities. Shaukat Osmani thanked the Communist Party and the people of India for welcoming him and narrated incoherently his adventures in Turkistan and Russia. He promised to write articles in detail, on his adventures if B. G. Horniman agreed to publish them in this paper. He asserted that he is still a Communist as he was before and would give his life for the cause of Communism.

The following resolution was then moved by S. A. Dange and passed unanimously:—

“That this public meeting of the citizens of Bombay, held under the auspices of the Communist Party of India condemns emphatically the monstrous action of the British Government in cancelling the Passport of Com. Saklatwala, for India, at the instance of Government of India and also for placing restrictions upon the militant activities of those working for the oppressed masses.”

*Philip Spratt* then explaining his presence on that platform said that he being a member of the Labour Party of Great Britain had come to atone for what the Labour Government had done in confirming the sentence passed upon the 4 comrades tried at Cawnpore. The power of the Labour Government was due to the manoeuvres of the British Imperialists and others of the ruling class of Great Britain who falsely represented themselves as friends of Labour. They successfully managed to enforce Emergency Measures in the strike days to enable them to do what they liked with the strikers—to kill them if it will. They similarly approved of the Bengal Ordinance and confirmed the sentence passed upon the comrades like Dange, Shaukat Osmani and others. Referring to the trial of Fazal Ilahi, at which he said, he was present, the speaker termed the proceedings as a mere farce, as neither conspiracy was proved nor any proscribed literature was found with the accused. He then

explained that a Communist was the leader of the oppressed and the ignorant. Ever since human society came into existence there has been oppression upon man by man, said Spratt, and in the present age the oppression had become so intense that the oppressed had gone to the last range of defence. In Russia they had achieved victory while in China they were still fighting and in the opinion of the speaker the latter may get what they wanted within a year.

The Communist had their own tactics. They had a theory of their own which was beyond the arm-chair leadership but could be put into practice.

Sd. A. K. Chaudhri.

B. Br.

15-9-27.

**P. 1685.**

### **10th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution.**

*Bombay City S. B. November 8th.*

Under the auspices of the Workers' and Peasants' Party a party a public meeting to celebrate the 10th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution, was held at the Marwadi Vidyala Hall on the evening of November 7th when S. H. Jhabvala presided over an audience which numbered about 25 in the beginning and increased to about 75 at the close of the proceedings. Singaravelu of Madras and Dr. Bhupendra Nath Dutt of Calcutta were billed to speak, but they were conspicuous by their absence. Except the usual group of the Communists no politician of note attended the meeting.

Speeches were made by S. H. Jhabwalla, S. A. Dange, R. S. Nimbkar, S. S. Mirajkar, K. N. Joglekar, and S. V. Lalit.

S. V. Ghate, C. G. Shah and Mrs. Dange were present on the platform.

A photo of Lenin with a red ribbon around it and a chart showing the gradual advancement of the Russian movement in foreign language, were placed near the dais.

S. H. Jhabvala congratulated the Workers' and Peasants' Party for organising the 10th Anniversary celebration of the Russian Revolution of 1917. The Russian revolution had seriously affected the conditions of the masses and it resulted in the awakening which brought about new ideas and feelings all the world over. Although the revolution brought all the comforts and happiness to the Russians, it did not establish the real sort of Government contemplated. The conditions in Russia about the time of revolution resembled with those in India today. In Russia revolution was brought about by domination of the vested interests which produced a class of thinkers and philosophers like Lenin to stop oppression and exploitation. The idea of Trade Unionism came into existence and the workers were organised. Russia was very rich in natural resources such as agricultural product etc. and during Czarist regime the profits were enjoyed by the wealthy people. He could not say whether the methods used by the Russians in overthrowing the Czarist domination should be used and followed in India at present. They were celebrating the anniversary to find out ways to get Swaraj for their motherland to do away with poverty. The average income of an Indian was not more than Rs. 5/- per month while the average income of a Russian was about Rs. 20/- a month. It was disgraceful for the Government who declared that their subjects got enough food to eat. Russians were no better than ourselves twenty years ago but they had now improved considerably after the revolution and the average income of a Russian came to about Rs. 66/- per month after the revolution. The so-called threatening Soviet Government had added such a marked increase in their income and yet revolution was considered as a startling term to them. The other day Spratt delivered a lecture on "Revolution and India" at the Students' Brotherhood and the Government got frightened. The result was that Spratt was in jail. Referring to the articles on the Russian happiness, he invited the attention of the audience to them saying that they were written by a person who had actually seen things for himself. There was one thing to be decided by them, whether they should cooperate with Government that had brought poverty, demoralised the people by overtaxing them or whether they should rise against the Government to force them to bend before them as the Russians did. They should answer the question whether they wanted to smash the present system of Government to get what every human being was entitled to. He did not believe in shooting the Viceroy or the Governor. He was not afraid of the Police Officers in front of him but he would say that to achieve self-Government the iron system of administration that brought about poverty should be gradually overthrown. It was the duty and business of every politician, publicist, and patriot to organise the masses and to teach them to gradually rise against the Government to get what the Russians were now enjoying. The present Government was a - from of

administration, to realise taxes from the people for the benefit of the rich and to starve the masses. If they looked to the poverty of India they would find from statistics that nearly 600 out of 1000 children died in infancy inspite of so many hospitals in Bombay. That showed the economic and social condition of the poor masses, but it was not the Government alone that deserved blame from them but the so-called patriots and leaders, who once called themselves non-cooperators, no-changers etc. were to be seen dropping their Khaddar and becoming stalwart friends of the Government by cooperating with them in exploiting the country. Really speaking these patriots and leaders were traitors and in the words of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu he would say that these people were enchanted by the Temple of Maya by entering councils. That was what he called sham and mockery. If they wanted self-Government and liberty they should get by their own efforts but if people were to be frank in speaking anything they were either hanged or transported and Section 124A was immediately in operation. The Russians could not get freedom constitutionally and similarly they also could not get it constitutionally. The other day Mr. Mardy Jones talked of depending on the Labour Party who would help them when they would be in power and advised the people to work within the constitution, but the Indians should not be deceived by such things and the frauds and deceits of the Imperialistic Government should be done away with. They should get a lesson from the Russians. Soviet Government was a threatening term but it was a true democratic Government. What they wanted to destroy in India was the system of Government by organising the masses. It was no use shooting one Viceroy or the other as any other would be placed in his place. They should cultivate the mass mind, should go amongst the masses and train them to assert their human rights and demands otherwise self-Government would not be achieved. Self-Government was the thing to be achieved by the force of their own hands and it would not be tossed by God from above. By force of hands he did not mean beating any body. He meant to say that unless the masses & every one of them got enough to eat and clothes to put on there could be no self-Government. The Royal Commission or the Committees would be of no use to them. On the contrary there should be anti-Royal Commissions and Committees. The Indian worker should bear in mind that the Government, as said above, was sham and mockery, that leaders were hypocrites, and ministers and council-wallas would not work for the masses, that Royal Commission was not to give them any thing and that they could not get self-Government unless they worked for it by organising the masses.

S.A. Danage was rather humorous in his speech, He said ✓ that the Government was also cooperating with them in celebrating the anniversary. He received a cablegram which was received on.

the 30th October but it was delivered by the authorities of the Government on that very day of celebration. The cablegram was as follows:—“Federation Russian Rural Cooperation repeats invitations despatched four weeks ago. Send delegates participate Russian anniversary celebrations. Cable to Ankolina, Berlin, when delegates can start.” His reply to the telegram was that they would start as delegates on the day of Indian revolution. As another instance of Government cooperation he said the announcement of the personnel of the Royal Commission was to be made on the day following their anniversary celebration. He then showed the happiness in Russia enjoyed by the workers there and contrasted them with the actual conditions in India and cited extracts from the report made by the Labour Delegation sent by the Labour Party of England to Russia—which was without the limits of proscription by the authorities. He pointed out that there was no hero-worship in Russia as was the case in India.

R. S. Nimbkar described the conditions of the Russian peasants, workers and soldiers before and after the revolution and pointed out how the people went to the side of Lenin for the purpose of stopping the War. He then criticised the Congress President and others who did not allow him to move resolutions at the last A. I. C. C. meeting in Calcutta in regard to greetings to Russia, Ban on Saklatvala and Kharagpur strike.

S. S. Mirajkar explained the object of the meeting and said that the workers and peasants should be organised for the overthrow of British Imperialism that was dominating over them.

The President then moved the following resolution :

This meeting congratulates the Union of Soviet Republics on their reaching the 10th anniversary in spite of the frantic attempts of world imperialism to smash it by blockades, propaganda and invasion.”

K.N. Joglekar attacked the congressmen for not allowing them to put into force the programme of the workers' and Peasants' Party. They should force the Congress leaders to accept their demands or disown them if they failed to do so.

S. V. Lalit said that he had no hesitation in joining the Workers' & Peasants' Party in their celebrations. He was in favour of having two parties, one of wise moderates and the other of extremists to fight the Government. The people should not come in the way of those politicians who did something for them irrespective of whatever views they held.

Dear Friend,

R. 1686

We were very pleased to hear from you and to know that you had met our brothers. We regret that Arthur's spirits prevent him

enjoying himself and we expect him back soon which is a pity as we thought there might be an opening for him. I hope he gave some attention to the work of the Salvation Army and the Theosophical Society. George had two friends visiting the latter and they may have conveyed quite a wrong impression and so have been a bad influence. If you find time to read the papers you will have noticed a lot of discussion on Commission to examine Mr. Roberts in which the gentleman who gave you introduction took a leading part. Perhaps you would notice report of a meeting at Brussels where I believe Mr. Saunders played a leading role on behalf of European Societies whose idea is convening of a constituent Assembly to act on behalf of Mr. Roberts. You may remember the pleasant people of Ireland operated such a plan after the war. Please remember the advice of your Chief that what happened in Manchester leadership will probably happen at an earlier stage with Mr. Roberts. Therefore it will be necessary from the beginning to make a direct appeal to the Brahmins at large to select their own priests. This movement will help us here in the present struggle against the opponents of Mrs. Besant.

The papers will tell you how we are directing most sharply our exposure of false friends like Mr. B. at present on a visit to Mr. Roberts, who we hope will thoroughly understand his despicable purpose. We have spoken with a friend of Mr. Roberts whose name I think is Nehru who certainly is not a well-wisher at all but is angry with Mr. B. and all his associates and will be ready to come out openly against them on behalf of Mr. Roberts. He is much like Gandhi so far as the nature of Mr. Roberts' Temple is concerned. He thinks it must be different from that of my publishers. So you will see that he and his friends cannot be relied upon exclusively as they are very much afraid of any really strong action by the Artists. Nevertheless an attempt should be made to get a public statement from him on his attitude. We will try to send through press further details of the line taken by Mr. Saunders and the European Societies for your guidance.

We have read the declaration of the Brahmins of Bombay. It is very good and work along such lines should be followed up. We have not your present address but will send this by registered post and hope it will find you at the old place. We propose to send copy of your book to American Express Co. Bombay. Will you please write again soon, especially with regard to two religious bodies which the brethren here are interested in.

Salutations,

BESANTS.



P. 1686 E 1.

Mr. R. K. Karanth

"Gladhurst"

Santa Cruz

Bombay,

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P. 1686 E 2.

For

GHATE.

---

P. 1686 E 3.

JACK

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P. 1687.

A visiting Card with the following address printed on it:—

K. J. Upadhyaya.

Secretary, Indian Seamen's Union,

88 East India Dock Road

E 14.

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## P. 1688.

A letter in Urdu dated 1-4-29 from Amir Haidar Khan, Rawalpindi, Punjab, to one Munshisahab C/o The Afghan Soap factory, Gellabho Street, Madanpura, Bombay.

## P. 1689 to P. 1722.

being Bombay Speeches are printed separately.

P. 1696 to P. 1722

*Rejected.*

## P. 1723.

Telegram no. 72 dated 12 February 1928. The following are the contents of the telegram:—

DF.....PB.....365/ 11.....Berlin., 11...Via. ftn....35/34.  
LCD. DIRECTOR INTELLIGENCE BUREAU? NEW DELHI.  
(LCD. PANDIT MOTILAL NEHRU LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY? DELHI.)

ALL AFFILIATED ASSOCIATED ORGANISATIONS  
LEAGUE AGAINST IMPERIALISM ANXIOUSLY AWAIT  
DEFEAT BILL AIMED AGAINST ANTI IMPERIALISTS  
INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS UNDER PROTEST REPRESENTATION COMMUNISM AND WISH VICTORY REPRESENTATIVES INDIAN PEOPLE.  
(MESSAGE HELD.)

ANKOLINA.

## P. 1724 to P. 1736.

being Bombay speeches are printed separately.

P. 1737.

## Search List.

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

1. Date and hour of search: 23rd January 1927 - 11/30 A. M.
2. Name and residence of person whose house is searched: D. Campbell, 6/1 Sudder Street.
3. Name and residence of witnesses to search: } 1. Mr. A Lonmon, 6/2 Sudder St.  
} 2. Mr. W. H. Perry, Salvation Army 2 Sudder Street.
4. Name, father's name, residence, etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized: D. Campbell, S/o Campbell, In a room on the 2nd floor of 6/1, Sudder Street.
1. One slip with the address Mrinal Kanti Bose, 66 Bag-bazar Street. }  
2. One letter d/ 13/12 from Suresh Bhattacharji to Mr. Camppell. } Found in the left hand small draw of a toilet table.  
3. One card A. Miller & Co. Ltd. with a note on reverse by T. Narayan. }
4. Two visiting cards Wm. F. Smith.
5. One book 'Gandhi Versus Lenin.'
6. One book "In Tune with the Infinite."
7. One book "Modern India."
8. One book all about the Khilafat.
9. One book "Happy India."
10. One book "Karl Libknecht."
11. One book Manifesto of the Communist Party.
12. Hindhustani Amplified.
13. Communist International (one book).
14. Exploitation in India (One book).
15. One book G.I.P. Ry. Workmen's Union.
16. Report of Central Labour Board.

17. Nicolai Lenin, His Life & Work.
18. Nicolai Lenin, Worlds Greatest Revolutionist.
19. One book "Hundred Percent Indian."
20. One note book (Black cover).
21. One Magazine 'Communist International.'
22. One copy "Forward" Newspaper, Oct: 2nd 1926.
23. Two copies "Sunday Worker," d/- 12th & 19th Sept. 1926 .
24. One copy Lansbury's Labour Weekly dated 23/10/1926 .
25. One note book with brown cover.
26. One note book with brown cover.
27. A piece of paper containing some writing.
28. Two copies typed report 'Political Situation.'
29. One copy Brief statement of grievances of subordinates of Bengal Nagpur Railway.
30. One typed paper list of members of the 'Executive Committee of A.I.T.U. Congress.
31. One typed circular A.I.T.U. Congress.
32. One typed letter d/ 13/8/- commencing D/R.
33. Two pieces type-written paper with memo form attached.
- 33A. A number of torn pieces of paper with writing in ink and pencil.
34. Five pages typewritten document entitled Press Reports.
35. Two pages typewritten documents Economic Supplement.
36. A piece of paper "Notes from English Press."
37. One slip of paper showing figures on one side and address Mr. Mrinal Kanti Bose and Kishori Lal Ghose on the other side.
38. One typewritten document dated Bombay 26/6/1926 addressed D. Rab, by Don.
39. One typewritten document commencing "Original Principles of Congress 1835...on one side and the other some pencil writing "disagreement etc."
40. One typewritten document "Trade Unionism."
41. Two copies of typewritten letter D/ 31/12/26 (Unfinished letter) addressed "Dear Mr. Joshi."

42. A piece of paper with pencil writing "In connection with Home)".
43. Three pages pencil writing headed "Self-determination."
44. A piece of paper containing pencil writing commencing "The talk of a possible resumption."
45. Two bill forms with a cash receipt No: 9539 for Rs. 81/4/- of Watson's Hotel Bombay in the name of D. Campbell, Esq.
46. One paper containing writing in ink commencing the political resolution.
47. One typed letter D/ 9-12-26 addressed to Mrinal Kanti Bose by D. Campbell in a registered cover R. 914.
48. One envelope from dead letter office addressed D. Campbell referring to registered letter 914.
49. One letter D/ 4-10-26 addressed D/Don, signed Fraser. (3 pages) One letter d/ 24/11/26 addressed D. Campbell by B. Wilson, in envelope.
50. One ditto d/ 27/11/26 do do do do
51. Some visiting cards of Mr. Donald Campbell.
52. One paper in pencil writing commencing "A/17. O/9. N/12. etc."
53. One book "Count Leo Tolstoy."
54. One book Manifesto of Communist Party.
55. Six copies "Indian National Herald" dated 1, 19, 20, 29, 30, 31 Dec. 1926.

(Sd). W. H. Perry. 23/1/27.

(Sd). D. Campbell.

23/1/27. (Sd). A Lonmon. 23/1/27.

(Sd). E. A. Hartley.

A. C., D.D. 23/1/27.

Date: 23rd January 1927.

Place: 6/1, Sudder Street.

P. 1738

Search warrant issued under Sec. 96 C. P. C. by the District Magistrate, Meerut, for searching the house of Raghunath Shivram Nimbkar, contractor Building No. 2, 2nd. floor, charni Road, opposite Prarthana Samaj, Bombay.

Executed by the Bombay City C. I. D. on 20-3-29.

P. 1739

### Punchnama

We, the undersigned. members of the Punch viz:—

1. Raghunath Sakhoram Pinge, 35 H. Govt. service Res, contractor Blg: No. 1, 1st floor, R. No: 9. Charni Rd.
2. Govind Waman Nabar, 33, H. Service Res-R No: 8 1st floor, contractor Blg: No: 1 Charni Road. were present at the time of the execution of the search warrant dated the 15th March 1929 issued by the Dist. Magistrate Meerut, (U. P.) to witness the search of Room No: 19. 2nd floor, contractors Blg No: 2, Charni Road at 6-45 a. m. on 20th March 1929.

The above search was conducted by Sub-Inspr. S. V. Ketkar with the assistance of Sub-Inspr V. S. Kuvadekar of the Bombay C. I. D. in our presenee and the following articles were taken possession of the officers conducting the search:—

1. One copy of (Municipal Kangar) D/1st Feb 1929. found on a small wooden cupboard
2. Post card D/31/8/23 from Panduranj Shivram Nimbkar to R. S. Nimbkar. Do.
3. Annual Report of the Girgaum District Congress Committee for the year ending on 31/8/1926 and accounts for 1923-24, 1924-25 and 1925-26: Found De-
4. A Book in Hindi entitled "General Avari" by Satyadeo Vidyalankar found

5. Post card in Marathi D. 5-9-28. from N. T. Power to R. S. Nimbkar
6. A Book entitled "A survey of Indian Labour in Burma" by A Narain Rao
7. Manuscript by R. S. Nimbkar entitled "The Role of Labour in China."
8. Manuscript by R. S. Nimbkar on "The Role of Labour in China."
9. Printed Report of the Hyderabad state Subject's Conference
10. Presidential address of the Hyderabad state subjects conference.
11. A Book "An Essay on Unemployment" by S. Nateson, found
12. Constitution and Rules of the Social service League Bombay
13. Hindi Pamphlet "Open letter to H. H. Maharaja of Bikaner" by Vijayasingh Mohta
14. Hindi Pamphlet "Nadirshahi in Bikaner state" by Vijaysingh Mehta
15. Issue of "The Young Liberator" Vol. 1, No. 3 for November 1928.
16. A Book "Misrule of the Nizam" by D. Raghevendru Rao
17. Pamphlet Price of freedom
18. Pamphlet in English "The Nizam's Government" G.R. Abhyankar
19. Pamphlet "Scheme of Labour Representation in the Indian central and Provincial Legislatures"
20. Twelve Bundles each containing 10 one-Anna Ticket Books of the Bombay oil company's Employer's Union under signature of R. S. Nimbkar, each book containing 100 one-anna tickets serially numbered (20A-20L).
21. Seven letters regarding complaints by millhands : (21A to 21-G) found in a small cupboard.

22. Typed letter dated 19/3/28 from R. S. Nimbkar to T. M. Pangarkar. Found Do.
- 23 "Indian Economic Society" Vol VII No. 1-2 March and June 1924. Found- do.
- 24 "Manifulations of [the [Tilak [Swaraj]" found by S. A. Dange. Found-Do.
- 25 Fourteen blank Receipt vouchers of the Bombay Girin Kamgar Union, Bombay (25- A-25-N) Found- Do-
- 26 Typed letter from Abid Ali to Nimbkar in an envelope
- 27 Three Booklets "Sacco and Vanzetti" Found do
- 28 Pamphlet " A letter to Russian Libe- rals by Count Tolstoy". "
- 29 Leaflet "The First Indian Communist Conference" by Satya Bhakta d/-12-10-25 "
- 30 Leaflet- The Future Programme of the Indian Communist Party- by Satya Bhakta, d/ 18-6-25. "
- 31 Envelope containing letter dated 26- 8-24 from Syed Munavar to Nimbkar. "
- 32 Letter dated 22-8-28 from the Official Assignee to Nimbkar
- 33 Envelope containing letter dated 11-8-28 from Mrs. Sarojini Naidu to Nimbkar "
- 34 Letter dated 30- 8 28 from Mukanda Lall Sircar to Nimbkar "
- 35 Typed letter from S. V. Ghate, dated 20- 8-28 to Nimbkar. "
- 36 Typed letter dated 16-8-28 from S. H. Jhabwala to Nimbkar. "
- 37 Registered envelope containding " typed letter dated 25 2 29 from Sharda Par- kasha to Nimbkar. (37) A37 C "
- 38 Envelope containing 2 letters dated 30/8 28 and 26/2 29 from M. Jabas to Nimb- kar "
- 39 Typed letter dated 4/2/29 from Dikshit mancklal and Co to Nimbkar. "



- 40 English printed Pamphlet to comrades. " (40 A to 40 E)
- 41 Leaflet printed in Marathi under signatures of R. S. Nimbkar and Syed Munavar. "
- 42 Typed letter dated 1/12/28 from the Hony. Genl. Secretary G. I. P. Ry Workmen's Union, Bombay to the Director of Information and Labour Intelligence, Labour office secretariat Bombay (42 A to 42- C) "
- 43 Envelope containing draft terms and proposals for settlement of strike (43- A to 43-G) "
- 44 Envelope containing a letter dated 9/3/29 from S. Jhabwala to Nimbkar "
45. Printed Post card dated 9/3/29 from S. V. Ghate to Nimbkar Found —Do—
- 46 Marathi Book "Girni Kamgaranche Phatake, "

Part III

- 47 Lalji Pendse's letter dated 14/4/27 to the secry: Workers and Peasants' party Bombay (47- A to 47-G) "
- 48 Envelope containg 2 printed leaflets re: the first flag- salutation Programme of the Hindustani Seva Dal signed by Dr. N. S. Hardikar dated 10/1/29 (48A to 48 B) "
- 49 Copy of telegram from Nimbkar to Dr. Ansari. "
- 50 Book "The self Educator in Russian" by Louis Segal "
- 51 A file containing 1 issue of Urdu Paper Issues No 1 to 5 of "The Spark" Issues Nos. 1 to 26 of "Kranti" Vol I and Issues Nos. 1 to 4C (excepting 25, 26, 30, 31 and 34 of "Karanti" from 30/6/28 to 9/3/29. 51(1) to (67). Found-Hanging on a nail in the wall,

- 52 Cloth flag bearing "The workers of the world Unite Workers' and Peasants' Party etc." Found in a small cupboard.
- 53 Five Rent receipts in the name of R. S. Nimbkar for August to December 1928 at Rs 14/9/ P. M. for Room No. 19 Found Pinned in a wire hanging on a nail in the wall.
- 54 Cloth flag bearing "Adult suffrage constituent Assembly" found in a cupboard.
- 55 Printed Post card dated 13/11/27 from S. S. Mirajkar to R. S. Nimbkar. Found in a trunk.
- 56 Typed Resolution on the need for Worker's and Peasant's Party. Found in a trunk (56- A to 56- E)
- 57 7 Printed Post cards dated 4/ 3/ 27, 14/ 4/ 27, 1/4/27, 18/ 4/ 27, 22/ 4/ 27, 27/4/27 and 3/3/27 from S. S. Mirajkar to R. S. Nimbkar. (57- A to 57G). Found in a trunk
- 58 Typed letter from S. S. Mirajkar dated 23 2/ 27 to Nimbkar. Found in a trunk.
- 59 One Marathi Printed Handbill signed by A. A. Alve and S. A. Dange Re Bombay Girni Kamgar Union. Found on a cupboard.
- 60 Twenty Pamphlets entitled "The Trade Union Movement" Found in a trunk. 60 (1) to 60 (20).
- 61 Nineteen Pamphlets entitled "Political Resolution" by D.K. Goswami. Found in a trunk.
- 62 Nineteen Pamphlets entitled "Workers" and Peasants' Party Principles and Policy by D. K. Goswami. "
- 63 A Book "Imperialism" by Lenin. "
- 64 A Book "A call to Action" " "
- 65 Twnty copies of "The Presidential Address" of Sohan Singh Josh. " "
- 66 Five copies of a Pamphlet "Constitution of the Workers' and Peasants Party of Bengal. "

- 67 Fourteen copies of a Pamphlet "Address of Welcome by P. Dinda"
- 68 Postal S. B. Account Book No. 382057 Bombay in Nimbkar, name
- 69 S. B. Acct: Book No: 007983 of the Imperial Bank in Nimbkar' name Found
- 70 "Home saving Safe' Account No: 38059 in Nimbkar's name of Central Bank of India.
- 71 Report of 1st All India Workers and Peasants Party Conference.
72. Constitutions of the all India Workers' and Peasants' Party.
73. Manuscript copy of "Present Policy and Programme
74. Telegram D/- from clerk's Lal Bavta Calcutta to Nimbkar No. 00607
75. Telegram No. 03302 from Calcutta from Govind Anant to Nimbkar.
76. "Independence of India League of Bengal."
77. "The Trade Union Movement" Found in Trunk.
78. "Thesis on the Revolutionary Movement in the colonies and semi colonies."
79. Typed letter from Executive Committee of the Communist International D/ 2/12/28.
80. Telegram No, 06947 Calcutta from Peter - Wilson to W. and P. Party Calcutta.
81. Telegram No. 02322 - Calcutta from sawmy Muzaffar Ahmed.
82. Telegram No. 06082 Calcutta from Munzeburg and Chattopodhyaya to W. and P. Party Calcutta.
83. Typed letter D/ 20/12/28 from Pir Md. Munir to the Secy. Reception Committee. First All India W. and P. Conference.

84. Typed letter from Lakshminarayan Sahu D/- 20/12/28. "
85. Typed letter D/- from Secy. Reception Committee of the Ist A. I. W. and P. conference. "
86. 24 loose sheets containing notes re : P. and W. Party's conference. "
87. 27 Typed Notices D/- 11/3/29 signed by R. S. Nimbkar W. and P. Party of India. "
88. Letter D/- 1/2/29 from Daulat R. (Rohtak). "
89. Letter D / - 15 / 2 / 29 from Muzaffar Ahmed. "
90. Letter D/- 11/2/29 from General Secretary Reception Committee Naujawan Bharat Sabha. "
91. Letter D/- 14/2/29 from S. A. Anwar. "
92. Letter D/- 9/3/29 from K. C. Gupta. "
93. Letter D/- 15/2/29 from Bukhar. "
94. Letter D/- 18/2/29 from Muzaffar A. "
95. Resolution adopted by W. and P. Party of India D/- 17/2/29 Bèngal Provincial Branch. "
96. Letter D/- 24/1/19 from Muzaffar A. Found in Trunk.
97. Letter D/- 14/1/29 from Muzaffar A. "
98. Letter D/- 31/12/28 from A. G. Gupta. "
99. Letter D/- 19/12/28 from Editor Janamethiran to the Secretary Ist A. I. W. and P. Conference. "
100. Letter D/- 2/1/29 from R. S. Nimbkar. "
101. Manuscript copy "constitution". "
102. 17 letter forms of the W. and P. Party Bombay. "
103. Book "Gandhi v/s Lenin by S. A. Dange Found in a cupboard.
104. Book coming of socialism by Lucren. "

105.	..	Logic of the Machine by W. F. Hay.	83
106.	..	Communism by R. P. Dutt.	83
107.	..	Economics made easy" by M. E. Amery	83
108.	..	Appeal to the young	83
109.	..	Monopoly.	83
110.	..	Religion of the capital	83
111.	..	Manifesto of the Communist Party	83
112.	..	Logic of Socialism.	83
113.	..	The working class	83
114.	..	Principles of socialism	83
115.	..	Women of the Future.	83
116.	..	Rights of Labour.	83
117.	..	Scientific Socialism	83
118.	..	useful Work v/s Useless toil	83
119.	..	Wage Labour and Capital	83
120.	..	Social Revolution	83
121.	..	Socialism v/s The state	83
122.	..	Politics of oil	83
123.	..	Conquest of Bread (Vanguard Press)	83
124.	..	The Essentials of Marx (Vanguard Press)	83
125.	..	How the Soviets work	83
126.	..	Hell Found!	83
127.	..	Soviet v/s civilization	83
128.	..	Foundations of Imperialist Policy	83
129.	..	Modern India.	83
130.	..	Bolshevik Russia.	83
131.	..	Lenin as a Marxist	83
132.	..	Soviet at Work.	83
133.	..	Theories and practice of Leninism	83
134.	..	India and China	83

135. " " Soviet Russia " "
136. " " Outlawing Socialism " "
137. " " Lenin on Co-operation " "
138. 2 Books one year of N.C.O. (M.N-Roy) " "
139. Book The Aftermath of N.C.O. " "
140. " " Red Money " "
141. " " Labour Party and the Empire " "
142. " " British Imperialism in East Africa " "
143. " " " in Malaya " "
144. " " Commercial Employees and Protective Legislation " "
145. " " Communism " "
146. " " Communist International No. 1 " "
147. " " Labour Monthly Vol. 9 Nos. 1 to 4 (147-A to 147-D) " "
148. " " The Pan-Pacific Worker Vol. 1 Nos. 3, 4, 9, 10, 11, and 14, (148 A to 148-F) " "
149. Book The far Eastern Monthly Nos. 17, 19. (149-A and 149-B) " "
150. Book International Labour Movement (R.I.L.U.) Vol I No. 12. " "
151. Book The Masses of India (15 copies) Found in cupboard Vol. III Nos. 1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8,9,10,11,12. Vol. IV Nos. 1 to 4. " "
152. Do. (8 copies) Vol III 2,3,4,5,6,7,8. Vol. IV No. 1. " "
153. Book Labour Kishan Gazette Vol 1 No. 7. " "
154. Book Trade Unions in U.S.S.R. " "
155. Book Communist International Vol IV No. 2. " "
156. Letter D/- 7/4/27 from Pass Port officer, Bombay Re. refusal of pass port. " "
157. Manifesto of W and P party to youth Conference. " "

- 158 Marathi Book by V. H. Joshi "Russia Virudhha Kesaricha Betupurassar Viparyas".
- 159 The socialist Vol II No. 26
- 160 Is Trade Unionism Played out.
- 161 Receipt No. 34 D/ 12-8-28 for Rs. 3/- Subscription of W and P Party.
- 162 President's address of the 1st India Communist Conference 1925.
- 163 Group Photo containing Nimbkar, Lalji Pendse and others, Hanging on the wall on a nail.
- 164 League Against Imperialism. "Resolutions Found in a cupboard passed at Brussels Conference.
- 165 Reports of the A.I.T.U.C. 6th, 7th and 8th Sessions.
- 166 Report of the First Annual Conference (National Minority movement)
- 167 "India and the Labour world" by S. Sak
- 168 Annual Report for 1927 of the Communist Party of India.

The room, No. 19, was locked and one Anant Warnan Karhadkar, sleeping in front of the room in the gallery produced the key and opened the room in our presence. He also produced the keys of 3 trunks and 1 cupboard. He was present throughout the search.

The above Pauchnama was read over to us and it contains a full and true account of what we have witnessed during the search. Before me

Sd/- S.V. Ketkar

20-3-29.

1. Sd/- R.S. Pinge

2. Sd/- Govind Vaman

Nabar.

Sd/- V.S. Kuvdekar,

20/3/29.

## THE ROLE OF LABOUR CHINA.

(By R.S. Nimbkar).

The A.I.C.C. in its recent meeting at Bombay has passed the following resolution:—

“The All India Congress Committee calls upon the Working Committee to organise rural and urban labour, in the provinces, to appoint organisers for the purpose and frame general regulations in this behalf”.

The Indian National Congress stands for the attainment of Swaraj by the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful means.

As I pointed out in this very meeting of the A.I.C.C. bourgeois nationalists in our country are in dreams of “Swaraj” within British Empire”. At the same time, it must be confessed the rank and file demand the change of the Congress creed to ‘Complete Independence’ in place of the undefined Swaraj. In the Gauhati Congress, all the big leaders, including Mr. Gandhi gave a knock out blow to my friend Mr. Sambamurti's resolution, the fight for which will be fought to a finish at Madras in the ensuing session of the Congress.

But independence in any form can be achieved only through a revolution and in our opinion, it is the organization of Labouring millions of our country, which is going to achieve it. China is on the throes of revolution today. And a lesson from the Labour movement there will be of great use to us.

Labour movement is taking the lead in the national revolutionary movement there. The Kuomintang Party could only boast of decisive success from the moment when large masses of workers joined it. When, in October 1924, the Canton Govt. was threatened by the attempted insurrection of the Fascist ‘paper tigers’ it was the workers who saved it. When in June 1925, General Lin Chin Wang made a counter revolutionary attack on the Canton Govt; it was the workers again who, by means of strikes and by obstructing transport made the victory of the Canton Government possible.

After the defeat of General Wang, the Kuo Min Govt: was founded on 1st July 1925, with the help of the workers. At the very same time workers entered on a general strike against the British Imperialists in Hong Kong. This strike proved to be of great significance in foreign policy.

In order to consolidate the Government, the Counter revolutionary divisions of troops within the Kuo Min army were dissolved,



and the army was re-organised. At the same time, workers were given the right of assembly, and coalition and freedom of Press in the widest measure, and were allowed to carry arms in Canton and the rest of the province of Kwantung. The Trade Union movement experienced a great boom.

In order to suppress the strike in Hong-Kong, which threatened them with great danger, the Imperialists tried to overthrow the Kuo Min Govt. They organised attacks on Canton, from the east of Kwantung under General Chen Chun Min and from the south under General Pen Pin Jing. The workers organised themselves to support the defence of Canton. The Kue Min Army had issued the slogans: No fear of death, No looting, No forcing military service on the civil population. The third could not be followed as transport was in such a bad state, that it was necessary to call upon the civil population for help. The workers organised the transport for the support of the Cantonese Army. Apart from this they organised propaganda which roused interest amongst the peasants. Thanks only to the active co-operation of the workers, the counter-revolutionary generals were defeated in less than two months.

The continued general strike in Hong-Kong, hit the foreign Imperialists very hard. Before that time 130 ships had entered Hong-Kong daily: but in consequence of the strike, this number fell to 20 ships. The losses due to strike were estimated at three million Mexican Dollars, per day. The Port of Canton developed enormously and the number of ships entering it daily increased from 15 to 40.

Now the Workers found themselves firmly established in the province of Kwantung, and gave considerable support to the expedition of the Canton Army, into the North. They not only organised the transport and propaganda divisions, but also created divisions of their own, with the object of destroying and reconstructing lines of Communication.

The workers are helping the revolutionary movement, not only in Canton, and in Hong-kong, but in an increasing measure throughout China. In Hankow Wuchang, the Railway men, and in Hanjang, the Arsenal workers struck against Wu Pei Fu. This facilitated the conquest of these three important neighbouring towns and their fusion into Wuhan, the new capital of the national revolutionary movement.

The general strike in Shanghai against Sun Chuan Fang, the counter revolutionary leader, was, it is true, suppressed with sanguinary reprisals, but it helped considerably, to undermine the power of Fang. The fate of his successor Chang Tsun Chang; against whom a general strike, is also being prepared, will be no better than that of Fang.

Not only are the Chinese Workers taking part in the revolutionary movement, in an increased measure, but they are constantly gaining a more predominating influence. In this movement, workers are joining in a united front, with students, and peasants. The peasants helped by the workers and fighting against the Land-lords, who are vainly trying to defend themselves with the aid of armed militia. As the workers are fighting not only in their own interests, but also against heavy taxation, against corruption, and for the development of traffic etc. They are gaining more and more sympathy from the middle classes and peasants.

An example of the united front is offered among other places by Shanghai where a civic League, consisting of all strata, has been formed under the leadership of the workers against the Imperialists and the Militarists. The petty bourgeoisie wittingly joins in this united front, although it knows that the workers are directly under the lead of the Communist Party, a fact which is repeatedly pointed out by the Imperialists. Not only the workers, but also the whole petty bourgeoisie joined in a general strike in Canton on March 2nd by way of a great demonstration of protest against the deeds of violence in Shanghai.

This is not the whole history of the part that Labour plays in the Chinese Revolution today. Will our nationalist leaders learn a lesson from this when seriously they want to take to achieve the object for which our Congress stands?

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P. 1741

### THE ROLE OF LABOUR IN CHINA

(By R. S. Nimbkar)

The A. I. C. C. in its recent meeting at Bombay, has passed the following resolution:—

“The All India Congress Committee calls upon the working committee to organise rural and urban labour, in the provinces, to appoint organisers for the purpose, and frame general regulations in this behalf”.

(The Indian National Congress stands for the attainment of Swaraj by the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful means. as I pointed out in the Bombay meeting of the A. I. C. C. bourgeois

nationalists in our country, including Mr. Gandhi are in dream of Swaraj within the Empire'. At the same time, it must be confessed, the rank and file demand the change of the congress creed to complete Independence' in place of undefined Swaraj. Sjt. Srinivas Iyengar the President of the Gauhati Session of the Congress went even to the length of saying that Swaraj is an emotional problem. This view is being summararily rejected by the leftists in the Congress and though the leaders have given knock-out blow to my friend Mr. Sambamurti's resolution at Gauhati, the fight for the change of creed will be fought to a finish in the ensuing session of the Congress at Madras.

(But the Swaraj on the basis of political, economic, social and religious freedom for every individual, can be achieved only through a revolution violent or non-violent, and the proletariat is an important factor in the coming struggle. The organisation of labour is therefore a very important problem before us, and I propose to discuss the history of organisation of the working class in some of the important countries of the world.

(Labour movement is taking the lead in the national revolutionary movement in China today. Nearly fifteen years have passed since the time of the revolution there, but the liberation and unity of China is not an accomplished fact until now, the financial, customs, and railway managements, the foreign policy, and to a certain respect the internal administration of China still remain under the control of the Imperialists. The concessions with their regime of extra-territoriality consular courts, for foreigners and complete absence of rights, for the Chinese population, still flourish in all industrial and trading centres. China has been a semi-colony. The power of the Central Govt. at Peking is delusive, while the internecine strife of the Duds (military Governors) occupies the entire recent history. This group is being supported by the Imperialists powers, because they prefer to deal with a split and dis-organised China. Only in the South, Kwantung province, the National Revolutionary Party (The Kuomintang) has been able to maintain power. The difficulties lying in the path of the Chinese people are tremendous: There are military cliques on the one hand, and there are tradesmen bourgeoisie on the other who serve the cause of Imperialism by peaceful economic but none the less actual methods. Foreign firms are centred in large Chinese ports. Not knowing the language, the trading customs, the market and the credit capacity, the foreign firms have to take recourse to the services of the Chinese middlemen traders for the execution of their import, and export operations. Being connected by a community of interests, this merchant bourgeoisie participates in the robbery of his country, and the ruin of peasants and artisans and becomes an eager servant of Imperialism,

(Only during the last few years, have these social forces developed in China, which may be strongly opposed to militarism

Imperialism and dislocation, brought about by the traders. These forces are the newly-born Chinese Industrial bourgeoisie and the Young Chinese Proletariat.

(These forces are the product of the last decade, only during the Great War industrialisation of China produced at an accelerated pace. Industrial centres with compact masses of the proletarian were founded which served at the same time as a basis for extensive national and labour movements.

What was the importance of these new social forces? How did they influence the process of struggle? The tremendous profits of the Chinese undertakings which sprung up during the war, when dividends of 100 percent or higher were no rare occurrences, rendered nationalistic, newly-formed Chinese Industrial Bourgeoisie. They naturally wanted in future also to continue exploiting their own workers and to remove dangerous competition of foreign capital. This ensured, the Chinese Capitalists would have taken up a new formation and would have become a great opposition force in the National struggle. But in reality the case became different.

P. 1742.

Two copies of the booklet Sacco & Vanzetti in English.

P. 1743.

A book in English entitled  
"The Self-Educator in Russian"

by

Louis Segal.

P. 1744

1744 T. Rejected

A file of "Kranti" Newspaper in Marathi containing the following issues:—

9- 3-29	13-10-28	5- 2-28	15-10-27
3- 3-29	5-10-28	2- 8-28	8-10-27
24- 2-29	27- 9-28	29- 7-28	1-10-27
23- 2-29	20- 9-28	26- 7-28	24- 9-27
17- 2-29	13- 9-28	22- 7-28	17- 9-27
3- 2-29	6- 9-28	19- 7-28	10- 9-27
20- 1-29	2- 9-28	15- 7-28	3- 9-27
13- 1-29	30- 8-28	12- 7-28	27- 8-27
16-12-28	23- 8-28	8- 7-28	20- 8-27
9-12-28	19- 8-28	5- 7-28	13- 8-27
25-11-28	17- 8-28	30- 6-28	6- 8-27
9- 7-27	12- 8-28	12-11-27	30- 7-27
2- 7-27	9- 8-28	22-10-27	23- 7-27
25- 6-27	18- 6-27	28- 5-27	16- 7-27
	11- 6-27	21- 5-27	
	4- 6-27	14- 5-27	

Besides the above there are certain issues of the newspaper "Spark" and an issue of "Payam-i-Mazdoor", of the following dates:—

Spark:—3-3-29, 24-2-29, 17-2-29, 10-2-29, 27-1-29.

Payam-i-Mazdoor:—3-3-29.

P. 1745

A cloth banner having the following Slogans in English and Marathi painted on it in red paint:—

Workers of the World Unite.

Workers and Peasant's Party.

P. 1746. *Rejected.*

An invitation card dated 13. Nov. 1927 issued under the signature of S. S. Mirajkar, Hon. Secretary of the Workers and Peasants' Party, Bombay, requesting Mr. R. S. Nimbkar, Bombay, to be present at a meeting of the Executive Committee to be held at the Party Office on Thursday 17-11-27 at 8-30 P. M. to consider the present situation.

0611 .5

P. 1747.

Type written copies of the following articles:—

- (1) Resolution on the need for Workers' and Peasants' Party.
- (2) Resolution on Organisation.
- (3) Programme of immediate demands.

(Vide Exh. P. 807)

1011 .5

P. 1748.

7 invitation cards D/- 18-4-27, 4-3-27, 14-4-27, 3-5-27, 27-4-27, 18-4-27 & 22-4-27, issued under the signature of S. S. Mirajkar, Hon. Secretary, Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bombay, inviting R. S. Nimbkar to attend the meetings either of the Executive Committee or the Congress group of that Party.

8011 .5

P. 1749.

20 copies of a pamphlet in English entitled "The Trade Union Movement".

(Vide Exh. P. 51).

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P. 1750

19 copies of a pamphlet in English entitled "Political Resolution".

(Vide Exh. P. 56).

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P. 1751

19 copies of a pamphlet in English entitled "Workers' and Peasants' Party Principles and Policy".

(Vide Exh. P. 161).

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P. 1752

A book in English entitled "Imperialism, The State and Revolution" by Nikolai Lenin.

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**P. 1753**

A booklet in English entitled "A call to Action".

(Vide Exh. P. 523).

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**P. 1754.**

20 copies of the Presidential Address in English of the First All India Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference, delivered by Comrade Sohan Singh Josh at Calcutta on December 21, 1928.

(Vide Exh. P. 596).

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**P. 1755.**

5 copies of a pamphlet in English entitled :—

"The Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal, constitution, 1928.

(Vide Exh. P. 514).

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**(P. 1756.)**

A typewritten copy of the Report of the First All India Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference.

(Vide Exh. P. 669).

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**P. 1757.**

A typewritten copy of constitution of the All India Workers' and Peasants' Party.

(This is a part of Exh. P. 669).

**P. 1758**

A manuscript copy in English of the "Resolution on Peasants.

(Vide Appendix N of Exh. P. 669).

**P. 1759 .**

A typewritten copy of an article in English headed "The Trade Union Movement".

(Vide Exh. P. 51).

**P. 1760.**

A typewritten copy of an article headed "To the All Indian Conference of Workers' and Peasants' Parties".

(Vide Exh. P. 478).

P. 1761.

A Telegram from Potter Wilson to the Workers' and Peasants' Party, Asylum Lane Calcutta. The following are the contents:—

No. 06947

Dlt. W. 10/18 Leicester 16 Irt 29 Dlt Workers and Peasants Party Asylum Lane Calcutta.

Greetings to First Congress Workers welfare League Hopes Unity of Workers Peasants masses will be achieved for future struggles.

POTTER WILSON

Postal seal of.

Calcutta, G. T. O.

18 Dec. 28.

P. 1762.

Telegram No. 06082, dated 23.12.28, from Munzenburg and Chattopadhyaya, to the Workers Peasants Conference, European Asylum Lane, Citta. The contents of the Telegram are as follows:—

Dakc 42 Berlin 78 22 Sv.

Lcd Workers Peasants Conference 2 European Asylum Lane Citta.

In Name Executive Committee League against Imperialism we send heartiest Fraternal Greetings your first all India Conference stop hope your Deliberations will result Establishing strong organisation Indias working Masses Struggle against Imperialism and Attainment National Social Liberty stop call upon you protest expulsion Jhonstone American trade unionist sent

attend your Conference as our fraternal delegate long live Indian  
Workers Peasants long live Independent India.

Signed International Secretariat.

Munzenbrg Chattopadhyaya.

Postal seal of :

Calcutta, G.T.O,

28-12-28.

P. 1763.

Telegraphic Address : "GANAVANI" Calcutta.

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

**2-1 EUROPEAN ASYLUM LANE, CALCUTTA,**

Ref. No.....

A. I. Workers' and Peasants' Conference opened with the International song in Bengali by Quazi Nazrul Islam. Telegrams and letters from the Workers' Welfare League of India, London, Madras and other places were read out by the secretary of the reception committee. Mr. P. Dinda, Bar-at-Law, Chairman of the reception committee delivered his speech. Mr. Hemanta Kumar sirkar introduced the president in a few well chosen words. Comrade Sohan Singh Josh then delivered his presidential address. Comrade Jack Ryan, fraternal delegate from the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat, emphasised the need of establishing workers Swaraj in India and assured the Indian workers that the Pan Pacific federation would stand by them. Com. B. F. Bradley of the A. E. U., England, dwelt on the necessity of organising the W. and P. of India, which had long been overdue. He characterised the holding of this first W. and P. conference as the most momentous event of the day, He stated that he attached greater importance to this conference than to the Indian National Congress. He assured the help from the Revolutionary Workers of England in the cause of India's freedom to be achieved by the workers. Coms. Ryan's and Bradley's speeches were rendered into Hindi

by Mr. Godbole. Com. Thengdi, the President of the W. & P. party of Bombay, spoke on the necessity of doing away with the exploitation of workers by capitalist and of establishing a Workers' Swaraj, which would give food to all and find work for everybody. Com. A. C. Gupta, President of the W and P party of Bengal, proposed the following names to constitute the draft committee:—

<i>Bombay</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>Bengal.</i>
S. V. Ghate		P. Spratt.
K. N. Joglekar,		D. K. Coswami
B. F. Bradley		Muzaffar Ahmad
S. S. Mirajkar		Hemanta K. Sirkar

*The Punjab:* Ferozedin Mansur and Bagh Sing.

U. P. P. C. Joshi, L. N. Kadam, and Gourishanker Sarma.

The conference was attended by representatives even from far of Dera Ismail Khan; Amongst those present were: D. B. Kulkarni, D. R. Tengdi, R. B. Mantri, B. G. Kasie, of the youth section (Working class) (Bombay), Sirdar Mangal Singh, Baba Gurudit Singh, Sirdar Sirdool Singh, Sirdar Karman Singh (Panjab), Champaram of Dera Ismail Khan, (N. W. F. Province), Mr. Gurishanker Sarma, Mr. and Mrs. Balvant Singh, Victor Mohan Joshi (U. P.), Fanindranath Ghosh of Bettiah (Behar), Bhupendranath Dutt, Saileshnath Bisi, Protul Ganguly, Arbindo Bose, Swami Kumaranad and others.

The following resolutions protesting against the arrests of the following were put from the chair and carried unanimously.

1. I. W. Jhonstone of the League against Imperialism.

2. Abdul Majid,

Kedarnath Segal

Ramachandra Kapur, of the Workers' and Peasants' Party, Punjab.

The conference sits at 12 noon today (22nd inst).

Secretary Reception Committee.

P. 1764.

Manuscript notes in English for writing the report of the First All-India Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference held at Calcutta. It contains the following :—

- 1 Resolution on War preparations.  
(See Appendix U of Exh. P. 669).
- 2 Resolution on State Prisoners.  
(See appendix O of Exh. P. 669).
- 3 Resolution regarding the Conviction of Mohamed Akbar Khan.  
(See appendix S. of Exh. P. 669).
- 4 Resolution regarding sentences upon Trade Unionists.  
(See appendix R. of Exh. P. 669).
- 5 Resolution on Life term Prisoners.  
(Vide appendix Q of Exh. P. 669).
- 6 Resolution regarding Dr. Bishwanath Mukherji.  
(Vide appendix P of Exh. P. 669).
- 7 Resolution on State Prisoners.  
(Vide appendix O of Exh. P. 669).
- 8 Resolution on arrest of Comrade Johnstone.  
(Vide appendix C of Exh. P. 669).
- 9 Resolution on the arrest of 3 Comrades of the Punjab.  
(Vide appendix D of Exh. P. 669).
- 10 Resolution for the formation of All-India Party.  
(Vide appendix H of Exh. P. 669).
- 11 Resolution regarding Affiliation to the League against Imperialism  
(Vide appendix J of Exh. P. 669).
- 12 Resolution for the formation of All-India Party.  
(Vide appenix H of Exh. P. 669).
- 13 Resolutions regarding Trades Disputes Bill.  
(Vide appendix K of Exh. P. 669).
- 14 Resolution regarding Bauria Strike.  
(Vide appendix L of Exh. P. 669).
- 15 Agenda for the 1st day of the Session }  
16 Agenda for the 2nd day of the Conference } Vide  
17 The third and second days proceedings. } Exh.  
18 Agenda for the 2nd. & 3rd. day Session } P.  
669.

19 Notes regarding the Second Day's proceedings and the election of the National Executive Committee of the All-India Workers' & Peasants' Party.

(Vide Exh. P. 669).

20 Short notes regarding the proceedings of the first and second day.

21 Resolution regarding affiliation to the League against Imperialism. (Vide appendix J. of Exh. P. 669).

22 A notice convening a meeting of the draft Committee. (Printed below).

23 Proposals put before the N.E.C. by H.K. Sarkar. (Printed below).

### MEMBERS OF THE DRAFT COMMITTEE.

From Bombay 1. S. V. Ghatge.  
2. K. N. Joglekar.  
3. B. F. Bradley.  
4. S. S. Mirajkar.

Punjab 1. Ferozdin Mansour.  
2. Bhag Singh.  
3.

U. P. 1. P. C. Joshi.  
2. L. N. Kadam.  
3. Gouri Shankar Sharma.  
4. Lala Balwant Singh.

„ Bengal 1. Hemanta Kumar Sirkar.  
2. P. Spratt.  
3. D. K. Goswami.  
4. Muzaffar Ahmad.

To meet this evening at 8 P.M. at 121 Lower Circular Road, the resident of the delegates. The Committee will sit to consider the draft resolutions and theses submitted by the Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal.

Proposals put forth before the N.E.C. by H.K. Sarkar.

1. General Secretaries of all provincial branches of the Party be asked to forthwith report on the following; and the information when received may be circulated amongst the members of N.E.C.

- (a) Number of individual members of the Party.  
 How many of them are actual workers?  
 " " of them belong the petty bourgeois class.  
 " " of the petty bourgeois members have enlisted themselves as members of a Workers' or Peasants' Union (within two months) and have paid their subscription?
- (b) Numbers and names of affiliated unions with number of members on the role, the dates on which they applied for affiliation, the dates on which affiliation was sanctioned and by whom, whether the unions keep a regular register of their members and how many members on the register pay their subscriptions.

2. That applications for individual membership of the Party for the year 1929 under the new constitution be collected during the months of January and February 1929, for being submitted to the N.E.C. at its 1st quarterly meeting in March for selection.

Applications from unions desiring affiliation under the new constitution be also collected during the period, showing the names of members on the register paying subscriptions to the Unions.

Quarterly fees for individual membership be collected along with the applications which may be refunded in case the applicant is not admitted to membership.

So also affiliation fees for unions should be collected with the application, which may be refunded in case of non-acceptance.

3. After the approval of the N.E.C., the provincial branches should hold their annual general conference to elect the Provincial Executive as per directions of the N.E.C. The members on the P.E.C. should not exceed 20, and no member who has not been in active touch with a Workers' or Peasants' Union for at least 3 years should be allowed stand for election to the executive.
4. Rules for holding the annual general conference of the Provincial party including rules for election of delegates and methods of voting should be submitted by the P.E.C. by the end of February, 1929, for the sanction of the N.E.C.
5. Till the new Executive for the year 1929 is formed, the old executive should carry on the routine work, postponing all important questions of policy and organisation for the new executive.

All members of the old executive should at once enlist themselves as members under the new constitution by paying their quarterly subscription of Rs. 12 in advance within the 15th of January, 1929. The General Secretary may inform the members of this and let them know that their seats will automatically be vacant, if they do not comply with this rule.

R. S. NIMBKA

P. 1765.

27 Copies of a typed notice issued under the signature of R. S. Nimbkar, General secretary, Workers' and Peasants' Party of India. The notice runs as follows:-

Workers' and Peasants' Party of India.

17 Dwakadas Mansuri,  
Sandhurst Road.

Bombay 4.

Dated 11th March 1929.

**NOTICE**

A meeting of the National Executive of the Party will be held at Amritsar on Friday the 29th of March 1929 at 3 P.M. (S. T.) (The Place will be notified at a later stage).

Sd- R. S. NIMBKA

General Secretary.



P. 1766

Rejected

VANDE-MATRAM

SACRIFICE

NAUJAWAN BHARAT SABHA.

Service

Suffering

(The Young India Association)

No.....

Lahore.....11..2...1929.

<p>The making of nations requires the selfsacrifice of thousands of obscure men and women, who care more for the idea of their country than their own comfort or INTEREST, than their own lives and the lives of those whom they love.</p>
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To, P. 1766

The general secretary

All India Workers and Peasant Party Comrade,

The Punjab provincial Naujawan Conference is going to hold its next session at Lahore on the 22nd, 23rd and 24th instant. I on behalf of the reception committee invite you to attend the conference and guide us in our deliberation.

We in the Punjaab are passing through critical times the Government is set upon repression. It has locked up in its jail many of our best workers. Five of our comrades are at present standing their trial under Sec. 124A, I. P. C. For all we know more prosecution may follow. Under such conditions we can hope to make our conference a success only if leaders of all India repute extend their patronage to us.

The Punjab has taken upon its shoulders the responsibility of holding the next session of the all India Congress at Lahore. We solicit your valueable help in reviving the political life of the province without which we will hardly be able to discharge our responsibility of holding a successfull session of the Congress. We are sure your presence will not only contribute greatly to the success of our conference but it will also tone up the political life of the province.

We hope you will be kind enough to attend the conference inspite of your numero us public engagements and thus reassure the

youth of the Punjab of your support in its hour of trial.

Yours,

Ihsan Ellahi

General Secretary Reception

Committee,

Punjab Provincial Naujawan Bharat

Sabha Conference,

Moti-Bazar, L A H-O-R-E

**SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY'S**

**BRANCH LIBRARY**

**BOMBAY**

P. 1767.

*Tele. Address: "GANAVANI" Calcutta.*

**WORKERS' & PEASANTS' PARTY OF INDIA**  
**2/1, EUROPEAN ASYLUM LANE, CALCUTTA.**  
**BENGAL PROVINCIAL BRANCH.**

Organized

February 18, 1929.

**"GANAVANI" and "LAL NISHAN"**

( Bengali Weekly ) ; ( Hindi Weekly )

The General Secretary,

Workers' and Peasants' Party of India.

17, Dwarkadas Mansions, Sandhurst Road,

Bombay.

Dear Comrade,

I am sending herewith copies of resolutions adopted at a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Bengal Branch of the **WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' PARTY OF INDIA**. All the resolutions were passed unanimously. Comrade Gopendra Krishna Chakraverty who was elected a member of the National Executive Committee of the Party and who also had been a member of the Executive Committee of the Bengal Provincial Branch, has now ceased to be a member of the Party. He joined the Party in

1927, but never cared to pay any subscription to the Party in spite of repeated request. We shall recommend the name of another comrade in his place to the membership of the N. E. C, during its next sitting.

As regards the Amritsar meeting of the N. E. C. I think the date should now be announced. One of the Bengal members has suggested to me that the meeting should be held during the Easter Holidays when Railway concession will be available.

We are quite in darkness about what you are doing there. Did you apply to the League Against Imperialism and for National Independence for the affiliation of the Party? Please note that you have not taken any action on my former letters.

Yours fraternally,

Sd/—Muzaffar Ahmad

Secretary.

P. 1768

WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' PARTY OF INDIA

2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

Bengal Provincial Branch.

Workers' and Peasants' Party of India

2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

Bengal Provincial Branch.

24/1/29

The General Secretary,

Workers' and Peasants' party of India,

17 Dwarkadas Mansion,

Sandhurst Road.

Bombay.

Dear Comrade,

Please let me know by return of post whether you have formally applied to the "League against Imperialism and for National Independence". Please do also send to me a copy of the resolution on the non payment of fees by the inditional members of the Party. This resolution was adopted in the First Meeting of the National

Executive Committee of the Party.

Yours fraternally

(Sd.) MUZAFFAR AHMAD.

Secretary,

P. 1769.

Tele Address: "GANAVANI" Calcutta.

## Workers' & Peasants' Party of India

2-1, EUROPEAN ASYLUM LANE, CALCUTTA.

ORGANS:

"GANAVANI" (Bengali Weekly) and "LAL NISHAN" (Hindi Weekly)

Jan. 14, 1929.

GENERAL SECRETARY,

Workers' and Peasants'

Party of India,

Dear Comrade,

Monday, 21st January is the 5th anniversary of the death of LENIN, and should be observed by the Party in conjunction with the Communist Party, in a suitable manner. It is suggested that on that day (or, if more convenient, on the day before) as many meetings as possible should be held, especially among industrial workers. It is desirable that these should be advertised previously by handbills, which should give the most essential points of Lenin's teaching and life.

The most important questions which should be stressed in speeches on Lenin Day are:

- (1) his analysis of the nature of opportunism and reformism in the Labour movement, and its role as the last line of defence of capitalism.
- (2) his teaching on the colonial question: the tactics and

ultimately the leading role of the working class in the colonial revolution

- (4) the significance of the Russian Revolution as the first breach in the structure of Imperialism, and the U. S. S. R. as the "Fatherland of the Working Class" hence the necessity of the defence of the U. S. S. R. against the war danger.

on behalf of the National Executive Committee of the WORKERS' and PEASANTS' PARTY of INDIA.

(Sd.) MUZAFFAR AHMAD

Member in charge of Education

and Propaganda.

P. 1770.

Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal.

2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

2/1/29.

Dear Comrade.

I have received your letter. It was placed by me before the National Executive. They have consented to the procedure suggested by you and have co-opted Muzaffar Ahmad, Dharani Goswamy, G. Chakra, and H. Sirkar as members of the N. Executive representing Bengal.

Hoping this satisfies the Comrades in Bengal.

Yours fraternally

(Sd.) R. S. NIMBKAR

General Secretary

All India' W. and P. Party

**P. 1771.**

A manuscript copy of the constitution of the All India  
Workers' and Peasants' Party.

(Vide Exh. P. 549 (15).)

**P. 1772.**

A book in English entitled  
Gandhi Vs. Lenin, By S. A. Dange.

**P. 1773.**

A booklet in English entitled  
"Communism"  
by  
B. Palme Dutt.

**P 1774.**

A booklet in English entitled  
"An Appeal to the young".

by  
P. Kropotkin.

P. 1775.

A booklet in English entitled  
"Manifesto of the Communist Party

by

Karl Marx Frederick Engels

P. 1776.

A book in English entitled

"The Essentials of Marx".

The Communist Manifesto

by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels.

P. 1777.

A book in English entitled

"How the Soviets Work".

H. N. Brailsford.

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P. 1778.

A book in English entitled

“Bolshevik Russia”

by

G. E. Raïue

Edouard Luboff. L. L. D.

Edouard Luboff. L. L. D.

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P. 1779.

A book in English entitled

“The Soviets at Work”

by

Nikolai Lenin.

Nikolai Lenin.

---

P. 1780.

A book in English entitled

“Theory & Practice of Leninism”

by

L. Stalin.

---

P. 1781.

by



**P. 1781.**

A book in English entitled

"Soviet Russia"

Legal and economic conditions of Industrial  
and commercial activity in Soviet Russia.

**P. 1782.**

A book in English, entitled

"Communism"

by

H. J. Laski.

**P. 1783.**

Issue No. 17 of the Magazine "The Communist International",  
Special Eastern Number.

**P. 1784.**

Four Issues of the Magazine "The Labour Monthly" in English  
for the following Months:—

January 1927, February 1927, March 1927, April 1927.

P. 1785.

Two issues of the Magazine in English headed "The Pan-Pacific Worker" for the following dates:—

1-5-28  
15-5-28  
15-8-28  
1-9-28  
15-9-28  
1-11-28

P. 1786.

Two issues of the Magazine in English "The Far Eastern Monthly" for the Months of July & September, 1928.

P. 1787.

An issue of the Magazine in English entitled "International Labour Movement", R. I. L. U. Bulletin of July 24, 1928.

P. 1787.

An issue of the Magazine in English entitled "International Labour Movement", R. I. L. U. Bulletin of July 24, 1928.

**P. 1788.**

15 issues of the English Magazine "The Masses" for the following Months:—

January 1927	June 1927	December 1927
February 1927	July 1927	January 1928
March 1927	August 1927	February 1928
April 1927	September-October 1927	March 1928
May 1927	November 1927	April 1928

**P. 1789.**

8 issues of the English Magazine "The Masses" for the following Months:—

February 1927	January 1928	May 1927
March 1927	August 1927	June 1927
April 1927	July 1927	

**P. 1790**

An issue of the English Magazine "The Communist International" of 15th February 1927

P. 1791.

No. P. C. 416

Passport Office.

Bombay Castle, 7th April 1927

From

J. A. Arratoon, Esquire

Passport Officer to the

Government of Bombay.

To

Mr. Raghunath Shivram Nimbkar

Sandhurst Road

Girgaum Bombay

Memorandum.

With reference to his application dated the 30th March 1927,

Mr. Raghunath Shivram Nimbkar is informed that a passport cannot be granted to him.

Sd/- J. A. Arratoon

Passport officer to the Government of Bombay.

P. 1792.

A leaflet in English headed "Manifesto of the Workers' and Peasants' Party to the youth conference"

(Vide Exh. P. 546 (11)).

P. 1793]

Rejected.

THE

## First Indian Communist Conference

1945.

### PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

Comrades

*Our Conference*.—At a time when the opponents of Communism are attempting to crush our beneficent movement for making this world happier and pleasanter for all human beings dwelling in it, we communists in India are meeting in this hall to-day, to take a general view of the political and economic situation obtaining in India, and to concert measures by which we can render the life of our own countrymen better and happier. We wish that our peaceful movement will be better understood both by our countrymen and our rulers, by means of the deliberations we are having here in this Conference, and we hope that our work will be better appreciated by the general public, especially the industrial and agricultural workers for whose benefit this conference is mainly held.

*Our persecutors*.—Judged by the persecution to which our comrades in this land and in other lands are put, we should think that our movement is totally misunderstood and mis-interpreted by the ruling classes, and to them we have only one answer to make—that is the answer which one of the greatest of our race gave to his persecutors at Calvary 2000 years ago, "Oh, you know not what you do." It is unfortunate that in this world of ours, the pioneers of every reform whether social or religious, political or economic, scientific philosophical, are obliged to suffer for their thoughts, ideas and actions. But as *Kalachakra*, the wheel of time rolls on, the suffering which the world reformers have undergone, spur others to further suffering, until in the end, the whole world stands to adore them. In the words of the greatest of Americans—Walt Whitman,

" Those Corpses of young men

Those martyrs who hang from the gibbets,

Those hearts pierced by the grey lead

Cold and motionless, as they seem live elsewhere with unslighted vitality.

They live in other young men, O kings,

They live in brothers ready to defy you,

They were purified by death, they were taught and exalted,  
Not a grave of the murdered for freedom but grows seed  
for freedom, in its turn to bear seed

Which the winds carry afar

and the rains and snows nourish,

Not a disembodied spirit can the weapons of tyrants let loose  
But it stalks invisibly over the earth whispering, counselling  
and cautioning.

This has been the history of humanity from the dawn of ages.  
Perhaps this may be the history of the few communists who to-day  
are put to unmerited suffering for trying to serve their fellow men  
all the world over.

*Our suffering Comrades:*— Our first thought goes to those  
three of our noble comrades who are yet kept in prison for speeches  
and writings which need not have been construed as offences. But  
the law of the land condemned them. They have been found guilty  
by the highest tribunal in the country. But as fellow beings, our  
profound sympathy goes to them in jail, and we express our hope  
that wiser counsels will yet prevail in the minds of the Government  
who, we wish, will have the magnanimity to set them free. Next,  
our equally profound sympathy goes to those Britishers who have  
also suffered in the great Communist hunt that is going on in Great  
Britain. To all those who suffer for the freedom of their land and  
for the freedom of their countrymen our heartfelt sympathy goes to  
them all, and we earnestly hope that better days may yet dawn  
upon this globe in which lovers of freedom may be welcomed instead  
of being punished for their thoughts.

*The great Dead:*— Next we have to perform another mourn-  
ful duty for those who have passed away from us. Among the  
noblest of women kind who have fallen victims to the great persec-  
ution in recent years, we may mention Rosa Luxemburg who was  
cruelly done to death while pacifying the mob in Berlin. We stand  
in mute reverence in memory of our departed sister. Equally  
profound is our loss caused by the death of Karl Liebknecht who  
was also done to death while serving the German workers. Among  
Frenchmen who have passed away, we may specially mention M.  
Jaures whose name will ever be cherished by the workers of the  
world. For all those workers who have perished in Calcutta,  
Madras, and other Indian cities, while struggling for freedom to  
live a decent human life, we express our profound sorrow.

*Death of Lenin:*— But the greatest loss which the world  
communists have suffered during recent times is that caused by the  
death of Nicolai Lenin by his death the world has grown sadder.  
Here was a man who cared nothing else in the world except the well  
being of suffering humanity. Such a man was snatched away by  
the cruel hand of death at a time when the great Workers' State in  
Russia needed his advice and guidance. The Communist world  
has lost in him a real benefactor of mankind whose counsels would  
have immensely benefitted them in these trying times. In the days of  
the great Revolution in Russia, following the Great War of 1914,  
the world of Capital mis-judged him and as the old adage goes, that

truth will be out, the thinking world is now in a position to judge of this man and his actions. That greatest Christian man now living England George Lansbury, has paid this man one of the greatest tributes ever paid to any other human being on earth, and in the course of ages, there can be no doubt that the work begun by this man in Russia, will ultimately benefit mankind and shower happiness and contentment upon the human race. We shall quote here the tribute paid to Nicolai Lenin at the time of his death in the pages of the Labour Kishan Gazette, as a fitting prelude to the expression of our sorrow which we are now giving in this conference for the death of the man.

“ Lenin the Great, has passed away and joined the choir invisible. The World—Workers' World, is to day poorer by the passing away of the Great Teacher and Redeemer. To-day, the vested interests which are taking shelter under ignorance and greed are silent over the great loss which the humble workers of the world have suffered by the death of their greatest protagonist. It is the worker, the true salt of the earth, that mourns, or ought to mourn for him who showed him the path of deliverance from bondage privation, and misery. Teachers and Prophets, Statesmen and Scientists, Philosophers and Metaphysicians equally great, equally learned have appeared from time to time and tried to redeem the workers humanity from its age long suffering and serfdom, but it was reserved to Nicolai Lenin to apply the only true and correct solution for removing the great ills of life which the great capitalist interests of the world have brought upon the the once happy human race.

It was his great master Karl Marx who found the great truth of Historic Materialism trodden under foot, reviled and ridiculed by the powerful and the ignorant among mankind, but he lived long enough to see the great worker's philosophy understood by the thoughtful and accepted as the method of riding poverty and misery from this mundane existence. It was for the first time in the history of the world demonstrated with scientific precision and accuracy that most of the misery with which the majority of the world have become affected were due to the selfish aggrandisement of a few among the powerful over the toiling many. And he taught further that it was only by rendering the few powerless to continue the evil that the suffering workers will have to get rid of their misery, and attain to the life of knowledge, labour and ease, which today is the monopoly of a very few among mortals. Today Nikolai Lenin stands unrivalled among the sons of men who have tried to alleviate human sufferings and it is now left to the workers to follow his method. While all others were pursuing vague speculative orators as to the cause of misery and its cessations, and preached charity—*dhana* as the Ultima Thule of social justice, Nikolai

Lenin found the true *hathu* or cause of world's sorrows, lie in exploitation of the many by the few and he succeeded in rendering this social wrong impossible in his own country. The Russian workers today can be deemed to be the happiest among the workers of the world, and this is due mainly to the indefatigable worker for whose death we, his comrades, are mourning.

"The great revolution in political thought and philosophy which Nikolai Lenin wrought in his own country may be destroyed, nay, even be swept away by the selfish nature of a few among men, but it will revive again and again and ultimately encompass the world, and finally render the life of the worker tolerable and pleasant throughout the world. To him who has done so much and who has given the worker a clear vision of his glorious realm in which every human being shall have the right to labour and to live like all his other fellows, we lift up our hands in love, devotion and reverence."

*Our Country's martyrs.*—Coming nearer home, we have mourn the loss of some of the greatest of India's sons who have struggled in their own way and according to their own lights to serve their fellow men in various ways. On the topmost rung of the ladder, stands that unique figure of Tilak—that beacon of light for all true lovers of freedom. It was only the other day that we lost the true lover of our country, our Desabandhu Das, for whom the whole country wept. There was yet another man, who left us, and whose head and heart was devoted to the freedom of our country. This was Siva of South India and we deeply deplore his loss. To all those who have suffered and died for the country's freedom and for the redemption of humanity, to all of them known and unknown, we shed our tears, and I request you to stand for a while in memory of those martyrs who have paid for the benefit of humanity with their dear life.

*Our Countrymen.*—We have dwelt so far with those that have gone from us. Now we shall speak for those who are with us. Among the peoples of the world, our countrymen alone form the saddest portion of the human race on earth. Bereft of the necessities of life—food, house and clothing, bereft of the higher necessities of human life—freedom, equality and knowledge, the majority of our countrymen are far below the level reached by other nations of the world. It is computed that 40 millions out of over 300 millions of fellow-beings are scantily fed and clothed, and nearly half of this seething mass of humanity are illhoused and are devoid of decent human habitation. More than 80 per cent are illiterate. Nearly a fourth are what are known as untouchables—a species of humanity who have no other social relationship with their other classes of their countrymen than to serve their masters. They have no right of entry into public temples. They cannot bathe in public tanks. In some places they cannot use public roads. Then we have a million or two intellectuals who cannot serve their countrymen except in ways



prescribed by the alien rulers of the land. In the land of ours to agitate against the wrongs under which many of our countrymen suffer is oftentimes considered objectionable, and sometimes treated as crimes. The growing taxation of the necessities of life is becoming intolerable. With it grows the expenditure, especially the military expenditure. Over sixty crores are spent annually for a mercenary army to keep out imaginary or fanciful foes. The Government of the country is not merely over-manned but over-paid. In the annual budget the essentials of national wellbeing are sacrificed for non-essentials. The health of the nation is far from satisfactory. Millions and millions die of preventable diseases. If the vital statistics is in any measure a test of civilised existence, Indian Cities stand at the lowest ebb ever reached by any other country in the world. Education has become so costly that only a few thousands can afford to avail themselves of the highest education and culture, among these vast millions. Children of the soil are disarmed and unarmed and stand helpless to defend their home and their hearth when necessary. To recount the tale of woe under which this unhappy country suffers, will require more time and energy than I could afford in this address. A few rich men are more bent upon making riches for their own comfort convenience and luxury, than for the common-weal. Of those who suffer most are the peasants of the country, and who alone number 2/3 of the population. Their life in the villages is awful. Swept by famine, pestilence, and disease, their existence is kept up by the high birth rates which often accompany poverty and destitution. The agricultural labour, while providing all, can have no direct access even to a morsel of what he produces by his toil. Living amidst plenty, he cannot get even the crumps. The industrial workers in the city are unable to meet both ends meet on account of their low wages. While all other countries are trying to secure a living wage to their countrymen, India alone does not even think about it and much less express it. This is the sum and substance of the politico-economic conditions, and under which a fifth of the human race has its existence under the British administration in India. Dear comrades, how do you propose to better these deplorable conditions of human existence under which you, and I, and the vast majority of our fellows have the fortune or the misfortune to live in this ancient land of ours? In fact, you should answer in this conference how we, communists, propose to do for effecting a radical change from our present miserable life to one of joy and happiness which is the birth right of every human being on this planet. This answer I propose to give in the following pages of this address, subject of course to your correction and amendment.

*Communism and Swaraj*—In the great struggle for Swaraj which is now in progress throughout the country, we communists have to take up the greatest share in the struggle. Though small,

even negligible in numbers, we form the vanguard of the future Workers State of India. Therefore we have to see that the workers and peasants in the land have their rights recognised in any constitutional change that may come about in the immediate future. Whatever may be the form of Swaraj which we may get—that workers & peasants right to live a decent human life here on earth should be vouchsafed to them. Whether Swaraj is one of Home rule, or Free State or Republic worker's right to be represented in the governance of the country by their fellow workers or by the intelligentia of the country ought to be secured to them. Without this right being secured or conceded to the workers, no form of Swaraj is worth having. Therefore it is the duty of the communists to be vigilant enough to see that the future form of Swaraj does not essentially become bourgeois, but substantially becomes proletarian. In fact, complete self determination and universal workers suffrage ought to be the ideal towards which we communists have to stand in next constitutional change that may come about in the near future. I therefore request you to consider in this conference the methods our party have to adopt with or without the conjunction of the existing political parties in the country, for securing the rights of the workers and peasants in the coming Swaraj State. The motto therefore, of every Indian communist ought to be, "No life without Swaraj and No Swaraj without workers."

*Communism and Congress*—We should define what our attitude shall be as regards this national organisation. This is one organisation whose potentiality for good was great. The national Congress was once a power in the land. Though bourgeois in origin in scope and outlook, it was one organisation which continually voiced the political grievances of the nation. Under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi it was a live force for at least a year. During the campaign of the Non-co-operation movement, the prestige of the Congress was at its height. It aimed at Swaraj without defining it or much less understanding it. It spoke in the name of the people. It acted in the name of the people. When its great leader called the nation to offer non-violent fight against the bureaucracy, thousands responded and they placed their all at the altar of freedom of the land. But it struck blindly. Instead of directing its whole weight against the bureaucracy and rendering it impotent for evil, it struck wildly in all directions. It burdened itself with the redress of all sorts of grievances, political, social, economical and religious and therefore it got itself hopelessly entangled in mutually contradictory ideas and actions. If it had only struck for Swaraj and sought for the co-operation of the workers in the fight for it, it would have succeeded. But it weighted itself with all sorts of considerations including those of ethics, that the N.C.O. campaign which opened so brilliantly under its auspices broke down under its own weight, and the retreat of the movement which began at Bardoli ended in the arrest and confinement of its great leader without a

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word of protest from his followers. The bureaucracy triumphed and the leaders humbled. Amidst turmoil and confusion in the rationalist ranks, the surviving leaders of the movement quarrelled among themselves and split into various parties, and the split is still undergoing further division. A very numerous party among Congressmen who survived the debacle at Bardoli, formed themselves into a new party and calling themselves Swarajists, they sought to capture the Legislative Councils and began to give fight to the bureaucracy within the councils which they once abandoned. But here again the bourgeois mentality has begun to show its cloven hoofs even in the council fight, and the Swarajist Party which under Dasabandhu showed some clean fight, has begun to degenerate into a fight for loaves and fishes of office, among themselves. From this short resume of the rise and fall of various congress parties engaged in the pursuit for Swaraj, one thing stands clear before the nation, that it is impossible for the bourgeoisie of the country to secure Swaraj for the nation unaided. Without the active co-operation of the working masses, the intelligentsia of the country are incapable of winning Swaraj. Neither the Congressmen nor the present dominant party of Swarajists will be able to bend the bureaucracy to their will without the active co-operation of organised workers. It is enough to state that the congress bourgeois leadership lacked sincerity in their relation to the workers of the land. The pious hope now and then expressed by various parties, of helping, educating, and organising the workers, both urban and rural, will never fructify for the simple reason, that their mutual interests are opposed and contradictory. Therefore, it is the duty of the communists to take up the organisation of the masses, and endeavour to obtain Swaraj. Whether with or without the co-operation of other political parties of the country, that is for you to decide.

*Communism and Swarajists.*—Council entry with or without office, has become the dominant plank of the Swarajists. It stands to the credit of the Swarajists to have brought the bureaucracy to a halt in its triumphant career. This temporary defeat of the bureaucracy has made the bureaucracy look small in the eyes of the world. But the Indian bureaucracy, like the other bureaucracies of the rest world, is inexhaustable in its resources, and it is too shrewd and too powerful to be easily defeated. Swarajists will be readily mistaken, as they should learn from the split in their own ranks, if they hold that unaided and with a house divided against themselves, they can bend the bureaucracy to yield to them. Single handed, they cannot. Nothing short of completely paralysing the bureaucratic administration will bring the bureaucracy to its legs, but to achieve this consummation, the active co-operation of the organised Labour is necessary for any party bent upon achieving Swaraj. Here again the Communists have to learn from the successive failure of every political party in this country that in the organisation of the workers and peasants, lies their salvation and

that of their country. Whether you have to agitate for direct labour representation in the councils is also one of the subjects which you may tackle in your present deliberations.

*Communism and suppressed classes.*—Hitherto we have spoken about the relationship of our communist Party to the various political organisations in the country. We shall now briefly deal with two other items of programme adopted by the Congress in the struggle for Swaraj. We shall take first the problem of untouchability and state my opinion as to our Party relationship to the problem. It should be clearly understood that, from the standpoint of communism, this question of untouchability is purely an economical problem. Whether this class of people are admitted into temples or tanks or streets is not a question connected with our fight for Swaraj. With the advent of Swaraj, these social and religious disabilities will fall of themselves. Communists have neither caste nor creed nor religion. As Hindus, Mohammadans, or Christians, they may have any private views about them. The question of untouchability is essentially associated with economic dependance of the vast mass of these Indians. No sooner their economic dependance is solved, the social stigma of untouchability is bound to disappear. It is this inequality in the ownership of land which is mainly responsible for the existence of halotry of the vast masses of the suppressed peoples. Not mere entry into temples, tanks and roads will raise these unfortunates in the social scale in equal terms with their affluent brethren. The problem of untouchability is essentially an agrarian problem, and unless this economic dependance is relieved talk of removing untouchability is basely insincere. While the no changer is talking big of the injustice and inhumanity of treating our fellow beings as untouchables, he carefully avoids any reference to their starving, famishing homes. Here is an example of the bourgeois mentality of the Indian reformer who while waxing eloquent against social wrongs, is significantly silent over the economic degradation to which the country's bourgeoisie have confined these millions of our agrarian workers. The only rational way for raising these unfortunates from their social degradation is to raise them to the level of economic equality with their more fortunate brethren. To talk of removing untouchability by itself is obviously insincere and grotesque. We communists should therefore press the economic claims of the suppressed classes by advocating a living wage to be given to them by which they can make their life at least endurable. A word with reference to Kaddar and its potentiality to win for us Swaraj. Kaddar is hand made or hand woven cloth. It was claimed in the days of the N.C.O. movement that by producing Kaddar in enormous quantity, India can dispense with British made cloth which is imported to the enormous sum of 60 million sterling annually. It was further thought that by clothing the nation by our own cloth, British cloth would be effectively boycotted, and to that extent, the British worker would be injured, and that this injury would give

have had to clear our way from a better and clear understanding of our position in respect of other parties in the field. Now we shall deal with the problems of our party and the immediate task before us.

*Communism defined.*—There is good deal of misapprehension about the significance of the word Communism and what it includes. Sometimes, the term is confounded with Bolshevism, and a good deal of misunderstanding has resulted by such confusion. This may be partly due to the mental inertia of a certain class of thinkers and politicians who do not take the trouble to study and to enquire, or it may be due to the fear of vested interests, which see ghosts in every stump of a tree during darkness. It is our duty to clear our ground first through this sort of misapprehension which is doing more harm than good to innocent people. What is Communism? It is a system or doctrine which aims at the betterment of humanity from almost all the ills of life. It sets out that the workers of the world are providing things more than sufficient to feed, to clothe and to house decently all the human beings on this planet. It further sets out that the whole of the world population can have all the advantage of enjoying the necessaries of higher life also. But because, the means of production are in the sole monopoly of few men, the actual producers are made to starve and to suffer. Therefore such means of production should be in the hands of the producers themselves, in order that every one can have a fair share in all the things produced by them. This is all what is meant by Communism. It is once a system and a method in and by which the extreme inequality which obtains in the distribution and enjoyment of world's goods may be corrected and regulated for the benefit of all alike. It is the only system which offers to every politician, social reformer or religious propagandist a sure method of correcting the glaring abuses which reign supreme in the present social and political systems of the world. Outside this system there is none else which is so potent as to increase the sum of human happiness. All attempts hitherto adopted by other political social and religious systems of the world, have failed to achieve their purpose because they are insincere, opposed to their vested interests and hopelessly contradictory. No rich man can ever share his goods with a poor man, either voluntarily or by social or religious pressure or persuasion; But both can be made to combine their labour for sharing the product of their labour for the common benefit of both. How this can be done for the common benefit of mankind is what communism aims to do. To preach this doctrine in India so as to benefit all classes, all caste, all parties, is the work of Indian Communism. How that is going to be done is the work of the Communist Party in India. Communism is as old as history. It was taught by Buddha in a form and practiced by his disciples. Jesus as an Essene was him-

self a communist. Plato, Moore, Morris and others taught mankind a form of communism which was vague, indefinite and utopian. But, it was Karl Marx who gave it a scientific and a definite form so as to be applicable in practice.

*Marxian Communism* :—We shall deal with Marxian Communism in little more detail which should be properly understood by every Communist in India. Broadly speaking, the world contains two classes of people, namely, those that have and those that have not; that is the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. These two classes are always in conflict. The one commanding all the capital and the other Labour. The owner of capital has the advantage of dictating to the workers, upon what conditions he would accept their services. The labouring class, not having the requisite capital are obliged to sell their services on the conditions dictated by the Capitalist. Pressed by hunger and want, the labourers accept the conditions offered, whether he is a worker of industries or of land. Productions increase, markets, fresh markets are added for the disposal of the things produced, and these things go on in such geometrical ratio, that the Capitalist comes to own the whole of the world means of production. The work people are more and more divorced from the means of production, and ultimately become wage slaves. The worker has no property, and no home and his family relations grow weaker, and he has become a bare worker, dependant for his and his family existence, upon the existence of the Capitalist. This has been the world history from the remotest times, but after advent of capitalist industry, his existence has become precarious, though efforts were made to prevent further exploitation of the weaker workers. But the destitution to which the worker is driven makes him realise his helplessness, and he forms into unions to protect his interest. The unions composed of these workers are the only organisation through which the worker of to-day is able to protect his rights, against the growing exploitation. Thus the capitalists range themselves on one side and the workers on the other. These classes are in constant conflict for the possession of the world's resources. In this conflict, enter the world worker with a solution for ending this age long conflict between these two classes. It is in the equitable distribution of the world's things, brought on by the abolishment of private ownership in the essential wants of life lies the future solution of the conflict between capital and labour. Thus Marx explained the rise and growth of modern capital which, according to him, can only be used for the benefit of all the workers themselves who form the vast majority of the world's population controlling it. This is Marx scientific exposition of modern communism.

*Communism and Competition* :—Thus it will be seen that the inequality of wealth obtaining among mankind has been the curse, which is responsible for most of the ills of life. It is mainly this

unequal distribution of the world's things that has been giving rise to so much of misery among mankind. The wars, the invasion of one country by another, the subjugation of weaker nations by the strong, the plunder, rapine, bloodshed that accompany them, are the direct result of this disproportionate distribution of world's goods among, not merely individuals, but among nations also. The so called theory of competition among the individuals and nations, as giving rise to human progress, is only another expression for the subjugation of one man by another or one nation by another. It is not competition or the survival of the fittest that has conduced to the human progress, but its opposite instinct, mutual co-operation and mutual aid that has led humanity to day to a higher level of existence. As beautifully said by one of the greatest of Russians—Prince Kropotkin, it is through co-operation and good will mainly, that the human race has hitherto survived, but for which, humanity would have long ago become wrecks or fossils. Therefore we again repeat that it is only through communism that future hope of mankind lies, and not through rivalry and competition. It is unfortunate that to-day competition rules in every sphere of political, social, and economic relationships. It rules commerce, it rules industries, it rules policies of state and society. It determines the foreign relations of the State. It dominates production and distribution of world resources. Its guiding principles is profit and not use. The only way to get out of this octopus is to destroy it, and substitute for it, co-operation in which human labour and production may be brought into a common hotchpot for common use and benefit. This can be done only through communism which is another name for universal co-operation. This is the communism which we have undertaken to preach to our countrymen in India.

*Indian Communism is not Bolshvism:*—As I explained at the outset, Indian Communism is not Bolshvism for Bolshvism is a form of communism which the Russians have adopted in their country. We are not Russians Bolshvicks and Bolshvism may not be needed in India. Bolshvism literally means the doctrine of the Majority. And this Russian majority are men in power in Russia with their peculiar method of their rule, administration and propaganda. Bolshvicks are the political party in power in Russia as opposed to Menshivicks, the minority party, now out of power. We are one with the world communists but not with Bolshvicks. We hope this explanation of our position in India will clear all misapprehensions about our party and aims and method. We shall briefly state our aims, methods and ideals.

*Our Communist Ideal:*—First our ideal is, to end the domination of capital, make war impossible, wipe out state boundaries and frontiers and wield all states into one co-operate common wealth and bring about real human fraternity and freedom. This is the dream of the Communist.



*Our immediate aims:*—And our immediate aim is to win Swaraj for the masses in India, to prevent exploitation of the workers and peasants by suitable land and industrial legislation, to secure to the bread winner, a minimum wage by which he and his children shall have the necessaries of a decent life and to end all distinctions of caste, creed or sect in all political and economical relationships.

*Our method:*—And all this we hope to achieve through the unions of Labour and peasants, thru persuasion, thru propoganda, and when necessary, in co-operation with other political organisations in the country. We require the co-operation of all other parties in the country to secure the workers rights in the land. But we feel no doubt that we will be the party who will ultimately succeed in securing these rights to the Indian peoples and therefore we appeal to all thinkers and workers to join our party and work both for our communist's ideals and our immediate aims.

*The appeal to workers:*—To the workers of India, we say, organise your unions, strong numerically and financially, for only in your organisation lies your strength. Do not dissipate your energy in futile strike for trifles. Conserve all your strength by combining with other unions and make common cause for all your grievances, and if you have to strike, strike with full force and effect. Till now, you have not realised your own strength. Like the Giant Yee of Russia, you are blind to the world beyond. Your eyebrows are confining your eyes to your own little self. Now the communists will help you in lifting up your eyebrows, so that you may see clearly for yourself and realise your strength.

*Appeal to peasants:*—To the peasants in India, we say you are the real salt of the earth. We communists know your sufferings and your wrongs. You have been neglected by your so-called masters of the soil. You are, like Cindrella of our Eastern tradition, ceaselessly catering to our wants, and supplying all our comforts and needs, while the land owners have been keeping you in the back ground. But the *denouement* is fast approaching, while your haughty masters will sink into merited neglect, you, the peasants, will be proclaimed alike worthy and beautiful and you will become supreme. Oh! you the forlorn, the oppressed and the suppressed, let us all march together in weal or in woe singing the song international.

“ Away, with wreckage of past nations

“ Enslaved crowd-rise to the call

“ The world shall change from its foundation,

“ We that are nothing, shall be all.”

*Communism in action:*—To-day communism is practised in almost every country in the world in a small way in one form or another. The practice of Communism is seen most in the local Governments of the great cities of the world. Here the various public services have been municipalised for the common benefit. It is in New Zealand and other Australian Cities, that the Socialisation of civic services have been realised to the fullest extent. Here the State or Municipality has become the House owner, House proprietor, Bread, milk and meat retailer, Drug store-keeper, Undertaker, Bankers, Pawnbrokers, Farmer, Restaurant proprietor, General store keeper and book maker, and a thousand and one other things covering every department of life. Here is the communism in practice in a nutshell. Here in India we have already communalised some of the major services, such as Posts, Telegraphs, Railways (to some extent), Army, Navy Public Buildings, etc. We have only to extend this nationalisation of services to yet more necessary services such as Mines, Ships, Lands, Houses, Banks, Vital Industries and others and bring them under the control of the workers and producers, we shall have communism in India which will transform this unhappy land into a paradise on earth. But a word of caution may be necessary. In applying the theories of communism to the present conditions in India we communists have to watch the progress of communism in the only country where it has been completely adopted and the great transformations that are in progress in the life of the people there. It is in Russia that Communism has been completely adopted in various spheres of Russian life. The great experiment is still going on with increasing success in modifying the life of the Russian people. By communalising public services for the common benefit, the great difference that obtain in other states of the world in the economic conditions of the people have been obliterated. All national resources have been placed for the benefit of the whole community. The cruel difference between the rich and the poor, the worker and the lazy, the master and the servant, the illfed and the hungry, the haves and have-nots, have been removed from the social economy of the Russian people. The effect of modifying the economic inequality of the various classes and interests in Russia through communism is seen in the Foreign relations of the Russian people. The spectre of the Empire which haunts the rulers of other lands have been exorcised from the Russian national mind. The subjugation of one nationality under another is deemed by the Russians as wicked and unholy. A score of states which were once under the hegemony of the Czar from Baltic to the Caspian, have had their freedom and self determination given and secured for the mere asking. Exploitation of weaker nations by the strong for material resources of the subject peoples have been condemned by the Russian state. These are the fruits of communism as seen to-day in Russia. So far we have been studying and following the

progress of communism in Russia, we can say without fear of contradiction, that the *morale* of the present administration in Russia is far superior to anything obtaining in any other land. The great camouflage of the pact of Locarno is enough to damn the signatories to the pact as the most insincere people on earth, for, with the signing of the pact, Germany wants freedom for its air force, England refuses to scrap its submarines, America though not a signatory, deems the peace manoeuvres as futile. While every nation is preparing for war, for offensive war, the League of Nations pretends to adjudicate for peace on earth and good will among men. The International at Amsterdam which was not merely dead, but damned during the war, wages war against the Communists. This is another bourgeois enterprise to throw dust in the eyes of the unwary workers of the world. Such is the pitiful picture presented by the bourgeois democracy of the world before us, communists, who while feeling sorry for the present world situation, which threaten to destroy humanity altogether, still hope to raise a far better and happier world through the better sense of the world workers.

*Danger ahead:*—I crave your indulgence, dear comrades for a short while, for, I will not be doing my duty if I do not warn you of the danger ahead. The communal and religious differences which seem to destroy the harmony which once obtained among all political parties in the country during the hey day of N. C. O. may overtake us also, for I fear that we Indians are so religiously minded and caste ridden, that the fire which is burning our neighbours houses may also reach ours. Religion and caste have been the demons which have been swallowing our political unity from historic times. The country to-day is again torn asunder by these religious and communal differences. The leaders who flaunt these fripperies before us are traitors to our country and to our cause. The Hindu Sabhas, Sangathams, Shuddees are mere bourgeois tactics of the leisured class. Let us therefore leave religion, caste, and creed to each individual tastes and fancies, and let us pursue our peaceful course towards Swaraj, free from these nightmares. We Communists should look to the betterment of the economic life of the country for bringing about the unity of castes and creeds which absolutely have no bearing upon the great goal of our life.

*Conclusion:*—Comrades, what we communists should aim in India is a simple life for all, a life free from anxiety for the daily bread, a life free from premature death and decay, a life free from ignorance. We communists should believe that by the gradual and peaceful application of the principles of communism, that a better of life can be brought about in India. The future of India is in our hands. A better India lies in our dreams. Let us therefore try to realise the dream of a free India, free from the exploitations of

weak over the strong, free from drudgery which killeth our life,  
free from starvation, disease and death, free to express our thoughts  
without let or hindrance, free to enjoy the highest product of art,  
science and culture, and free to sing the song of Labour that  
though.

" Now beneath the rule of robbers the world grows sad  
and old,

" The people bound and fettered in chains of glittering  
gold,

" Yet when the trumpet soundeth, the world shall see  
a sight,

" The golden chain is broken on the coming of the light,

" Oh! the coming of the light, oh, the coming of the  
light,

" The golden chain is broken on the coming of the  
light."

M. SINGARAVELU.

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League against Imperialism, Brussels Conference, 9th, 10th and 11th December 27 This contains the following articles:—

(1) Political Resolution of the General Council of the League against Imperialism.

(Vide Exh. P. 1348 (45)).

(2) Resolution on organisation.

(Vide Exh. P. 1348 (45)).

(3) Resolution on the war Danger.

(Vide Exh. P. 1348 (45)).

(4) Resolution on India.

(Printed below).

(5) Resolution of the General council of the League against Imperialism on the attitude of the Ind. International.

(Vide Exh. P. 1348 (45)).

(6) Resolution on Indonesia.

(Vide Exh. P. 1348 (45)).

(7) Resolution of the General Council of the League against Imperialism on the Chinese question.

(Vide Exh. P. 1348 (45)).

(8) Resolution on Persia. (Vide Exh. P. 1348 (45)).

(9) Philippines Resolution. (Vide Exh. P. 1348 (45)).

#### LEAGUE AGAINST IMPERIALISM

Brussels Conference

9th., 10., and 11th. December

#### RESOLUTION ON INDIA

The General Council of the League against Imperialism declares its complete solidarity with the Indian people in the latter's opposition to the British Government's proposal of a Commission of the British Parliament to investigate India's fitness for self-government.

The appointment of this Commission of the exploiters to grant "reforms" to the peoples whom they exploit is nothing but an

impudent farce, and the General Council heartily supports the Indian national movement's resolve to boycott the Commission.

The General Council notes with disgust that the British Labour Party leaders and Members of Parliament have made common cause with the British Imperialists on this question, by supporting the Conservative Government's proposal of a Commission and by endorsing without any but the weakest support to Comrade Saklatvala in Parliament, the participation of two Labour representatives.

The General Council declares that this open united front of the British capitalists and British Labour leaders in defence of British imperialism which has no parallel since the black days of August, 1914, is as harmful to the workers of the oppressed countries, since they are exploited by the same ruling class.

The League against imperialism pledges the whole-hearted support of all its adherent organisations and sections to the Indian national movement in this struggle. At the same time it urges all genuine enemies of imperialist oppression in India to concentrate on rallying the masses around the positive slogan of complete independence for India—the sole real threat to the power of British imperialism—and on the election of a Constituent Assembly to consider the entire question of the political future of India, which should be prepared by the creation of local committees, mass demonstrations, and the widest possible participation of the masses of the people generally.

P. 1795

NATIONAL MINORITY MOVEMENT,

Room 14 First floor

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

## Report of Fourth Annual Conference

HELD AT

*Battersea Town Hall London S.W.1*

*August 27th—28th, 1927.*

**Workers of the World Unite!**  
**THE NATIONAL MINORITY MOVEMENT**  
**Fourth Annual**  
**CONFERENCE**

**SATURDAY MORNING SESSION.**

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

**(1) ELECTION OF COMMITTEES.**

The following comrades were appointed to the various Committees:

**Standing Orders Committee.**

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

**Credentials Committee.**

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

**(2) CHAIRMAN'S ADDRESS.**

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

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

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

The spokesmen for the mineowners and the Government

declared most emphatically that as a result of the policy they were enforcing, there would follow substantially more trade and better conditions for workers generally, and attempted to laugh to scorn those who declared that the real trouble is to be found in the capitalist system itself that brings increasing degradation to the workers

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

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

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

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

### THE ANTI-TRADE UNION ACT

#### *The blackleg's Charter*

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



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

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

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

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

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

**Fight and raise the standard of life.** The Metalworkers still have an enormous number in idleness; many sections have advocated the forty-four hour week as against the present forty-seven hours and this we declare to be a very practical proposal. And further, we declare there is nothing standing in the way of getting the forty-four hour week other than the absence of solidarity on the part of the men engaged in the industry. We are

not for spending time merely fault-finding, but it is vitally necessary to be clear as to where our weakness lies, and in the metal trades especially, it is as plain as a pikestaff that what is wanted is united action of the part of the various unions, skilled and other and greater militancy.

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

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

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

### **The Unemployed**

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

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

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

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

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

#### What of the future.

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

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

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

#### **MUST HAVE A REAL INTERNATIONAL**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

We of the National Minority Movement will indulge in no

ambiguity but proclaim vigorously that we take our stand with the Chinese worker and against the exploiting dominating imperialists of this and of all other countries.

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

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

The Conference then rose and stood in silence.

### (3) RESOLUTION ON SACCO AND VANZETTI

*Moved by Comrade MacMillan, representing Glasgow No. 9 branch, N. U. R., and seconded by Comrade Hammond, representing No. 107 branch N. A. F. T. A.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The resolution was carried unanimously.

#### (4) REPORT OF NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

##### *I.—Introductory.*

We have pleasure in presenting our report to the Fourth Annual Conference of the National Minority Movement. We are prompted to remind our delegates that the fact that this is our Fourth Annual Conference is in itself an indication of how deeply our Movement has its roots in the working class movement of this country as a whole. At our first national conference in 1924, when the National Minority Movement was founded, there were many who referred to it as "another left-wing flash in the pan that will have its little day and then peter out." However, a consideration of the following report of activities will show that we have accomplished much, and that we are building up a movement of active trade unionists that neither the attacks of the capitalists nor the trade union bureaucratic leaders can smash.

##### *2 Membership.*

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

We can record an increase in our individual membership, but a decrease in our affiliated organisations. The latter is due to the fact that when in April of this year the General Council of the Trades Union Congress intimated that any Trades Council affiliated to the National Minority Movement would neither receive recognition from the General Council nor be allowed to send

delegates to the National Conference of Trades Councils, your Executive Committee decided to recommend the 22 Trades Councils affiliated to us to withdraw from our Movement in order to enable them to take part in National Trades Council activity.

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

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

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

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

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



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

### 3— The Miners' Lockout.

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

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

### 4.—The Rank and File and the General Strike.

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

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

### 5.—China.

On January 3rd we received a request for Comrade Tom Mann to be relieved of his engagements in order to enable him to proceed as one of an International Workers' Delegation to

China. Although a special recruiting campaign had been organised for Comrade Mann, we felt that the work he could do for the Chinese trade unionists was so important, and its effects would be so far-reaching, that we readily agreed he should go.

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

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

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

#### **6.—The Capitalist Offensive.**

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

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

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

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

1. The Attack on the British Workers:—

- a. The Poor Law Proposals.
- b. The Blanesburgh Report.
- c. The Trade Union Bill.

2. The Attack on the Chinese and Russian Workers.

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

Our Conferences were held in the following towns, Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool, Sheffield, Leeds, Newcastle, Cardiff, Plymouth Fife, Bristol and London. The average representation in the provincial towns was 65 delegates representing 22,662 workers, and in London 446 delegates represented 300,000 workers. Questions and

discussions were of a high order and the resolutions submitted to the Conferences adopted unanimously.

#### **7.—The Trade Union Bill.**

It soon became clear that the Special Conferences organised by the Trade Union Defence Committee were not to be allowed to make any departure from the official policy of pious phrase-mongering. Our members have everywhere put forward the demand for organised parliamentary obstruction and the need for preparing for a General Strike as the most effective way to defeat the Bill.

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

#### **8.—The Worker."**

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

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

#### **9.—Publications.**

At the first meeting of the Executive Committee subsequent to the last Conference, plans were made for publishing a comprehensive series of pamphlets covering the main industries and unions. We believe that our Fourth Conference will unanimously endorse

our work in this direction. The following is a list of the various publications issued since August, 1926:—

“The Constitution and Structure of the Minority Movement.”

“British and Russian Workers.”

“The Miners’ Next Task.”

“Constitution for one Miners’ Union.”

“One Mineworkers’ Union—Why?”

“What’s Wrong in the Engineering Industry?”

“The Struggle of British Seamen.”

“Havelock Wilson Exposed.”

“What’s Wrong in the Textile Industry?”

“Is Trade Unionism Played out?”

“Trade Union Leadership.”

“The Crisis of Trade Unionism.”

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

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

#### 10—Conclusion.

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

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

The Builders’ Section has done very good work inside the branches and Shop Stewards Councils. Since the controversy

on amalgamation or confederation in this industry the section has been busy preparing a new constitution for one union for the whole building industry, which we believe when published will have a wide circulation and influence.

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

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

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

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

Signed:

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

The Report was considered paragraph by paragraph and adopted unanimously.

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

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

### *Introduction.*

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

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

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

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

### *The Decline of British Industry.*

Even before the War of 1914-18 British capitalism had entered upon the process of decline, but a decline with occasional periods of recovery and boom. Since 1920, however, the process of decline has almost been continuous as the tremendous unemployment figures and recipients of Poor Law relief demonstrate. The basic industries, coal, iron and steel, shipbuilding, engineering and textiles, which normally employ the major proportion of the working class, have suffered to a greater degree than the less basic or luxury trades. Foreign competition, especially German, was the main factor undermining British capitalism before the war, but unfortunately for Britain the capitalist mode of production knows no national boundaries, and

countries which were formerly Britain's customers have now become her competitors. The result is to be seen in a comparison of the total production and trade of Britain in 1913 and 1926. The total production on the 1913 level (100) was in 1926 only 65.5 per cent., and the corresponding decline in the volume of foreign trade taking 1913 as 100, in 1926 imports were 111 re-exports 76, and net exports 58. In comparing 1913 and 1926 figures the economic effects of the General Strike and Mining Lock-out should be kept in view, but even in 1925, a normal year, total production was only approximately 60 per cent. of 1913 level). The decline, however, has its origin not in the General Strike, but in various factors arising in the post-war period. The enormous destruction of wealth during the war has resulted in an impoverished home and world market, the industrialisation of the dominions and colonies which received a considerable impetus during the war, the powerful competition of U.S.A. and Japan in world markets, and the out of date technique of production in Britain are all factors which contribute to the general chaos of the capitalist system in Britain.

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

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

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

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

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

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

<i>Production of (in million tons).</i>				
Year.	Iron.	Steel.	Coal.	Shipbuilding.
1913 ... ..	10.26	7.563	287.0	1.932
1925 ... ..	6.24	7.400	233.0	1.05
1926 .. ..	2.44	3.56	126.0	.693

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

<i>Export (in million tons).</i>				<i>In million sq. yds.</i>
Year.	Coal.	Iron.	Steel.	Cotton Piece Goods.



1913	...	73.4	1.12	4.97	7.075
1925	..	50.82	.56	3.73	4.434
1926	...	20.60	.31	2.99	3.834

The capitalist class in its attempt to stabilise its industry develops more and more towards concentration and monopoly both in banking and industry. The inter-relation between banking and industrial capital characterised by Lenin as Finance Capital is becoming more marked in Britain than before the war. The Big Five Banks control  $66\frac{2}{3}$  of the total bankers' capital, and dominate 80 per cent, of the banking business. The same process of monopoly and trustification is being applied to industry in an increasing degree as for example:—

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Cotton Thread.—Coats Combine.

Dyeing Industry.—Dominated by Bradford Dyers' Association.

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

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

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

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

This process of finance capital reveals also an increasing growth of parasitism, a growth of the rentier class which obtains its income solely from investments. In 1900 over £60 millions were received in interest on foreign investments, while in 1926 this had increased to over £270 million. Income from public companies, Government and Municipal securities and bank capital in 1914 only amounted to £522 millions, reached £1,140 millions in 1921, and out of the national income in 1925 of £3400 millions, £2,040 millions was obtained from rent, interest, profits and salaries. During the period from 1920 to 1926 the reductions in wages of the working class are estimated at £10.5 millions per week,

Enough has been said to indicate the situation internally and to complete the survey. An examination of the external factors which have a bearing on Britain's decline is worthy of study. In the temporary elimination of Germany following the war, a new and more serious competitor appeared in the U.S.A., which in every sphere has successfully challenged Britain's claim to world power. As the creditor of the whole world with the ability to export capital to Europe, South America and the East and in an increasing degree to the British Dominions and Colonies, the U.S.A. appears as the dominant financial power. In 1925 Britain's total foreign loans amounted to £99 millions, while U.S.A. totalled over £216 millions. In 1926 the figures were respectively £122 and 221 millions ("Statist"). The total investments abroad of the U.S.A. have reached over \$12,000 million dollars. (Latin America 4,210, Canada 2,825 and Europe 2,500). Not only in the field of finance, but also in the development of export trade does U.S.A. tend to outrival Britain. In 1913 Britain exported 13.93 per cent. of the world trade and U.S.A. 13.34 per cent. In 1926 Britain only exported 12.43 per cent. as against 16.04 per cent of the U.S.A.

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

*Percentage of total Imports*

From	India.		Germany.		Australia.		France.	
	1913	1925	1913	1925	1913	1925	1913	1925
Great Britain	64.2	52.2	8.1	7.6	51.8	43.9	13.2	13.4
U.S.A.	...	2.6	6.1	15.9	17.7	13.7	24.6	14.5
From	Canada.		Argentine.		China.			
	1913	1925	1913	1925	1913	1925		
Great Britain	...	21.3	17.7	31.1	22.6	16.5	9.7	
U.S.A.	...	...	64.9	65.8	14.7	23.4	6.0	14.8

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

The expansion of industry in the Colonies which is making them independent of Britain has proceeded rapidly since the war. In Canada in 1910 there were 19,000 factories employing 515,000 workers with a total output of 1,247 million dollars; the corresponding figures for 1925 were 42,406 establishments with a total capital of 34.39 million dollars. In Australia in 1910 there were 13,800 factories with 286,000 employees and a productive value of £99 millions. In 1925 there were 20,795 factories with 439,949 employees with a productive value of £380.8 millions. With her supplies of coal and iron and wool Australia is endeavouring to become the industrial centre of the Southern Pacific. New Zealand also has increased her factories and employees, and capital invested has risen from £16,731,000 in 1910 to £84,000,000 in 1925. South Africa steadily imports machinery (over £3 millions each year), and the number of enterprises increased from 1645 in 1913 to 7,005 with 180,000 workers. Coal production has developed from about 8 million tons in 1913 to 13 million tons in 1925, and employing over 50,000 workers, while the metal and engineering trades absorb over 30,000 workers. A considerable expansion in coal, iron and steel and metal industry is to be expected in the near future in South Africa. Similarly in India does the development of industry proceed. The number of workers subject to the Indian Factory Acts (in 4,827 establishments) in 1921 was 1,238,410, divided into the following main industries. Cotton spinning and weaving, 282,297; jute mills, 264,373; rail and tram shops, 115,529; cotton gumming, 133,323; engineering 39,112; iron and steel productions, 17,145 and woollen mills, 11,152. Coal productions, has increased from approximately 16 million tons in 1913 to over 21 million tons 1925, and steel production from 183,000 tons in 1918 to 450,000 in 1925. The import of machinery and railway material valued at £9.9 and £33 millions respectively in 1925 can only extend this process.

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

The political reflection of the economic divergence of the Dominions and the Colonies from Britain expresses itself in feverish efforts to achieve Empire economic unity at Imperial Conferences.

However instead of increasing unity the results of the industrialisation of the Empire are towards increasing divergence. This process coupled with the increased financial and trading penetration of the Empire by U. S. A. clearly demonstrates that the process of decline still continues. In Europe, too, the situation bristles with difficulties for British capitalism. The rapid recovery of Germany as a result of the golden stream of U. S. A. dollars and the complications which are increasing from the operation of the Dawes Plan in marketing reparations is reacting against the basic industries of Britain. The tendency towards approachments between Germany and France as instanced in the steel cartel, all these have the effect of undermining the political and industrial supremacy of Britain in Europe. The development of the Nationalist Movements in India, Egypt and particularly in China with their increasing revolt against Imperialist exploitation only create new problems in maintaining greater armed forces in holding down those subject people.

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

### **The Revolution of the Working Class.**

We have only to review the industrial struggles of the working class since 1921 to understand the increasing conflict which arises in the process of capitalist decline. In the six years period between 1906 and 1911, 38.68 million working days were lost, between 1918-23, 183.81 million working days were lost, and in the period of 1924-26, three years only, exceeded the total for the preceding six years of 1918-23. The degree of success in these struggles has only been the experience. Shackled by a Trade Union bureaucracy and an out of date organisational machine the working class has been forced to make concessions in wages to the extent of £10.5 millions per week, and in hours in the case of the miners.

Unemployment, always a permanent feature of capitalist society has assumed tremendous proportions in the post-war period. The highest percentage of Trade Union unemployed in pre-war period was in 1908 when 7.3 per cent. was unemployed. In 1914 only 3.3 per cent., in 1926 12.1 per cent. In conjunction with the Trade Union unemployed figures must be noticed the enormous amount

of short time worked in the mining and textile industries in particular. The expenditure on Poor Law relief despite the tightening up of regulations continues to expand. In 1913 the expenditure for 794,227 was £11.59 millions, while in 1925 the expenditure had increased to £31.21 millions with 1,205,267 recipients. In 1926 the General Strike and Mining Lock-out almost doubled these figures, and the present recipients increased as the process of disallowed benefits (to the extent of over 40,000 per month) through the tightening regulation in the administration of Unemployment Benefit at the Labour Exchanges. That this policy of increasing impoverishment is to be extended is foreshadowed in the Blanesburgh Proposals and the Reform of the Poor Law. Another factor is the simplification of the Labour process in industry by the use of improved machinery which enables more unskilled workers, men and women and young workers to be absorbed in industry. In this process of reducing working class standards a noticeable feature is the tendency towards levelling of wages. Not an upward tendency towards the skilled workers' wages, but a downward tendency of skilled workers to unskilled rates (*i. e.* engineers and unskilled workers).

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

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

#### RESOLUTION.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

9. Youth Demands :—

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

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

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

- (d) A 6-hour day for all young workers. Abolition of overtime.
- (e) Abolition of night work for all young workers under 18.
- (f) Fortnight's annual holiday with pay.
- (g) Abolition of individual apprenticeship indentures of young workers in collective agreements. Control apprentices by shop stewards and Trade Unions.

10. Women's Demands :—

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

11. Co-operative Demands :—

- 1. Every Trade Unionist a Co-operator. Where eligible, every Co-operator a Trade Unionist.
- 2. All Co-operative employees must be Trade Unionists with the fullest rights of Shop and Union Organisation in each department.
- 3. Affiliation of local Co-operative Societies with local Trades Councils, and a close working alliance established between Co-operative Unions and the Trades Union Congress through the Co-operative Union.
- 4. The Trade Unions in proportion to their membership to guarantee all credits advanced by the Co-operative in times of industrial struggle.
- 5. Trade Unions to invest their funds in the C. W. S. Bank, and support to be given to the policy of forming local C. W. S. Banks.
- 6. Limitation of Dividends as a means of reducing prices, and thus furthering the competition with Capitalist enterprise, and lowering the workers' cost of living which will bring increased trade to the

Co-operatives and establish a closer union between them and the lower paid workers who do not now trade with the Co-operatives.

7. The reduction of Share qualifications of members to £1 per head in all Societies to give the workers a better chance to take up active work in the Co-operatives with full rights to be eligible for any position in the Co-operative Movement.
8. The formation of Minority Groups working in conjunction with the Minority District or Local Committee, thus ensuring the pursuing of a single policy by all active and serious-minded Co-operators.

The Conference declares that such a programme as outlined above will rally the whole of the workers to its support, and the Conference instructs the Executive Committee of the National Minority Movement to co-operate with any working class movement that is willing to fight for the realisation of this programme."

The resolution was carried unanimously.

*Morning session adjourned at 1 p. m.*

#### SATURDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

##### (6) RESOLUTION ON ANGLO-RUSSIAN UNITY.

*Moved by Alex. Gossip, representing National Executive Committee*

*N. A. F. T. A.; seconded by G. Chandler representing  
Manchester, No. 6 Branch, R.C.A.*

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

"Workers of the World unite."

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

The resolution was carried unanimously.

\* \* \* \*

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

represent the Conference at the demonstration and deliver the following message:

**(7) MESSAGE TO SACCO AND VANZETTI  
DEMONSTRATION.**

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

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

"It reminds them that capitalist oppression is worldwide; that here in Britain there are many miners and others still undergoing imprisonment for the part they played in the workers' struggle; and that the capitalist 'justice' of Britain is on a par with the capitalist 'justice' of America.

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

**(8) RESOLUTION ON THE TRADE UNION ACT**

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

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

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

"This Conference believes that the easy passage of this reactionary measure has been made possible by the lack of policy displayed

by the Trade Union and Labour leaders, who throughout the fight against the Bill have limited the struggle to waiting for the return of a Labour Government to repeal the Act. The workers have to choose whether they will fight and defeat the Bill now, or whether they will allow the capitalists to follow it up by the further reactionary measures which will shatter all dreams of an easy repeal of this Act by the next Labour Government.

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

"We declare this division of policy to be suicidal, and strongly condemn the General Council of the T. U. C. for the lack of leadership that has made such a position possible. We all upon the coming Trade Union Congress at Edinburgh to formulate a policy of complete opposition to the Act itself and to the policy of adapting union rules to the requirements of the Act.

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

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

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

constitutional means a system of slavery analogous to that which the Fascists in Italy have imposed upon the workers by other methods."

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Conference adjourned at 5 p. m.

#### SUNDAY MORNING SESSION.

##### *10 to 12 o'clock Sectional Conferences.*

The following sectional conferences were held: Miners, Metal Workers, Transport Workers, Builders, Women, Cooperators and Miscellaneous.

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

#### (9) REPORT OF THE NATIONAL MINERS' MINORITY MOVEMENT

##### *The Miners' lock-out*

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

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

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

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

That the policy of the Minority Movement was correct and practicable was shown when in October the so-called South Wales Proposals were adopted (though not all put into effect), and the Executive resolved itself into a Council of War with movable

headquarters. It was then, however, too late, for the very contingencies that the proposals were designed to prevent had already taken place, and in Notts, for instance, Spencer was well on the road to the district settlement.

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

#### *N. M. M. Activities*

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

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

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

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

#### *Effects of the Settlements*

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

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

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

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

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

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

### Resultant Problems

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

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

A lead at once courageous and far-sighted was essential. The official leaders were all enveloped in the urgent details of trade union procedure. One body stood out and gave the necessary lead the Minority Movement.

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### Re-organisation Proposals

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### **M. F. G. B. Conference.**

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

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

A fundamentally constructive issue has been raised and carried to the proper quarters. Certain it is that without the M.M. the question would not have reached this stage. The next step is to prepare the districts for the Executive report a report which, since the E. C. members are fundamentally district officials, with the natural desire to preserve the autonomy of their own organisations, is not likely to contain any far-reaching suggestions.

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

#### **Consolidation of the M. M. M.**

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



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

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

NAT WATKINS,

*Secretary.*

(10) REPORT OF NATIONAL METAL WORKERS'  
MINORITY MOVEMENT.

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

*Amalgamation*

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

The internal crises in the Boilermakers', Foundry Workers', Blacksmiths' and Shipwrights' Unions, made it necessary for our members in these unions to emphasise that the real step towards a solution of these difficulties was to be found in amalgamation on the basis of One Union for the Metal Industry, and accordingly we have conducted campaigns inside these unions towards that end.

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

Unfortunately only seven of the unions replied favourably, with the result that on July 13th the Organisation Committee considered the replies and decided that they did not justify a special

conference being called, but that the whole question would have to be considered at the Edinburgh T.U.C.

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

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

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

#### *The Wages Question*

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

The result of the ballot was:

For acceptance of the proposals .....	81,575
Against the proposals.....	41,527
Number of ballot papers issued.....	326,963
Number of votes cast.....	123,102
Votes not used.....	203,861

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

The dissatisfaction regarding the offer can be seen by the enormous number of votes that were not used; apparently the offer

did not interest them enough to make them attend the branch and vote. To abstain from voting, of course, is a mistaken policy.

#### *Shipyard Agreement*

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

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

#### *Iron and Steel Industry*

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

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

- (1) An increase in wages of 20s. per week on all existing rates to all adult grades with a minimum of 16s. per shift.
- (2) The establishment of a 44-hour working week, and the abolition of overtime.
- (3) The abolition of the sliding scale and merging of all existing bonuses into the standard rate. Where it applies, the abolition of the grouping of bar-mills according to output for the purpose of wages ascertainties.
- (4) Introduction of third hands on all melting furnaces of 40 tons capacity and over, where this does not already apply, the employers to be wholly responsible for payment.
- (5) Wage rates for youths to be one-third of full adult rate up to the age of 18. Two-thirds between 18 and 20 years of age, full rate thereafter. These rates to be based upon the above minimum demand.
- (6) The establishment of workers' committees representing all grades of workers employed.
- (7) The amalgamation of all unions in the industry into One Union for Metalworkers.
- (8) The establishment of 100 per cent. trade unionism.

#### *The General Purposes Fund in the A. E. U.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### *General Conclusions*

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

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

fashion, of systematic work inside the unions in conformity with the Minority Movement policy.

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

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

W. HANNINGTON,

Hon. Organising Secretary.

### (ii) REPORT OF TRANSPORT WORKERS' MINORITY MOVEMENT.

#### *Rail Section Report.*

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

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

The leaders' intention to keep the rank and file ignorant of the position was thwarted by the exposure of the companies' terms in the "Sunday Worker." Had it not been for our organised activities in the rail unions, the leaders would have capitulated to the demands of the railway companies. When the "gradual" restoration was agreed to, we warned rail workers of the dangers of its application.

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

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

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

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

#### PROGRAMME

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

#### TRANSPORT SECTION REPORT

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

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

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

#### PROGRAMME OF DEMANDS.

- (1) Continuation of the principle of National Policy and National Agreements.
- (2) Return to the Lord Shaw Award of 16s. per day.
- (3) Decasualisation and maintenance scheme to embrace all dockers at present registered.
- (4) Abolition of overtime.
- (5) 44-hour week.

- (6) Working day not to commence before 8 a.m.
- (7) 100 percent. trade unionism.
- (8) Docks Committee in each dock.
- (9) One National Union for all transport workers.
- (10) One International Transport Workers' Federation.

### CAB SECTION REPORT

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

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

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

This frontal attack by the Government, assisted by the reactionary leadership, has stimulated the agitation for all workers in the trade becoming members of the T. and G.W.U. in order to create a united front against further attacks by the employers and Government.

### *TRAM, OMNIBUS AND TUBE IN THE LONDON*

#### *AREA.*

#### *BUSES.*

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

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

#### *TRAMS.*

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

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

### *TUBES.*

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

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

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

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

### *SEAMEN'S SECTION REPORT.*

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

At the Biennial Conference of the T. and G. W. U., held at Swansea last July, our resolution demanding the admission of British seamen into this Union was defeated by a small majority. This was due to the efforts of the leading officials, who feared the inevitable struggle over the P. C. 5.

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

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

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

In view of Wilson's treacherous policy during the General Strike, and his subsequent injunction against officials using the funds of the union for strike pay to the hundreds of seamen who answered



the call of the General Council, we must insist upon the Trades Union Congress expelling this Blackleg Union from the Congress, and instructing the T. and G.W.U. immediately to form a Marine Section, thereby linking up all transport workers on land and sea.

#### PROGRAMME OF DEMANDS.

- (1) 48-hour week at sea; 44-hour week in port.
- (2) Wages: Firemen, £14; sailors, £12; stewards, £10; per 28-day month.
- (3) Abolition of the P. C. 5.
- (4) Wages to be paid from day of signing on until day of signing off.
- (5) Weekly allotment notes to be allowed to dependents up to 75 per cent, of wages paid; seamen to have option of drawing balance of 25 per cent, in any port up to any amount due to them.
- (6) The right to form Ship Committees, with recognition of union officials and ship officers.
- (7) Abolition of the present Board of Trade scale of provisions.
- (8) Free passage to home ports for all seamen left in foreign ports due to sickness. Wages to be paid in full up to the time of arrival in home port.
- (9) Internationalisation of wage scale for all ratings.
- (10) Standardisation of working hours—48 hours to constitute a maximum working week, with 44 hours in port and 36 hours for trimmers and firemen and engine-room staff.
- (11) Internationalisation of Manning Scales.
- (12) Standardisation of working conditions.
- (13) Abolition of all penalties for leaving ship in foreign ports.

T. R. STRUDWICK,

Org. Secretary.

#### (12) BUILDERS

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

#### (13) WOMEN

A report was given on the definite formation of a Women's Section of the National Minority Movement, and the following items

were discussed; Industrial organisation of women, Trades Councils Women's Sections, and Women's Trade Union Guilds.

#### (14) CO-OPERATORS

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

#### (15) MISCELLANEOUS

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

*The Conference resumed full session at 12 o'clock.*

#### (16) FRATERNAL MESSAGES

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

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

#### (17) RESOLUTION ON INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION UNITY

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

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

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

"This Conference believes that the resolution on the need for a wider international federation which the General Council placed on the Agenda of the I. F. T. U. Conference in Paris, was a violation

of the spirit and letter of the agreement with the Russian Trade Union leaders as to how international trade unity could be achieved and that by reason of this resolution they have played into the hands of the Amsterdam leaders, who are only concerned with sabotaging any attempt at creating one united international.

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

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

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

3. In any campaign to secure international trade union unity the Anglo-Russian Committee should seek the co-operation of all national and international trade union leaders who accept the platform of one united International in order that their association with this movement may get the widest response to the calling of a world conference to create a united trade union International."

The resolution was carried unanimously.

*The Conference adjourned at 1 p. m.*

### **SUNDAY AFTERNOON SESSION**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The resolution was carried unanimously.

#### (19) *THE CHINESE REVOLUTION AND THE TRADE MOVEMENT*

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

The Revolution in China first came vividly before the eyes of the workers of the west after the Shanghai events of 1925. The shootings at Shanghai and Shameen by the British Imperialists and the General Strikes which followed, changed the whole character of the movement by bringing in the working class as an organised revolutionary force for the first time. At the same time the conditions of exploitation of the Chinese workers revealed by the strikes acted as a powerful shock on the western workers.

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

The Revolution to-day has reached its most critical period. The generals, from Chang-Tso-Lin to Feng-Yu-Hsien, have formed

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### RESOLUTION

" This Conference of the Minority Movement, therefore, pledges itself to get the British Labour Movement to fight unceasingly for the recall of all British troops and warships from

China, and calls on the General Council to call at once upon the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Committee to discuss ways and means of supporting the Chinese workers and peasants in their struggle against militarism and imperialism.

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

The resolution was carried unanimously.

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

## **(20) RESOLUTION ON INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION**

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

"This Conference calls upon the International Co-operative Alliance to abandon its present futile policy of neutrality in international working-class affairs, and to take steps to link up with all existing working class international organisations for the purpose of maintaining and improving working-class conditions, and to form a united front against international fascism and war."

The resolution was carried unanimously.

## **(21) RESOLUTION ON PUBLIC AUDIT BILL.**

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

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

The resolution was carried unanimously.

## **(22) ELECTION OF NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.**

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

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

(23) FINAL REPORT OF CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE.

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

Organisation	Branches represented	Delegates present
M. F. B. ...	20	22
N. U. R. ...	13	23
A. S. L. E. F. ...	5	12
R. C. A. ...	3	4
T. and G. W. U. ...	29	51
A. E. U. ..	61	91
E. T. U. ...	22	52
Boilermakers ...	3	4
N. U. F. W. ...	2	5
Blacksmiths ...	2	4
N. U. V. B. ...	2	3
N. A. F. T. A. ....	22	41
A. S. W. ...	22	35
N. S. P. ...	16	22
A. U. B. T. W. ...	7	10
A. B. L. C. W. ...	2	6
Casemakers ...	2	4
Upholsterers ...	2	2
N. U. D. A. W. ...	7	14
N. A. U. S. A. W. and C. ...	4	7
Tailors and Garment Workers ...	4	13
N. U. C. ...	4	9

N. U. A. W.	---	---	3	---	3
Textile Workers	...	...	5	...	2
W. U.	...	...	18	...	31
Other trade unions	...	...	19	...	27
Co-operative Guilds	...	...	26	...	41
Trades Councils	...	...	20	...	37
N. N. W. C. M.	...	...	28	...	40
M. M. Groups	...	...	61	...	101
			<u>434</u>		<u>718</u>

The number of delegates present from the provinces was 217.

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

#### CONCLUSION.

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

Printed by The Dorrit Press, Ltd. (T. U. throughout), 63-70, Lant Street, Borough, S. E. 1, for the National Minority Movement, 38, Great Ormond Street, London, W. C. 1.

#### WHAT WE STAND FOR

1. To fight against the capitalist offensive with its wage reducing and lengthening of hours policy, and its attempts to destroy trade union rights and practices.
2. To fight any tendency to leave or split the unions, and to wage an energetic campaign for a 100 per cent. trade union movement.
3. To show clearly to all workers the real role of the capitalist State in their struggles.
4. To fight for the unification of workers in factories, in trade union branches, trade councils, district committees, and to agitate for one union for each industry, a centralised General Council and a single trade Union International.
5. To build up Minority Movement groups in every industry in the country in order that as a result of organised activity the policy, direction, and ideals of the Minority Movement shall be made the policy of the Movement as a whole.



Read "THE WORKER," Price 1d.

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

#### Membership.

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

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

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P. 1796.

2 copies of a booklet in English entitled "The Communist Party of India, Annual Report 1927. (Vide Exh. P. 1324).

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P. 1797 P

THE FIRST ALL-INDIA

*Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference*

2-1 European Asylum Lane CALCUTTA.

17th November 1928.

P. 1757 P.

To  
The Editor 'Kranti' c/o S. A. Dange

Wadekar Buildings, Girgaon, BOMBAY No. 4.

Dear Sir,

Please give the following a prominent insertion and oblige.

Yours faithfully,

D. K. Goswami, Secretary, Reception

Committee.

## All India Workers' & Peasants' Party

### CONFERENCE-

The First All-India Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference will be held in the Albert Hall, 15 College Square, Calcutta, on December 21-23, 1928. The Workers' & Peasants' Parties of Bombay Punjab, United, Provinces and Bengal and affiliated organisations will take part.

The principal business of the Conference will be to establish the Workers' and Peasants' Party of India, with agreed constitution and programme, and to lay down the lines of the Party's policy for the immediate future, in relation to the present critical situation in the labour and political spheres.

The Party believes in the development of a militant labour and peasant movement, for the improvement, of the economic and political position of the masses, and for the attainment of Complete Independence, and holds that this movement must cooperate, but on an Independent basis, with the general political movement. In view of its general policy, the Conference will discuss and decide its attitude towards the important problems raised for the Workers' and Peasants' movement on the one hand by the Simon Commission, the Trade Dispute Bill, the approach of the war etc., and on the other by the Nehru Report, and the Independence for India League. The Conference will thus be of much movement for Workers' and Peasants' movement and for the politics of the country.

Members of Workers' and Peasants' Parties and affiliated organisations only can take part in the proceedings and vote. Individuals may join the Party on payment of a minimum subscription of As. 4 per annum for workers and peasants and Re. 1/- per annum for members of other classes. In each case the Executive Committee of the Provincial Party will first satisfy itself that

a person making application is a real supporter of the principles of the Party, and is willing to work for them. Those in provinces not yet organised who wish to join the Party should apply to the Reception Committee.

In addition others may attend the Conference, and organisations may send representatives, to watch the proceedings. Application should be made previously to the Reception Committee for Visitors Tickets which will be issued shortly at a small fee.

Many delegates are expected, and must be provided with accomodation while in Calcutta. The expense involved will be considerable. All sympathisers are asked to contribute to defray it, either by donation or by joining the Reception Committee, the fee for which is Re. 1/-. All applications, donations etc. should be sent to the Secretary, Reception Committee, All-India Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference, 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

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P. 1797. (P) (E)

Address on the envelope :—

THE EDITOR

**“KRANTI”**

C/o S. A. Dange

Wadekar Buildings

Girgaon Bombay 4.

P. 1798 P.

**Workers' & Peasants' Party of Bengal.**

2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta

26 November 1928.

Organ

Ganavani

(Bengali Weekly)

Dear Mr. Lotwala,

As you know, we have been trying for some time past to organise in various places Workers' and Peasants' Parties and have met with some success. Parties now exist in Bengal, Bombay, U. P. and Punjab. We think now that we are in a sufficiently strong position to establish the Party on an All-India basis and accordingly have convened a Conference in Calcutta, for December 21 - 23. The political situation also is becoming so ripe that authoritative and systematic exposition of our views all over the country is essential. We cannot allow the neo-liberals who uphold the Nehru Report on the one hand, and bogus supporters of Independence on the other, to monopolise the attention of the country, while the advocates of a sound and correct Marxist policy are left unheard.

We therefore venture to appeal to you to assist us to make the Conference successful. We estimate that to carry it off in an effective manner, with proper publicity etc., will cost us at least Rs 2,000/-. We shall be much obliged if you will assist us to meet the expenses, and to make the conference as successful as its importance deserves. If you desire to make any contributions, will you please send it directly to me, or through Mr. Ghatge ?

Yours Fraternally,

Sd. Muzaffar Ahmad.

P. 1798 P E.

An envelope bearing the following superscription on it:—

*Registered*

R 973 Asylum Lane Calcutta.
-----------------------------------

R. B. LOTWALA, Esqr.

Postal seal of

"Arya Bhuwan".

27 Nov. 28.

SANDHURST ROAD?

BOMBAY No. 4

P. 1799 P.

*Rejected*

Letter dated 6-12-28 from Muzaffar Ahmed Calcutta to  
S. V. Ghate, Bombay.

( Vide Exh. P. 1348 (36) ).

P. 1799P E.

*Rejected*

An envelope with the following superscription on it:—

MR. S. V. GHATE B. A.

17 Dwarkadas Mansions

Sandhurst Road,

BOMBAY No. 4.

P. 1800

*Weekly Organ Kranti Kari (Hindi) Jhansi U.P. and Delhi  
Workers' and Peasants' Party, Allahabad.*

Dear Comrade Ghaté,

President:—  
Dr. Biswanath  
Mukerji.  
Zafra Bazar,  
Gorakhpur.

Vice-President:—  
Dharamvir Singh  
M.A. M. L. C.

Taga Boarding  
House Meerut.

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

After all I did receive your letter. I hope you will be sending me the books soon. I have not received the Spark No. 1 or any issue after 3—will you please ask them to send it to me regularly. I am writing to the Kranti Kari people and it will be sent to you regularly.—It is a pity they failed to do it in spite of my earlier requests.

I would be highly obliged if you could arrange to have the N. E. C. by the first week of April—at the latest. After that I will not be able to attend to it.—I so much want to attend it.

I hope you are all right.

Fraternally,

Sd/- P. C. JOSHI.

Enclosure No. 1:

Dear Comrade Nimkar,

Thanks for your letter. My exams. begin from the 23rd April. If you so arrange the N. E. C. meeting that I may be back here by the 10th April, then alone I will be able to attend it, later than that on no account. I have not yet read a word of law and I have only a month before me. You know the address of other U. P. members. You will inform them of the date and I too will. I hope they will come.

I did send 3 letters to Ghaté and they surely were not personal letters. I thought you had seen them. My complaint too is that I have not heard from you and am absolutely in the dark about Bombay work, or party work in general. Only Com. Muzaffar has been writing to me regularly. The accompanying sheet will tell you of the U. P. doings.

I hope you are blooming and have come back from Ajmer now.

With greetings,

Fraternally,

Sd/- P. C. JOSHI.

Enclosure No. 2:

*Private.*

*Gorakhpur:*—Dr. Mukerji is mostly silent. He has not expressed any opinion on the party thesis, though I requested him to do it. From the press it appears he held some Kisan meetings. Another press report—he presided over the Swaraj meeting on 10th March ?? the meeting adopting the Congress Working Com. resolution. He requires very careful handling. He wanted a plan of work. I sent him the party thesis on Peasantry, with a sketch of a plan of action. He is silent over it.

*Meerut:*—I have not heard from Com. Gauri Shankar at all. If a proper exp. is not forthcoming I would plead its dis-affiliation. He was murmuring something in Calcutta about our abusing the leaders! He is ideologically bunkum and is setimental. The fault is ours. We have no literature in Hindi.

*Jhansi:*—Com. Kadam has started a new union-Municipal workers. I asked him to get it registered and get the rules and regulations from you.

The Jhansi Reg. Union seems to make some noise. They arranged some meetings and processions too.

*Allahabad:*—There is no org. here. I organised the Youth League on a very broad basis and not on party ideology, and have got some boys interested in party work and communism. Two or three will join the party as workers after the Univ. career. I talked tall and read a little!

P. 1800 E.

An envelope bearing the following superscription on it:—

Postal seal of

Katra

19 Mar. 29

Allahabad.

S. V. Ghate

17 Dwarkadas Mansion's

Sandhurst Road

Bombay 4.

P. 1801 P.

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

2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

The 1st December 1928.

To

The Secretary, The Workers' and Peasants' Party of  
Bombay.

Dear Comrade,

I beg to inform you that at a meeting of the Reception Committee held on the 28th November it has been decided that the Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bombay can send 10 delegates to the All-India Workers' & Peasants' Party Conference, to be held in Calcutta (Albert Hall, 15 College Square) on the 21-23rd December 1928. Any youth association of your province connected with your Party and Working with the same principles can also send 50 delegates.

Delegation fee has been fixed at -/4/- ans. each. Visitors' tickets—Rs. 5/-, Rs. 3/-, Rs. 2/- and -/3/- and for students -/4/- ans. For bonafide workers and peasants there will be special tickets of -/2/- ans each.

I further beg to inform you that in order to facilitate accommodation, the names and actual number of delegates that will attend the Conference should reach the Office on or before the 12th December.

Yours fraternally,

Sd/- DHARANI KANTA GOSWAMI.

Secretary.

Reception Committee.



P. 1801 PE.

An envelope with the following superscription on it:—

The Secretary

Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bombay

17 Dwarkadas Mansions

Sandhurst Road

B o m b a y 4.

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P. 1802.

B. F. Bradley,

1st March 1929

Konjadi Building,

Parel, Bombay.

Dear Comrade,

I have now found the above address of the Indian Railway Union of which I note you are vice-President. For a considerable time we have been trying to make contact with you, and up-to date it has been unsuccessful. It is very important that you should be in direct correspondence with us and you should write articles on the Indian situation for publication in China, Japan, Phillipines, etc. Very little material has reached us regarding the Indian T.U.C. We have, however, noted that affiliation to the Pan-Pacific T.U.S. was lost by a small vote, the TUC, we understand, preferring to remain neutral regarding its international affiliations also. For this reason the PPTUS has decided to communicate with the different Unions affiliated to the Indian TUC, asking them to send delegates to our conference. It may be difficult for them to send individual delegates due to lack of finance: but it is possible that several of the unions may combine to send two or three Indian delegates. We should like your opinion on this point and trust that you will do everything possible to assist us in obtaining as large a delegation as possible.

It is impossible for me to give any details in this letter because I assume that your mail is interfered with, seeing that you are an official of the Indian trade union movement.

I am enclosing you a copy of a joint manifesto of the Philippine Labour Congress and the Philippine Chinese Labourers Association. This manifesto was passed at a joint conference of the above organisations. It is a great step forward as the Chinese and Philippine workers have hitherto exhibited antagonism to each other and have been used as strike-breakers from time to time by both native and Chinese employers, to say no-thing of the tricks that are played by the American imperialists to utilise these existing antagonisms. I hope you will be able to get very wide publicity for this manifesto and have it inserted in as many of the Nationalist papers as possible, as well as the trade union journals. I will write to our comrades asking them to forward copies of the different papers and to Jhabwalla, Gen. Secretary of the Indian Railway Union. However, I suggest that you duplicate and distribute it.

In replying to this letter, please send the letter to C. Evangelista, 1106 Remedios Str., Manila Philippine Islands. We learn, through the press, that Jack Johstone was arrested ( he was delegate of the Anti-Imperialist League ), but we do not know whether he was convicted on any charge or allowed to leave the country. We would like you to give us, if possible, the details of his arrest, etc.

We would like you also to send to send us an article immediately on the tendencies in the Indian labour-movement, embodying facts and conditions of the workers.

Wishing you every success in your work among the masses and in the Indian trade union movement, Send me a good confidential address.

Yours fraternally,

Sd/-Milenn

Rubber Stamp of "The Secretariat  
of the Pan-Pacific Labour  
Conference.

P. 1802 1.

*Rejected*

A leaflet containing the programme of the Class Solidarity Night Commemorating the 27th Anniversary of the Philippine Labour Movement and Inaugurating the United class Front between the Chinese and Filipino workers under the auspices of

C. O. F. and P. C. L. A. Alonse Theatre, February 5th 1929 at  
7-30 P. M.

All workers and peasants are fraternally Invited.

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P. 1802 2.

*Rejected:*

A booklet in Chinese language, containing a joint manifestts  
of the Philippine Labour Congress and the Philippine Chinese  
Laborers Association.

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P. 1802 E. 1

A cover bearing Chinese Republican Stamps and having the  
following superscription on it :—

Mr. S. H. Jhabwalla,

Konjadi Building,

Parel, Bombay,

India.

---

P. 1802. E. 2.

Another envelope with the following name on it :—

B. F. Bradley.

P. 1803.

Shanghai,

14th March 1929.

Mr. S. A. Dange,  
Wadekar Building,  
Girgaon,  
Bombay, India.

Dear Comrade,

We have just received the above address and hasten to open up communications with you. The PPTUS has been very anxious to get into touch with the responsive Indian representatives of the Indian Trade Unions. We are enclosing you a copy of our "Bulletin." We send this out for reprinting in the Workers' or Nationalist papers, and we shall be very glad if you could have copies made for publication in the various papers, the names of which we do not possess.

We have sent invitations to the Indian Trade Unions to send delegates to our II Conference to be held in Vladivostock. We should be glad if you and some other Indian Trade Unionists, Bradley or Spratt could write articles giving publicity to our conference. You will note our article on the front page of the "Bulletin." Several of our papers in the Far East have papers entitled "On the Pan Pacific Front" that are proving popular. Is it possible to get such pages established in the Indian Trade Union or Workers' Press. We should be very pleased if such pages could be established.

I wrote to Bradley but I am not sure whether he will get my letter: it was sent to: c/o S. H. Jhabvala, Kondaji Building, Parel, Bombay. If you see him please tell of our wishes and he may be able to assist. I gave him an address to write to, so I hope he received our communication. You can also use the same address.

I will forward a copy of each issue of our "Bulletin" to you with the above request. Thanking you for any assistance you can give the PPTUS.

With comradely greetings,

We remain,

Fraternally Yours,

Sd. M APLETIN,

(Secretary).

Stamp of the Secretariat of the Pan Pacific  
Labour Conference.

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P. 1803 1.

A typed copy of "The Far Eastern Bulletin" for the month of March 1929. It contains articles on the following subjects:—

- (1) The Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat Conference.
- (2) Assassination of Antonio Mella.
- (3) Anti-Japanese Movement in China.
- (4) Capitalist offensive in Australia.
- (5) "Industrial Peace" Conference in Australia.
- (6) Intimidation, arrest and banishment of J. W. Johnstone from India.
- (7) Indian Trade Union Congress.
- (8) British Indian Slavery Bill.
- (9) Trade Unionism in Burma.
- (10) South African Unemployed Workers Battered by Mounted Police.
- (11) How Yankee Imperialism "Develope" the Philippines.
- (12) Tramway men's strike in Yokohama.

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P. 1803. E

An envelope bearing the following address on it:—

Mr. S. A. Dange,  
Wadekar Building,  
Girgaon,  
Bombay, India.

Postal seal of  
Shanghai,  
14-3-29.

P. 1804.

LEAGUE AGAINST IMPERIALISM

and for National Independence.

International Secretariat

24 Friedrichstrasse, Berlin S. W. 48.

*Berlin, February 20th 1929.*

To all organisations affiliated to or sympathising with the League Against Imperialism.

To all anti-imperialist Youth Organisations.

Dear Friends,

The Executive Committee of the League Against Imperialism and for National Independence decided at its last session held in Cologne to organise, in conjunction with the Second Anti-Imperialist World Congress of the League, an

*International Anti-Imperialist Youth Conference.*

The invitation to participate in this conference is not only open to all-anti-imperialist Youth organisations but also to all national-revolutionary organisations of workers, peasants and students in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. The object of this Conference is to bring together the representatives of all the above mentioned organisations so as to enable them to meet, discuss and create good mutual relationships and to organise an international anti-imperialist Youth organisation.

The city of Paris has been selected as the place while July 26th and 27th are the days set aside for the holding of the International Anti-Imperialist Youth Conference.

The League Against Imperialism proposes the following Provisional Agenda for the coming Youth Conference.

(1) The conditions of the working youth and students in the colonies and semi-colonies, and the activity of the national revolutionary Youth organisations. (Representatives from the more important colonial and semi-colonial countries will speak).

(2) The tasks of the anti-imperialist Youth in Europe and in North America with regard to assisting the struggle of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples.

(3) The formation of an international organisation of the anti-imperialist Youth.

The Executive Committee of the League have decided on appointing a reporter to take charge of the Youth work in the

International Secretariat, whose duties will be (a) to make preparations for the Youth Conference, (b) to study the situation of the working youth and students in the colonies and semi-colonies, and (c) to answer all questions relating to the anti-imperialist Youth movement. Further, an International Preparatory Committee, consisting of representatives from the anti-imperialist Youth of the most important countries, will be formed for the purpose of enlisting collaborators who are to assist in the preparations of the forthcoming International Anti-Imperialist Youth Conference.

The International Secretariat of the League has already addressed a number of Youth organisations asking them to put up representatives. Until the above-mentioned Youth collaborators has been chosen and takes up his duties, three German youth representatives will provisionally perform the preparatory work.

The League Against Imperialism calls upon all organisations affiliated to and sympathising with the League, especially all anti-imperialist youth organisations, to support, prepare and carry through the proposed International Anti-Imperialist Youth Conference. The League requests all organisations to promptly inform the International Secretariat whether they are prepared to send representatives to the Youth Conference. Furthermore, the League would like to be informed by all adult organisations if they are able to send representatives from their affiliated youth departments or organisations. Also, the League asks that all suggestions and material for the Provisional Agenda, especially information about the condition of the youth in the colonies and semi-colonies, be sent as soon as possible to the International Secretariat. The League would also appreciate receiving names of capable speakers, reporters, etc.

In order to have as large a number of youth as possible assisting in the preparations of the Conference, the League proposes the establishment in the more important countries of National Preparatory Committees comprising of the most important youth organisations, which should undertake the broadcasting of propaganda organising of public demonstrations etc.

Your acknowledgement of, and reply to, this letter at your earliest convenience will be appreciated by

Fraternally yours

(In Stamp) League Against Imperialism

International Secretariat

Berlin S. W. 48, Friedrichstr 24.

(Facsimiles) V. Chattopadhyaya.

Willi Munzenburg.

P. 1804 E.

An envelope bearing the following address:—

JAWAHAR LAL NEHRU Esqr.

Anand Bhawan

ALLAHABAD.

INDIA

Postal seal of

Berlin S. W.

11-3-29.

P. 1805

## League Against Imperialism

AND FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE.

International Secretariat

24 Friedrichstrasse, Berlin, S. W. 48.

Berlin, April 30th 1929

Jawahar Lal Nehru Esq.

Anand Bhawan

Allabad.

My dear Jawahar,

There was no letter from you this week. With regard to the action taken by us for helping the Meerut Prisoners, we have to add the following to the report given in our last letter. The Dutch section of the League has distributed 10,000 pamphlets among the workers protesting British imperialist terror in India. A copy of the leaflet is herewith enclosed, for your information.

The International Secretariat has sent out a telegram to the national sections and to the most important affiliated organisations (including the Russian Trade Union Federation) calling upon them to help the Indian workers. This telegram has been sent through



the Free Press of India to the Indian press, but we are nevertheless reproducing it here for your information.

Great strike 100,000 Indian Textile Workers progressing following recent arbitrary arrest imprisonment 31 Labour Leaders stop General strike expected stop International Secretariat League against Imperialism calls upon national sections and affiliated organisations follow developments India with closest attention and take immediate action among working class organisations in their respective countries help Indian workers morally and materially extend present strike movement into general revolutionary mass movement overthrow British Imperialism.

We shall feel very gratefull if you could send us the following photographs or have them sent by some reliable man:—

- (1) the 31 arrested with descriptions of their function in the Labour Movement.
- (2) the hoisting of the National Flag (some good pictures showing large crowds).
- (3) Strikes, hartals, etc.
- (4) Calcutta Section of the INC.
- (5) Jharia session of the TUC.
- (6) Any anti-imperialist photographs which you may happen to know of.

Yours affectionately,

(Sd.) Chatto.

P. 1805 1

*Rejected.*

A printed leaflet in Dutch Language, issued by the Dutch section of the League Against Imperialism, protesting against British Imperialist Terror in India.

## Decisions Re the Reorganisation of the Dutch Section of the League Against Imperialism.

Under the chairmanship of James Maxton, M. P. a joint conference of the Executive Committee of the International L. A. I., of the Dutch Section of the League and of the Perhimpunan Indonesia took place in Amsterdam on April 14th 1929.

After a thorough discussion the following decisions were unanimously arrived at:—

- (1) That a reorganisation of the Dutch Section should be undertaken.
- (2) That this reorganisation should be finally carried through at a Congress of the Dutch League to be convened within a period of six months.
- (3) That for the work of reorganisations an Executive Committee consisting of

*10 members*

should be provisionally appointed to conduct the work of the League; 5 out of the 10 members being from P. I.

- (4) That in addition to the 10 members above mentioned every collectively affiliated organisation shall have the right to send a representative to the E. C. with a consultative vote:
- (5) That the Provisional Executive Committee referred to shall be forthwith elected in order to carry through the preparatory work for the national Congress and for organising the League on the broadest possible basis. This provisional E. C. shall consist of 5 members of the old E. C. and 5 representatives of the P. I.

*Enclosure No. 2.* is a printed copy of the Dutch leaflet referred to in the letter.

P 1806 P.

BOMBAY.

1-11-28.

Dear A.I,

No doubt you noticed that my last letter was a little vague. Camouflage is no longer necessary, for the authorities have got me tabulated and *I am being followed night and day*. The Congress has been postponed until about the 22nd of December so I was actually a month too early. So the only thing to do was to stay.

There is an Englishman here working in the Trade Union movement. He has been here for 14 months and is doing magnificent work. So popular is he that he is Vice-President of several Unions. The trouble that he is faced with is shortage of Oscar. The C. I. D. is holding it up. I assisted him a little and am myself embarrassed.

I sent a cable to Dal telling him to ask you to cable fifty pounds to me at Cooks Bombay. That was over a week ago. So far I have received no reply. I will send another cable on Monday December 3rd. If by any chance you have not sent the money by this time please send it to me at Cooks, Calcutta. I am going to Calcutta next week. I will arrive there practically broke if I don't receive your cable beforehand. There is an Englishman named Spratt at Calcutta: he may be able to assist me. I have also read a notice in the paper to the effect that an American named Johnstone has landed at Calcutta to attend the Congress. I think it may be the writer of the article on the building industry in the "L. M."

Regarding the P. P. the position here appears to be decidedly unfavourable. The militants are causing consternation by their activity among the textile workers where they have organised a rival union. They have got a membership of about 50000 whereas the old Union (Joshi and Bakhale) has about 5,000. Unfortunately the New Union will not be represented at Congress because it has not been established twelve months. There is also a similar situation in other industries.

I was received rather coldly by Joshi and Bakhale. The latter has just returned from a trip to the I. L. O. and Amsterdam etc. However, while the general opinion seems to be that we can't expect to win, we will have a substantial minority. The matter has already been put on the agenda-paper by the Municipal Employees of Bombay. Affil. to the R. I. S. R. is also on the agenda. The Congress will be held at Jaurior (sic) near Calcutta, Perhaps Spratt will get some support from his centre.

I wish you were with me sweetheart. I am horribly lonely. It would be an ideal holiday for the two of us for it is a pretty and intensely interesting place, but it is rather cheerless for one. You may not believe it but I have not *spoken* to a woman or girl since I landed in India. I can hardly credit it myself but its easily understood, because I am staying at the Y. M. C. A. (the cheapest place I could find) and no females are allowed inside its sacred precincts. There appears to be no active woman in the Trade Union Offices, although I believe they do great work during strikes.

I suppose this will please you, but it is making me miserable. I am enclosing some views of Bombay which I bought and a few snaps that I took with Dad's camera. I have only just found out how to work that camera after several failures.

If mud face is there when I got back I'll throttle him for this, with tons of love-Sd/-Jack. XXXXXXXX

---

P. 1806 P E.

An envelope with the following superscription on it:—

Miss a, Mc. Comille

395 Sussex St.

Sydney

AUSTRALIA.

---

P. 1807.

162 Buckingham Palace

Road,

London. Stw. 1

Dec. 13th 1928

Dea Comrade,

I am enclosing herewith a copy of a letter I sent you on Aug. 2nd, 1928, which included a Bank draft for £ 20.

Having had no communication from you regarding same I was under the impression that you had sent it on to Bob Lovell, the Secretary of the I. C. W. P. A. as requested in the letter. But it seems that he has not received anything. Would you therefore please forward on to him a receipt for the money and also a message that he can send on to the Comrades at Tash-Kent, Russia.

Thanks very much.

Yours fraternally,

Sd/- A. Glyn Evans.

P. S.

I might add that the letter sent on August was registered and I still have the receipt for its registration.

A. G. E.

P. 1807 1.

(copy)

Aug. 2, 1928.

Dear Comrade Dange,

I am enclosing herewith a Bank draft for Twenty pounds (£ 20) this being a collection made at Tash-Kent, U. S. S. R., to be devoted specifically to Class-War Prisoners, dependents, etc. (The message mentions "the Calcutta Amritsar victims).

I am forwarding this money on to you so that you can use at your discretion.

I would suggest though if there is an organisation for "Red Aid", for helping Class War prisoners, similar to the International Class War Prisoners Aid Organisation in Britain, that that would be the best organisation to use the money. Failing such organisation then the Workers' and Peasants' Party should assume charge and distribute in the most advantageous way, *publicity being essential*. I am therefore leaving it to your discretion.

Please advise the press of India and also forward acknowledgement to:— (with appropriate message)

Bob Lovell

I. C. W. P. A.

10 Fetter Lane

London, W. C.

With fraternal greetings -

Sd/- A. Glyn Evans.

S. A. DANGE

Sandhurst Road,

Girgaon Bombay, India.

---

P. 1807 E.

An envelope having the following superscription on it:—

S. A. DANGE Esq.

Wadekar Building,

Girgaon

Bombay

India.

Postal seal of

London S. W. i.

Dec. 13, 1928.

---

P. 1808 P.

National Minority Movement.

Hon. Chairman: TOM Mann.

Hon. General Secretary: Harry Pollitt.

National Treasurer Geo. Fletcher.

Room 14. First floor.

38 Great Ormand Street.

London, W/C. 1

10th December 1929.

To,

The Secretary,

Indian National Congress.

Dear Friend,

We received recently, through the League against Imperialism an invitation to send a fraternal delegate to your Congress. We at once appointed our Chairman, Tom Mann, who is known to all here and in South Africa, Australia and China as an opponent of British imperialism, to attend your Congress and convey to you the greetings of these workers here in the British Trade Unions whom we represent.

Unfortunately the British Government flatly refused to allow our chairman to travel to India at all. Any "labour" gentleman who is willing to do the work of the Imperialist rulers can get a passport to India—can even travel at the expense of the British Government to inquire the fate and future of the great Indian people. But those who have a different message for the Indian people—a message urging that it is time they should take their fate and future into their own hands—are not allowed to visit this part of the Empire.

We therefore can only send you our friendly greetings by this letter, with the message that we wish to give all in India who seek for an ending of India's present subjection and the exploitation of the Indian workers and peasants.

Our message is: Do not believe that the workers of Britain are rightly represented by the bureaucrats and Parliamentarians who have recently visited India. These gentlemen call themselves "Labour", but they have betrayed and misled the workers of this country, just as in the past they called themselves friends of India, but now at the time of testing are to found at the side of Simon, at the beck and call of the murderers of Lala Lajpatrai.

And the workers in this country are finding, slowly but surely the truth about these men as Labour leaders, just as you are finding out the truth about them as Friends of India. The workers of Britain who have never desired the subjection of any people are more and more supporting the League Against Imperialism, more and more supporting our Movement which aims at the freedom of all who are oppressed and exploited, and will be ready to give aid and fight on your behalf when our common enemies, the ruling classes of Britain, try to suppress your movement towards independence by new Amritsars.

For we believe that the Simon Commission, including the two "Labour Leaders", Mr. Hartshorn and Major Attlee, are preparing the way for new repression in India; their function is to give an appearance, for those who can be misled into weakness, of consultation and compromise. But behind this apparent willingness to listen to Indian opinion is the confident hope, in the minds of the callous exploiters who rule us and you, that the Indian people will be so divided as hitherto the British working class have been—that British Imperialism may be enabled to build up greater fortunes than ever out of the blood, the misery and starvation of India.

When the people of India, through your efforts, oppose this increased exploitation and move towards freedom, men such as Mr. Baldwin who appointed the Simon Commission or Mr. Lloyd George who carries the responsibility for Amritsar or Mr. Macdonald, who imposed the Bengal Ordinance, will try to use the guns again to hold you back.

But guns will not hold back a united people, as here we hope that in the years to come guns will not break a united working class. In all the struggles of the future—struggles not of your choosing, but imposed upon you by the ruthless oppression of Imperialism—rest assured that there is a growing body of workers in Britain who hold out to you the hand of friendship and fraternal aid, and look forward with you to the days when all peoples shall be linked together only by the bonds of consideration for the welfare of others, and a common determination to share fairly among all the wealth that the labour of all produces.

With fraternal greetings,

Sd/—Harry Pollitt

Honorary General Secretary,

on behalf of the National Executive Committee

National Minority Movement.



P. 1808 P E.

An envelope with the following Superscription on it—

Jawaharlal Nehru Esqr.

Anand Bhawan

Allahabad

India.

R	London W. C. 22.
	No. 247.

P. 1809.

38 Great Ormond Street,

London, W.C. 1

Monday

18 March, 1929.

B.F. Bradley;

c/o Mrs. Sandwell,

Apollo Chambers

Fort Bombay.

Dear Ben,

We have heard with very great appreciation of the way in which your work is progressing. We of course have not heard very many details, and we are very anxious to know exactly what is transpiring and to receive copies of any material which would show us how you are getting on.

We particularly feel that the regular interchange of letters should be set up, both personally, and between your organisations and our centre here. We are sending you by separate post a parcel of interesting books, and shall be glad if you will acknowledge it.

Yours fraternally,

Sd/- HARRY.

P. 1809. E

An envelope with the following address on it:

Mr. B. Bradley  
c/o Mrs. Sandwell  
Apollo Chambers  
Fort Bombay.

Postal Seal of  
London.  
18 March 29  
161

P. 1810 P.

My dear Nambiar:

Khar.

Very glad to hear that you are getting along all right.

I broke the news to S. as well as I could and I think that now she is taking is (sic) reasonably. Don't mention Gunnu's letter in yours.

I quite understand your position and wish you the best of luck, but I foresee (sic) complications in the event of my removal which may take place any day now. Still we hope for the best. The powers that be may overlook me and I may be able to continue my work etc.

Yours,

Sd/- L.

P. 1810 PE.

An envelope bearing the following address on it:—

Narayanan Nambiar

Berlin, Charlottenburg,

Berlinerstr. 66

Postal seal of:  
Church gate Street

Germany  
(Deutschland).

15 Mar. 29.

6 p.m.

Bombay.

P. 1811

Date of Censorship:- 30th November 1928.

Sender's name and address:- A.C. Nambiar, Berlin.

Date of the letter:- 14th November 1928.

Addressee:-Suhasini C/o Mrinalini Chattopadhyaya, New High  
School for Girls, 5 Napier Rd., Fort, Bombay,  
India.

My dear Babe,

I am quite unwell—cold, a monstrous cough and slight temperature. I ought to have got into bed three days back. But unfortunately I have got so much to do that I cannot play the "animal". Munagala arrived here last Thursday and is still here. Ganpuley is taking him about Berlin. I do not know what I would have done if Gunpuley had not come to my rescue. I must say that Ganpuley is doing it well—he is just now in one of his affectionate "fits". Thanks very much for the snaps. I like the one Narcisso best. Narcisso looks terribly intellectual. Shaid Shurawarady has sent Berar (sic) clippings of my articles on Russia and the old chap has got the shock of his life. He has written to say that he "remains puzzled". Adhikari will be leaving soon. I think that the engagement has been broken. Fri Bhatte wrote and imposed 14 conditions and Adhikari wrote in true Marxian style and said marriage "ist kern kuh handel". A is a nice fellow. I have received a number of books for reviewing. Ask Gunnu to write for review copies of Dreissers' "American Tragedy" and "Genius" Constables are the publishers. Lester will be interested to review them for the people. I am enclosing another picture for Ls gallery. This picture ought to give you at least a few happy moments. It cheered me up one day very much, I hope to be able to sit down and write a long letter next week. The man fond of

the apple cakes is still here. I see him often at meetings. He is now in low waters financially. That at any rate is my impression, I went to skate last night. Munagala snored when the music was on. Love to all.

Yours

Sd/- Nam.

P. 1812 P.

C/O Mrs. E. de. Burgh.

Apollo Chambers.

Fort, BOMBAY.

1/12/28.

Dear Mam & Dad.

Very pleased to receive your welcome letter this mail, glad to hear that you are feeling better, sorry

I am sorry to say I have not yet received any sign of my salary yet as you know by last week's mail I had wired you but I expect you did not receive it, however I have collected evidence of considerable interference in my mail which I will use to try and get things put right, in the mean time enquiries must be made over their for reasons and see that I get it through. You might register some to me.

I am pleased to say I am keeping in the best of health, shall be attending the T. U.C. here this month at Jharia, a mining District. Tell Len to get a move on with that,

From your  
Affectionate Son,

Sd. BEN

P 1812 P.E.

An envelope with the following address on it:—

Mrs. Bradley.  
4 Elmsdale Road,  
Walthamston,  
(England) London.

P. 1813.

CONFIDENTIAL.

Date of censorship: 7/12/1928.  
Sender's Name and address: Mam  
4 Elmsdale Road, Wstow, E. 17  
Date of letter: 20/11/1928  
Addressee: Mr. B. F. Bradley.  
C/o Mrs. E. de Burgh.  
Apollo Chambers,  
Fort Bombay, India.

My dear Ben.

We were delighted to re've your welcome letter this mail and to hear you are keeping well and still busy.

\* \* \* \* \*  
you should have re'cd what you asked for long before this letter reaches you, if not there is something very wrong somewhere let me know at once.

\* \* \* \* \*  
trusting this will find you in the best of health, and you have re'vd what we've sent.

From Yrs loving  
Sd. Mam.

# P. 1814 P.

## WORKERS' WELFARE LEAGUE OF INDIA.

The Agent of the Indian Trade Movement in Great Britain.

President: Dr. K. S. Bhat.

Treasurer: Mr. K. Sheldrake.

Secretary: Mr. J. E. Potter-Wilson.

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

Nov. 22nd 1928.

Dear Comrade Bradley,

I read with interest your letter to the League and note what you say regarding the movement in India, and especially your remarks on the Bombay strike situation, and also the relation between you and Mr. Jhabwala. It is very unfortunate that this should occur at this moment when there is such a need for a cohesive cooperative action in view of the pending report of the enquiry, which undoubtedly will affect the Bombay Textile workers.

I wrote you some time ago with a request if it is possible, to forward some photographs of incidents in the lives of the workers at Bombay. I notice that the photo press publish some interesting photographs in the various papers, (Indian) but it is impossible to reproduce them in any of our papers here, they must have either the negative or a good black and white print. And also, in conversation with Mr. Bakhale with whom I and others had a short conversation, I understand that minutes of the Joint Strike Committee are obtainable. This would be invaluable for us. Could you arrange to forward the League some copies? Our work here is progressing very well. I sent out few weeks ago a report of the Bombay strike, which I am sending by another letter and the result has been very good so far, in the way of financial response. Also the Morning Post has given us a boost, in the form of an article, calling us a Bolshevik organisation, for two reasons, (1) Because our office, (on rent), is part of the building taken by the Labour Research Department. (2) Because the Pan-Pacific Secretariat, has given a Donation. and states that the Amal Soc. of Dyers Bleachers and Finishers and Kindred Trade, gave us a sum of £ 100, showing—the Post argues—the extent of influence—of the "Bolsheviks." And again that several Trade Unions gave some small donations, showing the process of Bolshevisation of these organisations. Of course it finishes its article by asking what the Labour Party is going to do about it. The Post need have no fear. They are going more and more to the Capitalist side and leaving

the workers stranded and sabotaging the real operations of the workers for struggle.

I would like to say also that the League passed a resolution supporting the workers and Peasants First All India Conference because it is an organisation of workers, of course our activities are confined to more or less pure industrial work—we do not participate in the political side, though I realise that it is impossible to really cut a line of demarcation between them, yet despite that we carry on the industrial activities and leave political questions aside. I would like also to have reports of the various conferences, in full, if possible. It will be very useful for me to form conclusions as to the advance the movement has made during the year.

Please let me have as much information as possible in that way and I will let you have in return for your labour as much information regarding our work as I can. Hoping that you will continue to correspond and that your health will permit your doing so.

Thanking you in anticipation.

Yours fraternally,

J. E. Potter-Wilson,

Secretary.

---

P. 1814 P E.

An envelope bearing the following superscription on it :—

Mr. Bradley,

c/o. Mrs. E. De-Burgh,

Apollo Chambers,

Fort, Bombay,

India

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P. 1815

CONFIDENTIAL.

Date of Censorship: 14th December 1928  
Sender's name and address: Mam.  
4 Elmsdale Road; W'Stow E. 17  
Date of Letter: 28th November 1928.  
Addressee: Mr. B. F. Bradley.  
C/o Mrs. E. de Burgh.  
Apollo Chambers.  
Fort Bombay  
India.

My dear Ben,

We were very pleased to receive your letter this mail and to know you are keeping well.

I hope by this you've re'cd what we sent. Len saw to it at once from the first time your asking, I cannot understand it.

From Your loving

Sd. Mam.

P. 1816

CONFIDENTIAL.

Dated of Censorship: 22nd February 1929  
Sender's name and address: Mam.  
4 Elmsdale Road; W'Stow E. 17  
Date of Letter: 5-2-29.  
Addressee: Mr. B. F. Bradley.



C/o Mrs. Sandwell.

Apollo Chambers.

Fort Bombay

India.

My dear Ben,

We were delighted to re've a letter from you this mail and to hear you keeping in the best of health. I was disappointed in not hearing you had re'ed what was sent, I hope to in your next everything was seen to at once. I didn't wire back. No doubt you will hear from george.

From Yr loving

Sd. Mam.

P. 1817

4 Elmsdale Road.

WSton. E. 17.

19/3/29.

My dear Ben.

We are all very glad to re've your letter this mail, and delighted to hear you are keeping well.

Len is writing to you this mail, and I want him to explain things to you much better than I am able too. My dear Ben, I did explain in one of my letters that what you asked for was sent every time and its all gone to the one place, some one has kept it, I think, its wicked to keep what you are to live on and get clothes. Any way let me know how I am to send money to you so has you

may get in. I will send it has you direct. I don't think I can say  
much more.

From yr loving

Sd. Mam.

---

**P. 1817 E.**

An envelope with the following address on it:

Postal seal of:

Walthams towe 17

19 Mar. 1929.

Mr. B. F. Bradley

C/o Mrs. Sandwell

Apollo Chambers.

Fort. Bombay.

India.

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**P. 1818.**

Issues of "International Press Correspondence" of the  
following dates:—

30- 7- 28	1- 9- 28	8- 11- 28
1- 8- 28	4- 9- 28	21- 11- 28
3- 8- 28	11- 9- 28	23- 11- 28
8- 8- 28	17- 9- 28	28- 11- 28
11- 8- 28	19- 9- 28	12- 12- 28

13-8-28	25-9-28
16-8-28	4-10-28
18-8-28	9-10-28
23-8-28	17-10-28
25-8-28	25-10-28
27-8-28	30-10-28

---

## P. 1818 E.

A cartridge paper wrapper having the following typed address on it:—

The Editor

The Spark

Bombay 4.

India.

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## P. 1819.

An issue of the Worker dated March 8, 1929.

An issue of the "Sunday Worker" March 3, 1929.

An issue of the "Workers' Life" March 8, 1929.

**P. 1899 E.**

An envelope bearing the following address:—

Mr. S. A. Dange

Wadekar Building, Girgan

Bombay 4, India.

Postal Seal of

London W. C.

7 March. 19.

**P. 1820**

1929 No: 7

February 27th

The  
Press Service

of the

**League Against Imperialism**

The International Secretariat

24 Friedrichstrasse,

Berlin, S. W. 48.

Vide Exh. P. 1604.

**P. 1820 E.**

An envelope having the following address on it:—

S. A. Dange

Wadekar Bldg. (Top floor)

Girgan

Bombay

India

Postal seal of  
Berlin S. W.  
28-2-29.

---

**P. 1821.**

1929. No. 7

February 27th

The  
Press Service  
of the

**League Against Imperialism**

The International Secretariat

24 Friedrichstrasse,

Berlin, S. W. 48

Contains the following paragraphs:—

- (1) India preparing for the League Congress.
- (2) Important League Conference in England.
- (3) League work makes Imperialist Nervous.
- (4) Mexton and Lawrence "Rote Fahne" Misinformed.
- (5) After Julio Mella, Hilario Montenegro.
- (6) Anti-Imperialist Day in South Africa.
- (7) The Terror in Ireland.
- (8) Administrative Terror in Indonesia.
- (9) Preparations for the Centenary Celebrations.
- (10) The "Victory of Democracy" in Transjordania.

Vide. Exh. P. 1604.

**P. 1821 E.**

An envelope having the following address

S. V. Ghat Esqr.

Secretary,

Workers and Peasants Party of Bombay

Dwarkadass Mansions

Bombay 4

India.

Postal seal of

Berlin S. W.

28-2-29.

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**P. 1822.**

An issue of the labour Monthly for the month of March 1929  
edited by R. Palme Dutt.

---

**P. 1822 E.**

An envelope having the following address on it:—

Editor Kranti

17 Dwarkadas Mansion

Girgaon.

Bombay.

India.

**P. 1823.**

2 copies of a magazine in English entitled:

"International Labour Movement" dated February 7, 1929.

**P. 1823 E**

A cartridge paper wrapper having the following address on it:—

Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bombay

Room 17 Dwarakadas Mansion,

Corner, Sandhurst Road

and

Benham Hall Lane,

Postal seal of

India.

Mockba

27/2/29

**P. 1824.**

A copy of a magazine in English entitled "Eastern and  
Colonial R. I. L. U. Bulletin" for the month of January 1929.

**P- 1824 E.**

A wrapper having the following address on it:—

**Workers and Peasants Party.**

**Room No. 17 Dwarkadas Mansion.**

**on the corner of Sandhurst Road**

**and**

**Benham Hall Lane.**

Postal seal of

Bombay.

Mockba 11.

27/2/29.

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