



Meerut Conspiracy Case.
1929 — 32.

P 780.

187. Thakar Damodar Valjee's
Bungalow, near Prarthana Samaj,
Girgaon, Bombay No. 4.

R. S. NIMBKAR,

4-8-1926.

Journalist.

My dear Comrade,

Your kind letter.

I believe, you have received all the details from Cawnpore. Mr. Satyabhakta, to my disappointment, has not replied me.

I agree to your proposal, about reception to be accorded to Com. Shafiq. I have asked Mr. Joglekar to write to you.

Then as regards Mr. Ghate, Mr. Sadanand is a swelled head already and I honestly think he will be of no use to us.

Expecting occasional letters from you.

SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY'S
BRANCH LIBRARY
BOMBAY

Yours truly,
R. S. Nimbkar.

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Cables.....

Phone No.....

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA.

(Central Office).

Post Box.....

Delhi, 15th. March 1927.

The members of the communist party of India are requested to attend an informal meeting of the members of the C. P. I. present in Delhi at 10 A. M. in Room 33. Royal Hotel.

The business is to discuss the administrative affairs of the party and the General Secretary's resignation.

Sd. S. V. Ghate,
Sd. N. Begerhotta,
General Secretary.

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Present.

Muzaffar Ahmad
J. P. Begerhotta
K. Sawmy.
R. S. Nimbkar.
S. D. Hasan.
S. V. Ghate.

2. P. M. dated 16-Jan-1926.

Item I.

That Muzaffar Ahmed be the president for the coming Communist Conference to be held at Lahore (Proposed by Nimbkar-passed unanimously).

The proceeding of a meeting the income of the C. P. I. held on the 16th of Jan. at Bombay.

P. 783.

2 Sep, 1926.

My dear comrade Begerhotta.

Your insured letter of 14th August to hand. The Indian communists abroad are fully in accord with you to combat the mischievous progadanda carried by Satyabhakta & Co. of Cawnpore. With that object in view we have published a leaflet called "National Communism", which will reach you soon. Please see that it is reprinted in India and given a wide publicity. We appreciate your determination to start an educative propaganda among the Indian Masses.

Our party of Great Britain will be requested to send you all available material which you require.

I can recommend to you some of the papers published in England, which I hope you will soon begin to receive, as the Party of Great Britain will be requested to send you all those publications and others not mentioned herein.

1. Labour Monthly, 162 Buckingham Palace Road, S. W. 1, London.
2. Workers' weekly, (3) Sunday Worker-Organ of left wing of the Labour Movement—F 4, Swinton St. Gray's Inn Road, London W. C. 1.
4. Communist Review the same address as Labour Monthly.
5. Daily Herald, "The New Leader" Organ of Labour Party.
6. International Press Correspondence,
Pernerstorfergasse, Vienna
or Berlin S. W. 48, Friedrichstrasse 225 III

(The address of communist book shop in London is—16 King Street, Covent Garden London. .

7. The Masses of India.

Received your money order with thanks. It was not necessary to send it. We cannot cash it and therefore are sending you back.

We were very glad to hear that comrades Gohar Rehman, Nasim and Majid are there. We could not write to them because we had no address of theirs. Give them our greetings. Congratulate Com. Shafique on our behalf and give him our best wishes.

With fraternal greetings.

Indian Communists abroad.

P. 784

Search Warrant issued under Sec. 96 C. P. C. by the District Magistrate, Meerut, for searching the premises occupied by the Girni Kamgar Union Centre, Sevri New Road, opposite Swan Mill, Bombay.

The search warrant was executed by an officer of the Bombay City Police on 20th March 1929.

PUNCHNAMA.

We the undersigned members of the Punch viz:

(1) Tukaram Sitaram Futane, age 39 years, Shimpī, occupation Hotel keeper, residing Sewri New Road, opposite New China Mill.

(2) *Babu Atmaram Korgaukar*, age 35 years, H. Wani, Hotel keeper, res. Sewri New Road, opposite New China Mill, were present at the time of the execution of search warrant No. nil, dated 15th March 1929, issued by the District Magistrate, Meerut (U. P.) to witness the search of the place Girni Kamgar Union Centre at Sewri New Road, opposite Swan Mill, Bombay, at 6 a. m. on 20th March 1929.

The above search was conducted by Deputy Inspector *N. K. Deshpande* of the Bombay city police Force in our presence and the following articles were taken possession of by the officer conducting the search. The lock on the door of the room was opened by a duplicate key by Dy. Inspector Deshpande.

(1) Two Bamboo were found in the corner of the room in the south west corner.

(2) 5 Hand bills of Bombay Girni Kamgar Union Lal Baota, Sunday's Huge Public Meeting, under the signature of S.A. Dange, General Secretary, Bombay, dated 2.3.29. There are about 500 hand bills as above mentioned but out of which five taken charge of by the police. These were found in the South East corner of the room.

(3) An application to Girni Kamgar Union of Keshao Gunaji, dated 15.2.29.

(4) Rent bill No.113- passed by Noor Mohamed Moulvi Abdul Kader Faruki from 21.12. to 20.1

(5) Rent bill No. 125 passed by Noor Mohamed Moulvi Abdul Kader Faruki to Girni Kamgar from 1-2 to 28-2.

(6) A letter from Mr. S. A. Dange to Mr. Kali, dated 18.2.29, regarding Muslim Workers from New China Mill have stopped work.

(7) 2 Hand bills, Bombay Girni Kamgar Union Lal Baota, dated 15.2.29, under the signature of A. A. Alwe, president, and S. A. Dange, General Secretary.

(8) A letter from Bombay Girni Kamgar Union Kandaji Building Parel, Bombay, dated 28th November 1925, addressed to the Manager, Khojya Mill, Bombay.

(9) A list of Strike Fund, dated 22.10.28

(10) A receipt No. 316 for Re. 1/-, signed by S. A. Dange, General Secretary, dated October 1928 of Girni Kamgar Union Strike Fund.

(11) A bill of V. B. Chapekar Bros, dated 25.12.28, for one Flag paint for Annas 12/-

(12) A list, dated 8.9.10 signed by G. B. Bhogankar.

(13) A rent bill No. 102, passed by Noor Mohamed Moulvi Abdul Kader Farooki, for Rs.8/- to S. A. Dange.

(14) Voucher dated 11.12.28, to Mr. Gopal Babu Bhogankar, for Rs. 2/8/-.

(15) A Marathi letter dated 10.12.28 from Gopal Babu Bhogankar to the Secretary.

(16) A receipt for Rs. 3/4-, signed by G. R. Kadle, dated 7.12.28.

(17) A Marathi letter dated 7. 12. 28, addressed to the Secretary by Gopal Baboo Bhogankar.

(18) A Marathi letter dated 8 addressed to the Secretary by Gopal Bhogaukar, Sewri Centre.

(19) A list bearing 10 names in Marathi.

(20) A Marathi list of Volunteers' Dress bearing some names.

(21) The Bombay Girni Kamgar Union Voucher, dated 16th January 1929, for Rs. 8/- in the name of Arjun Ramchandra Vaidy.

(22) The Bombay Girni Kamgar Union Voucher, dated 20th February 1929 for Rs. 5/- in the name of Shankar Kashinath.

(23) The Bombay Girni Kamgar Union Voucher, dated 19th February 1929 for Rs. 61/- in the name of Shanker Kashinath Kura.

(24) The Bombay Girni Kamgar Union Voucher, dated 8.12.28, for Rs.1-8- in the name of Gopal Babu Bhogaukar.

(25) The Bombay Girni Kamgar Union Voucher, dated 16.12.28 for Rs. 1/- in the name of D. N. Kale

(26) A Marathi list of Jam Mill Volunteers, bearing some names.

(27) A list of Funds.

(28) A chit address to Kale, dated 30-1-29.

(29) A chit addressed to Mastersahib from the Union.

(30) A paper with two pictures bearing the names of Govind Shankar Luxman Narayen and Bhagia Rama.

(31) A Marathi list of Union Fund.

(32) A Marathi receipt in the name of Mahkali Babu, for Rs 5/- passed Gopal Bhoganker.

(33) A list bearing some numbers and name of Dattatraya Narayan Kale.

(34) A list of Union Fund, dated 22.11.28.

(35) A Marathi letter addressed to Dattatraya Narayan Kale by A. K. Navrange, Head Clerk, G. K. Union, dated 21.11.28

(36) A list bearing 15 names.

(37) A Marathi list bearing some names.

From Nos. 3 to 37 were found in brass wire file hanging on a nail on the East side partition.

Found (38) A list bearing some names found on the table next to in the 1st the East side partition.
table near
East side
partition.

(39) Slip bearing No. 4655 of the Bombay Girni Kamgar.

(40) A slip bearing some figures.

(41) 18 receipt books of the Bombay Oil Coy's Explosive Union for one anna under the signature of R. S. Nimbkar, President

(42) A list of Oil Strike Funds.

(43) A receipt from padhy's Shorthand and Typewriting institute, dated 13.1.29, to Mr. D. N. Kale for Rs. 4.

(44) A receipt for Rs. 1-4. No. 38-5, dated 24.2.29, from Shivdi Centre to D. N. Kale.

✓ (45) A receipt for Rs. 71.4 dated 11.2.29, signed S. A. Dange.

(46) A Marathi letter dated 10. 2. 29, addressed to Sevri Centre.

(47) A receipt for Rs. 797.8.0 signed by S. A. Dange, dated 9.2.29.

(48) A receipt of Bombay Girni Kamgar Union for Rs. 20- dated 23.2.29, signed by Kale D. N. No. 37/0.

(49) A receipt from Saygaon & Co., dated 16. 2. 29, for Rs. 2/- passed to S. V. Patel.

(50) A typed letter bearing coming of socialism.

(51) 78 receipts books, Bombay Girni Kamgar Union, signed by S. A. Dange receipt for As. 4/-, some of them have been used.

(52) 41 receipt books Girni Kamgar Union Strike Fund, signed by S. A. Dange, receipts for Re. 1/-.

(53) A printed book known Monopoly on How Labour is Robbed by William Morris.

(54) A printed book named the coming of Socialism by Lucien.

Def Exh. (55) Cash Book. —

(56) 4 Hand bills and Motor Industry Works Union (2 Marathi and 2 English).

(57) General Registered Book Shevri Centre, Bombay Girni Kamgar Union, No. 1. From 15th November 1928.

(58) 2 books Bombay Girni Kamgar Union Receipt for subscriptions.

(59) A list of Oil Dept. Books.

(60) 2 Hand bills Marathi Girni Kamgar Public Meeting.

(61) A list bearing the name of Narayan Mahadeo Jubli.

(62) 12 Blank letter papers bearing the name of Bombay Girni Kamgar Union.

(63) 15 Blank voucher forms of the Bombay Girni Kamgar Union.

(64) A receipt of Dhandoo Dhakto, dated 8-3-29.

(65) A slip bearing some names commencing with the name of Keshav Bhikaji, Swan Mill No. 119/20.

(66) An Ink pad.

(67) Rubber stamp of Bombay Girni Kamgar Union. Found in the left hand drawer of the table from No. 38 to 67.

(68) 20 Receipt books of Girni Kamgar Strike Fund of Right hand side upper drawer of the same table. Receipts for Re. 1/- —found in the right hand upper drawer.

(69) 40 Receipt books of Girni Kamgar Union for As. 4/- each.

(70) 20 Receipt books of Girni Kamgar Union Strike Fund for Re. 1/-, Signed by S. A. Dange.

(71) 17 Receipts Books of the Bombay Oil Coy's Explosive Union for one anna.

This (72) Moon Mill Committee Minute Book, found in the lower drawer was drawer of the table near East side partition. forced open.

(73) Jam Mill No. 2 Committee Minute Book.

(74) China Mill Committee Minute Book.

(75) Bombay Girni Kamgar Union Receipt Book.

(76) Swan Mill Committee Minute Book, from January to December 1929.

(77) An account book of Girni Kamgar Union Centre at Sewri.

(78) 4 Bombay Girni Kamgar Union Receipt books.

2x2. (79) An outward letter file containing 8 letters.

(80) 1 file of Jubilee Mill, 1 China Mill, 1 Jam No. 2, 1 Swan Mill, 1, Moon Mill, in all five firms.

(81) 1 circular file containing 2 circulars.

(82) 1 Sundry Notes File, containing 4 letters.

(83) 1 Receipt File Shewri containing 31 Receipts.

(84) 18 Blank Receipt Books of Bombay Girni Kamgar Union for As. 4/-.

(85) 112 Receipt Books of Bombay Girni Kamgar Union of As. 4/- each, signed by S. A. Dange.

(86) A Marathi list of 7 men.

(87) A receipt of Bombay Girni Kamgar Union, issued by Kale D. N. for books.

(88) A hand bill of Girni Kamgar Union Lal Baota.

(89) A receipt for Rs. 10/- for books of 1 anna each.

- (90) 28 blank receipt books of 1 anna each, bearing the name of R. S. Nimbkar president-found on the table near North side partition. This drawer was forced opened.
- (91) 2 Hand bills, Girni Kamgar Union Lal Baota, dated 31-12-28, signed S. A. Dange.
- (92) 2 Hand bills Girni, Kamgar Union, Lal Baota, dated 4-1-29, signed S. A. Dange.
- (93) 1 Marathi circular, dated 25-12-28 for enlisting volunteers, signed by S. A. Dange.
- (94) 100 Blank receipt books of As. 4/- of Bombay Girni Kamgar Union, from No. 101 to 200 R. No. 2001 to 4000.
- (95) 100 Blank receipt books of As. 4/- of Bombay Girni Kamgar Union, from No. 1 to 100 Receipt 1 to 2000.
- (96) 35 Receipt books used, of As. 4/- each of Bombay Girni Kamgar Union.
- (97) 38 Used Receipt Books of As. 4/- each of Bombay Girni Kamgar Union.
- (98) 33 Used receipt books of As. 4/- each of Bombay Girni Kamgar Union.
- (99) 45 Used receipt books of As. 4/- each of Bombay Girni Kamgar Union.
- (100) 46 used receipt books of As. 4/- each of Bombay Girni Kamgar Union.
- (101) 34 used receipt books of As. 4/- each of Bombay Girni Kamgar Union.
- (102) 42 Used receipt books of As. 4/- each of Bombay Girni Kamgar Union.
- (103) 43 blank receipt books.
- (104) 65 use receipt books of As. 4/- of Bombay Girni Kamgar Union.
- (105) 38 used receipts books of As. 4/- each of Bombay Girni Kamgar union.
- (106) 50 Used receipt books of As. 4/- each of Bombay Girni Kamgar Union.
- (107) 50 used receipt books of As. 4/- of Girni Kamgar Union.

(108) 4 half blank receipt book of As. 4/- of Girni Kamgar Union.

(109) 17 receipts books of Re. 1/- each of Girni Kamar Union out of which 15 are used and 2 are half used.

(110) 1 signboard of Bombay Girni Kumar Union Branch No. 5, was found in front of the door to the roof.

(111) 1 red flag on a Bamboo stick which was attached to the roof in front of the room.

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

The room was again looked up in our presence.

Before me.

(1) S/- Tukaram Sitaram

Sd/- N. K. Deshpande.

Futane.

Offg. Dy. Inspector.

(Signed in vernacular).

of Police.

(2) Sd/- Babu Atmaram

Commenced at 6 A. M.

Korgavkar.

Concluded at 1-15 P. M.

(Signed in vernacular),

on 20-3-1929

P. 786.

2 copies of a handbill in Marathi issued by the Girni Kamgar Union (Lal Bavta) on 15-2-29 under the signatures of A. A. Alwe, President and S. A. Dange, general Secretary, advising the Mill labourers to present a united front against the Mill owner's scheme of reducing wages and not to fight on communal basis.

P. 787.

Manuscript draft of a hand bill in Marathi, dated 25-12-28, under the signature (in Marathi) of S. A. Dange, General Secretary, Bombay Gini Kamgar Union Parel. The handbill advises the Mill labourers to enlist as volunteers, as those who have already enlisted will be marched in procession within the next four or five days.

Saraswâti Machine Printing Press, MEERUT U. P. INDIA.

P. 788.

Search warrant issued under section 96 C. P. C. by the District Magistrate, Meerut, for searching the premises occupied by the Girni Kamgar Union Centre, Naigaum, Vincent Road, Bombay.

The search warrant was executed by an officer of the Bombay City Police on 20-3-1929.

P 789.

PUNCHNAMA.

We the undersigned members of the Punch viz:—

1. Mahadeo Moreshwar Athawle, 39 years, occupation clerk, residing on the 1st floor of Kesar Bang, Vincent Road.
2. Tribhuwan Govindji, (Bania) 45 years, occupation grass merchant, residing on the 1st floor of Kasar Bang, Vincent Road.

were present at the time of execution warrant dated 15th March 1929 by the District Magistrate, Meerut (U. P.) to witness the search of the place of the Girni Kamgar Union Centre, Naigaum, Vincent Road, Bombay, at 6 a. m. on the 20th March 1929.

The above search was conducted by Sub-Inspector A. B. Vichara of the Bombay City Police Force in our presence and the following articles were taken possession of by the officer conducting the search.

Name of the article, documents etc. found. Place where found.

- | | |
|--|--------------------------------|
| (1) Notice in Marathi, dated 19. 3. 29. of the Bombay Kamgar Union. | On the table. |
| (2) A letter dated 19. 3. 29 written to Navrange. | Left hand drawer of the table. |
| (3) Chit, dated 7.3.29 written in Marathi, by president Ziloo Bhina. | do. |
| ✓ (4) 13 receipts of Feb. 1929 of Naigaum Centre with an envelope. | do. |

(5)	List of books of Feb. 1929 which are out of site.	Right hand drawer of the table.
(6)	List of books which are out of site.	do.
(7)	List of Fund Books.	do.
(8)	Chit "Money sent to H. O."	do.
(9)	Chit containing some figures.	do.
(10)	Chit, dated 17.3.29 "Unused books."	do.
(11)	List of books for the month of March (issued to others.)	do.
(12)	Statement showing the books of bad debts	do.
(13)	" "	do.
(14)	" "	do.
(15)	Receipt book of the Bombay Mill Kamgar Union bearing Nos. C 79001 to 79020.	do.
(16)	Receipt book of the Bombay Mill Kamgar Union bearing Nos. A 52861 to 52880.	do.
(17)	Receipt book of the Bombay Mill Kamgar Union bearing Nos. C 31381 to 31400.	do.
(18)	Receipt book of the Bombay Mill Kamgar Union No. 2923.	do.
(19)	Receipt book of the Bombay Kamgar Union No. 2924.	do.
(20)	do.	do. No. 2925.
(21)	do.	do. 2926.
(22)	do.	do. 2927.
(23)	do.	do. 3947.
(24)	do.	do. 4311.
(25)	do.	do. 4312.
(26)	do.	do. 2587.
(27)	do.	do. A 1596.
(28)	do.	do. 4318.
(29)	do.	do. 4333.
(30)	do.	do. A 1890.
(31)	do.	do. A 1586.
(32)	do.	do. A 1855.
(33)	do.	do. 1581.
(34)	do.	do. 1575.

- | | |
|---|------------------------------------|
| (35) Lokmanya Agency card. | Right hand drawer
of the table. |
| (36) Bombay Girni Kamgar Union, page
No. 2190. | do. |
| (37) Ruled paper bearing some names
written in Marathi. | do. |
| (38) Bombay Girni Kamgar Union page No.
2191. | do. |
| (39) Bombay Girni Kamgar Union Centre
6 Naigaum stamp | do. |
| (40) Ink pad (small) | do. |
| (41) 95 Hand bills of the public meeting of
Bombay Mill Kamgar Union, dated
2. 3. 29. | desk Drawer. |
| (42) 12 Hand bills of the public meeting of
the Bombay Mill Kamgar Union,
dated 8. 3. 29. | do. |
| (43) 6 Hand bills of the public meeting of mill
hands, dated 8-3-29 (to bury treachery) | do. |
| (44) 3 Hand bills of the public meeting of
the Bombay Mill hands' Union,
dated 11-3-29. | do. |
| (45) Letter dated 26-3-29 from the Chairman
of the Bombay Mill Kamgar
Union. | do. |
| (46) Bombay Kamgar Union, page 1939. | do. |
| (47) Card to Kanderao Desai. | From wall. |
| (48) Poster to give vote to a gun. | do. |
| (49) List of the names of the members of
Mill Committee. | do. |
| (50) Group photo of 47 volunteers. | do. |
| (51) Bombay Girni Kamgar Union's Notice,
dated 8-1-29. | do. |
| (52) Bombay Girni Kamgar Union's Notice
dated 26-1-29. | do. |
| (53) Bombay Girni Kamgar Union's Notice,
dated 31-1-29. | do. |

- (54) Bombay Girni Kamgar Union's Notice, dated 2-3-29. do.
- (55) Bombay Girni Kamgar Union board. Above the entrance door.
- (56) Bundle of Girni Kamgar Union strike fund books, bearing Nos. A 236, A 503, A 504. Found on the cupboard.

Name of the article, documents, etc., found. Place where found.

A 506, A 508, A 517, to A 520, A 1501, A 1505, A 1506, A 1509, to A 1514, A 1516, A 1519, A 1526, A 1527, A 1555 to A 1559, A 1566 to 76, A 1578, A 1579, A 1581, A 1583, A 1587, A 1589 to 91, A 1593 to 95.

- (57) Bundle of 31 Bombay Girni Kamgar subscription receipt books bearing Nos. 1438, 42, 44, 47, 56, 1576, 3682, 22, 4190, 4205, 6, 11, 21 and 54, 55, 66, 69, 74, 76, 77, 84, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 93, 97, 92, 4349 and 4359. Found on the cupboard.

- (58) Bundle of 84 Bombay Girni Kamgar subscription receipt books bearing Nos. 457, 1311, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28, 31, 36, 38, 1427, 30, 35, 50, 52, 54, 55, 57, 59, 61, 62, 63, 64, 68, 82, 84, 91, 94, 95, 99, 1500, 22, 25, 30, 34, 38, 42, 43, 56, 63, 68, 73, 79, 80, 83, 3911, 85, 91, 4005, 10, 11, 40, 43, 4303, 11, 12, 23, 35, 36, 37, 48, 54, 56, 57, 60, 77, 78, 79, 81, 82, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 93 and 3987. Do.

- (59) Bundle of 62 Bombay Girni Kamgar subscription receipt books bearing Nos. 1439, 1545, 46 to 49, 54, 55, 57, 58, 1507, 59, 60 to 62, 66, 67, 69, 74, 77, 82, 86 to 96, 98, 99, 1600, 2697, 3680, 81, 86, 89 to 91, 93 to 99, 3700, 4082, 4250, to 53, 60, 62, 67, 70 to 73. Do.

- (60) Bundle of hundred Bombay Girni Kamgar subscription receipt books bearing Nos. 1301 to 1310, 1312, 1315, 19, 20, 27, 29 to 35, 37, 39 to 99, 4374 to 76, 4383, 89, 90, 80, 91, 92, 94 to 4400. Do.
- (61) Bundle of 100 Bombay Girni Kamgar subscription receipt books bearing Nos. 4212 to 16, 18 to 20, 22 to 35, 37, to 39, 41, 44, 46 to 48, 4280 to 83, 85, 91, 94 to 96, 98, 4300 to 10, 13 to 22, 4324 to 34, 4338 to 47 50 to 53, 55, 58, 61 to 63. Do.
- (62) Bundle of 53 Bombay Girni Kamgar subscription receipt books bearing Nos. 1597, 99, 1801 to 2, 1804, 1807 to 10, 1825 to 27, 1830 to 32, 1834 to 35, 1841 to 47, 1851 to 54, 1856, 58, 1860 to 62, 1865 to 67, 1869 to 70, 1872 to 77, 1779, 1881 to 82, 1884 to 88. Do.
- (63) Bundle of 100 Bombay Girni Kamgar subscription receipt books bearing Nos. 1400 to 19, 1423 to 26, 1829, 1832 to 34, 1436 to 37, 1440, to 41, 1443, 1445, 46, 1448, 49, 1451, 1453, 1458, 1460, 1465, 67, 1469 to 70, 1472, 1475, to 81, 1483, 1485 to 90, 1892 to 93, 1496 to 98, 1501 to 12, 1515 to 21, 1523 to 24, 1526 to 28, 1531 to 33, 1535 to 37, 1539 to 41 and 1544. Do.
- (64) Bundle of Bombay Girni Kamgar subscription receipt books Nos. 3736, 72, 76, 78, 85 and 86, 93, 3909, 25, 27, 32, 50, 52, 58, 62, 63, 73, 77, 79, 80 to 84, 86, 88 to 95, 4001 to 4, 4006 to 9, 4012, 13 to 23, 4068 to 75, 4078, 4083, 4079, 80, 81, 4103, 5, 6, 8, 82121, 4118, 43, 43, 72, 73, 74, 82, 88, 89, 91 to 93, 95, 99, 4194, 96, 97, 98, 4200 to 4, 4207 to 10, 458, 486, 480. Do.

(65) Receipt book 31 for January 1929 for Bombay Girni Kamgar Union.	Found in the cupboard.
(66) Receipt book for March 1929 for Bombay Girni Kamgar Union.	Do.
(67) Receipt book 21 for January 1929 for Bombay Girni Kamgar Union.	Do.
(68) Receipt book 27 for January and February for Bombay Girni Kamgar Union.	Do.
(69) Receipt book No. 20 for February 1929.	Do.
(70) Receipt book No. 22 for January and March 1929.	Do.
(71) Receipt book No. 20 for February and March 1929.	Do.
(72) Receipt book for Spring, Morbag March 1929.	Do.
(73) Receipt book for Girni Kamgar Union.	Do.
(74) Receipt boook for November 1928	Do.
(75) Receipt book No. 14, December 1928	Do.
(76) Receipt book No. 10 for December 1928	Do.
(77) Register for Fund Books, 1929	Do.
(78) Account book.	Do.
✓ (79) Registers of receiving book from H. O.	Do.
(80) Pay book from October 1918.	Showing pay made of Commission Do. a collection.
(81) Account book from 14th December 1928.	of various collectors Do.
(82) Letter copy book.	Do.
(83) Kobinoor Mill picketing book.	Do.
(84) Direct collection exercise book.	Do.
(85) Exercise book for the sale of books.	Do.
(86) Tata Mills Workers book.	Do.
(87) Gold Mohar Mills Worker book.	Do.
(88) Workers address book.	Do.
(89) Spring Mills Workers book.	Do.
(90) Mill subscriber's book.	Do.
(91) Meeting book "public meeting."	Do.

- (92) Cash book for 1928. *centre expenses.* Do.
- (93) Spring Mill Inward file. *— workers complaint papers by c* Do.
- (94) Picketing etc. bill file, of 1929. Do.
- ✓ (95) Owner's Inward file. Do.
- ✓ (96) Statement file of 1929. Do.
- (97) Rough receipt book. Do.
- (98) Register of books received from H. O. Do.
- (99) Register of books returned to H. O. Do.
- (100) Book and Miscellaneous file. Do.
- ✓ (101) Receipt file. *Duplicates receipts handed by Narayan Rajaram.* Do.
- (102) Circular file. Do.
- (103) Public Meeting file. Do.
- ✓ (104) Owner's Outward file. Do.
- (105) Girni Kamgar subscription receipt book
Nos. 3774, 1788. Do.
- (106) Red band for strike committee's volunteer. Do.
- (107) Bundle of 69 Bombay Girni Kamgar
subscription receipt books bearing Nos.
394 to 50, 3952 to 54, 4148, 4152, 4157
to 66, 4168 to 91, 4198 to 4200, 4301
to 7, 4314 and 15, 4317, 4320 and 21,
4323 to 26, 4328 to 32, 4338 and 39. Do.
- (108) Bundle of 100 Bombay Girni Kamgar
subscription receipts books bearing
Nos. 4035 to 63, 4065, 4067 to 69,
4071 to 79, 4081 to 95, 4097, 4100 to
4102, 4106 to 37, 4139 to 47. Do.
- (109) Bundle of 45 Bombay Girni Kamgar
subscription receipt books bearing
Nos. A, 237, A 239, A 240, A 501 to
A 502, A 505, A 507, A 509, A 516,
A 521, A 528 to 35, A 537 to 40,
A 543, 45. A 547 to 50. Do.
- (110) Bundle of 20 Bombay Girni Kamgar subs-
cription receipts books bearing Nos. Do.

1806, 1811, 1815 to 19, 1821, 1823 and 24, 1828 and 29, 1836 to 40, 1848 to 50, 1859, 1863 and 64, 1868, 1878, 1880, 1883 and 1889.

- (111) Bundle of 15 Bombay Girni Kamgar subscription receipt books bearing Nos. A 1502, A 1504, A 1515, A 1518, A 1525, A 1535, A 1560, A 1560, A 1565, A 1577, A 1580, A 1584, A 1588, A 1592. A 1598. Do.
- (112) Bundle of 36 Bombay Girni Kamgar subscription receipt books, bearing Nos. 3807, 26, 37, 54, 59, 60, 62, 6465, 67, 75, 78, 79, 80, 84, 85, 87, 88, 90, 94, 3905, 3910, 18, 22, 27, 31, 78, 4192, 4150, 51, 4313, 16, 27, 35. 3976. Do.
- (113) Bundle of 100 Bombay Girni Kamgar subscription receipt books bearing Nos. 3906, 7, 11 to 17, 3919 to 21, 3923 to 26, 3928 to 30, 3935 to 39, 3942 to 46, 3953 to 59, 3961, to 64, 3966, 75, 3977, 79 to 4004, 4007 to 15, 4017 to 23, 4027, 4029 to 4034. Do.
- (114) Bundle of 45 Bombay Girni Kamgar subscription receipt books bearing Nos. 1564, 3613, 31, 42, 46 to 48, 3650 to 52, 3654 to 55, 3657, 59, 61, 64 to 68, 3670 and 75, 79, 77, 83, 14, 3708, 12, 45, 47, 52, 57, 61, 64, 77, 81, 83, 3855, 3856, 57, 3883, 3964, 75, 78 and 4268. Do.
- (115) Bundle of Bombay Girni Kamgar subscription receipt books bearing Nos. 3733 to 41, 3746, 48 to 51, 3753, 55, 56, 58 to 60, 3768, 3762 and 63, 66 to 67, 3769 to 73, 3775 to 76, 3778 to 80, 3784, 82, 85 to 3806, 3810 to 25, 3827, to 28, 3730, 32 to 35, 3738, 61, 63, 76, 82, 86, 89, 91 and 92, 95, 96, 3901 to 4. Do.

The lock was broken open by the officer conducting the search as it was locked up and no owner was there to open it. At about 5 p.m. one Khanderao Atmaram Desai residing house No. 753 Bhawani Shankar Road, Off Dadar Road, came there and he willingly locked up the place in our presence. The broken lock is given to him. No other property was taken charge of except the above mentioned property.

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.) M. M. ATHAWLE.

(Sd.) A. B. VICHARE. (2) (Sd.) TRIBHUWAN GOVINDJI.

20-3-29.

(In Vernacular.)

7 p.m.

Officer conducting the search.

P. 790.

12 copies of a hand bill in Marathi, dated 8-3-29 issued by the Bombay Girni Kamgar Union, Lal Bavta, informing the Mill labourers that a general meeting would be held on 9-3-29 at 5 P.M. in the open space in front of the Cement Chawls at De Lisle Road.

Subjects to be discussed at the meeting:—

Negotiations regarding the pay during the Riot Period — Attacks on the Union — Strikes that are still continuing.

P. 791 & T. Rejected.

Minute book in Marathi of the general meetings held in connection with the various Mills in Bombay from 18-11-28 to 5-3-29.

The following passages are important:—

Page 5:— x x x x x x x x and Mr. Bradley were present for the meeting. About 2000 men attended.

Page 6 (reverse) and page 7:— The meeting was dissolved after Mr Bradley had advised the people to enlist more men of militant attitude and not to countenance anything calculated to affect the unity among the members of the committee.

Page 8:— Shriyut Alwe, Dange and Kasle, the leaders of the Bombay Girni Kamgar Union were present for the meeting. About 2000 men attended.

P. 792.

A file containing several hand bills and pamphlets in Marathi issued by the Girni Kamgar Union, Lal Bavta, and the Workers' and Peasants' party, Bombay. It contains also a list of volunteers written partly in pencil and partly in ink.

P. 792. (1)

A hand bill in Marathi dated 26-1-29 issued by the Bombay Girni Kamgar Union, Lal Bavta, under the Signature of S. A. Dange, general secretary, in connection with the Municipal Elections. The hand bill recommends that the Mill labourers should record their votes in favour of Messrs. Nimbkar, Mirajkar, Joglekar and Lalji Pendoe, at the Municipal election to be held on 29-1-29.

P. 793.

Warrant of arrest issued under Sec. 121- A I. P. C. by the District Magistrate, Meerut, for the arrest of Dhondi Raj Thengdi son of Gunwant alias Arkoba Thengdi, 229 Sadashiv, Peth, Poona city.

Executed by the Poona city Police on 20th March 1929.

P. 794.

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 Dhondi Raj Thengdi son of Gunwant alias Arkoba Thengdi, 229 sadashiv Peth, Poona city.

Executed by the Poona city Police on 20th March 1929.

P. 795.

Punchanama.

We the undersigned members of the Punch, viz :—

(1) Harihar Sadashiv Patwardhan, age 51, caste Brahmin, occupation Milkman, residence Poona Sadashive Peth Kanilkar's Wada,

(2) Diwakar Yeshwant Pathak, age 47, caste Brahmin, occupation Engineer, residence Poona 229 Sadashive Peth,

(3) B. P. Naidu, age 29, caste Madrasi, occupation trade in flour mill, residence Poona Rasta Peth 328.

were present at the time of execution of warrant of arrest dated 15th March, 1929 by E. H. H. Edye, Esquire, M. B. E., I. C. S., Magistrate of the I class, Meerut U. P., to witness the search of

the person of Dhondiraj Thengdi, son of Gunwant, alias Arkoba Thengdi of 229 Sadashive Peth Poona City. At 7 a. m. on the 20th of March 1929.

The above search was conducted by Mr. C. W. Condon, Police Inspector, City Poona, in our presence and the following articles were taken possession of viz. Nil.

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

(1) Sd/- Harihar Sadashive

Before us.

Patwardhan.

(1) C. W. Condon.

(2) Sd/- D. Y. Phatak.

Actg. Police

Inspector, Poona.

(3) Sd/- B. P. Naidu.

20-3-29

(2) R. B. Rege.

S. I. Spl. Branch,

Poona.

Copy of a search list regarding Dhondi Raj Thengdi, Poona City.

—: o :—

Punchnama.

We the undersigned members of the Punch viz :—

(1) Harihar Sadashive Patwardhan, age 51, caste Brahmin, occupation Milkman, Residence Poona Sadashive Peth Kanilkar's Wada,

(2) Diwakar Yeswant Pathak, age 47, caste Brahmin, occupation Engineer, residence Poona 229 Sadashive Peth.

(3) B. P. Naidu, age 29, caste Madrasi, occupation trade in flour mill, Residence Poona Rasta Peth 328,

were present at the time of the execution of search warrant, dated 15th of March 1929 by E. H. H. Edey, Esqr. M. B. E., I. C. S., Magistrate of the First Class, Meerut U. P., to witness the search of the place of Dhondiraj Thengdi, s/o Gunwant alias Arkoba Thengdi of 229 Sadashive Peth Poona City at 7-15 a. m. on 20th of March 1929.

The above search was conducted by (1) Mr. Ramchandra Bhikaji Rege, Police Sub Inspector, Poona and (2) Mr. Charles William Condon Police Inspector, Poona City, in our presence

and the following articles were taken possession of by the officers conducting the search :—

Mr. Dhondiraj Thengdi produced from his book shelf in his bed room the following books :

- A (1) Theory and Practice of Leninism, by L. Stalin (2nd edition).
- A (2) The Politics of oil. (Socialist Serial No. 18), by Francis Delaisi.
- A (3) Socialism Versus the State. (Socialist Serial No. 19) by E. Vandervelode.
- A (4) Social Revolution (Socialists Series No. 20) by Karl Kantsky.
- A (5) The A. B. C. of communism, 4th Edition by N. Bukarin and E. Preobrazhensky, bearing the name of D. R. Thengdi, dated 7-12-27.
- A (6) The Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of Great Britain (1926) Reports Theses and Resolutions with the letters D. R. T. on it.
- A (7) The Political meaning of the great strike by J. T. Murphy.
- A (8) The future of Indian Politics by M. N. Roy.
- A (9) Building up Socialism, by N. Bukharin.
- A(10) Modern India, R. Palme Dutt. Published by the Communist Party of Great Britain, 16 King's Street, W. C. 2. with D. R. Thengdi written on it.
- A(11) Nishastrache Raj Koran by Dr. S. V. Kelkar Proprietor Syayam Nisayee Sangh, Poona.
- A(12) Bolshevism. Some questions answered by I. Stalin.
- A(13) Lenin as a Marxist, by N. Bukharin.
- A(14) Russia's Path to Communism, by G. Zinnoviev.
- A(15) India in Transition, by Manabendra Nath Roy with collaboration of Abani Mukherji.
- A(16) India's Awakening, its National and World Significance, by Wilfred Wellock, bearing the name D. R. Thengdi, dated 13-7-27 on the fly page.
- A(17) The Labour monthly. Editor R. Palme Dutt. Volume 10 May 1928. Number 5 bearing the name D. R. Thengdi dated 22-5-28 with various items marked in blue and red pencil.

- A(18) The Labour Monthly. Editor R. Palme Dutt, Volume 9, December 1927, Number 12 with an acknowledgment of money order pasted inside, bearing No. 1324, Post stamp, Sadashive Peth, 27th Jan. 28, for Rs. 2/11/- addressed to the Manager of the Labour Monthly, London.
- A(19) The Labour Monthly, Editor R. Palme Dutt, Volume 10, January 1928. Number 1.
- A(20) Empire Socialism, by R. Palme Dutt. Published by the Communist Party, Great Britain, February 1925.
- A(21) New Masses, dated January 1929.
- A(22) Five copies of the Masses of India
 (1) Number 11 of 1927 (November).
 (2) ,, 12 of December 1927.
 (3) ,, 1 of January 1928.
 (4) ,, 2 of February 1928.
 (5) ,, 3 of March 1928.
- A(23) One Post card addressed to D. R. Thengdi, 229 Sadashiv Peth Poona City dated 20-11-27 sent by B. V. Bhide requesting that his book A. B. C. of Communism be taken delivery of.

The following articles were found and taken possession of by the officers conducting the search in the hall of Mr. D. R. Thengdi.

- (1) Pamphlet B.P.T. Dockmen, Vol.I, 15th January 1929 No.6.
- (2) Kranti edited by S.A.Dange, Number 37 dated Bombay 23. 2. 1929.
- (3) 3 copies of the Land Worker.
 (1) Volume 9 Number 115 December 1928.
 (2) ,, 10 ,, 116 January 1929.
 (3) ,, 10 ,, 117 February 1929.

The above was found on the table in the centre of the room.

- (4) Press Reports of the International Federation of Trade Unions, 49 copies from 5th January 1928 to 21st February 1929.
- (4) A. The Pamphlet The International Fellowship. Vol. V January 1928 No. 1.

- (5) Extract of P. J. Nehru's on some aspects of Socialism by Prof. Ghosh, written by Mr. Thengdi in a leaflet bearing Indian National Congress 1928 Subjects Committee.
- (6) An Index note book bearing the names and addresses of prominent persons taking part in the Communist's and Trade Union's Movement.
- (7) General information and Instructions for the operation and care of the Edison Alkaline Storage Battery. Bulletin 850X all types bearing the name D.R. Thengdi, dated 7.1.29 with some portions underlined in blue pencil.
- (8) Leaflet bearing words Indian National Congress 1928 Subjects Committee and name of D.R. Thengdi. It contains some notes written by Mr. Thengdi.
- (9) Membership card of the Workers' and Peasants' Party, Bombay. No. 1 with name D.R. Thengdi for 1928, mentioning 3 monthly instalments of Re. 1/-each.
- (10) Books For the fall of 1926 International Publishers, bearing the name in pencil of Mrs. Emma Avery and P.H Kenywod-2438.
- (11) Communication from the Sub post Master, Jharia, dated 25. 11. 1928 No. 2450 (c) to D.R. Thengdi C/o All India Trade Union Congress, Jharia.
- (12) One typewritten Pamphlet bearing a heading "Lesson 6. Trade Union Work".
- (13) One Private letter from J. W. Wallace Anderton near Chorley Lancashire, England, dated 9 July 1925.
- (14) Karl Marx. An essay by Harold J. Laski. Published in 1921 and reprinted in 1925 bearing name of D.R. Thengdi, dated 15. 5. 26 on the fly page and marked in blue and red pencil inside on several pages.
- (15) A pamphlet giving an account of an annual meeting of the Workmen in Kirkee Arsenal, held on 8. 1. 27, printed in Poona Chitrashala Press.
- (16) One newspaper, -The Vanguard-Central Organ Communist Party of India, Vol-II No. 1 of February 15th 1923, printed by the Emerald Press Dublin.
- (17) A file containing various letters in connection with G. I. P. Railwaymen's Union paged from 1 to 103.

- (18) One Note Book bearing the name of D.R. Thengdi, containing some notes.
- (19) The Soviet Constitution, edited by Andrew Rothstein Published by the Labour publishing Company, 38 Great Ormond Street. (Big book).
- (20) Mechanical World Year Book, 1928, bearing the name of D.R. Thengdi, dated 20. 3. 22 on the fly page. On one of the memorandum pages of the book address of "Education in Sov. Russia, by Scott Nearing, sent to Mr. Jambhekar 395 Sadashiv. Lokshikshan Office" is written. The book also contains 7 pages of a Diary for 1923, giving several foreign names and addresses.
- (21) Fabrian Tract No. 5 Facts for Socialists *Thirteenth* Edition 1926-bearing the name of Mr. D.R. Thengdi, dated 25. 5. 26 on the fly page.
- (22) A book Our Demand for Self-Government by Mr. Prithwis Chandra Ray, Second Edition, May 1916
- (23) The Labour Year Book 1926 bearing the name of D.R. Thengdi on the front page.
- (24) Sacco and Vanzetti, the exploiter Vs. the exploited. (3 pamphlets printed).
- (25) The Bombay Presidency Youth League. Draft constitution, dated 12th and 13th of December 1928. (2 copies).
- (26) Presidential address at the Second Session of the Bombay Presidency Youth Conference held on 12th and 13th December 1928 bearing the name of D.R. Thengdi, dated 13. 12. 28.
- (27) A pamphlet "The Youth Movement in the Bombay Presidency, 1928" bearing the name of D.R. Thengdi.
- (28) Presidential address by Rai Sahib Chandrika Prasada at the Seventh Session of the All India Trade Union Congress held at Delhi in 1927. It contains 5 pages giving some information regarding Pan Pacific Labour Congress received from Canton, China.
- (29) New Masses February 1929.
- (30) A note book "Challenge Duplicate Book", bearing the name of D.R. Thengdi, containing office copies of several letters &c. from page 1 to 16 addressed to Mr. Spratt and others.

- (31) International Labour Office. A complete list of studies and reports published since 1920. Geneva 1928, Tenth Edition, bearing the name of D.R. Thengdi, dated 25. 2. 29.
- (32) International Labour Office Geneva 1927 bearing the name of D.R. Thengdi, dated 25. 2. 29.
- (33) Legislative series of the International Labour Office Geneva, 1928 bearing the name of D.R. Thengdi, dated 25. 2. 29.
- (34) The statistical statement of the Trades Union Congress General Council 32 Eccleston Square, London.
- (35) Resolution-typewritten 5 pages-re. the workers' and Peasants' Party (6 copies).
- (36) A letter typed in 5 pages to D.R. Thengdi. from J. S. Garden Trades Hall Sydney, dated 13th June 1928 in connection with Pan Pacific Worker Australia.
- (37) The International Fellowship, Vol. V, No. 4 July 1928
- (38) The International Fellowship, Vol. V, No. 6 November 1928.
- (39) A printed form giving a typewritten reply to Sv. Ghate, from the passport officer to the Govt. of Bombay date 9. 4. 27.
- (40) A typed copy of a notice issued by the Secretariat of the International Federation of Trade Unions in 1927.
- (41) The Soviet Union Monthly Vol. II No. 3 March 1927.
- (42) Bulitens De La Internacia Labour Officejo. No. 21, January 1927.
- (43) Eleven typewritten pages of a Pamphlet "News Service" issued by the Secretariat of the I. W. M. A., Berlin, dated 24. 2. 1928.
- (44) Four typewritten pages of an article by Dr. H.C.E. Zacharias, suggesting a solution of Communal Problem.
- (45) Weekly Mazdoor, Vol. V, No. 32, dated 18th August 1928, bearing the name D. R. Thengdi.
- (46) The Pan Pacific Worker No. 7 of 1927.
- (47) Typewritten 6 pages The London Migration Congress. The carrying out of its Resolutions, by J. W. Brown.
- (47 A) Eastern and Colonial Bulletin, August 24, 1927.

- (48) The Labour Kishan Gazette January 1928.
- (49) A note book containing various names and addresses. It bears the name of D.R. Thengdi.
- (50) A rough copy of a Declaration for passport, by D.R. Thengdi.
- (51) A reply from the District Magistrate, Poona, dated 12-5-27, refusing the grant of a passport to D. R. Thengdi by Govt.
- (52) A note book containing office copies of letters addressed to several persons in Marathi and in English.
- (53) A postal receipt No. 1933, dated 14th April 1927, Sadashiv Peth, for Rs. 2/12/- addressed to Economic Department of the Trade Delegation of the U.S.S.R., London, and an acknowledgment receipt No. 605/469, dated 4-5-1927, from the Soviet Union Review, London both pasted on a typewritten letter, written by D. R. Thengdi to the Economic Department of the Trade Delegation, London.
- (54) A typewritten letter from D.R. Thengdi, to Fertwangler, dated 24-2-1927.
- (55) A typewritten letter from D.R. Thengdi to the District Magistrate, Poona, dated 16-7-27.
- (56) 1 A letter from D.C. Campbell, dated 3-4-27, Yeravda Central Prison.
- 2 D.R. Thengdi's typewritten letter to the Supdt. Yeravda Central Prison, dated 18-4-27.
- 3 Reply thereto from the Supdt. Yeravda Central Prison, dated 19-4-27.
- (57) A typewritten letter headed British Russian Gazette and trade outlook, dated 9th May 1928.
- (58) A typewritten letter addressed to Gokle, dated 25-11-1928.
- (59) A typewritten statement regarding strike at Kirkee Arsenal, dated 19-10-28, by D.R. Thengdi.
- (60) A letter from Ganesh Gangadhar Jambhekar, Editor Lokshikshan, dated 13-10-28, on the reverse is written "Received book on Education in Soviet Russia for Lokshikshan, signed by V.R. Vaidya, dated 14-10-28.

- (61) A letter from Ganesh Gangadhar Jambhekar in Marathi acknowledging, the receipt of "Education in Soviet Russia", dated 18-9-28.
- (62) One Typewriter Corona wearing No. 3 in a case.
- (63) Some white and carbon sheets found near the typewriter.
- (64) Some letter papers headed in printing "D. R. Thengdi, Engineer Labour and Employment Office.
- (65) Some writing papers headed in printing the Workers' and Peasants' party, Bombay.
- (66) Some letter papers headed in printing G. I. P. Ry. Employees General Union Lonawla Branch.
- (67) A file of correspondence relating to All India Railway men's Federation pages from 1 to 45. The last page marked in red pencil with 2nd file.
- (68) A typewritten letter from Spratt, dated 6-12-1928. Calcutta, to D.R. Thengdi, with the rules and regulations regarding the constitution of the Trade Union Congress. (Pages 1 to 16).
- (69) Agenda of the Fourth Ordinary International Trade Union Congress. 6/8/27.
- (70) A communist file paged from 1 to 144 containing correspondence regarding the Workers' and Peasants' Party. The words "Communist File" are already marked in red pencil on the back of the file.
- (71) A file of 15 pages containing typewritten letters &c., from S.H. Jhabwala. On the back of the file words "Council of Action" are marked in blue pencil.
- (72) A pamphlet Communism, by R. Palme Dutt. (Socialist Series No. 4).
- (73) A file of 132 pages regarding Mechanical Engineer Association for C.P. Berar and Bombay Presidency.
- (74) A file of statement of account of D. R. Thengdi and some letters &c. contained in the file paged from 1 to 52.
- (75) The Communist's International, Vol. IV, No. 5, dated 30-3-27.
- (76) Press report of the International Federation of Trade Unions, No. 37, dated October 13th, 1927.
- (77) All India Trade Union Congress file, paged from 1 to 164.

- (78) One letter dated 23-2-27 and signed by Jawaharlal Nehru address to Gowswami.
- (79) One letter typewritten with a heading "Kirti" Labour Organ in Punjab.
- (80) (1) A copy of a telegram to Mukundlal Sircar, Kharagpur, from Thengdi, Engineer.
 (2) A letter to Sircar from Mr. Thengdi, dated 16-11-27.
 (3) A reply thereto from Sircar, dated 10-11-27.
 (4) A typewritten copy of resolution attached to the above reply held at Kharagpur, on 9-11-27.
- (81) 4 Printed pamphlets relating to Fourth ordinary National Congress Published in 1927.
 One is headed The Organisational Structure of the International Federation of Trade Unions.
 2nd is headed International assistance in strikes and lockouts, addressed by John Sassenbach.
 3rd is headed International Campaign for the Eight Hour Day.
 4th is headed The Fight Against War and Meritism.
- (82) A typewritten report of 16 pages on the question of Craft and Industrial Union Organisation.
- (83) A typewritten address of 21 pages by C. Mertens on the Economic Situation of the Workers.
- (84) A typewritten letter from Sircar Mukundlal, dated 21-11-27 to D.R. Thengdi.
- (85) A typewritten letter by D.R. Thengdi to the member of the Sub Committee to form labour party in India with copy of Resolutions to be submitted to the March 27 Session of the All India Trade U. Congress.
- (86) A file marked Mukund Lal Sircar, 1st File paged from 1 to 57.
- (87) The Students' Marx, The words "Mr. Thengdi's property written on fly leaf.
- (88) Rose to Freedom, by Russell. The words "Mr. Thengdi's property marked on fly page.
- (89) Fabian Essays in Socialism, by Bernard Shaw.
- (90) A manifesto to the All India National Congress, by the Communist Party in India. The words D. R. Thengdi marked on it.

- (91) A catalogue of books and pamphlets of Socialist and advanced literature.
- (92) Manifesto of the Joint Committee of Socialist bodies.
- (93) The Socialist movements in Germany, Fabian Trade Nos. 5, 110, 148, 149, 156, 165, 166, 169, 147, 133, 200, 216.
- (94) Select Catalogue of Fabian Society.
- (95) A Russian Soviet Constitution (pamphlet) bearing words "Mr. Thengdi's property".
- (96) The development of Socialism by Fredrick Engels and Karl Radek.
- (97) India and the International Labour Organisation.
- (98) The principles of Socialism, by Mary Agles Hamilton.
- (99) The Working Class, by Karl Kantsky.
- (100) Hundred Percent Indian, by C.G. Shaha.
- (101) Pan German Socialism, the words read on 29-11-18 written on it.
- (102) Real Socialism, bearing the name Sadashiv Hari Bhawe Sitabardi Nagpur, 26-11-04.
- (103) Altruism, by Robert Blatchford.
- (104) India and China, by an Internationalist.
- (105) Communism, by R. Palme Dutt.
- (106) The Coming of Socialism, by Lucien.
- (107) Manifesto of the Communists Party, by Karl Marx.
- (108) Elementary Course of Communists Party Training.
- (109) Useful Work Versus Useless Toil, by William Morris.
- (110) Women of the Future, by Lilienthel.
- (111) Wage Labour and Capital, by Karl Marx.
- (112) Nicolai Lenin, by Karl Redek.
- (113) The Russian Revolution, by Leo Tolstoy.
- (114) A book of telegram forms with 100 forms, with 5 counterfoils as office copies.
- (115) Press Report of the International Federation of Trade Unions No. 32, dated 26-8-1926.

- (116) A receipt of £2, by Secretary, Miners' Relief Fund, England, Mr. Thengdi's typewritten letter to the Secretary, Miners' Federation of Great Britain, dated 9-12-1926 attached to it.
- (117) Correspondence in connection with the Miners' in Great Britain, pages 1 to 7.
- (118) Indian Problem, Selections from the writings of Kristodas Pal, 1928.
- (119) India and the Next War by Miss Agnes Smedley, Berlin Germany.
- (120) Chitramaya Jagat Special No. for June 1928 with a picture of Lenin.
- (121) Historical Materialism, by Bukharin, 1925.
- (122) Soviet Union Year Book, for 1926.
- (123) Soviet Union Year Book, for 1927.
- (124) The Labour International Handbook for 1921.
- (125) The Politics for Oil, by R. Page Arnot.
- (126) "Will the Bolsheviks maintain Power", by Lenin.
- (127) A History of Russia by Prince D. S. Mirsky.
- (128) The Trades Union Congress General Council Report for 1927.
The above articles were found on the table and its drawer and the book shelf in the Hall.
- (129) One pocket note book bearing the name of D. R. Thengdi containing names and addresses of several persons.
- (130) One note book with blue cover giving account of trips to several places.
- (131) Cash memo book with 21 counterfoils.
- (132) One brown note book, containing addresses &c.
- (133) One small account book.
- (134) One small black note book with several addresses.
- (135) One small note book containing addresses &c.
- (136) One note book with a yellow cover containing some addresses and miscellaneous notes.
- (137) One red note book containing various notes.

- (138) One Commercial reference book, containing several addresses.
- (139) One pocket note book containing several addresses.
- (140) One book Hamlet.
The above articles were found in a box in the Hall Room.
- (141) Merrie England.
- (142) A note book containing poems.
- (143) A note book containing some accounts.
- (144) One note book containing some poems.
- (145) One note book containing receipts, accounts, &c.

The above articles were found in the cupboard in one of the bed rooms.

The above Punchnama was read over to us and its contents are a true and full account of what we witnessed and searched. The search finished at 3-10 P. M.

(1) Sd. Harihar Sadashive Patwardhan.

20-3-29

(2) Sd. Divakar Yeshwant Phatak.

20-3-29.

(3) Sd. B. P. Naidu.

Before us.

20-3-29.

(1) Sd. R. B. Rege (Ramchandra Bhikaji Rege).
Police Sub Insp. Spl. Branch, Poona.

(2) Sd. Charles William Condon,
City Police Inspector, Poona,
Officers conducting the search.

P. 796.

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

1928.

Subjects Committee.

Some aspects of socialism by Prof. Ghosh.

although socialist Revolutionary movement is a minority movement it must see that the sympathies of the masses must be with the movement.

P. J. Nehru.

no heritous.

Revolution is not the work of an Ametuer. It is the business of an expert, and as such, it requires study and preparation on his part.

J. N.

P. 797.

An index-book containing the names and addresses of men taking part in the Communist and Trade Union Movements. The following are important :—

- (1) Mr. M. K. Acharya
Page 1. bei Schneider
 Berlin—Charlottenburg.
- (2) Janki Prasad Begerhotta
Page 15. (Bengali) *Beawar*.
 British Rajputana.
 Communist.
- (3) Mr. Franz J. Furtwangler.
 Secretary.
Page 51. German Federation of Trade Unions.
 (A. D. C. B.)
 Inselstrasse 6, Berlin S. 14.
 Germany.
- (4) German Federation of Trade Unions.
 (A. D. C. B.)

Page 59. Inselstrasse 6, Berlin S. 14.
Germany.

Secretary :—

Mr. Franz J. Furtwangler.

(Who was one of the members of International Textile Workers Delegation which visited India in Dec. 1926 under the leadership of Rt. Hon. Thomas Shaw, Secretary Textile Workers International.

London.

(5) *Russia.*

Page 144. U. S. S. R. Society for cultural Relations with Foreign countries. Representative in Germany, Mr. Richard Lerchner, Leipsig, Germany. Columstrasse 1, Post Checkconto No. 6835.

The Society issues "Weekly News Bulletin" for information of the world on the progress and affairs of the Russian Government.

Page 153. (6) Mr. C. G. Shaha C/o R. L. Trust Hostel. Ranchhod Bhuwan, Girgaum—Bombay. Communist member of the Social Democratic party of India.

(7) Mr. Shibnath Banerji

Brahman Rangdia.

Page 153.

P. O.—Siugati.

Dist. Khulna.

Bengal.

Is a General Secretary, Bengal Jute Workers' Association, Bhatpara, Dist. 24 Parganas, Bengal.

Is also Mr. D. C's friend.

(8) Mrs. Kati Wibberlic.

Page 90.

57, Broad Feild Road

Manchester.

(England)

Lances.

(9) Red Internation of Labour Unions

12 Palace of Labour.

Page 75.

Solianka, Moscow.

U. S. S. R.

Publishes "Eastern and Colonial Bulletin". gives news about Trade Union movement of the work.

(10) Mr. K. N. Joglekar B. A.

- Page 83. 168 Fanaswadi, Bombay No. II.
Was an Editor of "Socialist" Bombay.
(11) Mr. S. H. Jhabwala
- Page 83. Secretary, Central Labor Board.
Sheti Buildings Poibawdi
Parel, Bombay.
(12) The British Trade Union Congress
- Page 96. 33 Eccleston Square, London S. W.
Secretary—Mr. Fred Bramley.

P. 798.

Indian National Congress

1928.

Subjects Committee.

always give an idea of the poverty and degradation the audience is suffering from B. P. Now Explain to them fully that Individual efforts at the removal of their difficulties will always fail.

Advise the audience on the need of organization on the basis of their class interests.

Formulate their demands which must be applicable to 100% of the population and not alone to their class.

This should be the last item. Also provide some.....sanction behind their demands, in case they are not fulfilled.

Explain to them the need of capturing authority necessary to carry out the changes and reforms required.

P. 799. Rejected

A list of books published by the International Publishers.
On the front page of this list the following appears:—

Books for the
Fall of 1926.
International
Publishers.

In the list, the following books have been Ticked off:—

- (1) England on the Eve of the Industrial Revolution, by L. W. Moffit.
- (2) War and Revolution, by N. Lenin.
- (3) Whither Russia? Towards capitalism or Socialism, by Leon Trotsky.
- (4) Historical Materialism — A system of Sociology, by Nikolai Bukharin.
- (5) Marxiam Economic Handbook and Glossary, by W.H. Emmet.

P. 800.

From The Sub Postmaster

To

JHARIA

D. R. Thengdi Esqr.

C/O All India Trate Union

Congress

Jharia.

No. 2450 dated Jharia the 25. 11. 1928.

Sir,

I have the honour to say that a regd. article No. 791 posted at Berlin 11 to your address is suspected to contain a liberature, the entry of which in India is prohibited under section 19 Sea Customs Act of 1878. It has been detained under section 27B. of the P. O. Act.

I have etc.

Sd. Illegible

Sub Mostmaster

Jharia.

P. 801.

LESSON 6. TRADE UNION WORK.

Part 1- theoretical.

The function of the Trade Unions in the class struggle generally and in the National struggle particularly.

The Trade Unions are the chief mass organisations of the working class- they teach the workers class interests, class discipline, and introduce them to politics. They are the 'schools of Communism.' How far can they take an active role? General strike, Councils of Action. They form the organisational basis of the dictatorship (Trades Councils locally, possible General Council nationally)

In the National Revolution the working class must now take a leading part. 1 by party activity in the Nationalist movement, 2 by direct Trade Union action. Ireland and China.

Hence the Trade Unions are enormously important. They are (1) active instruments of struggle which we must direct, and (2) fields for propoganda and recruiting. We have to educate the members and to lead them into action. The two functions are one, of course.

Here we have to deal with a movement not nearly fully developed. A good deal of the actual work of organisation falls upon us. This is both good and bad for us.

For our practical work we require (1) a programme on which to base our action in regard to the T. U. C., i. e. the movement as a whole. (2) A programme for the advancement of the organisation and activity of the Unions and the T. U. C. (3) Programme of demands (in general and in particular cases) (5) Agreed methods of work.

P. 802.

A Pamphlet in Marathi published under the signature of Dhundiraj Thengdi, Engineer, Poona city, giving the proceedings and resolutions passed at the Annual Meeting of the Kirkee Arsenal Workers' Union on 8- 1- 27.

The following office bearers were elected in a meeting held on 20-2-27:—

President: Dhundiraj Thengdi.
Vice- Presidents: Ghamre M. V.
Moreshwar Pandurang Gore.
Devji Ramchandra.
Secretary: Madho Ramchandra Jadhan.
Treasurer: Narayan Bali.
Asst. Secretary: Ramchandra Narsin.

P. 803.

Private and confidential.

My dear Zabwala,

I have read the report of your conferance with the Agent and the remarks of the Times of India on your activities. It seems in launching strikes on all the fronts all at the same time, you have done right. That has frightened the Powers that be.

As regards the demands, you have mentioned them but not in order of their importance.

The employers ought not to make any reduction in their labor force "peremptorily" causing great unemployment amongst workers. They ought to compensate the worker when they forced to reduce his services.

They ought to give a living minimum wage to the unskilled, and graded pay to the skilled according to qualifications and ability. No medical examination till the age of 50.

Discharge in old age must be accompanied by gratuity.

Regular promotions. The housing of the workmen should be provided by the Municipality or the Improvement Trust. but never by the Ry. company in Bombay.

These should be your general demands from all your Unions. I am glad you have succeeded in frightening all the employers in Bombay. I wish you success.

Fraternally yours

D. R. Thengdi

P. 804.

Date—11th, June 1928.

Yesterday's Meeting.

As advertised we held a meeting of the G. I. P. Railway workers at about half seven o'clock, since the express bringing Mr. Zabwala and his friends was late. The meeting was attended by about 200 people. Mr. Tengdi was proposed to the chair. During his preliminary remarks he emphasised that without collective effort and agreement the problem of the poverty of the working people will not be solved. It is therefore necessary the whole rank and file must be organized 100%. It was only then that of the workers put before their employers will get some consideration. The experience of the labour movement in India specially during few years, tells us that even prolonged strikes have failed in many cases in securing the requirements. The situation therefore seemed to be very difficult. The problem must be handled with courage and persistence. Since strikes which were considered the last instrument in the hands of the workmen have failed. Other more drastic measures must be resorted to. After consideration he advised the people now to try and control the very authority of the employers through their votes. The problem before the people seems to be very difficult, but if the workmen persist sufficiently advance their interest and do not trust their leaders to give them solvation. Without least effort on their part. After these remarks the president requested the principal speaker of the day Zabwala to deliver his address.

THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY YOUTH LEAGUE.

DRAFT CONSTITUTION

SUBMITTED FOR THE APPROVAL OF THE
SECOND BOMBAY PRESIDENCY
YOUTH CONFERENCE, POONA.

12th & 13th Dec. 1928

BOMBAY

PRABHAKAR PRESS.

THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY YOUTH LEAGUE. CONSTITUTION.

Name.

The Institution shall be called the " BOMBAY PRESIDENCY
YOUTH LEAGUE "

Aims and Ideals.

The object of the League is to promote union among the youths of the Bombay Presidency by the pursuit of common ideals and by means of a common organisation, to infuse in them the spirit of service and self-sacrifice, and to prepare them for the service of the motherland with a view to attain complete independence for India.

To that end it will

1. Fight communalism in every shape and form and foster among its members a broad, tolerant and cosmopolitan outlook.
2. Work for the abolition of antiquated social and religious customs, that have long outlived their usefulness.
3. Demand and wherever possible provide increasing facilities for physical and military training in schools and colleges and help the spread of gymnasium and akhada movements,
4. Promote Swadeshi,

5. Study the causes of the growing menace of unemployment among youths and wherever possible devise ways and means to mitigate the same.

6. Demand immediate introduction of free and compulsory Primary Education throughout the Presidency and the extension of Secondary, Higher and Vocational education.

7. Develop in the youths of the Presidency the habits of sound study of public questions and of independent thought, disciplined freedom, and the civic sense of responsibility.

8. Encourage the Study of international questions.

9. And undertake such other activities in which the youths of this presidency may be vitally interested.

The League shall consist of:—(1) Hon. Patrons (2) Patrons, (3) Life-Members, (4) Affiliated youth leagues.

(1) HON. PATRONS:-Any person who has rendered eminent service to the cause of youth or the country may be elected as Hon. Patron by the Executive Committee.

(2) PATRONS; Any person subscribing Rs. 250 or more shall be deemed a Patron of the League.

(3) LIFE-MEMBERS:-Any person subscribing Rs. 100 or more shall be deemed a Life-Member.

(4) AFFILIATED YOUTH LEAGUES:-Any Youth Organisation in the Presidency shall be eligible to get affiliated to the presidency League on subscribing to its aims and ideals and on agreeing to pay a minimum annual subscription of Rs. 5. It shall have a right of being represented on the General Committee as laid down below. Such an affiliated body will have full autonomy in its working in which Presidency League will not interfere. No affiliated body however can oppose any activity of the Presidency League provided that activity has been sanctioned by the Executive Committee or Working Committee of the Bombay Presidency Youth League.

The affiliation fee for the Youth League shall be as follows: Any Youth League having a membership of 50 or less shall pay Re 1 only as the annual affiliation fee. Any Youth League having a membership of 100 or less and more than 50 shall pay Rs 2 only as the annual affiliation fee.

Any Youth League having a membership of over 100 shall pay Rs. 5 only as the annual affiliation fee.

ELECTION.

Any Patron, Life-Member, or a Youth League desiring election to become a member of Presidency League shall make

written application which should be duly proposed and seconded by two members of the League to the Hon. General Secretary, who will submit the same to the Executive Committee. The Executive Committee shall have full powers to accept or reject such application.

THE E. C. COMMITTEE.

THE GENERAL COMMITTEE SHALL CONSIST OF:—

(1) The Ten Office—bearers, Viz., (1) President (2) Four Vice-Presidents, (3) Hon. General Secretary, (4) Two Jt. Hon. Secretaries, (5) Hon. Treasurer, (6) Hon. Publicity and Propaganda Secretary.

(2) Each District shall be represented by three representatives on the General Committee of the Presidency League.

(3) Ten members co-opted by the General Committee.

DUTIES OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE.

The General Committee shall look after the general business of the League and shall have power to make, vary or revise the bye-laws, not inconsistent with the General Rules, whenever necessary.

MEETINGS.

The E. Committee shall meet whenever necessary, but on a requisition from 11 members, the Hon. General Secretary, shall call a meeting of the Executive Committee within fifteen days of such notice.

QUORUM:—Ten members of the General Committee shall form a quorum.

DECISION:—All questions before the General Committee shall be decided by majority of votes.

DURATION:—The General Committee will continue to exercise its power till a new one is appointed.

PENALTY:— Any member of the General Committee absenting himself for four consecutive meetings shall be thereby disqualified from acting as such member, unless he gives a satisfactory explanation to the General Committee.

WORKING COMMITTEE.

The Working Committee shall consist of 20 members as under:—

(1) The 10 Office-bearers. (2) Ten. members Elected by the Executive Committee.

MEETINGS:—The working committee shall meet at least once in two months.

QUORUM:—Five members of the Working Committee shall form a quorum.

THE PRESIDENT.

The President of the League shall be elected annually by the General Committee. The president of each annual session of the Bombay Presidency Youth League shall be elected by all the affiliated youth leagues in the Presidency.

HON. GENERAL SECRETARY.

The Hon. General Secretary in conjunction with the two Jt. Secretaries and the Publicity and Propaganda Secretary shall (a) conduct all the correspondence of the League, (b) be in charge of all the books and documents connected with the management of the League, (c) give intimation of the meetings of the Executive Committee and shall bring before such meetings all proposals and all motions of business etc., (d) enter minutes of each and every meeting of the General and Working committees and (e) shall present a report of work done by the league during the tenure of his office at the annual session of the conference.

A copy of such report after being approved by the last meeting of the General Committee together with the Hon. Treasurer's audited balance sheet shall be available for the inspection of members ten days before the Bombay Presidency Youth Conference meets, either at the Head Quarters of the League or at such other place as may be notified by the General Committee.

Hon. Treasurer

The Hon. Treasurer shall under instructions of the Executive Committee recover subscription, receive donations, and other contributions, pass receipts for the same, make disbursements and keep an account of the same, (1) He shall in consultation with the Hon. General Secretaries and other Office bearers prepare an annual budget, and submit it to the Executive Committee, preferably at its first ordinary meeting, (3) He shall prepare the annual balance sheet, which shall be duly audited, and shall present the same to the annual conference, after it has been approved by the last meeting of the General Committee. A copy of such balance sheet will be available for inspection of the members of the League, ten days before the annual session of the Bombay Presidency Youth Conference along with the report of the Hon. General Secretary.

Hon. Auditor.

The Auditor shall audit the accounts of the League every six months, and also make his report on the annual balance sheet prepared by the Hon. Treasurer.

P. 806.

A Duplicate Note book. At page 2 of this note book a resolution asking for a sanction to back up the demands of the Railwaymen is recorded.

The Resolution says that as representations and demands of Railwaymen received scant attention from authorities the following programme should be adopted :—

- (a) 100 % Organisation.
- (b) Strike committees, both local and central.
- (c) Fund to carry on the above intensive work.

At pages 5 there is the following draft resolution :—

This Congress (A. I. T. U. C.) condemns the vigorous propaganda carried on in the world in favour of war in the interest of capitalists and Imperialists as the same being the biggest instrument of exploiting the masses, and recommends to the Workers and Peasants not to take any part in or in any way help war.

Sd. D. R. Thengdi.

At page 7 there is a copy of letter dated 22-12-28 from Thengdi to Spratt, asking Spratt to explain to the audience under what circumstances they shall have to fight the Independence Party.

At page 8, which is dated 23-12-28, the following matter is seen :—

Object

Amendment.

To establish socialist Republic in India.

Resolution on the need for a workers' and peasants' party

(1) The Imperial Government of India, representing the capitalist class of Great Britain, exists to maintain the exploitation and political subjection of the peasantry, working—class and lower middle class of India, and has shown itself to be in opposition to the promotion of their real interests.

(2) The National Congress and the parties within it, as well as the Liberals, Independents, and other non-congress parties, while at times advocating the improvement of the conditions of the masses, have shown in practice a complete lack of interest in the political, economic, and social needs of the peasantry and the working-class, and by their actions have proved themselves to be parties promoting the.....interests of Imperial and Indian capitalism.

(3) The peasantry, constituting the bulk of the population, suffer exploitation in three main directions, by excessive taxation, by high rents, and by the exactions of usurious moneylenders, and in consequence of their illiteracy, and the dual character of their oppression, are.....incapable of taking the steps towards their emancipation from these evils.

(4) The industrial working class, subjected to intense exploitation, in the absence of adequate protective legislation, and the lack of means to enforce that which exists, has failed to organise effectively its own struggle, against these conditions, and has allowed its Trade Union movement to fall largely under the leadership of middle-class elements which exploit it for their own communal, political, or personal ends.

(5) Whereas the overwhelming majority of the population, consisting of classes whose interests, though not identical, are not fundamentally opposed, is economically exploited by foreign government, and the capitalist class of India, and the foreign Government.

(a) It is hereby resolved that a political party of workers and peasants, be established which, by voicing the demands of these classes within the National Congress, and legislature of the country, by promoting the organisation of Trade Unions and wresting them from their present alien control by advancing the organisation of peasants on the basis of their economic and social requirements, and by presenting a determined and pertinent opposition to the Government, thus shall secure the social, economic and political emancipation of these classes.

(b) Since an essential condition for the fulfilment of this....

programme is the attainment of complete eco and pol independence, the party will cooperate for that end with other organisations which profess to desire it, and are willing to struggle for its realisation •

(c) (6) Preamble. The exploitation and subjection of the workers and peasants cannot finally cease until economic and political powers have been taken from the present rulers, and transferred to the workers and peasants. Reso. it shall therefore be the ultimate object of the party to obtain Swaraj, where in the means of production, distribution and exchange are publicly owned and socially controlled.

Resolution on organisation.

The structure of the party will be provisionally, as follows:

(1) (a) Change of name.

(1) The unit of organisation shall be the individual members grouped together in towns, village branches.

(2) The entire membership in the branch shall be grouped in accordance with their specific party work e. g., in a Trade Union group, a Congress Committee group, a peasants group, etc., Each member must belong to atleast one of the several groups.

(3) Each group shall appoint a group leader; who shall be responsible to the.....executive committee of the local branch.

(4) The office-bearers in the local branch shall be: The chairman.....secretary and who shall be elected by the entire.... branch membership, and with the group leaders shall constitute theExecutive committee of the branch.

(5) The branch Executive committee shall co-ordinate the entire work of the branch locally, and be responsible for maintaining contact with the District Committee, and shall on the basis of reports received from the group leaders and in line with the general policy of the party, direct the work of the various groups

(6) The branch shall meet atleast once per month to receive the report of the Executive committee and outline the future work of the branch in accordance with the general policy of the party.

(7) The work of the party groups operating within the Trade Unions, the National Congress Committees, etc., shall in the main be guided by the programme and policy of the party. The demands of the party should be pressed forward for acceptance by these bodies; adherents and members gained, and the propaganda of the party thus advanced. Groups operating within local and provincial organisations of the T. U. C. or National Congress shall meet

regularly and under the guidance of the group leader discuss the work to be done within these bodies.

(8) The group leader is responsible for conveying reports of group work to the branch committee, and instructions from the branch..... committee to the group. Decisions taken by the group and instructions from the branch committee must be carried out by all members of the group.

(9) District committee shall be formed in any suitable district or area, consisting of delegates from the branches situated therein. Such District Committees shall be the authoritative bodies within the party until the holding of the first All-India Congress.

(10) The District Committee shall co-ordinate the party work within their areas, and shall be responsible for the publication of such periodical and other literature as may be advisable and possible. They shall further be responsible for the training of the party.....membership in the fundamental principals of the party.

Addendum. The basis of membership shall be the acceptance of the party programme, the payment of the dues decided upon by the District Committee, and the performance of the organised work. Admission to the party shall be subject to the approval of the district committee,

Programme of Immediate Demands.

(A) Political Demands.

Immediate demands. { (1) Adult Suffrage and Responsible Government.
(2) Communalism.
(3) Freedom of speech & press, & the right of association.
(4) Reducing all restriction on Trade Unions.

(B) Economic Demands.

- (1) The Transition *abolition of indirect taxation* and the introduction of a steeply graded income-tax on all incomes exceeding 250 per month.
- (2) Nationalisation of land and wherein all cultivable land to be leased by the Government direct to the cultivator.
- (3) Nationalization of all explanatory to Nationalisation.
- (4) Rent of landholdings not to be excessive.
- (5) Establishment by the Government of State Co-operative Banks for the provision of credit to peasants at interests not exceeding 7%.
- (6) Establishment by law of the 8-hour day and 6-days week for industrial workers.

- (7) Establishment of minimum living wage.
- (8) Establishment of schemes of insurance for sickness and unemployment.
- (9) Improvement of laws regarding workman's compensation and employers' and oldage pensions liability.
- (10) Legal enactments providing for the installation of modern safety.....appliances in factories, mines, etc.
- (11) Weekly payment of wages.

(C) Social Demands.

- (1) The complete elimination of illiteracy, and the provision of adequate facilities for free and compulsory, liberal and Vocational education for all upto the attainment of adult age of 18.
- (2) Establishment of Hospitals, health centres, free medical treatment and c/o 10.
- (3) *Training and education in the principles of hygiene and sanitation.*
- (4) Provision of adequate housing for workers and *peasantry* at rents within their means.
- (5) Legal prohibition of the employment of woman in dangerous occupations.
- (6) Legal prevention of the employment of children below the age of 18.

P. 808.

PAN PACIFIC WORKER

(AUSTRALIAN EDITION.)

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

ADDRESS ALL COMMUNICATION—

J. S. GARDEN, TRADES HALL SYDNEY.

Sydney, N. C. W. 13th June, 1928.

MR. DHOONDI RAJ THENGDI,

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 disinterestedness 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 the Australian Council of Trade Unions, our national Trade Union centre, is only in the first years of its childhood. And as 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 labor movement, the Australian Working class is gradually awakening to 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, Phillippines, 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 labor 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 of 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 organisation comprising the trade union movements of China, Australia, Phillippines, Korea, Dutch East Indies, the Militant Sections of

the Japanese and American Trade Unions, and last but certainly not least—the whole of the Trade Union Movement of the First Workers Republic, Soviet Russia, with TEN MILLION organised workers. Altogether the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat comprises over fourteen million organised workers of the countries bordering on the Pacific.

To state the objects of this organisation briefly, we shall only quote from the Statutes of the P.P.T.U.S.:

“ I.—Preamble.

IN ORDER:

- 1.—to carry on a joint struggle against the dangers of war between the Powers of the Pacific;
- 2.—to counteract the imperialist dangers that menace the Chinese Revolution;
- 3.—to help all the oppressed people of the Pacific to liberate themselves from the yoke of Imperialism;
- 4.—to fight against and remove all racial and national barriers and prejudices which still divide the exploited classes and oppressed peoples to the advantage of the exploiters and oppressors;
- 5.—to cement and to maintain a real fraternal united front of the exploited classes in the countries of the Pacific;
- 6.—to organise and to carry out joint actions of the exploited classes and oppressed peoples against the oppressing Powers;
- 7.—to fight for World Trade Union Unity and for the creation of a single United Trade Union International;

“—the representatives of the trade union movements of China, Australia, Phillipines, the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, Japan, Java, Korea, France, England and the United States of America, having gathered at the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Conference, herewith decide unanimously to create immediately an organ of connections, propaganda and action—this organ to be called: **THE PAN PACIFIC TRADE UNION SECRETARIAT.**”

Besides the official organ of the P.P.T.U.S. published in China (in English) since the very inception of the Secretariat in May of last year, there is already a second regular organ bearing the name “Pan Pacific Worker”, Australian Edition, issued by the Pan-Pacific Relations Committee of the Australasian Council of

Trade Unions. We hope you have received all copies of the first five numbers of this fortnightly journal. You will have noticed that we devote quite a bit of space to the Indian Labour Movement and that we have reproduced without any alteration the excellent report delivered at your last Congress at Cawnpore by Mr. Diwan Chamnn Lall.....

The fact that India does not border directly on the Pacific is an argument worthy only of our common 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 integral 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 Federation 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 semicolonial 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. 809.

G.C.P.—Ma 7—3,000-2-25—K2*

[Passport Form No. 7

C.P.S.S. No. 207 (i) P. C. O. of 9-10-22.

Please quote the number and date
of this letter in your reply.

No. P. C. 437
PASSPORT OFFICE,
Bombay Castle, 9th April 1927.

From

J. A. ARRATOON, Esquire,

Passport Officer to the Government of Bombay;

To

Mr. S. V. Ghate,

C/O Messrs Acharya & Co.

134, Parsee Bazaar, Fort,

Bombay,

Memorandum.

With reference to his letter dated the 8th instant, Mr. S. V. Ghate is informed that his application for a passport is under the consideration of Government.

Sd. Illegible.

Passport Officer to the Government of Bombay.

P 810. 2 T. Rejected.

A note book containing various entries. The following are important:—

Page 23: Vanguard Press, 80 — Fifth Avenue,
New York City, U. S. A.
for "Studies in Soviet Russia"
50c. each.

Page 55: "Peshawar to Mosko," by Shoukat Usmani. C/o
Labour association, Cawnpore.
Write letter for another Volume.

Page 100: Book "The real Situation in Russia" by Trotsky
Translated by Max Eastman. Published by Geo.
Allen and Union Ltd. London. Worth reading
for knowing the real situation in Russia.

P. 811.

Declaration to be made by applicant for Passport. The
following entries are all in pencil:—

Poona, 5-4-27.

Name: Dhondi Raj Thengdi

Residence: 229 Sadashib Peth.

Subject: British Subject.

Place of Birth: Ramtek.

Date of Birth: 2nd June 1866.

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

Certified by: Ranade, Hon. Magistrate F. Cl. Description
of applicant.

Age: 61

Profession: Mechanical Engineer.

Married or single: Married.

Domicile: Poona.

Height: 5'6"

Colour of eyes: Black.

Colour of hair: White.

Distinguishing marks: Mole right nostril.

Specimen signature.

Sd. Dhondi Raj Thengdi.

P. 812

No. E.M.S.S.R. 6/1939.

Poona, 12 May 1927.

MEMO:—

With reference to his application dated 7-4-27 Mr. Dhoondiraj Thengdi is informed that Government have refused to grant him a passport to China, Japan, U.S.A.—England, France, Germany, Switzerland and Belgium. He should arrange to take delivery of his photographs and Rs. 3/- fee deposited by him at this office.

(Sd). Illegible.

For District Magistrate, Poona.

To

Mr. D.R. THENGDI,

148 Budhwar Peth, Poona City.

A. R. K.

P. 813

Rejected.

A note-book containing office copies of letters the following 2 entries are interesting:—

(1) In his letter d/ 16-2-29 the writer says that he hoped the addressee was doing well with his propoganda amongst the peasants of the Punjab.

(2) In a letter d/19-2-29 to shaw (Shah), Thengdi writes as follows—you know that you had introduced me to one of your Socialist friend, lately returned from Germany and who was then working in the Herald office and who has now edited a Socialist paper. Kindly ask him to send me a sample copy and to forgive me for forgetting his name and address.

P. 814. (1)

No. 3122 of 1927.

From,
The Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

Central Prison Office

Dated 19-4-1927.

MEMORANDUM.

With reference to his application dated the 18th instant, Mr. Thengdi is informed that his request for an interview with prisoner Campbell cannot be granted.

(Sd.) Illegible

Major, I.M.S.,

Superintendent.

To
D.R. Thengdi Esquire,
Engineer,
229 Sadashiva Peth, Poona City.

P 814. (2)

—City

18th, April 1927,

The Superintendent,

Central Prison,

Yeravda Poona

Sir,

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

would also like to know if she can bring any eatables and sweets for Mr. Cambell, if she is allowed to see him. The time convenient for us to see Mr. Cambell 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,

P. 814. (3)

3. 4. 27.

Yeravda Central Prison.

To

D. R. Thengdi

Engineer

Poona City.

Dear Friend,

You will not be greatly surprised to learn that I have been transferred here, nor that, under the circumstances, I am pleased at landing so close to you.

I will not, in this note, endeavour to discuss my own affairs with you, believing that it will be more pleasing to do so in an interview. For the present it is sufficient to say that I am quite well and adapting myself to my new environment.

I believe it will be possible for you to come and see me one of these days that is if you can find the time.

As you can well understand I am anxious to hear all about your recent sojourn in Delhi and the results thereof. I hope when you do come and see me that you will be well versed on that and similar topics so that we may make the most of the time at our disposal. Meantime I hope you will convey my best wishes to all our friends. Similarly I hope you and yours are all in the best of health and spirits.

All at present,

Yours in anticipation

D. CAMPBELL.

P. 814. (E)

O. H. M. S.

D. R. THENGDI

Engineer

Poona City.

P. 815

STATEMENT RE STRIKE

at Kirkee arsenal,

The strike is continuing with unabated vigor. Picketing is properly organized. No body is working in the main three departments of the Arsenal. Main work in the arsenal is therefore stopped. Every morning meetings are held and men are adressed by friends of Labor every day. The men are detrmind to hold on till they get success. They are in good cheer. Yesterday the meeting was addressed by the president of the workmen's union. Today the meeting was addressed by Messrs Mirajker of Bombay and Bhuskute, Edito of "Swaraj" Poona. The attendance was good. Both of them explained the causes of the poverty of the masses and advised them that the only remedy lies in their united effort. There is going to be a big mass meeting tomorrow evening at 6 p. m. to support the All Parties Constitution and to sympathise with the strikers. The leaders from Poona will address the meeting.

Poona.

D. R. Thengdi

Dated 19-10-28

President, Workmen's Union, Kirkke.

P. 816.

Telegrams: Thengdi Engineer, Poona.

A. B. C. Code 5th Edn. used.

D.R. THENGDI.

POONA CITY.

Engineer.

(British India.)

Labour & Employment Office.

Date 17 th. Oct. 1927,

My dear Sircar,

Your telegrams to hand. As also the money. Since I was not keeping well, I wired to you accordingly. You have now virtually compelled me to start. I know what a big job it is to organize a general strike on railways in India, when it is not sufficiently developed and organized for such a serious work. It has however to be undertaken, however cautiously, in the interest of workmen in general, and in the interest of 2000 workmen in special, who cant afford to die. I shall therefore come to Kharagpur first to receive my instructions, before I go elsewhere for organization work. In the mean time kindly let me know the latest developments and decisions, when you all met at Khargpur. Please let me know if my presence at the Ry. Conferance on 28 th inst. would be of any use to our work in the near future. Hoping you and friends are doing well, and wishing you all complete success.

I remain yours fraternally,

D. R. Thengdi

P. 817.

2/1, European Asylum Lane,

Calcutta

6-12-1928.

Dear Comrade,

You will remember that the last Session at Cawnpore of the All-India Trade Union Congress appointed a sub-committee, of which you are a member, to draw up a Labour Constitution for the future government of India. In February, I as convenor, circulated a paper, another copy of which is enclosed, containing

suggestions as to the work of the sub-committee, and the draft of a statement on the political attitude of the Trade Union Congress, which was headed "Labour and Swaraj", (also enclosed), which I proposed the Trade Union Congress should publish if it agreed.

I have received only one or two comments on this suggestion. One is to the effect that the proposed statement is entirely one-sided, that is to say, it gives the views of only one party in the Trade Union Congress. I must reply that as it is a statement of political principles, such "one-sidedness" is inevitable. In my view there are fundamentally only two schools of thought within the Trade Union movement, viz. that based on complete opposition to capitalism, and that based on acceptance of it. The many different shades of opinion resolve themselves ultimately into one or the other, or also attempt a necessarily illogical combination of the two. I have proposed a brief, but I think logically sound statement, with all that it implies, of the only view which I think the Trade Union Congress can conscientiously adopt, that of opposition to capitalism. But I must ask the other members of the sub-committee to give me their views, first on the question of the function of the sub-committee, and then if necessary, on the statement.

I still am of opinion that a statement on the lines suggested should be published by the Congress, but the situation has been altered by the appearance of the Nehru Committee's Report to the All-Parties Conference. The Trade Union Congress will clearly have to take up some attitude towards this Report, and the "Principles of the Constitution for India", and I think that it lies within the province of this sub-committee to prepare materials for the Congress on the question. Fortunately we are not committed in any way. Some members attended, but mainly in other capacities. Mr. Joshi was elected a member of the Nehru Committee, but did not attend any meetings, or sign the Report. We are therefore free to take up any attitude,

Accordingly I have drafted a statement which is enclosed which I suggest should also be published. You will see that it proposes complete rejection of the "Principles of the Constitution", but suggests an alternative political line, and agreement with other bodies and sections on the basis of a common policy, Complete Independence, etc. It is drafted also as a continuation of the General statement "Labour and Swaraj", but this, though I think it is desirable, is of course not necessary and small verbal changes could make it independent.

Again I must ask for the views of the members on this subject.

It is by this time clear that no meetings of the sub-committee can possibly be held before the next Session of the Congress, which will be held at the end of November. It is necessary to

prepare and circulate all material of importance before-hand, so that a short meeting of the sub-committee may be held immediately before or during the Jherria session, and a report agreed upon quickly. But things have to be duplicated etc. and if the manuscripts are numerous or bulky this takes much time. I must therefore ask all members who have opinions drafts, etc. which should be circulated, to let me have them at this address as soon as possible, when I will do my best to get them round to all members. Or alternatively, they would save me much trouble by circulating them themselves. To any who wish to do this, I should state that Rai Sahib Chandrika Passed was appointed a member of the sub-committee by the Delhi Session of the Executive Council.

I am sorry that, owing to delay in typing, this is circulated far later than I intended.

Yours fraternally P. Spratt.

(1) **Functions of the Sub-Committee.**

It is to be taken as granted that the ultimate object of the Labour Movement, here as elsewhere, must be the establishment of an Independent democratic socialist republic, and the only kind of constitution it can agree to is that of such a state. The attainment of this ideal is only possible through the strength of the mass Union organisations, primarily of the industrial working class, and secondly of the peasants, acting together, with a political Party representing these sections. And it will obviously be attained against the will, rather than in agreement with, a large proportion of those represented by the existing nationalist parties. The time when this is likely to be brought about is manifestly yet distant.

It is therefore at present impossible to draft a Constitution which will be of any permanent value to the Labour movement. We cannot predict in what circumstances Labour will come into power in India, and what kind of constitution it will then be desirable to establish.

It is also useless to put forward a constitution from our side with a view to modify the constitution which will now be produced by the Nationalist Parties. The gulf between the two, which is the gulf between the working class and the capitalist class, is in principle unbridgeable, and though working agreements on the basis of an anti-imperialist policy may be arrived at, no compromise as to ultimate aims is possible. We should not attempt to bring about minor modifications of their drafts at the price of our political independence.

Finally, if we are concerned to do propaganda for our aims among the masses, we should not confuse the issue with the technical details of a constitution. A broad declaration of rights and a statement of our immediate political programme is all that can be useful to us,

For these reasons I suggest that the sub-committee should take upon itself the responsibility of formally disobeying the Congress mandate to the extent of not preparing a complete Draft Constitution, but instead making a comprehensive statement of the political attitude and policy of Labour.

The following is my suggested draft of such a statement, which I have called "labour and Swaraj."

(2) Draft of Proposed Statement "Labour and Swaraj"

Introduction.—It has long been felt necessary, in the Trade Union movement and outside it, that a clear attitude should be adopted by the organised Labour movement towards political questions generally, and particularly towards the central question of Indian politics, that of Swaraj, or the relation of the country as a whole to Imperialism and the other countries of the world. The progress of labour and of the nationalist movement, and recent developments in the parallel movements in other countries, render it impossible any longer to neglect this subject. In domestic politics the Trade Union Congress already takes a part. Its members are elected or nominated to the Councils and Assembly, and its views consulted in regard to legislation, while the tendency is developing for Trade Unions to participate directly in the political movement. The Congress has been asked to take part in the All-Parties Conference for drafting a Swaraj Constitution. In the international field, representatives have regularly been sent to the I. L. O. Conference relations with the British, Chinese and other Trade Union movements are growing, and the Congress has been approached for affiliation by the I. F. T. U. and the R. I. L. U. These often contradictory tendencies make it desirable, in the interests of the progress of the movement, to formulate its functions and aims in general terms, so that a more consistent programme and policy may be adopted.

Aim of the Working-Class.—The fundamental aim of the organised working class can only be, in the words of the Presidential Speech at the VIIIth Trade Union Congress, at Cawnpore, "Nationalisation of land and industry, a civilised existence, a government of the workers, an economic system for the benefit of humanity—and peace. More shortly, the function of the working class in history is the realisation of socialism. With almost complete unanimity the working-class organisations of the world

have accepted this as their aim, and from the earliest times, workers' movements have, with greater or less consciousness, pursued policies in keeping with it. The experience and sufferings of the working class under capitalism force it inevitably to demand and strive for the abolition of the anarchic, wasteful and unstable capitalist system, and its replacement by an ordered system, democratically controlled, and *run for the benefit of humanity*. Socialism must be the aim of the working class, and all its efforts and policies must be subordinate to that aim.

The Class Struggle:—The essential feature of the capitalist system generally is the private ownership of the means of production. The efforts of the working class under capitalism to improve its conditions inevitably develop into a struggle between the class of wage-earners and the class of property owners. The struggle, though at first waged only on minor and immediate issues, assumes eventually the magnitude of a struggle between the classes for the control of the means of production, and for control of the State power. The Labour movement is the organisation of the individually weak and helpless workers for the prosecution of the struggle. Its aim is the attainment of control of production and of political power—Socialism: its method is the class struggle against the capitalist class, the actual possessors of property and the State.

Imperialism:—The Indian working class, in common with the working class of several other countries, is subjected to the special form of capitalism, called imperialism. Imperialism consists in the investment of capital from an economically advanced country Britain, in an economically backward country, India, for the more intense exploitation of its human and other resources. In order to supplement the diminishing return from its domestic capital, imperialism extracts a higher rate of profit from its colonial capital. This alone determines that the standard of life of the Indian working class is definitely lower than that of the working class of the imperialist countries, such as Britain. But in addition the Indian working class suffers from the conflict between the Indian and British capitalist interest for supremacy in regard to exploitation. For these reasons, no appreciable improvement in the lot of the Indian working class is possible under this system, and its first duty is the struggle against imperialism. Both its immediate and its ultimate aims depend for their realisation upon its success in the struggle against the economic and political domination of India by imperialism. The first condition for the establishment of socialism in India, and the relief of economic exploitation and social degradation, is the abolition of imperialism, both as an economic structure, and as a political system.

Political Aspect:—The two sides of the system cannot be separated, the economic and the political. Beginning in the economic sphere the class struggle inevitably develops to a higher

form, the direct fight for political power. The working class must openly and avowedly adopt a political programme, the essence of which must be the establishment of socialism through the destruction of imperialism and capitalism, and the assumption of State power.

The working Class In Politics :—The industrial working class is as a whole the most intensely exploited class, and its interest clash most sharply with those of imperialism and capitalism. It is, by its organisation and discipline, and its hold upon the strategic positions in the life of society, most able to wage the class struggle successfully. And its general political interests coincide with those of the great majority of the nation, which suffer, though in less degree, from economic exploitation, political oppression, and social and cultural neglect, at the hands of Imperialism and capitalism. For these reasons the organised working class is destined for a leading place in the struggle of society generally for economic security, political democracy, and social emancipation,

In this struggle the working class must ally itself with all forces and sections which will unite for the overthrow of imperialism. In particular it must establish the closest relationship with peasantry, as was suggested in the resolution of the VIIIth Trade Union Congress on the "Council of Action".

It will also find alliance in the National Congress, the anti-imperialist organisation of the middle classes. In so far as the National Congress conducts a real struggle against imperialism it must be helped by the working class.

Working Class Party :—For carrying out this policy, the Trade Union organisations of the working class alone will not suffice. A definitely political organ must be created, with the policy and programme here outlined. The Workers' and Peasants' Party now developing in different parts of the country, fulfils the requirements of a genuine working class political Party, and must receive the support of the Trade Union Congress, as was decided at the VIIth Congress, Delhi, March, 1927, and of the individual Unions.

Political Demands :—The working class stands in complete opposition to imperialism. It cannot therefore agree to the continuance of the British connection in any form. The Trade Union Congress must demand *Complete Independence*. It must further demand the complete establishment of a *democratic state*. This involves the abolition of all despotic feudal institutions, landlordism and the Native States, and the granting of the rights of *Universal Adult suffrage, freedom of assembly, freedom of speech and press, the right to organise and to strike, and to carry arms*. The Trade Union Congress must demand further from the State, the guarantee

of certain common rights of humanity, such as the abolition of caste and other discrimination, the equality of the sexes in regard to legal rights, wage-rates, etc. and universal primary education.

In the economic sphere, the State must guarantee for labour the standard legal eight-hour day, and the legal minimum wage, support for the unemployed, adequate compensation, protection, abolition of child-labour, etc. and as general measures, the nationalisation of the chief services and basic industries.

A Government which will do these things, alone can meet with the approval of the workers and the support of the Trade Union Congress.

Organisation.—The attainment of the programme which the working class sets before itself depends solely upon the strength of the working class as an organised force. In addition to giving support to the workers' political Party, the Trade Unions must organise themselves for the struggle. The organisation must be as complete as possible—100 per cent Trade Unionism must be the aim; and experience shows that this is best obtained by the Unions on the basis of factory or shop committees. And it must be as effective as possible. Industrial unionism has already been accepted in principle by the Trade Union Congress, and this policy must be put into effect. Further, coordination of the efforts of the Unions must be attained, nationally by the establishment of a strong and authoritative Executive Council of the Trade Union Congress, locally by the establishment in every town of a Trades Council, to which are affiliated all the local branches of the Unions. The Trades Councils must be in contact with the Executive Council, and must act as its local representatives. Certain basic common demands should be adopted throughout the working class organisations, as a cement for its unity, and a fighting programme to lead it forward. Such should be the eight-hour day, the legal minimum wage, state support for the unemployed, freedom of speech and organisation, (and other general demands which have been repeatedly put forward by the Trade Union Congress).

Policy.—(1) The Strike is labour's chief weapon, and it must be preserved and used. The right to strike must be jealously guarded, and the strike popularised among all workers as their greatest strength. Not only the ordinary strike with which all workers are familiar, but the sympathetic strike, often a most powerful weapon, and its development into the general strike, are to be regarded as means which labour must use, for political as well as for purely industrial purposes. These require systematic propaganda among workers before they can be brought into effect.

(2). The adoption of a policy of struggle against imperialism demands politically as well as logically that the traditional cooperation with the Government should cease. It must be forbidden for

a member of any affiliated Union to accept nomination by Government to any legislature or committee. Similarly the Congress should cease to appoint members for the delegations to the I. L. O. Conferences. The I. L. O. was established and is supported by the capitalist governments of the European States, and works in accordance with their imperialist policies.

(3). *International*:—The international nature of capitalism generally, and the domination of the whole world by imperialism, demand that the struggle against imperialism be conducted on an international scale. The Trade Union Congress should cooperate to the extent of affiliation with such bodies as the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Conference (of colonial Trade Union movements) and the League against Imperialism. But more important is the question of the regular world-wide Trade Union Internationals. The policy has been hitherto refuse affiliation, until the proposed unity of the two internationals is effected. The propaganda and pressure for the unity of the two Internationals must be kept up, but now that unity appears to be more distant, a decision as to affiliation is called for. The position and policy of the Trade Union Congress in relation to Imperialism clearly demand that affiliation be made to the R. I. L. U. rather than to the I. F. T. U. A comparison of the records of the two internationals in regard to the colonial Labour movements, and the question of unity between the two bodies, will dispose of any claim which the I. F. T. U. may put forward for the allegiance of the All-India Trade Union Congress.

Draft of Statement by the Trade Union Congress on the

NEHRU COMMITTEE'S REPORT AND CONSTITUTION.

From this brief statement of the political position of the All India Trade Union Congress it will be seen that the Trade Union Congress cannot give its assent to the Draft Principles of the Constitution for India prepared by the Nehru Committee for the All Parties Conference. The principal reasons for this are as follows:-

(1) The ultimate aim which the Trade Union Congress, as representing the working class of India, must have in view, is the establishment of the socialist Republic of India. However willing it may be to work and fight for aims nearer to realisation than this, it must retain the socialist aims as its ideal, and cannot finally commit itself to a Constitution which would embody a merely bourgeois regime, however formally democratic. Though the Trade Union Congress can consider the findings of the Nehru Committee and of the All Parties Conference as the basis for a temporary political agreement, they can in no way constitute its ultimate aim, and it must reserve its right to begin, on the realisation of that Constitution a struggle to transform it into that of socialist state.

(2) If however the findings of the Nehru Committee are considered simply as the basis for a temporary agreement between the Trade Union Congress and other bodies, they will be found, in view of the political principles of the Trade Union Congress, to be entirely unsuitable. The Nehru Committee's Report, and the political outlook of the Trade Union Congress, are entirely different, and provide no basis for agreement.

The Committee contemplates an advance solely by agreement with the British Government, and without any real encroachment upon its privileges, to a constitutional status, "Dominion Status", which would apparently be entirely to its satisfaction or at any rate would provide for further peaceful advance to a satisfactory position. The representatives of the working class cannot agree with such a conception. The Trade Union Congress regards British Imperialism as the possessor and protector within India of enormous economic and political interests, which the working class cannot possibly allow to remain in foreign hands but which imperialism will fight with the utmost determination to retain. It must be pointed out that the railways and other communications, and almost all the major industries of the country are effectively in the possession of British interests. However others may neglect this fact, the workers who are directly exploited (and the middle classes and peasants who are indirectly exploited) through these means, cannot overlook it. The Trade Union Congress would insist upon expropriation without compensation of all these industries and services, by the Government of Independent India, and in fact it is evident that any Indian Government which wished seriously to be responsible to its people or to be in any sense independent or free to act on its own initiative, would have no alternative but this.

The military forces in India are also in the same position. They are at present under the control of Imperialism, and are used for imperialist ends of which the working class cannot approve. The Trade Union Congress had occasion to protest last year when troops from the Indian army were sent to be used against its fellow workers in China. There is also more than a mere possibility, while the troops remain under their present control, of their being used against workers and other sections of the Indian population within the country. It is obvious too, that a foreign-controlled army would constitute an intolerable menace to a Government attempting any independent action. The Trade Union Congress would regard it as absolutely essential for a National Government to establish complete control of all the armed forces in India.

On this question also it is clear that there is an irreconcilable difference of interest between imperialism and the people, particular the working class, of India, and the proposal

to take over control of the army into Indian hands by peaceful or constitutional means is an absurdity. There can therefore be no question of peace or agreement in the evolution of India, and in fact British Imperialism has, consistently shown itself to be a merciless and implacable enemy, with which there can be no compromise. The Trade Union Congress looks forward to a period of increasingly acute struggle by the masses of the population of India, in which the organised working class, because of its situation, will naturally play a leading part, against the forces of Imperialism and its allies within India. This struggle cannot possibly be confined to constitutional channels, but must involve direct mass action. It can end only in the definite victory of the masses, the overthrow of Imperialism, and the establishment of the complete independence of India.

The Trade Union Congress therefore considers that its present tactics should consist, not in drawing up a constitution for submission to the British Government- that is of all policies the most futile- but in laying down the basis in a programme of demands and action for an alliance of all those sections of the population of India which can agree to fight imperialism to the point of its complete overthrow.

The All Parties Conference Committee on the contrary looks forward to a peaceful agreement with Britain, under which the Complete Independence of the country is not attained. British Commercial interests are not in any way disturbed, and British control of the armed forces is perpetuated. Such a fundamental difference of outlook and interest clearly precludes any cooperation.

(3) Next to Complete Independence, with the necessary concomitants just dealt with, the Trade Union Congress demands a real democratisation of the country as a condition for its support of any programme. However perfect a democratic scheme the Committee may sketch, it is of course rendered valueless by the omission to base it upon the genuine independence of the country. No democracy can work under foreign domination, even if that domination is disguised and indirect.

But apart from this fundamental criticism, and its obvious logical consequences, such as objection to the presence of the king and of British officials nominated by him, etc. there are a few other objections, some of them serious, to be levelled at this part of the "Principles of the Constitution."

(a) The statement of "Fundamental Rights" would be improved by extra definition on the following points. Art. 4 Par. IV, on the right of free expression of opinion, etc. should contain a definite repudiation of the proscription of publications on political grounds and of the censorship of mails. The Labour movement

is necessarily international in its outlook, but in finds under the present regime that its study of and intercourse with foreign labour movements is very seriously hampered, and in some directions almost entirely prevented, by these practices. It is moreover quite opposed to any real spirit of freedom or democracy that these things should go on.

Art. 4. Par. XV should contain an explicit assurance of protection of unions against civil liability for the acts of their members, on the lines of Par. XVI for criminal liability.

Art. 4. Par. XVII should contain a more definite statement of the economic measures to be carried through e. g. the eight hour day should be established, the unemployed should be supported by the States, etc.

Finally there should be an explicit guarantee of the right to strike.

(b) It is to be regretted that the members of the Committee did not follow their own inclinations and abandon all reservation of seats etc. on communal grounds. The importunities of the communal leaders are no doubt difficult to avoid, but probably the best solution of the communal problem is to ignore it. A very large part of the Report, and of the discussion in the country, is devoted to this question, obviously to the delight of the British statesman, whose "challenge" to produce an agreed constitution was no doubt issued with the object of concentrating the attention of the Indian public upon this and similar unimportant questions, to the neglect of the real problems facing the country.

(c) The treatment of the subject of the Indian States is most unsatisfactory. The Trade Union Congress sees no reason in ordinary democratic theory, nor in any reading of present political or tactical necessities, why the Report should advocate that the State be left under the rule of the Princes. Not only the working class, but any democrat, must view with entire disapproval the obsolete and tyrannical autocracy prevailing in the States, and must demand its complete abolition. Further, the idea that any political advantage is to be obtained by taking up an equivocal or favourable attitude towards the Princes, is surely absurd. The Report itself remarks that the States are being turned into an Indian Ulster. The only way in which this Imperialist move can be countered is by appealing to the populations of the States with a programme of full democratic rights and absorption into independent India on an equal basis, and thus cutting the ground from beneath the Princes' feet.

The Trade Union Congress has special grounds for taking to the cause of the population of the States. It is notorious that

the conditions of the working class and the peasantry of the State are deplorably bad in almost all cases. "Degar" and other feudal abuses are still prevalent; the Textile Workers' Unions have had occasion to complain bitterly against the extremely bad conditions, long hours of work, etc. in the textile industries in Indore and Gwalior; the frequent occurrence of peasant disturbances in many States testifies to the misery and oppression from which they suffer; there is almost complete absence of political and personal freedom, and in this respect conditions are becoming worse (see the publications and memoranda of the Rajasthan Seva Sangha). Even the best States, which have made some progress in regard to education and representative forms of Government, etc., shine only by comparison with the deplorable position of British India and the other States, and are in any case a hopeless minority. The Trade Union Congress feels strongly that in the twentieth century no case can be made out on any grounds for maintaining the existence of the States.

The Trade Union Congress regrets that it is unable to give support to the proposals of the Committee, especially in view of the appeals for Unity of all forces in support of them. It would of course be prepared to waive any of the detailed objections it may have to the Report, except that on the subject of the States, which it considers very important. But the objection of the Trade Union Congress, as has been made clear, is not based on details or in essentials. Nor is it based on the necessarily socialist policy of the Congress. It is quite clearly recognised that the first concern of any socialist organisation in India must be the establishment of the independence of the country, and that such an organisation must support any sincere and practical attempt to attain independence.

The opposition of the Trade Union Congress is due to the fact that the Report of the Committee aims at attaining not independence, nor even, as the Report mistakenly claims, any status indistinguishable from independence. As has been made clear in Par. 2 of this statement, the difference between real independence and the goal aimed at by the committee is very far from negligible. It is all the difference between freedom and subjection. The Report advocates the establishment of a status for India which is in no essential way different from the present. India under Dominion Status will still be subject to British financial, commercial and industrial exploitation, to British military control, and therefore (as the Report in fact admits by retaining the King as the nominal head) to British political control. In these circumstances all the apparatus of parliaments and democracy, universal suffrage and fundamental rights, are absolutely meaningless and valueless. The upper classes under such a regime might improve their position with respect to Imperialism, and at the same time continue to use the imperial forces as a protection against the masses, but the position of the masses themselves would be absolutely unaffected. Only

under complete independence, and with the abolition of foreign exploitation and dominance, can the masses hope to improve their position. The Trade Union Congress would be deluding its members and masses generally, if, for the sake of the nominal concessions and freedoms of the Report, or for the sake of a sentimental unity, it were to give its consent to such reactionary proposals.

On the other hand, the Trade Union Congress considers that the opportunity, provided by the present political situation for establishing a real popular movement for independence, based on an agreed programme, should not be wasted. Instead therefore of the unrepresentative and exclusively upper classes All Parties Conference, the Trade Union Congress advocates that there should be called together a really representative conference or Constituent Assembly of the people of the whole country, for the formulation and propaganda of programme of popular demands and of mass action. The programme suggested above (in the statement "Labour and Swaraj") would serve as a basis for this.

Owing to its social composition, and its obsession with legal conventions and forms at the expense of realities, the All Parties Conference has failed to carry out its function of leading the people of India in a mass movement towards freedom, and has merely been the occasion for the re-establishment of unity among the bourgeois Parties, on the basis of a most timid and reactionary programme. The bourgeoisie have failed, but the masses still need their freedom. Such an Assembly as that here proposed would, if properly prepared, meet with immense response from the people, and would mean a great and decisive step forward for India.

P. 818

Telegrams: Thengdi Engineer, Poona.

D. R. THENGDI,

Engineer.

Labour & Employment Office.

A.B.C. CODE 5th EDN. USED.

POONA CITY.

(British India.)

Date 8th February 1928.

My dear Mirajker,

Your card of 5-2-28 to hand. I have already expressed my views re our co-operating with the all part conferance at Dehli. to Mr. Spratt, and I hope he will place them before you all for your

information. In the mean time, a note should be taken of the last letter of Joshi, (a circular) in deciding.

(2) When you issue invitation for annual meeting, please state that the meeting is the usual annual meeting to review the work of the last year, to accept the report of the secretary, to elect the new office bearers and E. C. and any other urgent business, with the permission of the president, when we shall introduce our new schemes which need not be mentioned in the agenda. Issue the notice as early as you can.

yours fraternally,

D. R. Thengdi

P. 819.

Telegrams: Thengdi Engineer, Poona. A.B.C. CODE 5th EDN. USED.

D. R. THENGDI,

POONA CITY.

Engineer.

(British India)

Labour & Employment Office.

Date 27th April 1928.

My dear Dange,

I find from the papers that it is contemplated that negotiations bet men and masters be held in individual mills in place of with the workers leaders, for the whole labor fraternity. If this comes out, you better oppose the proposal on the ground that men economically dependant on masters can not independantly and on equal standing negotiate with the masters, and so doing will disintegrate the solidarity of labor. Agreement, if any should be collective, for and on behalf of all labor jointly.

I have written so many letters to the secretary, none of which has been answered. please let me know what is the matter with him or you? Has charge of the office been given and taken properly?

What reply did you give, on the proposal about Mr. Bakhale being nominated for geneva conferance.

What step do you intend taking, when all the papers are ant-labor? My proposal on this point has not been replied. I know you are busy at present. but a little time shd be found to attend some urgent matters like this. I have replied to Kasari in the kasari itself. Let us see how they treat it. Hoping to hear from you by return post. I am yours

D. R. Thengdi

P 820.

Poona City. D/- 25-4-28.

My dear Jogleker,

I am writing this letter to you, with a hope to receive a reply thereto. I am sorry I have rarely received any attention from the office of the party in this respect. there is always a limit to once patience. The advantage that the secretary takes of my absence can not long be continued. I want you to put this letter before the friends to elicit their reply. I am coming there for the All Parties Conferance, when I shd like to see the members of the E. C. on this question.

In the mean time kindly let me know what action the party did take through Mr. Dange with regard to Circular No. 5, from Mr. N. M Joshi.

2ndly. I hope you have read the Sphut No.6 in the Kasari of today the 24th inst. Kindly let me know what you and your party intends doing in the affair. I am going to see Mr. Kelker on this point today and will let you know the result by tomorrow.

But you will admit that we are working between two difficulty one ignorant poor people, for whose good we are working. The 2nd the upper classes including the Intelligencia. I dont mind the latter. But I do mind the ellosal ignorance of the masses about their own interests. They are led away by the speeches and the writings of the upper classes. They take them to be the standard of wisdom. If your work is to be effective, you have to take cognisance of this fact. Can you organize the buycott of Kasari among the working classes? Remember this is a delicate point. The boucott has to be organized, provided there is good number of readers of Kasari amongst them. Otherwise it will be free advertisement for Kasari.

Hoping to hear from you by return of post.

I am yours fraternally,

D. R. THENGDI.

P. 821.

THE WORKERS' & PEASANTS' PARTY BOMBAY.

17 DWARKADAS MANSIONS

Sandhurst Road

BOMBAY 4.

4th April, 1928.

Dear comrade,

I have your letter of the 3rd instant. I hope you will have by now moved in the Matter of interviewing Cambell. Please let us know the result as early as possible.

We have heard of the conference of Workers and Peasants at Nagpur. It has not emanated from us, but we propose to send our representative to the conference, if they permit us. We are thinking of deputing Com. Joglekar to go to Nagpur in this connection, as he is starting organisation of Railway Workers. I hope you will agree to this. If we go along the right lines, I should think there will be nothing like adulteration in our movement, as you put it.

Yes. I have read the names of the Elect three to the Geneva Conference. It was as we expected all the while. We had thought that we had made an error at the time of standing for election at Cawnpore, and as such this decision should not affect us in any way.

You must be aware that we are meeting with strong opposition from the B. P. C. C. Only yesterday, Ginwala & Co. threw down our resolution for a grant for May day this year. They have set themselves against everything labour.

Hoping this finds you in excellent health.

Yours fraternally,

Sd. S. V. Ghate.

P 822.

Poona City, 4th April, 1928.

My dear Ghate,

I have received your notice for a meeting of the E. C. I should have been pleased, had you kindly given me an inkling into the agenda, so that I shd have sent you my openions on by post. I hope you will kindly do that in future for my sake.

I am sorry, I did not hear from you if you have taken the charge of your work from Mr. Mirajker. Kindly do let me do let me know the result of my letter on the subject.

There is a proposal by the proprietors of the "Swaraj" paper, that they are willing to help the reappearance of our Journal "Krantī". Their estimate is Rs. 40/- for the first thousand and Rs. 15/- only for the next thousand, per week. The paper will be 8 pages of the size of the present 'Swaraj' Out of which 6 columns will be advertisements and 18 cols matter. I should like the E. C. to consider this proposal let me know the result of their deliberations. If you can effect actual sales by hawking a 1000 or 1200 in Bombay at 9 pies per copy, you will be able to pay for it. The paper will be printed here and sent to you to reach in the morning. Hoping to hear from you early. I am yours fraternally,

D. R. Thengdi.

P. 823.

For the Emancipation of the Enslaved and Exploited masses.

WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE.

THE WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' PARTY.

Executive Committee.

President. Comrade D. R. Thendhi.

Secretary „ S. S. Mirajkar.

E. C. Members „ S. H. Jhabwala.

„ S. V. Ghatge.

Group leaders.

Congress. Com. Laljee Pendse: Bombay,

Trade Union." K. N. Joglekar. 192 .

Education Com. R. S. Nimbkar.

Peasants- Com. J. B. Patel.

Dear Comrade,

Campbell's time is well nigh drawing to a close. He may

be released in a couple of months. We wish that you should ascertain from the jail authorities the actual date of his release. If possible you must try to see him in jail. Any way, Please let us know the result of your enquiries, or interview if you are able to see him.

Yours fraternally,
Sd. S. V. Ghate.
1-4-28.

P. 824.

229, Sadashiva Peth, Poona-City.

D/-28 th. March, 1928.

Dear Comrade Ghate,

Your letter of 26 th. inst to hand.

I approve of your activity in running candidates for the coming election of the Bombay corporation, on behalf of the workers. But you should not run them in the name of the party. Voters association should be organized by you, who should be made to run the candidates on your program. In fact if an association can be formed for specific purposes, such as T. U. work, Co-op activity, Municipality activity, under your leadership, it should be formed and the work should be in their name under your guidance and your principles.

2. I propose that a congratulatory letter should be sent to the National Trade Union Centres of Egypt and Guatemala, that have been newly inaugurated. ✓

3. Please let me know the considered opinion of your E. C. if they mean that the statements of the party and its "Slogans" are to be adhered to under all circumstances. In case they do, I wish them to be more careful in making them in future, to avoid embarrassment. This is my personal suggestion without any aspersions.

I hope you are doing all the correspondence that is required for carrying out the resolutions of the last Conference.

Please let me know if the work of drawing up the report of the last Conference in sections, is going on well or not.

Hoping you are doing well.

I am yours fraternally,
D. R. Thengdi.

P. 825

For the Emancipation of the Enslaved and Exploited Masses.

Workers of the World Unite,

THE WORKERS' & PEASANTS' PARTY.

Executive Committee

President: Comrade. D. R. Thengdi
Secretary: " S. S. Mirajkar.
E. C. Member: " S. H. Jhabwala.
" S. V. Ghate.

Group Leaders.

Bombay 26th March 1928.

Congress: Com. Laljee Pendse.
Trade Union " K. N. Joglekar.
Education: " R. S. Nimbkar.
Peasants " J. B. Patel.

Dear Comrade,

At a meeting of the Executive Committee of our Party held yesterday (25/3/28) the question of putting up Party candidates for the next election for the corporation which comes off next year. It was decided that a report should be submitted by the Committee that was appointed by the Executive. The Committee consists of D. R. Thengdi, S. V. Ghate and Bradley as adviser. They are to consider whether it is advisable that the party should set up candidates for municipal election in Bombay, under a Party ticket, and also to submit their report within 3 weeks to the Committee.

Please let me have your views on this question early.
With greetings.

Yours fraternally,
Sd/-S. V. Ghate,
Secretary.

P 826.

SECRETARY'S REPORT.

Workers' and Peasants Party.

Comrades:—

This is the first annual conference of the Workers and

Peasants Party, Bombay, and I am laying before you a Report of the Party's work since its foundation.

The foundation and the Party.

When the Indian National Congress took to organising the masses for Swaraj, there was a group of men, who, while, supporting the attitude of the Congress, pointed out that unless the economic rights, demands and necessities of the people, i.e. the big majority of the Indian workers and Peasants were definitely included with the Swaraj movement, the masses would remain apathetic. In the high tide of non-co-operation, the workers and peasants, who had joined because of a better prospect of life asserted their economic needs, which turned out to be in some way opposed to the notions which the propertied, rich leading class had regarding Swaraj. There was a retreat and the whole thing collapsed.

That self-same group again forced upon the attention of the people the necessity of organising daily life and politics together. It was a period when every powerful group was forming its Party and the working class interests were nowhere represented. The nuclei of this Party was a small Congress group, which decided to form a Party, advocating a policy, not represented by any Party existing at present. It first met on 26th November 1926 and styled as Congress Labor Party. Subsequently, however, it was decided to take the name of the Workers' and Peasants Party (13th February 1927).

The constitution of the Party, its policy and principles are explained elsewhere. The party divided work into various sections. Congress section, Trade Union, Peasant, Education and Propaganda are some of its main sections. A responsible member, understanding the principles of the Party and submitting himself to collective control is put in charge of each section, which he is to work in collaboration with other people, on the lines laid down by the Executive.

Membership.

A very important feature of the Party is its strictly limited membership. Persons who are directly connected with some organizational work in the trade unions, in industrial places, or amongst peasants, persons, who are propagating or following Party principles in their individual sphere of life and work, are admitted as members. Idle membership is not canvassed for. Therefore, we are small in numbers as such, but whatever membership we have it is all conscious and active.

SECTIONAL REPORTS.

Trade Unions.

The Party celebrated on 22nd January 1927 Lenin Day by

holding a Public meeting in the Marwari Vidyalaya Hall, recognising the fact that as a working class Party it is our duty to observe the day of the leader of the Worlds Working class and freedom.

You are all aware of the wide divergence between the intellectuals and the workers and the prejudice that the intellectuals spread against the workers interests through their power of propaganda. Mr. Saklatwala by visiting this country tried and succeeded a great deal in fighting the prejudice and the Party gave him welcome, helped him and was helped by him during his stay here in 1927.

The Trade Union Section could influence the Delhi Session of the All India Trade Union Congress (March 1927) which is apparent from the partially changed tone of the resolutions passed. Comrade Saklatwala also was a great asset to the Delhi Congress.

Party members have found their way to some of the minor offices of the (I. T. U. C.). But as the real work lies in directly organising the workers, members have concentrated in establishing contact with some of the existing Unions and also in building up new ones. At present, Party members are more or less connected with the Textile Workers Union (Girini Kamgar Mahamaidal), the G. I. P. Gneral Employees Union and directly are responsible for The Municipal Workmens' Union, and the Dock Workers' Union, Press Workers' Union.

The Trade Union Section had to deal with two Textile strikes in Bombay. One in July-August of 1927 in some of saseon Group Mills, where the workers were saddled with 150 per cent speeding up by being forced to work three looms instead of two. The strike lasted a long time and success was achived for the workers.

The sancee Group of Mills launched the attack again in January 1912, on a bigger scale. This time a split on the policy to be pursued occured in the Textile Unions, which had led the former strike. Moreover, formerly, the mills affected consited of our membership. This time the strike affected other mills, which had membership of another Union the Bombay Textile Labor Union of Mr. N. M. Joshi. A united policy could not be agreed upon. The Party under the guidance advocated mobilizing all the Textile workers against the new system on the slogan of No-reduction in wages, no increase in machines for each worker. The party could not take lead, being in its infancy and because of a serious split in one of its Textile Unions. Neither could the other Union persuade the workers to accept its policy of agreeing to the new system. The workers held out for more then two months, and at last were forced to agree to the new conditions.

A very important move that of affiliating the T.U.C. to the Amsterdam Interuational I.F.T.U. was proposed at the Executive

meeting at Delhi on 26th Feb 1928. The Party issued a circular to all the Unions, showing the harm of affiliation to, I.F.T.U., a reactionary semi-capitalist and semi Government body. The question ultimately postponed.

CONGRESS SECTION.

We have taken much part in the Congress work. In 1927 and 1928 we succeeded in electing two of our members to the A.I. C.C. (Messrs. Nimbkar and Joglekar) and have retained the secretaryship of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee for the two successive years. We do not command an absolute majority in the Provincial Committee and have to form alliances with the most radical groups in the Congress to enforce our points of view.

In 1927 and 1928 the Congress Section tried to lay before the A.I.C.C. a comprehensive programme of mass organisation and make the Congress accept a radical move to action. But the bourgeois leadership out voted us.

In spite of that, we had occasion to demonstrate the correctness of our policy on the Hartal question on Feb. 3rd, 1928. While other classes did play their part, the most active, prominent and organized part was undertaken and worked out successfully by the students Youths and the workers in Bombay. Mr. Jhabwala especially instrumental in linking the Simon Hartal with the workers and the huge workers processions was greatly organised by him along with Mr. P. Spratt and Nimbkar.

YOUTH CONFERENCES.

Two Youth Conferences the Bombay Presidency Youth Conference and the Maharashtra Youth Conferences was, in some measure influenced by our Party members especially on resolutions regarding the Constituent Assembly, Franchise and economic demands of the people. The Youth organisations are not stable yet but ideology is being built up.

PROPAGAND SECTION.

Under the Propagand Section, meetings, lectures, anniversary celebrations, publications were undertaken, apart from the sectional meetings organised by each section for its particular work on hand.

MEETINGS.

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|--|-------------------|--------------|
| 1. Lenin Day | 22nd January 1927 | Bombay City. |
| 2. Welcome to Saklatwala. | February 1927 | " " |
| 3. Welcome to Dange on his release from Jail | 24th May 1927 | " " |
| 4. May Day Celebration | 1st May 1927 | " " |

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|----|--|---------------|--------------|
| 5. | Welcome to S. Usmani
on his release from Jail | July 1927 | Bombay City. |
| 6. | Anniversary of the Russian
Revolution. | 7th Nov. 1927 | " " |
| 7. | Sacco-Vazetti-murder
condemnation | | " " |

MANIFESTOS.

1. To the A. I. C. C. for its meeting in Gauhati.....published Separately.
2. " " " " Bomby. Published Separately.
3. " " " " Madras. " "
4. Bombay Presidency Youth Conference. Jan. 1928. " "
5. All India Youth Congress 28th December 1928, Newspaper Publication.
6. A Manifesto of Simon Commission.....Published separately. Published in collaboration with the Sister Party in Calcutta.
7. Open letter to the All Party Conference. Published in paper.

PUBLICATIONS.

1. Sacco-Vanzetti; their speeches before the tribunal.
2. "Krantii" a Marathi weekly from

Comrade P. Spratt was prosecuted for his "India and China" and was at last acquitted. In spite of the acquittal, the Government has not removed the ban on the book and therefore an excellent book has been suffered.

The Party organ "Krantii" was run for a long time, and devoted itself to all problems of the day and applied Party principles to all branches of life in its reading of the situation and correctly voicing mass feeling. The organ had to close down in the difficult days of the "India and China" case, which for all practical purpose was a Party case.

PEASANTS.

As regards Peasants' Section, the Executive is considering its policy on Peasants question and will soon issue its report.

P. 827.

Shanta Ram S. Mirajkar
Journalist.

2,3, Khandke Bldgs.
Dadar. Bombay No: 14.

Date 11/2/ 1928.

My dear Mr. Thengdi,

I have to acknowledge your letter which I received yesterday. I had written to you previous to my receiving the same.

You know, by now, that the annual meeting has been postponed for reasons stated in my letter to you viz: (i) Maharashtra Youth Conference (ii) E. C. Meeting of the T. U. C. We, therefore, have decided to hold the meeting in the first week of March.

I think that the Delhi E. C. Meeting of the T. U. C. is very important and if it is not impossible for you, you must try to attend the same. On the question of affiliation we have decided to circularize the attached to all the affiliated Trade Unions and warn them in time. I hope it is to your satisfaction.

Please try to attend the Delhi meeting.

With greetings,

Fraternally yours,

S. S. Mirajkar.

5-13 P4()

P. 827. (1)

17, Dwarkadas Mansion,
Girgaum,
Bombay 11th February 8

The All India Trade Unions and their Executive Committees,
Comrades,

We understand that at the Executive Council meeting of the A. I. T. U. C. to be held on February 26th at Delhi one of the subjects to be considered is:—

“Consideration of the letter received from International Federation of Trade Unions, Amsterdam, regarding the affiliation of the T. U. C. to the I. F. T. U. Amsterdam.”

This subject is a very important one and we desire, therefore, to draw your attention to it. Our T. U. C. at its Congress at Delhi in March 1927 decided that while in favour of International connections, it should undertake no affiliation until the two Trade Union Internationals, the International Federation of Trade Union and the Red International of Labour Unions were amalgamated. This decision was reaffirmed at the Cawnpore Congress in November last. These two decisions of the full Congress should not be over-ridden by an Executive Council, which under Section 19 of the Constitution cannot act in contravention to the decisions of the open Congress. The subject can only be re-opened and decided upon by the next Congress. If any resolution contrary to these is passed at Delhi, we request you to be alive to your rights and protest against it. If the Executive and Officials of the T. U. C. are so much in a hurry to re-open a subject very recently decided upon they should have followed a more democratic way that of asking opinions from all the Trade Unions by letters or holding a plebiscite of all Unions, since it is quite clear to all that our Unions or their representatives except a few are not rich enough to bear expenses to attend the Executive Committee Meeting.

At the same time we wish to point out some further considerations. The argument is advanced by some leaders, that as unity of the two Internationals appears to be postponed indefinitely we should not postpone affiliation indefinitely, but join now to one or the other. If this is accepted, the question arises which of the two Internationals are we more in sympathy with? And which will be more helpful to us?

We ask you to bear in mind the records of the two organisations.

(1) The I. F. T. U. is in close relations with the "Second International" (The Federation of Socialist Parties) and their policies are in entire agreement. The Parties of the Second International have nearly all made themselves notorious by supporting their Capitalist Governments, during Imperialist Wars, by joining in Coalitions with Capitalist Governments, or even establishing their own Governments, which have opposed workers strikers, suppressed Trade Unions and other Working Class activities, sometimes with the greatest ferocity and bloodshed, increased armaments, and engaged in the suppression of movements of freedom in the Colonial countries. The Socialist Parties, supported by the I. F. T. U. Trade Unions, have done these things in Germany Bulgaria, Poland, Hungary, France and Britain. We have lately had experiences of the attitude of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and the Officials of the British Labour Party towards India. They have supported the Simon Commission, condemned Hartal and Boycotts and accused Indians of having "Inferiority complex". During the

Government of Mr. MacDonal in 1924, the Bengal Detenues were imprisoned, and the Cawnpore "Boleshevik" Case Victims were given four years' imprisonment each.

2. Owing to its weak and anti-working Class Policy, the I. F. T. U. is declining in strength. It is dominated by the British and German Unions. The British contribution sank from 52,000 florins in 1924 to 36,000 in 1926. And the German from 89,000 to 54,000.

3. The I. F. T. U. is in close relations with the International Labour Office of the League of Nations, and Institution run by the Capitalists of Europe in their own interests.

4. The I. F. T. U. has systematically opposed unity with the R. I. L. U. At the last Congress of the I. F. T. U. in Paris August 1 to 6 1927, the corruption of this International was shown up. A private letter was produced from Mr. Oudegeest to Mr. Jonhaux (leading members of the Committee) acknowledging the sincere desire of the R. I. L. U. for unity, but arranging means whereby the projected unity could be stopped.

5. The most militant Chinese, Japanese and other Eastern and African Labour Organisations have refused to be associated with the reactionary I. F. T. U. On the contrary, the Chinese and Javanese Unions have joined the R. I. L. U. On the other hand we ask you to remember that it was the R. I. L. U. that helped most our General Textile Strike of 1925, and that was first to help kharagpur men, without even waiting for our appeal.

We have placed before you facts as they are, without prejudice, and are of the opinion that the interests of the masses of workers in India demand accordingly, that if any affiliation is considered it should be in favour of the R. I. L. U.

Yours fraternally,
Executive Committee
of
The Workers' and Peasants' Party.

The Workers' & Peasants' Party, BOMBAY.

From: The Executive Committee of
The Workers' and Peasants' Party. } 17. Dwarkadas Mansion,
Girgaum, Bombay, February,
1928.

To: All The Trade Unions and their Executive Committees.
Comrades,

We understand that at the Executive Council meeting of the All India Trade Union Congress to be held on February 26th at Delhi one of the subjects to be considered is:—

“Consideration of the letter received from the International Federation of Trade Unions, Amsterdam, regarding the affiliation of the T. U. C. to the I. F. T. U. Amsterdam”.

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We ask you to bear in mind the records of the two organisations.

(1) The I. F. T. U. is in close relations with the "Second International" (The Federation of Socialist Parties) and their policies are in entire agreement. The Parties of the second International have nearly all made themselves notorious by supporting their Capitalist Governments during Imperialist Wars, by joining in Coalitions with Capitalist Governments, or even establishing their own Governments, which has opposed workers strikes suppressed Trade Unions and other working class activities, sometimes with the greatest ferocity and bloodshed, increased armaments, and engaged in the suppression of movements of freedom in the colonial countries. The Socialist Parties supported by the I. F. T. U. Trade Unions, have done these things in Germany, Bulgaria, Poland, Hungary, France and Britain. We have lately had experiences of the attitude of Mr. Ramsay Macdonald and the officials of the British Labour Party towards India. They have supported the Simon Commission, condemned Hartal and Boycotts and accused Indians of having "Inferiority complex." During the Government of Mr. Macdonald in 1924, the Bengal Detenués were imprisoned, and the Cawnpore "Boleshevik" Case Victims were given four years' imprisonment each.

Owing to its weak and anti-working Class policy, the I.F.T.U. is declining in strength. It is dominated by the British and German Unions. The British contributions sank from 52000 florins in 1924 to 36,000 in 1926. And the German from 89,000 to 54,000.

3. The I. F. T. U. is in close relations with the International Labour Office of the League of Nations, an institution run by the capitalists of Europe in their own interests.

4. The I. F. T. U. has systematically opposed unity with the R. I. L. U. At the last Congress of the I. F. T. U. in Paris, August, 1927, the corruption of this international was shown up. A private letter was produced from Mr. Oudegeest to Mr. Jouhaux (leading members of the Committee) acknowledging the sincere desire of the R. I. L. U. for unity, but arranging means whereby the projected unity could be stopped.

5. The most militant Chinese, Japanese and other Eastern and African Labour Organisations have refused to be associated with the reactionary I. F. T. U. On the contrary, the Chinese and Japanese Unions have joined the R. I. L. U. on the other hand, we ask you to remember that it was the R. I. L. U. that helped most our General Textile strike of 1925, and that was first to hold Khargpur men, without even waiting for our appeal.

We have placed before you facts as they are, without prejudice,

and are of the opinion that the interests of the masses of workers in India demand accordingly, that if any affiliation is considered it should be in favour of the R. I. L. U.,

Yours fraternally,

Executive Committee of the workers' and
Peasants' Party, Bombay.

Substantial benefit will alone help the organisation of workers.

Bazars are best places for propaganda.

All workmen, irrespective of class, should be organized into one Union.

Actual agricultural Labour and small tenant will be fighting with each other.

Militant organization.

P. 829. *2 T. Rejected.*

A leaflet in Marathi entitled "The Ideal of Life", published by Lalji Pendse and printed at the Kamat Printing Press, Bombay No. 4, by S. U. Kamat.

The leaflet sets forth the Dying utterances of Comrade Vanzetti who fell a victim to American Imperialism after a continuous imprisonment of seven years.

P. 830.

Two Typewritten articles viz. (i) Functions of the Subcommittee and (ii) Draft of Proposed statement "Labour and Swaraj".

Please vide Exb. P. 817.

RESOLUTION OF THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

The historical development of the Trade Union Movement in India is not without its parallel in other countries. From these examples the workers of India must learn and commit mistakes that have been committed by the workers of those countries. Middle class individuals have seen in the organisation of Trade Unions a means for notoriety and a method to gain prominence in political and other spheres and because of the presence of these people in the Trade Union Movement we find organisation is stagnating. They have built so far and they themselves are frightened of the weapon that may develop. Also we find the present-day leaders are not prepared to put up anything like a fight, or to give a lead to the workers to even maintain their already damnable economic conditions as was experienced in the two recent strikes with the Kharagpur Railway workers and the Bombay Mill workers where the men were advised by the Leaders to accept worsened conditions, despite the magnificent stand the workers had made and were still prepared to make.

The rank and file worker is militant. We find in many instances to the credit of the workers, strikes developing in many places where previously no organisations existed, and many Trade Unions have been brought into existence from the Strike Committees that were elected to conduct such strikes. Unfortunately owing to the illiteracy of the workers those organisations fell into the hands of individuals who were not prepared to develop them into a machine that would help to achieve the economic emancipation of the masses. To make effective the organised efforts of the workers in the Trade Unions to participate in the political struggle.

THE TASK OF THE WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' PARTY

The task of the Party then is to transform existing organisations so that it will give expression to real working class demands, make the leadership such that it will give a courageous, militant and correct lead to the workers. To assist in the development of organisation so that it will be an efficient and capable machine able to secure for the workers their immediate demand such as better working condition, hours, wages etc; and ultimately assist in the economic emancipation of the masses.

ONE UNION FOR ONE INDUSTRY.

The Party places considerable importance on the Trade Union Movement as a weapon in the hands of the workers in their struggle against Capitalism. In many Industries we find a number of trade

unions catering for one. This multiplicity of Trade Union means overlapping of work and finance; this spells inefficiency. The fact that we find members of one Union working while members of another are in dispute at the same trade is to be deplored since this means weakness and defeat. This question must be vigorously dealt with and amalgamation must be advocated and achieved. There must be one Trade Union for Railwaymen, one for Textile workers etc.

T. U. C. AND TRADES COUNCILS.

The Trade Union Congress must be made the coordinating body linking up the activities and struggle of the workers throughout India, and in this sphere the members of the Party must play a big part.

Trade Councils must be set up in all big Industrial Towns in which the rank and file of the T. U. Movement should participate. These Trades Councils will be the body closely knitting up the activities of the workers in the Towns, co-ordinating the struggle of the workers, dealing with industrial and labour questions and organising demonstrations etc. A net-work of these should be set up all over the Country.

100% TRADE UNIONISM.

The present day leaders say you can get redress for your grievances by conciliatory methods and this is the weapon they use; but the employer is well-organised and can and does dictate terms. The only way to wring any improved conditions from him is by the organised power of the workers and by their being prepared to use their power. Therefore, 100% organisations must be our Slogan. The Councils set up by the T. U. C. for this purpose must get to work and members of the Party should use every effort to achieve this.

ORGANISATION.

It is necessary to put the Trade Unions on a proper basis e. g. arrangement for membership cards, proper collection of dues, financial records and for regular meeting of members to elect officers etc. As far as possible the officers should be actual workers and the rank and file should take a much greater part in running the trade union. Definite Trade Union branches should be set up so that the members can actively participate.

FACTORY COMMITTEE.

Workers in Factory etc. should elect Factory Committees from among themselves. Representatives should be elected from Departments which would form the Committee. They should look after the interests of the workers, take complaints to the employers,

inspect T. U. cards, and assist in bringing about 100% Trade Unionism.

YOUTH

Vigorous work must be carried on among the youth. They must be organised in T. U. movement on the same footing as older members and have the same rights for voting etc.

IMMEDIATE DEMANDS.

Members of the Party should wherever practicable be members of Trade Unions actively participating in the work of the Union and everyday struggle of the workers. It is necessary for our members to attend consistently to their work in the Trade Union Branch, B. C. and Management Committees. They should group around themselves the left-wing and best elements in an organised fashion. To get the policy of the Party supported and prepare the future leadership of the Trade Union Movement, a constant fight is to be carried on against Reformist Leadership, and to organise Circles and Classes on Trade Unionism. The workers must be rallied around the following programme of immediate demands on a National scale:—

- (1) Eight hour day; (Two weeks holiday with pay per year)
- (2) Abolition of child labour.
- (3) Abolition of system of fines.
- (4) Minimum living wage and.
- (5) State support for unemployed, old age pensions.
Maternity benefits, sickness benefits.
- (6) Improvement of laws regarding workmens' compensation and employers' liability.
- (7) Installation of modern safty appliances in factories, mines etc.
- (8) Abolition of the system of recruitment through jobbers.

IMMEDIATE DEMANDS FOR INDUSTRIAL INDUSTRIES.

It is necessary for the Party to work out a programme of immediate demands for individual industries, such as one for miners, one for Railwaymen. Textile etc, with slogans that will rally the workers of those particular industries around the Party in their struggle for better conditions.

RESOLUTION ON ORGANISATION

If the Workers' and Peasants' Party is to fulfil its role properly, and to carry out the decisions of the Party correctly and successfully it is necessary to pay considerable attention to organisation. Also there is the question of effect of the Party and its power, the success of any group of individuals lay in their state of organisation. Scientifically organised, although only a few thousand, the Party can become a power to be considered in the industrial and Political world. It must also be on such a basis that decisions can be easily transmitted, correctly understood and carried out. The Party must show the workers and peasants that it is actively participating in *their everyday struggle politically* and industrially to rally them around the Party. Without this fundamental all, your energy will be wasted and the Party will gain nothing. You may speak on platforms and put the Party policy but you will simply be beating the air if you have no real organisation to receive those who agree with your policy and want to help the Party; you may pass resolutions which only become pious resolutions if you have no organisation to carry them out. This applies to the Party as well as other organisations, for example many resolutions were passed at the last India T. U. C. which will never be carried out, if we had real organisation we could force the officials of the T. U. C. to carry them out. So Comrades look to organisation first, and put it on a sound footing, look to it as being the very first task to set about, and we shall have an organisation fit and capable to lead the Workers and Peasants in their struggle against Capitalism and Imperialism.

Therefore it is necessary that the Party should be put on a National basis. An executive Committee should be elected from the All India Congress of supporters of the Party, and general organisation on the following basis agreed to

PLAN OF ORGANISATION

1. Membership should be on the basis of individual membership and organisation affiliation. Subscription fee: Organisation affiliation fee.
2. Provincial Committees should be elected under the direction of the National E. C. of the Party.
3. Branches should be set up in towns, Taluk and Villages under the direction of Provincial Committees.
4. Groups set up in Factories, Railways, Mines etc. should work on Factory Committees.
5. Fractions or groups should be set up in Trade Union Branches Management Committees, Executive Committees, etc: and

also in Provincial Congress Committees. This applies to the T.U.C and A. I. C. C.

6. A definite Youth Organisation should be brought into being to work in the existing Youth movements, Trade Unions and Congress Committees etc.

7. A Womens Section must be set up to work among women, and organise etc.

OPERATION OF ORGANISATION

1. Study circles must be started forthwith in order that members may understand and correctly interpret Party Policy, and most important the application.

2. It is essential that all committees, branches, and fractions should meet most regularly, and keep up to date with current events. Therefore Provincial Committees must meet at least every two weeks. Branches and fractions or Groups every week.

3. The entire Branch membership shall be grouped in accordance with their special party work e. g. in Trade Union group, Congress group, Peasants group, etc. Each member must belong to at least one group. Each group shall appoint a group Leader, who shall be responsible to the Provincial or Branch committee according to size.

4. Fractions or Working groups must elect a group Leader, who shall be responsible to the Provincial or Branch Committee. These fractions must carry out decisions of a higher body, These decisions will be conveyed to the group by the Group Leader. After discussion and decision by the Group or Fraction on a resolution or nominations for official position, etc; the decisions of the group must be binding on the whole of the group. The work of the party groups within the Trade Unions and Congress Committees shall in the main be guided by the programme and policy of the Party. The demands of the Party must be pressed forward for acceptance by these bodies, it is important that adherents and new members be gained and the propaganda of the Party thus advanced. This applies to groups operating in the T. U. C. and A. I. C. C. these two bodies are very important.

5. *Branch Committees*—The Branch Committee shall co-ordinate the entire work of the Town or Village, and be responsible to the Provincial Committee to which it must report all work, and receive instructions and general line of policy, this it should convey to the groups. The Branch Committee must get reports of work from Group Leaders.

6. *Provincial Committees*:—These committees when elected shall co-ordinate the Party activity in the Province. They will receive instructions and policy on current affairs from the National Executive Committee. The provincial Committee in turn conveys this information to the Branches, groups, etc: and must receive report regularly from Branches, groups etc: on work done, future meetings of organisations, election of officers etc. The Provincial Committee shall have power to deal with immediate problems, issue urgent manifestos, and leads in the name of the Provincial Committee, Workers and Peasants Party, and shall be responsible for the same to the National Executive Committee.

7. *The National Executive Committee*. This committee when elected shall control the whole of the Policy and organisation of the Party in India. It shall issue instructions and policy on all problems, these must be immediately followed, it will issue Party manifestos and statements. Where Urgent and important to issue a lead or manifesto to the masses it will only be necessary for 50% of the National Executive Committee to be present to speak in the name of the Party. The N. E. C. will from time to time wherever advisable instruct Provincial Committees to issue publications and periodicals. They will as the N. E. C. issue publications and periodicals as they think fit. The N. E. C. will also be responsible for assisting Provincial Committees in training party members in the fundamental principles of the Party. It is necessary for the N. E. C. to meet regularly on fixed dates.

The basis of membership shall be the acceptance of the Party programme, the payment of the dues decided upon by the N. E. C. and the performance of organised work. Admission to the Party shall be subject to approval of the Provincial Committees and the N. E. C. The N. E. C. shall issue from time to time bulletins, leaflets, and pamphlets, etc., as they may think fit.

1. *COMMITTEES ELECTED*—Branch Committee and office bearers, shall be. The Chairman, Secretary, Executive members and Treasurer who shall be elected by the whole branch membership with group Leaders shall constitute the E. C. of Branch.

2. *THE PROVINCIAL COMMITTEE*—This Committee shall be elected by an annual meeting of representatives, elected by Party Branches and groups and affiliated organisations throughout the Province.

3. *THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE*—shall be elected by an annual meeting of representatives of Branch. Groups Provincial Committees and affiliated organisations. The N.E.C. shall be responsible to this annual meeting for a report of work done during the year.

YOUTH.

The fundamental task of the workers and peasants party is to bring about an organised movement of the workers, peasants and the petty bourgeoisie for the attainment of freedom from Imperialism, democracy and the emancipation of the toiling masses from poverty, ignorance, and oppression.

The working class, as the experience of all movements shows is the only class which can undertake the leadership of such a movement. It is the most exploited class, which by its practical experience and conditions of life learns to fight exploitation and oppression, consistently and in an organised manner.

It is essential to free the workers of India from their present state of disorganisation, political ignorance, and subjection to bourgeois leaders. The most vital section which can do this is the Youth, who are free from obsolete ideas and modes of thought, and have the idealism and energy necessary to conduct a persistent campaign of agitation, education and organisation among the working masses.

It is essential for the workers and peasants party to attract to its banner the awakening forces of the Youth of India, and to give them its scientific social outlook and energetic radical policy.

The Youth must be organised in an independent organisation which has as its functions to draw the youth into the political movement, (2) organisation of youths in Trade Unions and peasants (3) study the working conditions of the toiling youths (4) fight for the redress of the special grievances of the youth, particularly the unemployed (4) political study and self-preparation (5) organisation of study circles in political and economic subjects among workers and villagers and students.

The party must appoint a sub committee for the purpose of working with and assisting the youth organisation.

The following programme of immediate demands is suggested for adoption by such an organisation.

1. One month's Holiday in the year with pay.
2. Equal pay for equal work.
3. Technical instruction and Universal primary Education.
4. State support for the unemployed and for poor students.
5. Abolition of child labour-(after 14 years)
6. 6 hours day upto the age of 18 years.

THE SIMON COMMISSION.

The appointment and arrival of the Simon Commission confront the national movement with a serious responsibility. The Commission, which comes for the purpose of continuing the subjection of India to Imperialist exploitation, serves to remind the whole nation of its servile status and the ill-irremediable under the present system, which it suffers. It gives the Nationalist movement a chance to rally the Nation once more to the call of Independence and the solution of its problems of poverty and misery. This opportunity must be seized.

The bourgeoisie has taken up an attitude of opposition to the commission, and many of its representatives, in common with the rest of the Nation, have declared for boycott. We welcome support from any quarter. But we desire to warn the Nation in general against the dangers to be expected from the participation and the leadership of a certain section of the bourgeoisie. This class has shown in the past, and many of its representatives are showing now, that they are not desirous of Independence or even of Democracy and freedom. (Even congressmen have drafted constitutions involving a limited franchise or even the present franchise.) They desire in their own interest, compromise with Imperialism and use the enthusiasm of the masses as a weapon to extract concessions. Some propose Indian membership of the commission, some a parallel commission, some a round table conference. All these things mean compromise, and the Nation does not need compromise, it needs independence.

It is therefore necessary in the interests of the immense majority that the campaign for boycott and for Independence be carried forward with the greatest possible energy in spite of any sabotage or opposition.

Boycott must not be confined to those who may be called upon to give evidence. All must take part and demonstrate their determination to be free of all commissions responsible to a foreign Government. The Hartal must be made complete and strikes of workers be held on as large a scale as possible. Demonstrations must be held demanding independence and the solution of our pressing economic and political problems.

The campaign must not be allowed to end on February 3rd. The bourgeois parties have called a conference for February 12th to frame a constitution for presentation to the Govt.

We declare that the only logical course, after the acceptance of independence as our aim, is the convention of a National constituent Assembly, elected by universal adult suffrage, to settle the future relations of India with British Imperialism. A National

Constituent Assembly will frame our constitution, and solve our fundamental problems of poverty and economic and social backwardness.

We call upon the All India Trade Union Congress, which is invited to the Delhi Conference, to insist in the name of the organised workers that nothing short of a constituent B. P. N. Assembly will satisfy them, and to present to the conference the demands, political and Economic, which the workers will make upon any Swaraj Government.

We call upon elected members-of Legislatures to show their devotion to the cause of Independence, by resigning their seats and on re-election refusing to take the oath of allegiance.

We call upon the whole Nation not to be misled by interested communal propaganda, but to realise that the interests of all the oppressed and exploited are one, and to sink minor differences in the great task of obtaining freedom for all.

We call upon all who sincerely desire a mass struggle for freedom and for deliverance from poverty and ignorance to join the workers & peasants' party which stands for the complete emancipation of all the people.

Our members must continually conduct propaganda for the calling of a National constituent Assembly, and warn the public of the dangers of a compromise arriving from the All partys' conference and its exclusivsly bourgeois character.

Our members must utilise the situation for recruiting member to the party, the only guarantee of a proper policy for National Freedom and the Emancipation of the Masses.

Party members must take part in the organization of Hartals and strikes on February 3rd and must a arrange a demonstration on that day with the following slogans.

Down with Imperialism and simon Commission. Complete Independence. National Constituent Assembly. Votes for all. A living wage. The Eight hour day. *Land to the peasants.*

P. 834.

RESOLUTION ON ORGANISATION.

(Vide Exh. P. 832.)

P. 835

BOMBAY, No. 4.
29-1-28.

My dear Mr. Thengdi,

The Sunday meeting is just over and it is very late at night. Your absence was very much felt; because we feel that your advice on several questions would have been very valued.

Mr. Nimbkar was voted to the chair and twenty persons attended the meeting. The following resolutions were moved, discussed and passed. These resolutions are in the form of thesis wherein our policy on various questions has been clearly laid down. These resolutions are open for modifications at our next annual meeting.

*Resolution on Trade Union—by Jhabvala
" General Pol. Situation by Shah
" Organisation " Mirajkar
" Youth " Ghate
" Simon Commission " Joglekar
" Peasants " Dange

I am sending the last named five resolutions just now. A copy of the resolutions on T.U. movement is not just available because somehow all the copies except the office copy are missing. I will type the same tomorrow and send it to you.

Lastly a resolution expressing regret for your absence was moved from the Chair and the same was unanimously adopted.

I am getting very late now. I will carry out your instructions with reg: to the bed etc. Nothing more at present to add.

Yours fraternally,
S. S. MIRAJKAR.

P. 836.

THE WORKERS' & PEASANTS' PARTY.

17, Dwarkadas Mainsions,
Bombay 26th January 1928.

Comrade D.R. Thengdi
Poona.

Dear Comrade,

I have to invite you to attend the meeting of the Executive

Committee of the above Party to be held on Sunday the 29th instant at 12-30 p.m. at the Congress House to consider the resolutions on the following subjects.

1. Resolution on Trade Union Movement.
2. " " Organisation.
3. " " General Political Situation.
4. " " Youth Movement.
5. " " Simon Commission.
6. " " Peasant Movement.

With greetings

Yours fraternally,
S.S. MIRAJKAR
Secretary, W. & P. Party.

P. 337.

Proceedings of the adjourned meetings of E.C. held on Monday the 23rd January 1928.

Present

- (1) D.R. Thengdi, Chairman
- (2) S. S. Mirajkar
- (3) C. G. Shah
- (4) R. S. Nimbkar
- (5) S. V. Ghate
- (1) Resolved

That an annual General meeting of the Peasants and Workers Party be held on 18th and 19th Feb. 1928, to pass Annual report, election of the new E.C. and amendments and alterations to the constitution, if any, and such other subjects and resolutions as may be allowed by the President.

(1) That a meeting of the E. C. be held next Sunday the 29th Jan. to consider Resolutions put by the Group leaders, when symphathisers will be specially invited to attend at 2 p. m. at the Congress house.

III Resolved

That the time is now ripe for all party speakers to put forward in connection with the boycott campaign the Slogan of a "constituent Assembly, elected by Universal Adult suffrage as the only proper body to draw up the constitution of Independent India"

The meeting was then dissolved.

D.R. THENGDI

President.

P. 888.

Manifesto of the Workers & Peasants Party to The Youth Conference.

The Workers & Peasants Party hails with joy the Bombay presidency Youths' Conference, the first successful endeavour to rally the youth of the presidency, and weld them into a powerful centralised organisation with a programme of work. When the Youths of a Nation congregate with a determination to devote their energies in an organised manner to the task of fighting political slavery, economic exploitation and social reaction, a new epoch dawns on the life of a subject Nation and a new phase develops in the history of its struggle for freedom. The Youths of a Nation constitute its best and most virile section. Youths alone have that idealistic power, that fighting will and self sacrificing spirit that fiery love for human liberty and unquenchable enthusiasm, which are needed to pioneer and lead movements destined to overthrow predatory social systems and liberate enslaved and exploited humanity from the rule of Imperialists and capitalists. Both in the previous and contemporary history of humanity idealistic and selfsacrificing, youths have been in the vanguard of all freedom and progress movements. The magnificent work achieved by organised youths in modern China, Turkey and Egypt as also in Soviet Russia, should inspire their Indian Comrades to unite themselves and participate in the struggle for freedom of the Indian nation against British Imperialism to bravely stand against and overthrow centuries old social and religious prejudices, to awaken the latent forces of the broad masses of the Nation and marshal them for a long drawn out struggle against the existing oppressive social system, to lead victoriously the organised

Indian people to Swaraj and build up the social economic and cultural life of the future Independent India. These are the principal historical tasks of the Indian Youths and they alone (and not the supine compromising elderly leaders of the existing Congress and Nationalist movement) can have the necessary strength and idealism to realise these tasks.

The organised youths should realise that ours is essentially an epoch of struggle against political oppression economic exploitation and social tyranny from which the large majority of humanity are suffering. Owing to a fundamentally wrong social system, large sections of human population are rotting in intolerable poverty and slavery. Imperialism and capitalism have reduced a huge portion of humanity to the status of slaves and instruments of exploitation. However, the subject classes of the world have already bestirred themselves and under the leadership of intrepid and heroic political parties have started a Universal struggle against Imperialist and Capitalist domination. In India too, millions and billions of workers and peasants who have been suffering for centuries from social and economic exploitation and who are even at present ground down by poverty and semi-slavery, have commenced their struggle for freedom. It becomes the duty and the historical task of all generous hearted and noble youths who are animated by love for human liberty to sympathise with and participate in these rapidly growing social, political and economic struggle of the immense millions.

There are various sections of the struggle and the organised youths of the country should take part in all the sections and strengthen radical tendencies. In the economic field, they should assist the organised trade Union, agrarian, and other movements of the industrial and transport workers, peasants, clerks and other sections of the Nation who are struggling to secure decent standards of life from their masters and widening their struggle for ultimate emancipation. And in the political field, the youths must gladly, spontaneously and unreservedly, identify themselves with the Nationalist struggle which on the principle of self-determination demands from British imperialism, National Freedom. The organised youths of India should become the life blood of the Indian National Congress should overthrow its present feeble leadership and reorganise the Congress and the Nationalist struggle with a view to fight more effectively against Imperialism.

In the social and religious spheres, the youths' movement should start a campaign, a veritable crusade against all injustices, barbarities and malpractices, such as Untouchability, Child marriage, caste system purdah, sex inequality, prohibition of widow remarriage etc. It should challenge and attack whatever is reactionary and decadent in social conceptions and institutions of contemporary India. It should declare a war on all communal movements which

split the Indian People on un-historic communal lines, accentuate sectional consciousness among the people and which Prevent their organisational and psychological unity. The organised youths should realise the futility of all efforts to achieve Hindu Muslim and in general, intercommunal Unity through fraternal understanding among the respectable top elements of different communities. To achieve the real intercommunal unity, it is vitally necessary to rally together and unite the poverty-struck masses and middle classes of all communities on a politico-economic programme reflecting the specific interests of those classes (98% of the Indian people.) The organised youth should lead the struggle of these classes for their economic betterment and political advance from day to day. It will be only in the process of this struggle of the exploited Hindu Muslim, Parsi and Christian masses and middle classes that the real unity of the real people of the country will be built up. When the exploited elements of all social groups comprising the Indian Nation are organised in their Trade Unions, peasant associations, clerks, teachers and other employees unions, on the basis of a united struggle against common exploitation, and as this united struggle develops and becomes country wide, the communal movements will decline and communal antagonism will vanish, being replaced by the organised movements of all exploited and suppressed elements of the Nation against their imperialist, Capitalist and feudal masters. Labour organisations and mass struggles alone can liquidate communalism. All other solutions of the problem of inter communal unity which are not based on the recognition of this social fact and which depend for the success on the mutual understanding, among the political and intellectual top elements will prove Utopian. The real Hindu Muslim Unity is being progressively built up in the process of mass struggles, in workers strikes in Bombay Kharagpur an other centres. With such a scientific conception of bringing about the Intercommunal unity of the broad sections of the Indian Nations the youth Movement should ally itself with the economic and political struggle of the lower and middle strata of the Indian Nation. Mere ethical propaganda or sermonising on the political arch-necessity of the intercommunal unity to successfully combat foreign domination will not yield any productive results.

It has been a tragedy of history that the idealism and dynamic energies of youth have been frequently exploited by predatory interests. For want of a correct understanding of the social structure, youths have often been tools in the hands of the ruling classes to suppress the struggle for liberty, of the exploited masses. In Italy the patriotic sentiment, romantic imagination the militancy of middle class youth have been exploited and transformed into the reactionary fascist force by the Italian Capitalists not only to smash an independent working class movement but also to suppress the elementary democratic liberties of the Italian people. The youth

movement should combat Fascism as an organised conspiracy to destroy the movement of all enslaved and exploited social groups. The radical elements within the youth organisation who desire that the strength of organised youths be spent for the struggle for freedom rather than be prostituted for maintaining slavery and exploitation in the social world should see that the youths' organisation is not dominated by social and political reactionaries. They should take up the ideological and political leadership of the youth organisation and movement.

D. R. THENGDI,

President, Workers & Peasants

Party Bombay.

P. 839.

17 Dwarkads Mansion

Bombay No. 4

My dear Mr. Thengdi,

Last night Mr. Joglekar asked me if I had received a letter from you with regard to the adjoining room, but to this day I have not received any letter from you about it and I am simply wondering as to what must have happened to it if you have sent one. Kindly write to me to say what the letter contained.

As regards the room itself it has not been vacated by that man who had kept those two girls although the girls have gone from there. Please say if I should go in for the room, in case it is vacated by its present occupant at once. As regards the other big room on the right hand side, it has been occupied by some gentleman and there is no hope of our getting it now.

Re: Party Work. it is proceeding slowly and steadily. We are now making our contact in the trade Union movement. We are attending all the meeting of the Unions in the City along with Mr. Jhabawalla. I am sending you herewith five forms of membership, kindly fill in one of them and send the same to me; the rest you may keep with you in case you want to enrol any more members to the Party from Poona. Kranti is getting on. Why do you not write something for it? Please send the report of work done by some of

your Poona (Krikee) Unions for publication.

Awaiting a reply

I am yours obediently,

(Sd.) S.S. Mirajkar.

P. S. I will send you your membership card, receipts for subscription and Donations in a short time.

P. 840.

Telegram from Joglekar of Bombay to D.R. Thengdi.

To

Dhandiraj Thengdi, Sadashive
Peth Poona. C.

Dange being released Bombay Monday morning arranging reception come down immediately Sunday evening.

(Sd.) Joglekar.

P. 841.

A printed picture, with a weak and haggard labourer in the foreground, and a procession of labourers carrying posters showing "Bread, Bread, Work, Work", in the background.

P. 842.

A type written article entitled "May Day".

(Vide F. 407.)

PROGRAMME.

"The present Congress activity and programme are completely divorced from the everyday life of the masses, and in consequence the bulk of the population, the disenfranchised 98 per cent., have lost all interest in and sympathy for the Congress, which has become a feeble body. The present leadership of the Congress has tied itself and the Congress machinery to a programme of work which is of benefit only to an insignificant section of the people, the big capitalists and their allies the intellectual and professional upper classes. As a consequence, on the one hand, Congress circles are divided by personal ends, and on the other, the masses are allowed and even encouraged to express their indignation against their hard lot in the form of communal fights.

In the interest of the vast majority of the people it is urgently necessary to free the Congress from the narrow shackles of class interests, and to yoke it to the task of attaining national freedom from the imperialist bondage, as a step towards complete emancipation of the masses from exploitation and oppression.

This meeting of the All-India Congress Committee therefore resolves that

1. The aim of the Indian National Congress is the attainment of complete national independence from imperialism, and the establishment of a Swaraj based upon universal adult suffrage.

2. It reiterates its faith in civil disobedience, i. e., Direct Action as the only effective weapon that will ultimately free the people of India from their subject position, but realises that a great general awakening will have to be brought about before this weapon of Direct Action can be effectively used.

All efforts must be directed to the attainment with the least possible delay of the general awakening, and for this purpose the Congress adopts the following programme:

(i) 70 per cent. of the population which is engaged in agriculture is to be organised into peasants' societies, by District, Taluka and Village, on the lines of Village Panchayats, based on universal suffrage, aiming to secure control of the economic life of the rural areas.

(ii) Agricultural Co-operative Banks to be established by the State for the provision of cheap credit for the peasants, whereby they will be enabled to free themselves from the grip of the Sawkars, and to purchase modern machinery and other equipment.

(iii) Limitation by law of the rate of interest on loans to 7 per cent. per annum.

(iv) Limitation of rent 10 per cent. of the total produce, to be paid direct to the State.

(v) Bringing into cultivation by State aid of cultivable land at present unused.

(vi) The industrial working-class to be organised into Trade Unions in order to increase their control over the working conditions. In order to guarantee a human existence, the following legal provisions to be made:

(a) Eight hours duty.

(b) A minimum living wage.

(c) Abolition of child labour under the age of 18.

(d) A scheme of Old-Age, Health, and Unemployment Insurance for Industrial and Clerical workers, similar provision being made for agricultural labourers through village organisations.

(e) Employers liability and Workmen's Compensation Acts.

(f) Full freedom for Trade Union activity.

(g) To make all necessary provisions for adequate housing.

(vii) Hospitals and Public Health Centres to be created for every 10,000 of population, and adequate arrangements made for free medical help to the masses.

(viii) Free and compulsory Education both for Boys and Girls will be enforced in the Primary Grades and full facilities will be created for the Secondary Grades. Provision will also be made to give free Technical and Vocational training. Special attention will be paid to give instructions in the Elementary principles of Hygiene, Sanitation and civics. Instruction through Vernaculars will be necessarily looked at as the most saving element.

(ix) Woman shall enjoy full Social, Economic and Political life on equal status with man.

(x) All indirect taxation will be abolished so also will feudal rights and dues from the Cultivator. Land rent will be fixed to a minimum.

(xi) A progressive Income Tax shall be imposed upon all incomes exceeding Rs. 250 P. M.

(xii) Full freedom of speech, Press, and Association will be ensured for all.

(xiii) Full freedom of Religion and Faith will be established for all and it shall be absolutely an individual concern.

(xiv) While distinctly reiterating the opinion that the reforms

and the Political Machinery created thereunder are unsatisfactory and inadequate, this Congress holds that whatever advantage could be secured from existing Political Machinery must be utilised in the interest of the Masses.

This Congress further holds that the above-mentioned Programme of actual work among the Masses alone will ultimately emancipate them and therefore all possible efforts have to be made to create all favourable circumstances for the actual working of the same. In the elementary and initial stages of the above work all legal protection and conditions of direct help will have to be created under the existing Political Machinery and with this definite purpose alone the Councils and all other Political Bodies will be worked and utilised by all Congressmen whenever and wherever possible.

Congressmen will go into the Councils, Local Boards, Municipalities, village organisation and occupy all points of vantage and will use them to the fullest extent for the furtherance of the above mentioned Programme and to bring more and more power in the hands of the people. For this purpose of utmost democratisation of the whole Machinery of Government, Congressmen will make use of and exploit all existing Laws and Statutes and will further try to introduce new Status by moving Bills, Resolutions, Amendments, etc., in furtherance of this cause. While thus utilising the existing Machinery for the furtherance of the cause of the control of the Masses over the same, Congressmen will continue the policy of continuous, consistent and uniform obstruction to all Government measures whereby the Bureaucracy intends to or is likely to strengthen its position. All possible tactics will be used by Congressmen to foil Government interest, as opposed to above aims, whenever and wherever possible.

(xvi) Whereas some Political sanction must be created at the earliest possible date, to effectively compel the Government to create favourable conditions and ensure sufficient latitude for the successful operation of the above mentioned programme of General awakening and actual building up the CLASS CONSCIOUS MASS FORCE for the final emancipation, means have to be devised to force the Government to come to terms for the purposes of granting further immediate Political Reforms.

Therefore to successfully checkmate the Government which is essentially entrenched behind its scientific resources, this Congress is of opinion that the Railway, Posts, Telegraphs and all other Transport Machinery such as Steamship, Docks, Motor Services and other means of Transport and Conveyances must be effectively controlled by building up strong Trades Unions in these Trades and attempts must be made at the point of threat of General Strike to bring the Government to book to release further Political Reforms from its unwilling hands. It is therefore resolved to make systema-

tic attempts Province by Province to effect this Organisational Work at the direct initiative of each Provincial Congress Committee and under the instructions of the All Indian Congress Committee.

This attempt at a General Strike of all Transport and Conveyances will be strengthened and supplemented by creating a general atmosphere of General Strike on other Trades as well and for this purpose the Congress resolves primarily to yoke itself to the task of Trade Unionism in all possible spheres,

Proposed by K. N. JOGLEKER,

Seconded by R. S. NIMBKAR,

Members A. I. C. C.

Printed at the "Advocate of India Press," Bombay.

P. 844.

TELEGRAM of 28-4-27 FROM MIRAJKAR TO THENGDI.

Thengdi, Sadashiva Poona C.

May day celebrations organized you pressed important business start immediately.

Mirajkar.

P. 845.

7 Blomfield Crescent

London W. 2.

23. 2. 27.

Dear Sak.

I am sending you with this week's papers, the "new Leader" and "Lansbury's Weekly" so that you may see what amount of success attended the Brussels conference. It appears to have been very good indeed.

The W.W.L.I. is not very flourishing at the moment, will you do what you can to assist it during your visit.

As far as I can gather from the Press you go on from strength to strength in your tour and the effect of your visit appears to be maganificent everywhere. I do hope however you will not return too late as the situation over here is such what your presence would be invaluable.

You will have seen that Tom Mann has reached China and also like yourself appears to be the subject of great interest.

Please thank Desai for his notes and cuttings which I have used to utmost. Best wishes from all on this side.

Yours,

R. Bishop.

P. 846.

The Young Communist League of Great Britain

READ	(British Section of the Young	CENTRAL
The Young Worker	Communist International).	EXECUTIVE
Weekly One Penny		COMMITTEE
The International	38, GREAT ORMOND STREET,	—
—of Youth—	LONDON,	SECRETARY
Every two months 6d.	W.C.I.	William Rust

TELEPHONE-MUSEUM 5354

14th February, 1927.

S. Saklatvala.

Dear Comrade,

We take this opportunity of raising one or two questions regarding the youth in India, and hope you will give this your consideration during your present tour.

We are of opinion that in your addresses to the Indian workers you should feature prominently the questions of the abolition of child labour and the Trade Union organisation of the youth. In the

same manner that we fight for 100% Trade Union organisation of British young workers do we urge the organisation of young Indian workers into the Trade Unions. In the case of the Indian youth we demand the formation of youth sections in the Trade Unions. You are well acquainted with the need for strengthening and bulding up the Indian Trade Unions and the organisation of the youth is one means of doing this.

Some time ago we communicated with the Indian Trade Union Congress urging them to deal with this question of youth organisation. However, up to the present time we doubt whether any real efforts have been made in this direction. Therefore, in view of the forthcoming Indian Trade Union Congress, we think that you should not only give prominence to this question in your agitation, but should endeavour to raise the question with the Trade Union Congress with a view to some definite practical steps being taken by the next Congress.

Further, in relation to the students, we hope you will bear in mind the possibility of contacts in order that we can in future carry on communication in regard to youth questions and the struggle for national liberation.

Finally, we shall be pleased to receive a press statement for columns of the "Young Worker" concerning the conditions and struggle of the youth in India.

We shall also be obliggd for any other information which can be utilised for the purpose of assisting the Indian youth. On the other hand we are quite prepared to furnish literature and material regarding the struggle of the British young workers which may assist Indian young workers.

With Communist greetings.

Yours farternally,

WILLIAM RUST

P. 847.

Constitution of the Workers' & Peasants' Party.

BOMBAY.

1. Name:—

The Party shall be called the **WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' PARTY.**

2. Object:—

To establish Swaraj (*complete National Independence*) wherein the means of production, distribution and exchange are publicly owned and socially controlled.

3. Membership:—

Any person accepting the object of the Party shall have a right to be a member of the Party subject to the following clauses.

(A) Applications for membership shall have to be made through a particular group of the Party in which the applicant desires to work. In special cases, however, recommendation of any one of the Executive members will be considered valid.

(B) Membership to the Indian National Congress is considered highly recommendatory.

4. Subscription:—

All members shall pay a monthly subscription of Annas 4/- is payable always in advance.

5. Executive:—

The Party at its Annual General Meeting will elect the following Office-bearers.

1. President.
1. Secretary.
2. Executive members.
1. Treasurer
and Group Leaders.

6. The executive shall meet at least twice a month (First Sunday of the month and first Sunday the next fortnight).

7. The President shall preside at all meetings of the Executive and the Party. In absence of the President any member may be voted to the chair.

8. At all meetings of the Executive *five* members shall form a quorum.

9. Nothing concerning any particular Group shall be discussed in the absence of the Group Leader.

10. No quorum is necessary at any meeting of the Executive adjourned for want of quorum.

11. There shall be at least one General Meeting of the Party at the beginning of every month.

12. At the General Meeting of the Party *one-fifth* of the party membership shall form a quorum.

13. No quorum shall be necessary at any meeting of the Party adjourned for want quorum.

14. Report of the work done, together with resolutions of the Executive shall be placed before the General Meeting.

15. There shall be an Annual General meeting to be held in the first fortnight of November every year. At this meeting the following business shall be transacted.

(A) Adoption of the Annual Report and an audited Statement of Accounts.

(B) Election of the Executive.

(C) Determination of the policy to be adopted by the Party during the next year.

(D) Such other business, notice of which has been given to the Secretary ten days before the date of the meeting.

16. The decisions of the Party shall be binding on all members of the Party.

17. Disciplinary Rules.

A member who is found to be guilty of the breach of discipline of the party shall be liable to expelled from the Party at a Special General Meeting called for the purpose. No such step, however, be taken unless three-fourths of the members present vote for it and unless he is given a sufficient opportunity to explain his conduct.

18. The Executive may at any time at their own initiative call a special meeting of the Party to consider such questions as the Executive may deem fit to place before the meeting.

19. The notice of every Special General Meeting unless, it is an adjourned one, shall be issued at least two days before the date of the meeting by the Secretary to the registered addresses of the members, specifying date time and place, of the meeting. At least twenty-four hours notice shall be given if an urgent meeting is called.

20. The Secretary shall fifteen days prior to the calling of the Annual General Meeting inform all the members of the Party, the date of the meeting and ask them to send to him such resolutions as they wish to be placed before the meeting. Such resolutions must reach the Secretary ten days before the date of the meeting. The Agenda will be circulated to the members seven days prior to the date of the meeting.

21. No change in the Constitution shall be effected unless by a majority of two-thirds of the members voting at the meeting.

P. 848.

Khandke Building No. 2,
Dadai, Bombay, No. 14
February 16.

Dear Mr. Thengdi,

Will you please send me a copy of the resolutions and amendments to the constitution which it is proposed to move at the next Trade Union Congress?

Yours truly,
S. S. Mirajkar.

P. 849.

Resolutions to moved in the A.I.T.U. Congress.

(1) Resolution on Imperialism.

This Congress expresses its fullest approval of the attitude take up by the British Trade Union Congress towards Imperialist. In common with that body, it beleaves that the empire provides a cloak, under which both the white and the colored workers within the Empire are ruthlessly exploited. It therefore declares its willingness to participate in all forms of common action with the other trade union movements within the Empire for the perpose of putting up the maximum amount of resistance to the machinations of British Imperialist.

(2) Resolution on the Legal Status of Indian Tradeunionism.

This Congress imphatically condemns the Trade Union Registration Act of 1925 as passed by the Indian Government. In doing so, it takes an oppurtunity of directing the attetion of the rest of the trade Uion world to the attempt being made to circumscribe the activities of Trade unionism in India. The Congress therefore reterates its determination to fight for the unqualified right of organization, the prinsiple of collective bargaining and the right of the Trade unions to participate in political and educational activities on behalf of their members. This Congress, indemanding that these long standing prevelidges are extended to the Indian Trade Union Movement, confidently looks for the active support of the International movement, the British Trade Union congress and the Labor Party (British).

3. The Resolution on Intrnational Trade Union Solidarity.

This Congress laments the fact that the Indian Trade Union Movement has no organic connection with the International movement and the further fact that even the International movement is not a unified force. It takes its stand with the trade unions in Norway, Mexico and other contries in appreciating the stirling work done by the British T. U. Con. and The All Russian Central council

of trade unions to attain Internats unity. Finally as a garaunty of its desire and cincerity for Unity, this Congress refrains from affiliating to the International Federation, of Trade Unions, or to the Red International of Labor Unions, but pledges itself to join a united Trade Union International, formed by the mergis of these two organizations.

4. Resolution on organization.

This Congress notes with concern the present tendency within the Indian Trade Union Movement, which leads to the creation of of many small unions, which in turn leads to misunderstanding and chaos and ultimately reduces the aggregate strength of organized workers. This Congress is of openion that the most effecient form of organization is along industrial lines, i. e. one union for one union for one industry. In consequence, it resolves to appoint a thoroughly representative committee, with powers to co-opt members of trade unions not affiliated to the A. I. T. U. Congress. The fuction of this committee will be devise ways and means, whereby the kindred trade unions shall be organized into National Industrial Unions.

My dear Mirajkar,

Herewith please find a copy of some important resolutions to be moved in the forth coming A. I. T. U. Congress session at Delhi. I approve of them all and will move the first and the third, if entrusted with them. Kindly kindly issue special invitation to Mr. Zabwala to makes sure that he attends the meeting that night. Tuesday.

I could also read some account of the trial of Cambell in the Harald today. Hoping you are doing well. I am yours fraternally.

D. R.Thengdi.

P. 850

The Workers and Peasants Party

From: S.S.Mirajkar,
Secretary, W. & P. Party.

2/3 Khandke Building
Dadar, Bombay, No.14

23rd February 1927.

To

Mr. D. R. Thengdi

Poona

The meeting of the Executive Committee of the Workers and

Peasants Party will be held on Friday the 25th instant at 8. 30. P.M.
at Congress House when you are requested to be present.

S.S. Mirajkar.

Secretary, W. & P. Party.

P.S. We propose to discuss and draft a constitution of our Party in this meeting; so also, we propose to come to a decision of immediate work to be done by different Group Leaders. I shall, therefore, look up to your presence in the meeting if it is not inconvenient to you.

Yours etc.,

S.S.M.

P. 851.

WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' PARTY

FORMED IN BOMBAY.

A meeting of the Congress Labour Party, which is the name of a group in the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, was held lately at the Congress House, when it was unanimously decided to change the name of this group and re-name it as the Workers' and Peasants' Party. A programme, representing the immediate demands of the workers and peasants was adopted and office-bearers were elected, Dhundi Raj Thengdi being the president, Mr. S. S. Mirajkar Secretary, Messrs. Jhabwala and S. V. Ghate as members of the executive Committee and Messrs. Pendse, Joglekar, Nimbkar and J. B. Patel as group leaders in charge of Congress, Trades Unions Education and Peasants activities. Mr. S. S. Mirajkar, Secretary of the Party requests that all correspondence should be sent in his name at 2/3 Khandke Buildings, Dadar, Bombay—14.

One of the resolutions passed at the meeting was to the following effect: "Whereas the exploitation and subjection of the workers and peasants cannot finally cease until economic and political power have been taken from the present rulers and transferred

to the workers and peasants, it is hereby resolved that (a) a political party of workers and peasants be established to voice the demands of these classes within the National Congress, to promote the organisations of Trade Unions, to wrest them from their present alien control, to advance the organisation of peasants on the basis of their economic and social requirements and to present a determined and pertinent opposition to the Government and thus secure the social economic and political emancipation of these classes. (b) Since an essential condition for the fulfilment of this programme is the attainment of complete National Independence, the party will co-operate for that end with other organisations which profess to desire it and are willing to struggle for its realisation. (c) It shall therefore be the ultimate object of the party to obtain Swaraj wherein the means of production distribution and exchange are publicly owned and socially controlled.

Parties Demands

Immediate political demands of the Party are:—(1) Universal adult suffrage and Responsible Government; (2) Abolition of communalism; (3) Freedom of speech, press and the right of association; (4) Removal of all restrictions on Trade Unions.

The immediate economic demands of the Party are:—(1) The abolition of indirect taxation and the introduction of graded income-tax on all incomes exceeding Rs. 200 per mensem; (2) Nationalisation of land wherein all cultivable land will be leased by Government direct to the cultivator; (3) Nationalisation of means of production, distribution and exchange; (4) Rent on land holdings not to be excessive; (5) Establishment by the Government of State-Aided Cooperative Banks, controlled by local organisation for the provision of credit to peasants at interest not exceeding 7 per cent; (6) Establishment by law of minimum living wage; (7) Establishment of schemes of insurance for sickness, unemployment, old-age pension and maternity benefits; (8) Establishment by law of the 8-hour day and 6-day week for industrial workers; (9) Improvement of laws regarding workmens compensation and employer's liability; (10) Legal enactments providing for installation of modern safety appliances in factories, mines. etc.; (11) Weekly payment of wages.

Immediate social demands of the Party are:—

(1) Complete elimination of illiteracy and the provision of adequate facilities for free and compulsory, liberal and vocational education for all upto the age of 18; (2) Establishment of hospitals, health centres, free medical treatment and maternity benefits; (3) Training and education in the principles of hygiene and sanitation (4) Provision adequate housing for workers and peasantry

P. 852.

A reply paid telegram No. 15 dated the 19th Feb. 1927 from Mirajkar, Bomby, to Thengdi Sadashiva Poona City.

Programme publication essential giving press evening reply bank address,

On the back of telegram is written the following:—

REPLY

Dated 19th Feb. 1927

22. P. M.

Mirajkar

French Bank,

Bombay.

Concented publication already Dadar Engineer Thengdi.

D. R. Thengdi

229, Sadashiva, Peth, Poona.

P 853

Dhoondi Raj Thengdi

Nagpur C. P.

Engineer

Date 17-2-27.

My dear Mirajkar,

Your letter of 15th. inst. to hand this morning. I congratulate you all on inogenerating the P & W Party after taking all the precautions and giving full considerations to the matter. I have now no objection in publishing the programme. I thank you all for electing me your Chairman of the E. C. which position I most gladly accept. Though feeling quite incompetent for that duty, I accept the responsibility on the hope of getting full cooperation from the members. We have amongst us some of the brightest stars who are prepared to sacrifice all that is deal to them in the service of the mother land. It has however to be remembered that movements have to be governed by the Averages" of the party and not by the Leaders, who have

however every right to push their point of view, while the subject is under discussion. It will be suicidal and destructive for them to hope that they will rule the party and force their views upon others, Wishing you every success. I remain your fraternally.

D. R. Thengdi

BOMBAY No. . . .

15. 2. 1927.

P. 854.

Dear Mr. Thengdi,

As decided yesterday I met Mr. Patel to take his advice in matter of the publication of the programme. His words I give you as he spoke "It is both legal and illegal." The interputation would depend upon the whim of the Govt. We met this night, and have all of us agreed in Publishing the whole of the programme. Mr. Sanzgiri has withdrawn his name from the Executive; but he will continue to be an ordinary member. Please wire consent for publication. I think there need be no hesitation now that the matter is clear.

Sincerely Yours-

sd/ S. S. Mairajkar

Secretary.

Khandke Bldgs 2.

Dadar.

P. S, Please wire to the following

Address:—

Mirajkar, French Bank

Bombay.

P 855.

Khandke Chawl No. 2;

Dadar, Bombay, No. 14.

Bombay, 26th January 1927.

From

Shantaram S. Mirajkar,

Pro: Secretary, Congress Labour Party,

BOMBAY.

To

D. R. Thengdi Esquire,

P o o n a .

Dear Comrade,

We intend to begin in right earnest the labour—organizational work on behalf of the newly started "Congress Labour Party"; we want your advice and assistance in that connection; I propose to convene that First General Meeting of the Party very shortly in order to elect office-bearers for the Year 1927 and to consider the drafted programme and work. I therefore, request you to come down to Bombay as soon as you can: the sooner the better. You at this juncture, are absolutely indispensable. Please therefore, take into consideration the urgency of the matter and start for Bombay—immediately.

Before you start drop me a line to the above address as to when you will be in Bombay, so that I will come and meet you.

Anxiously awaiting you,

I am, sincerely,

Yours,

S. S. MIRAJKAR.

Replied 29-1-27.

Earliest date of starting will be Monday the 7th Feb:

(Sd.) Illegible.

P. S.—Mr. Shah was to have sent you a wire today calling you over here.

(Sd.) S.S.M.

P 856.

Resolution on the need for a Workers' and Peasants' Party.

Vide Exh. P. 720.

P. 857.

Type written matter entitled "Programme".

Vide Exh. 843.

Saraswati Machine Printing Press, MEERUT U. P. INDIA.

The Location of the Office of the Congress.

47. This Congress resolves that the office of the All-India Trade Union Congress shall be located in Bombay.

The Next Session

48. The Congress decides that the next Session of the All-India Trade Union Congress should be held at Cawnpore in the month of November.

P. 860

From,

Canton.

To,

Central Labour Board,

Poiboidi, Parel,

Bombay.

Comrades,

Common—Wealth, Trade Union Congress, Australia, Authorized, requested, All China Labour Federation jointly in name of two organisations to call Pan - Pacific Labour Congress. Place, Canton, China, may 1st 1927, inviting T. U. Organisations of Japan, India, Sov. Russia, U. S. A. Mexico, Korea, Phillipines, Indonesia, Canada, Pacific Countries, South America and all T. U. Movements connected with Far East, namely England, France.

We propose Agenda for Congress following points:—

1st Report of preparatory Bureau.

2nd Report of Delegates of various countries.

3rd International T. U. Movements and situation in Pacific countries.

4th Anti Imperialism and T. U. Movements.

5th International regulations of wages and hours.

6th War danger in Pacific

7th Problem of Immigration and Trade Unionism.

8th Establishment of relations between Trade Unions in Pacific.

9th Other problems re: Far East and Pacific.

Growth of Trade Union Movement in Far East following National Movements in Colonial, Semi Colonial Countries, War danger in Pacific, working class economic problems rendering Congress utmost importance.

In name Common Wealth Trade Union Congress Australia and All China Labour Federation invite you to send Delegates to the above described Congress at Canton May 1st. Number of Delegates left to your discretion and resources of the participating organisations.

Trust you will exert all your efforts and order properly represented this Congress.

Fraternal greetings.

Head Preparatory Bureau.

Pan Pacific Labour Congress.

P. 861.

A Manifesto to the All-India National Congress—Gauhatti 1926—by the Communist Party of India.

(Vide Exh. P. 85).

P. 862.

A book in English entitled
"India and the Next War"

by
Agnes Smedley.

P. 863.

863T. Rejected.

A Marathi Issue of the "Chitramay Jagat" for the month of June 1928, entitled the special Russian Nember. The photo of Nicolai Lenin appears on the front page, while the sickle and hammer—the emblem of Bolshevism—is printed below it.

The following articles are important :—

- (1) What is Socialism ?
- (2) Educational System in Russia.
- (3) The History of Russian Revolution.
- (4) The Criminal Laws & Law Courts of Soviet Russia
- (5) The present Social life in Russia.
- (6) Bolshevism.
- (7) Communist International and the League of Nations. (by S. A, Dange).
- (8) The International Politics of Soviet Russia.
- (9) The Bolshevic Trio i. e. (1) Lenin (2) Trotsky. & (3) Stalin.
- (10) The economic progress of Russia during the past Ten years.

P 864.

A book in English entitled
"Historical Materialism"
(A system of Sociology)
by Mikolai Bukharin.
Authorised translation from the third Russian edition.

P. 865.

A book in English entitled
"Will the Bolsheviks Maintain Power" ?
by
N. Lenin.

P. 866.

A small pocket note book bearing the name of D. R. Thengdi.

Under date 31-10 the following occurs:—

“Announce. The Decision. Responsibilities of the situation. Preparedness of the Ry. lines for war.

Your work during war. Propaganda. Retiring to your village homes”.

At another page is the address of Shoukat Usmani, Mazdoor Sabha, Goaltoli, Cawnpore Communist Labour Leader.

At another page is the address of B. F. Bradley A. E. U. Empress Hotel, Cannon Road.

(This address is apparently in Bradley's own hand writing).

P. 867.

Search Warrant issued under sec. 96 C.P.C. by the District Magistrate, Meerut, authorising the search of the house of Mrs Suhasini Nambiar c/o Mrinalini Chattopadhyaya, Principal, New High School for girls, 5 Napier Road, Fort, Bombay.

The warrant was executed by the Bombay City Police on 20th, March 1929.

P 868.

Punchnama

We, the undersigned, members of the Punch viz :

(1) E. I. Borges Almeida, 44 years, Christian, Clerk,

Contractor Building,

Clare Road, Byculla.

(2) Fali R. Shroff, 30 year, Parsee, Money changer,

353 Hornby Road, Bombay.

Were present at the time of the execution of a warrant No: Nil, dated 15th March 1929 by Sergeant R. K. Hampton to witness the search of the place of Miss.

At the New High School for Girls at 5, Napier Road, Fort, Bombay, at 6 A. M. on 20th March 1929.

The above search was conducted by Sgt: Hampton in our presence and the following articles were taken possession of by the officer conducting the Search.

No:	Name of articles found.	Place found.
I.	Passport of Mrs. Suhasini Nambiar No: 2436,	Big Drawer in Desk.
II.	Letter introducing Mr. Adikari to Mrs. Chattopadhyaya.	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. E. I. Borges Almeida.
R. Hampton.	2. Fali R. Shroof.

Sgt: Bombay Police

8-15 A. M.

20-3-29.

P. 869.

Passport No. 2436 issued to Mrs. S. Nambiar by His Britannic Majesty's Consul at Berlin on 8th June 1927.

P. 870.

A pencil written letter of Berlin 22nd Nov. from Mr. Nambiar to Miss Mrinalini Chattopadhyaya, Bombay.

The letter runs as follows :—

Berlin,

22nd Nov.

My dear Gunnu,

Just a line to introduce my very dear friend Adikari. I should feel greatly obliged if you would be friend him and help him in all ways you can. He is a valuable worker.

Yours

Nanu.

P. 870. (E)

An envelope in which the above letter was enclosed bearing the following address :—

Miss Mrinalini Chattopadhyaya,

Principal

New High School for girls.

5 Napier Road.

Fort—Bombay.

P 871.

Search Warrant issued under sec. 96 C. P. C. by the District Magistrate, Meerut, for the search of the house of D. B. Kulkarni, Assistant Station Master, Manmad.

Executed by the Railway Police, Manmad, on 20th March 1929.

P. 872

PANCHNAMA.

We the undersigned, members of the Punch viz :—

1. Harold Wilfred Golting, age 39, Caste Anglo-Indian, occupation Station Master, Manmad.

2. Frank Ernest Ward, age 25, caste Anglo-Indian occupation Asst. General Foreman, G. I. P. Ry. Manmad.

3. Tatyaji Narhar Valupante age 30, caste Brahmin, occupation relieving signaller Manmad.

4. Dattatraya Vithal Dalvi, age 51, caste Saraswat Brahmin, Manager Ry. Fruit and sweetmeat Stall, Manmad, were present at the time of the execution of search warrant No. Nil, dated 15th March 1929, issued by the District Magistrate, Meerut (U. P.) to witness the search of the dwelling place of one Mr. Dattatraya Babaji Kulkarni at the Madrasi Dharmshalla Manmad, at about 8-30 A. M. on 20th March 1929.

The above search was conducted by Mr. Dinshaw Edulji Khambatta, Sub Inspector of Police, Manmad Town Police Station in our presence and the following articles were taken possession of by the officer conducting the search.

The place occupied by Mr. D. B. Kulkarni being locked from outside by a padlock and Mr. Kulkarni being on leave and his whereabouts were enquired and as they could not be ascertained he having left Manmad some five or six days ago, the lock was got broken open by one Chintaman Nathoba Patil, Electrical Asst. fitter, carriage and wagon Dept. Manmad Station. We came into the verandah. The dwelling room to the South was also found padlocked. This lock was also got opened by the above named fitter. We then entered into the room and looked for papers mentioned in the list attached to the warrant of search and found the following articles:—

A

1. Money receipt No. 29, issued by the Secretary of the Workers' and Pesants' Party, Bombay. It is dated 1. 7. 1928.

2. Money receipt No. 28, 1. 7. 28 issued by Workers' and Peasants' Party, Bombay.

3. Notice dated 2/7/1928 issued by the Hon. Secretary, G. I. P. Ry. Employees General Union, Usuf Building, Nawab Tank Road, Mazgaon Bombay.

4. Money receipt No. 40, dated 26-6-28 issued by Hon. Secretary, G. I. P. Ry. Employees General Union Reay Rd. Bridge, Bombay.

5. A manuscript containing songs in Marathi pertaining to late Mr. B. G. Tilak, etc.

The above articles 1 to 5 were found from an open trunk of green and light brown colour in the dwelling room to the south, placed on wooden box in the S. E. corner.

In the wooden box mentioned above were found the following :—

B

1. Postal money receipt No. 4421, dated 17-5 (year not discernable) addressed to Edoo Bala Jarekar, bearing Cotton exchange, Bombay stamp.

2. Money order receipt dated 12-5-27, addressed to Secretary Nagpur P. Co. Nagpur.

3. Subscription receipt passed by Hon. Secretary, G. I. P. Ry. Employees Genl. Union bearing No. 751, and dated 18-4-1927.

4. A paper bearing address of P. Sprat, 80 Waller Road, New Cross, S. E. 14, London, or C/O Labour Research Dept. 162 Buckingham Palace Road, London S. W.

5. Money receipt passed by Hon. Secretary, G. I. P. Ry. Employees General Union bearing No. 30 of 15-6-1928.

6. Money receipt bearing No. 32, dated 15-6-28, passed by Hon. Sec. G. I. P. Ry. Employees General Union.

In the small trunk on the top of a wooden box kept in the S. E. corner of the room were found .-

C

1. Money receipt passed by Hon. Treasurer, regarding Ugaon collections, dated 5-2-28.

2. One locket photo of a Hindoo person with Gandhi cap wrapped in a brown piece of paper.

3. A promisory note dated 26-9-27 passed by D. B. Kulkarni regarding a loan of Rs. 125/- obtained the Secy. G. I. P. Ry. Employees' General Union Bombay.

Lying in the room on the floor near the doorway were found :—

D

1. Money receipt books - blank - one from No. 251 to 300 and the other from 301 to 350 belonging to the G. I. P. Ry. Union.

2. Meeting Notice of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, dated 27-2-29, issued by Hon. Secretaries, Messers Sanzgiri and Nimbkar.

3. Report of the Manmad Meeting of the G. I. P. Ry. Men's Union, dated Manmad 24-2-29. Out of numerous copies of the above report only one is taken possession of.

4. Two group photos, one small and the other large, containing photos of Messers Bradley, Jabwalla, Joglekar, D. B. Kulkarni and others. The former were taken by Vir Art Photographers and the latter by Pendharkar Bros. Bhandara C. P.

The above and the following papers were found in a windowsill.

E

1. Circular dated 12-2-29 of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee issued by Jt. Hon. Secretaries, Messers Sanzgiri and Nimbkar.

2. A pencil letter dated Parel 23-1-29 headed place - in some hotel while taking tea and begins with Comrade and written by S. S. Joshi.

3. Type written letter written by K. S. R. Chary, Organising Secretary, Camp, New Delhi, dated 19-2-29. (Copy of this forwarded to S. H. Jhabwalla).

4. Typewritten letter No. 192, dated Bombay 12-12-1928, issued by Secretary, Bombay Strike Enquiry Committee.

5. Typed letter issued by Secretary to the Agent, G. I. P. Ry. Bombay, dated 12-12-28 to the Secretary, Bombay Strike Enquiry Committee.

6. A telegram addressed to President Railwaymen's Federation, Simla, sent by Bhainji, Assistant Secretary, G. I. P. Railwaymen's Union.

7. Paper containing following addresses:—

(1) Workers' Welfare League and India, J. E. Potter Wilson, 22 Great Wind Mill St. London, W. I.

(2) J. Ryan, Trades Hall, Sydney, Australia.

(3) B. F. Bradley, 4 Elmsdale Rd. Walthamston, London E. 17.

8. Typewritten letter issued by Hon. Genl. Secy. G. I. P. Railwaymen's Union, dated 5-3-29, addressed to D. B. Kulkarni.

9. Invitation card dated 29-11-28, issued by Hon. Secy. Railwaymen's Union, Chalisgaon Branch to D. B. Kulkarni.

10. A leaflet in Balbodh—"Makar Sankraman Bhet" by Gaikawaiari of Ahmednagar.

11. Typed letter issued by Hon. Genl. Secy. G. I. P. Railwaymen's Union No. G-106, dated 17-11-28, addressed to Mr. Bradley.
12. A telegram dated 28-1-29, from Joglekar to Kulkarni.
13. Paper containing names of subscribers from Thana to the Railwaymen's Union, bearing Nos. 305, 306, 310 and so on.
14. Typed letter from Secy. Strike Committee, dated 24-1-29 to D. B. Kulkarni.
15. A pencil letter dated 12-6-28 from Lanawl to, Hon. Genl. Secy. G. I. P. Staff Union, Bombay.
16. Typed letter from Hon. Genl. Secy., G. I. P. Ry. Employees' General Union to D. B. Kulkarni, dated 17-5-28.
17. Typed letter from Hony. Secy. G. I. P. Railwaymen's Union, dated Bombay 7-9-28 to D. B. Kulkarni, No. G/S-245.
18. Typed letter No. TN-1024, dated 27-10-28, from General Secy. to the N. G. S. Ry. Employees Union to the General Secy. G. I. P. Ry. Workmen's Union, Bombay.
19. Typed letter from Hon. Secy. G. I. P. Railwaymen's Union, Bombay, No. G/S-378, dated 3-11-28.
20. Pencil letter No. CSN 1, dated 27-10-28, from Hon. Secy. G. I. P. Railwaymen's Union Chalisgaon to D. B. Kulkarni (2 pages.)
21. Typed letter from Hon. Genl. Secy. G. I. P. Railwaymen's Union, Bombay, No. G-106, dated 17-11-28 to D. B. Kulkarni.
22. Printed resolution adopted at a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Workers' and Peasants' Party, held in Bombay on 1-7-28.
23. Handwritten letter from L. D. Dawe, dated 5-12-28 to Mr. Kulkarni.
24. Pencil letter written by C. G. Staff Bombay, dated 12-1-29 regarding introduction of 8 hours duty at Manmad to the Secy. G. I. P. Railway Union (2 pages).
25. Post card dated 16-1-29 addressed to Kulkarni from one Kisanlal from Kantapukur Lane.
26. A Marathi written letter dated 8-8-28 written to P. S. Bukhley, B.A. LL.B. from Parsik (5 pages).
27. Notice No. M/C-11, dated Bombay, 18-1-29, from

Hony. Secy. G. I. P. Railway Employees' General Union, regarding a meeting of members of the Managing Committee held at H. O. on 20-1-29.

28. A blank form of the Workers' and Peasants' Party, Bombay. (One attached out of a number of them).

29. Notice (printed English and Marathi, by Hon. Genl. Secy. G. I. P. Railwaymen's Union, regarding the delegates to be selected to meet the Agent on 7-11-28 etc.

30. Marathi printed hand bill dated 7-12-28, regarding G. I. P. Railwaymen's Union Strike Committee.

31. Do 6-12-28. Notice No. 4 published by New Madhakar Press, Bombay No. 4.

32. Marathi printed handbill dated 3-12-28, and published by Kamat Printing Press, Bombay Fort, regarding public meeting of G. I. P. Railwaymen's Union Strike Committee.

33. Copy of resolutions ending with "an utmost try should be made to enlist at least 75 thousand men before 1-11-28.

34. A paper containing a speech written out in Balbodh on the Conference held with the Agent on 7-11-28 (3 pages.)

35. A report in book form of the First All-India Railwaymen's Conference.

36. Typed letter No. C/39, dated 28-8-28, from Hon. Genl. Secy. G. I. P. Railwaymen's Union to D. B. Kulkarni.

37. Money Order receipt dated Ahmednagar 19-12-28.

Two framed photographs containing D. B. Kulkarni were found hung up on the south wall of the room.

The following were found on the wire file which was found in the north verandah.

1. Typed letter from T. U. C. Group Leader G. I. P. Ry. Men's Union, Bombay, No. T.U.C./2, dated 1-10-28 to Kulkarni.

2. Typed letter dated 31-1-28 from Asst. Secy., G.I.P. Ry. Employees' General Union to Kulkarni.

3. Hand written letter dated 18-10-27 from Jhabwalla to Kulkarni.

4. Hand written letter dated 4-11-27 from Z. R. Chowdhari to Kulkarni.

5. Hand written letter dated Bombay 3-11 (year not mentioned) from Jhabwalla to Kulkarni.

6. Notice card from Asst. Secy. G. I. P. Railway Workmen's Union to Kulkarni, regarding a meeting of strike council to be held on Sunday morning dated 29-7-28, Bombay.

7. Typed letter No. 561/56/14, dated 30-8-27, from Genl. Secy. Amalgamated Society of Ry. Servants of India and Burmah, Ltd. to Kulkarni.

8. Copy of resolution adopted at a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Workers' and Peasants' Party held in Bombay on 1-7-28.

9. Typed letter dated 30-7-28 from Organizing Secy. G.I.P. Ry. E. G. Union Dock Yard Stn. Bombay.

10. Post card from Khamgaon, dated 7-4-28 to Kulkarni making proposal for membership, etc.

11. Typed letter dated 17-10-28 from General Secretary, Reception Committee Bundelkhand Peasants' and Workers' Conference written from Jhansi to Kulkarni.

12. Money receipt dated 20-12-28 from Secretary, Reception Committee, A. I. T. U. C. 1928, Jharia in the name of D. B. Kulkarni.

13. Money receipt for Rs. 60 given to Kulkarni by D. L. Pathak of Ugaon on 27-11-27 as collection, of Road side stations.

14. Typed letter dated 1-8-28 from Organising Secretary G. I. P. Ry. Workmen's Union to Kulkarni.

15. Typed letter dated Manmad 18-6-29, from D. L. Pathak to Kulkarni.

16. Notice card from Hony. Secy. G. I. P. Railway Employees, General Union, dated Bombay 25-3-28, regarding a meeting signed by Jhabwalla.

17. Notice card dated 21-11-28 from Jhabwalla regarding meeting of members of the Managing Committee to be held on 26-11-28 in Union's

Office. Subject - Forthcoming Bhusawal Conference.

18. Typed letter dated 27-2-28 from Hon. Secy. G. I. P. Ry. Workmen's Union to Kulkarni.

19. Hand written letter from D. L. Pathak, dated January 1928 to Kulkarni.

20. Typed letter dated 15-2-28 from Secretary, Workers' and Peasants' Party to Kulkarni.

21. Pencil letter dated 25-12-27 from Station Master, Summit, to Kulkarni, regarding remittance of Rs. 10- collected from the Station Staff.

22. Pencil money receipt, dated 20-11-27 frn Jhabwalla to Kulkarni regarding Rs. 25/- collected from roadside stations.

23. Money receipt dated 25-12-27 passed by Jhabwalla to Mahadeo Balkrishna Asst. Station Master, Ugaon.

24. Notice card, dated 7-3-28, from Hony. Secy., G. I. P. Ry. Employees' Genl. Union to Kulkarni, regarding meeting to be held on 12-5-28, to consider the question of amalgamation.

25. Notice card, dated, 27-2-28, from Hon. Secy. G I P. Ry. Employees' Genl. Union to Kulkarni to discuss the letter of Mr. Horniman regarding Herald.

26. Printed circular No.3, dated Bombay 25-8-27 from Jhabwalla, G. I. P. Ry. Employees' Genl. Union, to members of the Union.

27. Post card, dated 29-2-28, from Shetye Building Parel, to Kulkarni on behalf of Jhabwalla.

28. Post card, dated 29-2-28 to Shrinivasrao, Guard, G. I. P. Ry Kyn from Jhabwalla.

29. A hand written letter dated 4-1-28 from one Byramji D. Mistry to Kulkarni.

30. Typed letter dated 29-11-28 bearing No. RF 1-1, from Hon. Genl. Secy., G. I. P. Ry. Men's Union to Kulkarni.

31. Typed letter dated 30-12-27 from Hon. Genl. Secy., G.I.P. Ry. Employees' General Union, to Kulkarni.

32. Typed letter dated 16-12-27 from Jhabwalla to Kulkarni.

33. G. I. P. Workmen's Union's General meeting to protest against the actions of Railway authority.

34. - do.- protest from Labourers.

35. Money receipt dated 24-11-27 from D. L. Pathak to Kulkarni for Rs. 50/- as collections from Nasik Road Station.

36. Marathi post card, dated Parel Poibavdi 26-11-27, written by one Alurkar to D. B. Kulkarni.

37. Pencil letter from R. Chowdhari, dated 17-2-28, to D. B. Kulkarni.

38. Notice card dated 1-11-27 from Jhabwalla to Kulkarni.

39. A notice card dated 24-10-28 from Jhabwalla to Kulkarni.

40. Typed letter dated 1-12-28, No. 7, from Hon. Secy. G. I. P. Ry. Employees' General Union, regarding Managing Committee.

41. Note dated 12-12-28 from J. R. Chowdhari to Kulkarni, attached to typed letter from Hon. Secy. Labour Association Jamsetpur, No. M-1427, dated 29-11-28, together with a blank form "Organisation of clerks".

42. Marathi hand bill No. 5, dated 7-12-28, regarding public meeting of G. I. P. Ry. Men's Union's Strike Committee.

43. Typed letter No. G.-S-305, dated 22-9-28 from Jhabwalla to S. M. Parsik.

44. Typed letter No. FR 1-1, dated 29-11-28, from J. R. Chowdhari to Kulkarni.

45. Typed letter No. MC-7, dated 1-12-28 from J. R. Chowdhari, regarding Managing Committee.

46. Post Card, dated Nil, from Asst. Secy. G. I. P. Railway Workmen's Union to Kulkarni regarding meeting for the organisation of the Union to be held in Shetye Building on 22-7-28.

47. Marathi letter dated 17-1-29, from Vishnu Balwant Purandhare begins with "why should I write in English."

48. Typed letter dated 6-2-29, from Hon. Secy. Manmad Branch to Kulkarni.

49. Money receipt from Secretary, Workers' and Peasants' Party, Bombay, dated 30-1-29, No. 38, passed to D. B. Kulkarni.

50. Typed circular dated Sept. 1928, from Jhabwal to Kulkarni.

51. Post card bearing postal stamp, dated 26-1-29, written by S.S. Joshi, K.N. Joglakar and V.M. Purandhare to Kulkarni at Manmad.

52. Typed letter dated Bombay 12-1-28 from one M. B. Tabhan Kar to Kulkarni.

53. Notice card, dated 29-1-29 from Jhabwalla to Kulkarni, regarding deputation, etc.

54. Typed circular, dated 4-9- year not given, from Jhabwalla regarding a meeting to be held on 7-9.

55. Typed circular dated 30-8-28 from Secy., G. I. P. Ry. Men's Union.

56. Hand written letter dated Khaungon 3/9/28 from one Balwant to Dattopant Kulkarni.

57. Hand written letter dated 28/8/28 from Joglekar to D. B. Kulkarni.

58. Hand written letter dated Bombay 28/8/28 from Dave to Kulkarni.
59. Post card dated 7/11/27 from one D. L. Pathak to Kulkarni.
60. Post card dated Murtizapur 3/12/28 from Shanker to D.B. Kulkarni.
61. Typed notice dated 23/8/28 from Jhabwalla.
62. Notice card No. O. N. /1359, dated Bombay, 3/11/28, from Jhabwalla.
63. Notice card dated 7/1/28, from Jhabwalla.
64. Money receipt dated 15/3/28 from Jhabwalla, passed to Vishnu Daji, Ry. porter Thana.
65. Two issues of "the Spark" of Vol. I, Nos. 2 and 3 of 10th and 17th February 1929.
66. Marathi letter written by Secretary, P.K. Agnihoiri to Kulkarni.
67. Post card, dated Bombay 9/10/28 from Hon. Secy. Workers' and Peasants' Party to Kulkarni.
68. Notice card dated 7/10/28, from Jhabwalla to Kulkarni.
69. Typed letter dated 1/10/28, from Hon. Genl. Secretary Railwaymen's Union to Kulkarni.
70. Typed letter dated 15/10/28, from T.U.C. Group Leader to Kulkarni.
71. Typed letter dated Nil, from Jhabwalla to Kulkarni.
72. Typed letter dated 18/11/28 from S.C. Joshi, to Kulkarni.
73. Post card from Asst. Secy., G. I. P. Ry. Workmen's Union to D.B. Kulkarni.
74. Post card from Itarsi, dated 8/1/29 from Vishnu Krishna to D.B. Kulkarni.
75. Notice card No. S. C. /4, dated 27/11/28, from Secy. G.I.P. Ry. Men's Union, Parel, to D.B. Kulkarni.
76. Pencil Modi letter dated 10/1/29, from Bhaiya to D. B. Kulkarni.
77. Typed letter No. MC/10, dated 3/1/29, from Hon. Genl. Secy. (Chowdhari) to Kulkarni.
78. Money receipt dated 10/12/28 passed by Hon. Secy. G.I.P. Ry. Men's Union for Rs. 3/- to Kulkarni.

79. Typed letter dated 15/12/28 from Chairman, Reception Committee to D.B. Kulkarni, beginning with "Brother Co-operators".

80. Typed letter No. S. C./C/5, dated 7/1/29, from Secy. Strike Committee, re. Strike Committee decision to Kulkarni.

81. Notice card dated S.C./19, dated 2/1/29, from Hon. Secy. G.I.P. Railway Men's Union, re. meeting of the members of the Strike Committee to be held on 4/1/29.

82. Typed communication headed "Provoking to Violence" and ending with letters M.B.T. (2 pages).

83. A typed memorandum headed G.I.P. Ry. Men's Union, dated 17/3/29 to D.B. Kulkarni, was found on the southern verandah lying on the floor. This was in a cover bearing Manmad postal stamp of 19/3/29.

The southern verandah is enclosed by wooden trellis work to the west and south. The verannah on the north is enclosed by wooden boards half way and the top portion is provided with wooden bars.

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

The rooms including the verandah are again locked and sealed by the Police in our presence. The above articles have been initialled by us. Dated 20/3/1929.

Sd./ H.W. GOLTING. Sd./ F.E. WARD. Sd. D.V. DALVI.

20/3.

20/3.

20/3/29.

Sd./ T.N. VALUPANTE.

20/3.

Before me.

Sd./ D.E. Khambatta.

S.B. Manmad.

20/3/29.

P. 873.

The following three addresses are found written on a G. I. P. Ry. form (No. G. 20 B/A):—

- (1) Workers Welfare League, India.
J.E. Potter Wilson.
22 Great Windmill Street,
London W. I.
-

- (2) J. Ryan
Trader Hall
Sydney
Australia.
-

- (3) B.F. Bradley
4 Elmsdale Road, Walthamston,
London E. 17.

Note:—The addresses are apparently in Mr. Bradley's hand writing.

P. 874.

Warrant of arrest issued under Sec. 121—A I. P. C. by the District Magistrate, Meerut, for the arrest of S.H. Jhabwalla, Hermitage Khar Road, Bombay Suburban District.

Executed by the Bombay Suburban District Police on 20th March 1929.

P. 875.

Search warrant issued under Sec. 96 C.P.C. by the District Magistrate Meerut, for searching the house of S. M. Jhabwala, Hermitage Khar Road, Bombay Suburban District.

Executed by the Bombay Suburban District Police on 20th March 1929.

P. 876.

PANCHNAMA.

1. Husseinbhoy Fazalbhoy
 2. Lalji Chapsi
- } of Bandra.

We the undersigned panchas were called upon by the Bandra Police at Khar, Bandra, to Mr. Savaksha Hormasji Jhabwala's residence and his house was searched by the Police in our presence.

The followings books were found in his possession:—

- (1) Copies of "The Masses of India" for the month of July 1927, Volume 3 No. 7, 8, 9 & 10.
- (2) "Malini". The daughter of Punjab or A Call of India Sacrifice, by Mr. S. H. Jhabwala.
- (3) "Wanted National Government". A book by Mr. Jhabwala.
- (4) "India and China", a book having reddish cover.
- (5) Boycott of British Cloth. (Nine pages typed).
- (6) Bundel Khand Kisan Labour Conference, by Mr. Jhabwala, Jhansi.
- (7) Waiting upon G. I. P. Ry. Agent (photo).
- (8) Visiting card of Mr. H. Hutchinson.
- (9) Hand bill of Khar Youth League.
- (10) "One year of non-cooperation". (A book.)

- (11) Rich and poor (Typed papers).
- (12) "Slavery in our Midst".
- (13) "Wanted a National Government". (A book).
- (14) "Gandhi Shikshan" in Gujrathi.
- (15) "Principles of Satyagrah" in English.
- (16) One photo.
- (17) One small photo.
- (18) One book (one thousand and one Gems of English poetry in English).
- (19) "The Poetical works of John Keats", in English.
- (20) Longfellow's poems.
- (21) Poetical workers of Alfred Lord Tennyson.
- (22) Poetry of Sir Walter Scott.

The Police attached the papers and books and took possession of the same in our presence. Mr. Zabwala was present at the time of search.

Before me.

Punchas.

Sd/- J. C. Aranje.

(1) Sd/- Husseinbhoy
Fazalbhoj.

Police Sub-Inspector,

Bandra.

(2) Sd/- Lalji Chapsi.

D/- 20/3/29.

P. 877.

Three issues of "The Masses" of India for the months of July, August, and September and October 1927. (Vol. III Nos: 7, 8, 9, & 10).

P. 878.

A booklet in Hindi giving the speech of President Comrade S. H. Jhabwalla on the time of the 28th 29th October 1928. Published by Laxmanrao Kadam, Secretary Reception Committee of the Conference.

P. 879.

A Visiting card bearing the name of H. Lester Hutchinson, Journalist. On the back of the card the following address is written in English:—

Shree Manik Anand Nivas.

1st Road

KHAR.

P. 880.

Rejected.

No. 26 of 1929.

Bandra 8th. May 1929.

To

THE DISTRICT SUPERINTENDENT OF POLICE,
B. S. D. BANDRA.

Sir,

I respectfully beg to report that Mr. H. Lester Hutchinson has been living at Khar with Mrs. Nambiar since 15th. October 1928 with the exception of the period between 17—12—28 and 8—1—29 during which Mrs. Nambiar was at Lonavla.

I beg to remain

Sir,

Your most obedient servant

Sd/. J. C. Aranjo.

S. I. Bandra.

P. 881.

Warrant of arrest issued under sec. 121-A. I. P. C. by the District Magistrate, Meerut, for the arrest of Sohan Singh Josh s/o Lal Singh Jat of village Caetanpura, P. S. Ajuala, Dist. Amritsar, living in Islamabad, a suburb of Amritsar.

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

P 882.

Search warrant issued under sec. 96 C. P. C. by the District Magistrate, Meerut, for the arrest of Sohan Singh Josh son of Lal Singh Jat of village Chetanpura, P. S. Ajuala, District Amritsar, living in Islamabad, a Suburb of Amritsar.

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

P. 883.

SEARCH LIST.

List of articles taken in possession by the police as a result of the search of the residential quarters in Islamabad, Police Station Civil Lines, Amritsar, of Sohan Singh 'Josh' son of Lal Singh of Chetanpura, police Station Majitha. (The above is in Urdu in the original search list).

1. Modern India by R. Palme Dutt issued by the communist party of Great Britain, 16 King Street, W. C. 2, pages 174.
2. Congress Bulletin issued by the office of All-India Congress Committee—28th February 1929 No. 5 pages 44 to 55 Sd. Jawahar Lal Nehru General Secretary.
3. Law and authority on anarchist essay by Pierre Kropotkin issued by London William Reeves 83 Charing Cross Road W. C. pages 23.
4. Manuscript article in English, Gurmukhi and Urdu on Land Revenue etc. (9 leaves).

5. Resolution on peasants manuscript typed English (4 leaves.)
6. Typed manuscript articles—Thesis on the present situation, (21 leaves).
7. Gurmukhi Discipline without brutality issued by League of Parents and teachers Adyar and Gwalior (32 pages)
8. The Brass Check a study of American Journalism issued by Upton Sinclair, published by the author of Pasadena California (440 pages with index).
9. Pages 10 and 9 of *Mehnut Kush*, Lahore, dated 7th August 1927.
10. Manuscript Gurmokhi note Benefit of Freedom (one page).
11. Gurmakhi manuscript note regarding the deportation of Sham Singh and others from Shanghai (12 pages).
12. Note regarding the material required in communist exhibition in Moscow in three parts (one page).
13. Random notes on youth movements etc. (6 leaves).
14. Copy book of Random notes.
15. Passport application signed by H. E. Weal Powa, Collector of Customs (in two pages).
16. Naujawan Bharat Sabha,—The wealth of the Nation by Hardial (6 pages).
17. Urdu Notes regarding the correction of word "Asliat" on a note book on front page along with attached programme. Two pages and the blank note book.
18. Some reflections on the Nehru Report recommendations and Lucknow Conference decisions. Arya Swarajya sabha statement 8 pages.
19. Workers and peasants party principles and policy printed and published by Durani Kanta Gowami 2-1 European Asylum Lane at the popular Printing Works 2 Ram Hari Gosh Lane Calcutta. (12 pages).
20. Straight talk to Mr. Subhash Chandra Bose Jamshedpur dated 30th November 1928 by M. Homi (4 pages).
21. Political Resolution by La Durani Kanta Goswami, Calcutta (pages 14.)

22. A call to action by Workers' and Peasants' party of Bengal, 2/1 European Asylum Lane Calcutta 1928 (pages 58).
23. All-India Youth Congress 3rd session 1928 Presidential Address by K. F. Nariman, President (pages 28).
24. Vernacular Resolution of Peasants' Party at first all-India Conference. (12 pages).
25. Position of Sikhs and the Nehru Report regarding communal problem. 4 pages.
26. Constitution of the Indian Youth Congress 14 pages.
27. 6 copies of Socialist dated 2-7-24, 17-9-24, 1-10-24, 12-11-24, 3-12-24. 17-12-24.
28. Labour college echoes by the Sanfrancisco Labour College (March 1927) 4 pages.
29. The Masses of India (Two copies) Feb. 1928 and April 1928.
30. Workers' Weekly (8 copies) 23-10-25, 30-10-25, 6-11-25, 20-11-25, 27-11-25, 4-12-25, 18-12-25 with some cuttings.
31. New Leader 26-8-27 one copy.
32. India and the next War by Miss Agnes Smedly 48 pages.
33. The proletarian Revolution by N. Lenin (128 pages).
34. The Tragedy of White Injustice by Marcus Garway 22 pages.
35. How the farmer can get his labour (32 pages).
36. Wage labour and capital by Karl Marx (42 pages).
37. The State and resolution by Nicholal Lenin (124 pages).
38. The meaning of general strike by R. Palme Dutt (pages 36).
39. Imperialism and Militarism issued by the Pelican Press (pages 135).
40. The Irish Workers dated 5-1-24, 11-4-25 and 9-5-25.
41. Crime and Criminals by Clarence S Darow 32 pages.
42. The Mezini by L. Lajpat Rai in Vernacular 160 pages.

43. Principles of freedom by Terence Mac Swimey (244 pages).
44. Britain, Egypt and Sudan by Muhammad Ali 47 pages.
45. Foreign Affairs October 1927, Vol. 6 N - April 1927. Two copies.
46. Typed manuscript regarding an address by the President of the first Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference (27 leaves).
47. Typed manuscript regarding resolution on organisation of Workers' and Peasants' Party (4 leaves).
48. Typed manuscript regarding the Workers' and Peasants' Party in Bengal. (10 leaves).
49. Typed manuscript regarding resolution for Calcutta Congress December 1928 (2 leaves).
50. Typed manuscript regarding A. I. T. U. C. resolutions (2 leaves).
51. Typed manuscript regarding resolutions for Calcutta A. I. C. C. 1928 - Oct. (one leaf).
52. Typed manuscript regarding notes for the Presidential Address dated 31-12-1927 (2 leaves).
53. Printed Circular to the members and the workers of the Peasant party Bengal.
54. Gurmukhi manuscript (Desh Bhagti by Kishan Singh).
55. Gurmukhi Sagir by Kawi Press, Calcutta (119 pages).
56. Urdu manuscript regarding Whether British Rule is better than Muhammadan Rule (7 leaves).
57. (7 leaves of random notes in Gurmukhi).
58. A letter addressed in Urdu to the Editor, Risala 'Kirti'.
59. Urdu manuscript regarding Liberty by Manmohan Lal Dewana Journalist Lahore. Containing 5 leaves and one cover.
60. Two copies of photos of Darshan Singh of Pheroman, P. S. Bias.
61. English book bearing no title from page 7-64.
62. A book in Nagri "Meri Rus yatra" by Shaukat Usmani.

63. A cover on which the names of the members of the 'Kirti' Rasala are noted.
64. Two visiting cards and three other chits of addresses.
65. Hundred percent Indian by C. G. Shah (67 pages).
66. The Future of Indian Politics by M. N. Roy (pages 118).
67. Pocket Diary for 1929 with random notes "imitation leather binding".
68. Diary of 1928 with notes.
69. Risala 'Kirti' 20 copies Gurmukhi, two vernacular Urdu (22 in all).
70. Four files of Rasala "Kirti" (Three Gurmukhi and one Urdu) Bound.
71. Printed manuscript of address of Dr. Bopindra Nath Dutt (Young men's Conference 1927).
72. Four copies of "the Young Liberator" dated October 1928, November 1928, January 1928, September 1928.
73. The Nau Jawan four copies 13-10-28, 13-11-28, 18-12-28, 4-12-28.
74. The Mazdoor four copies 21-10-28, 20-5-28, 3-6-28, 18-11-28.
75. Note Book random Gurmukhi notes.
76. Monthly circular often Labour Resarch Department.
77. The foreign Affairs May 1927. August 1927.
78. Principles of Freedom issued by S. Ganeson.
79. Economics made by Mary and Marcy.
80. "Nau Jawan se do baten" by Chabil Dass, B. A.
81. Printed Presidential Address First Indian Communist Conference.
82. An Urdu letter from Banwari Lal to the Editor dated 17-9-28.
83. Printed material.
84. The Roti, dated 10-10-28.
85. The China courier 7-4-27, 6-10-26, 7-10-26, 18-7-27.
86. The Evening News, 17-10-1928.

87. The Daily Worker May 21, 1928, May 16, 1928.
88. The China Press dated 19-6-28, 7-4-27, 7-10-26
20-10-26.
89. Shanghai Times dated 7-4-27, 19-5-27, 9-1-27.
90. New Leader dated 15-5-27, 15-4-27, 8-4-27, 13-1-28
27-5-27, 22-4-27 and 8-7-27.
91. Lansburry's Labour Weekly dated 9-4-27, 16-4-27,
2-6-27 7-5-27, 18-6-27, 16-7-27 9-5-27.
92. One copy book containing random notes.
93. Forward November 1927.
94. India in 1926 and 1927 by J. Coatman. (pages 356
with index).
95. Pamphlet of the All-India Trade Union Congress.
96. Constitution of the Bengal Peasants and Workers.
97. The Labour and Kisan Party of Hindustan printed at
the Guardian Press, Multan.
98. Note book with notes of expenses with dates.
99. Two World Currents by Mr. Bhupendra Nath M. A.,
Ph. D.
100. Registered envelope addressed to the Manager, The
Kirti from Jagjit Singh Naroli.
101. Pamphlet entitled Voice of an individual of the un-
fortunate mass of India.
102. The organisation of the Hindustani Sewa Dal.
103. The Communist Book shop catalogue.
104. The Youth Movement in the Bombay Presidency by
Yousif J. Meharally.
105. All India Youth Congress 3rd session 1928 Chairman
address.
106. Address of welcome by P. Dinda Bar-at-law.
107. Manifesto of the Workers' and Peasants' party to the
Indian National Congress, Madras, December 1927.
108. Presidential address of the First All-India Workers'
and Peasants' party Conference.
109. North China Daily News (10 copies) dated 6-4-27
9-4-27, 17-6-27, 27-4-28, 14-6-27, 18-6-27, 22-7-27, 2-10-26, 14-10-27,
10-12-27.

110. Karl Marx, a modern Rishi by Hardyal, M. A. (52 pages).
111. The Works of Leo Tolstoy—one essay and letters (369 pages with index).
112. A Political and social History of Modern Europe by Carlton J.H.Hayes, Vol. I
113. The Indian Problem by C.F. Andrews.
114. Five letters addressed to Sohan Singh 'Josh' (two covers and three cards) along with a chit with the names of the members of the Kirti.
115. A note book containing random notes.
116. Newspaper cuttings in a covered envelope.
117. First All India Socialist New Congress.
118. "Khutba" "Sadar Majlis Istaqbalia" 22, 23, 24, Feb. 1929-
119. Three photo frames containing Sohan Singh Josh's photoes.
120. The Trade Union Movement thesis Presented to the First All India Workers' and peasants' party Conference.
121. The All India Trade Union Bulletin—July and August 1927.
122. Some aspects of Indian socialism by Jagdish Chandra M. A.

The search list is signed in Urdu by the following:—

Sd. Gopal Singh D.S.P. C.I.D. Sd. Ganga Singh. Insp. of Polic.	Sd. Sohan Singh Josh 20/3/29, Sd. Lal Singh Ahluwalia contractor, Sharifpura Amritsar.
Sd. Rahamtullah (In English) S.I. Civil Lines. 20/3/29 Sd. M. Habib Ulla Sharifpura, Amristar.	Sd. Sarup Singh Kapur Manager Sodhi cycle Agency, Amritsar. Sd. Mohamed Muhtar Contractor, Sharifpura Amritsar.
Sd, Amir Khan S.I.C.I.D. Punjab Sd. Inder Singh S.I. Amritsar	Sd. Charanjit Singh (In English) S.I. Amritsar. Sd. Ashfakalli S.I. Amritsar

P. 884.

A Book in English entitled "Modern India" by R. Palme Dutt. Published by the Communist Party of Great Britain, 16, King street, London, W.C.2.

P. 885.

Resolution on Peasants

Three fourths of the population of India, or to be more precise, 221 millions out of a total of 320 are dependent on agriculture. Thus the very numerical strength of the peasants and their importance in the total production of social wealth and the basic, vital necessities of life must compel on our part a predominant attention to their needs and their part in the general Nationalist

Every section of public

pro-government investigators repeat without a mistake, like a school lesson the fact that the peasantry in india poverty-stricken and debt-ridden. A General analysis of the causes of peasant poverty and starvation reveals that the peasant is exploited by Government's high taxation and rent, the moneylenders exploitation and the exactions of the landowner. On the top of all this is the excessive subdivision into uneconomic fragments of land, and the merchant-traders machine-manufactured goods entering the village, ruining the handicrafts and making hundreds into wage-earners. The moneylenders taking possession of land on failure to pay debts or the huge interest is creating landless-labourers, slaves of an absentee landlord. Matched against this poverty, and land-hunger, meagre strips of a few feet, worked upon by a primitive plough and rickety bullock stand the huge unbounded estates of the Talukdars. Zamindars and Rajahs of Bengal. Bihar and U. P. exacting tributes and high rent from their tenants and spending their loot in the cities of the land or elsewhere. Such idlers living on the incomes derived from the peasants toil are a Crore in the 22 Crores dependent on agriculture, but they hold more than 70% of the whole land in their possession and their levy on the peasantry amounts to the huge figure of 190 Crores. In Bengal alone the landlords pay 24 Crores in revenue but they make more than 13 Crores on mere idling and holding the scrap-paper of title to the land.

Where the landlords are absent, as in Ryotwari, the Government takes almost whatever the peasant produces in rent. And apart from this, he is saddled with indirect taxation, which he does not see but feels. The effect of all this that a handful of five per cent of the whole people own nearly 30% of the wealth of the land, while 60% of the people, mostly poor peasants and workers get only 30% of the wealth i. e. half of what they ought to have. No wonder, the result is that the bitterness in social relations, the class-cleavage between the excessively rich and the excessively poor is growing and the inevitable contradictions between their interests is becoming clearer.

Recognizing, where this class-cleavage would lead to and partly dictated by the needs of their own position, the Government has started taking stock of the potential resources of the peasantry and accentuating re-construction of Indian agriculture in the capitalist basis. This would temporarily raise the productive power of the individual peasants and thus make him a better consumer of industrial products and help the British heavy industries to their feet again. But, it would again, embitter the class-struggle more by creating peasant unemployment and the expropriation of the poor peasant of his holdings. The Reserve Bank will replace the village moneylender and the Consolidation Bills will create rich farmers but the grip of the State, allied with rich Zamindars and farmers will be more thorough in its exploitation and will aggravate the struggle.

The Workers' and Peasants' Party therefore unequivocally stands for giving land to the peasant-cultivator eliminating all idlers living on the tributes from the peasants. Uneconomic holdings must be made economic, not by capitalist consolidation and looting the poorest peasant, but by adding to the share of the poor holder from the big limitless stretches of the absentee landlords, the Party stands for allowing none to exploit him by way of interest on debts or tributes or free labour. He must be absolved from all compulsory obligation including high rent and the heavy load on his produce. He must be under obligations to none but the State, representing his own interest and himself.

Therefore to achieve this ultimate aim in view, and to widen the outlook and develop capacities of class-conscious resistance on the part of the peasantry, the Party adopts the following programme of immediate needs.

- (1) Elimination of all mid-agencies between the peasant and the State.
- (2) Direct representation of the peasant on the State apparatus, through an adult universal franchise, working through peasant Panchayats.
- (3) Immediate provision of land from big estates.

(4) Substantial reduction in rent.

(5) Review of the debt and interest obligations through peasants-courts with a view to their extinction.

(6) State credit to the peasants.

The party makes it clear that the above are merely immediate demands, which are ultimately to lead to a Swaraj of unexploited and free peasant and worker, each working his own destiny, unhampered by zamindars or moneylenders or an Imperialist Government or a capitalist investor. The party is willing to co-operate with every organisations working for the realisation of the above demands, with a view to ultimately secure a social reconstruction to emancipate the peasant. All the same, it does not countenance the reversion to medaeval forms of labour or addition of work to the peasants life, but is radical, scientific and advance-guard in political, social and economic matters.

Rescue of peasants from the tyranny of the landlord, by division of uncultivated land, establishment of security of tenure, abolition of forced labour and other compulsory or customary dues. Freedom from the exploitation of money lenders, by legal limitation of the rate of interest on loans and the provision of credit through bank. Provision of educational facilities, liberal and technical and sanitary. Reduction (ultimately abolition) of rents, Control of village life by village panchayat.

The village is the unit of organisation natural for the peasants. Independent organisation of rural wage labourers should be formed.

Party. Most important of all, we require a party, with a large membership, efficiently organised, disciplined, and active. It should have a propaganda organ in English and an agitational organ at last in Marathi. Each branch of the party should have subject to its E. C. sub committees for various classes of work, Trade Unions, Peasants, Youth, Congress, Training.

The time is now ripe for big development in the Party and the opportunity must be seized. At present the membership is far too small to undertake efficiently the numerous and labourious tasks which the party has to perform. The most urgent need is the propaganda of the admittedly unfamiliar but profoundly important idea of the function of a Party, recruitment of members, and training them to carry out party policy in the various spheres.

The party must be prepared to co-operate,

P. 886.

A typewritten copy of the General Political Situation.

Note:—This is included in the booklet entitled "A call to Action".

(Vide Exh. P. 523).

P. 887. *Rejected*

LIST OF MATERIALS FOR THE EXHIBITION.

Part I.

HISTORICAL EXHIBITION OF:—

Pamphlets, leaflets, handbills, posters, photographs, portraits of prominent leaders, caricatures, monographs, special editions of newspapers, books, various documents, statistical diagrams, flags, badges etc., regarding:

(a) Nationalist movement (Congress, NCO movement, Swaraj party, Charkha and Khady movement, Republican movement.)

(b) Peasant movement (Akali and Gurudwara movements, peasant 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, fortnightlies 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 propanganda.

(c) *Books and pamphlets* published on the following subjects: nationalist movement in India, labour movement, India and the political movements of the West, India and the 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. 888. *ST. Rejected.*

6 chits of paper written partly in English and partly in Urdu. These notes relate to the programme of the peasants, the Trade disputes Bill, The Public Safety Bill, the third International etc.

P. 889. *ST. Rejected.*

A pocket note-book bearing the name of Sohan Singh Josh, Chetanpuri, on the first page. At one page under the heading of "Biographies" the following amongst others are noticed:— Tolstory, Lenin, Mazzini, Carl Marx, Mao Swing, and Russia.

At another page under the heading of "Some Statistics", the percentage of educated people is mentioned in respect of England, America, Japan, Russia and India. The entry runs as follows:—

In England 93% are educated.

In America 95% do.

In Japan 97% do.

In India 5% only 1 do.

In the population of 33 crores only 1000 girls go up to the college.

In Russia 6% were literate in Czar's time.

do. 96% under Bolshevism.
In India 7% at the most after 150 years.

P. 890. (1)

A red coloured Scribbling block. The first page only is written in Urdu.

P. 890. (2)

It is a white slip of paper attached to the first page of the red coloured Scribbling block. It contains a draft corrigendum in Urdu pertaining to Sohan Singh's Presidential Address at the Nau Jawan Bharat Sabha conference. At para 6 of the programme, revolutionary mass action has been insisted upon.

P. 891.

A pamphlet in English entitled "Worker's and Peasants' Party Principles and Policy". Thesis submitted to the First All-India Workers' and Peasants' Party conference, December 1928.

(Vide Exh. P. 161).

P. 892.

A Pamphlet entitled "Political Resolution".

(Vide Exh. P. 56).

P. 893.

A booklet entitled "A call to Action", being the Resolutions, Theses and Report Presented to the third Annual Conference of the Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal.

Bhatpara, March 1928.

Published by the Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal
2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta, 1928.
(Vide Exh. P. 523).

P. 894

A printed copy in Urdu of "The Political Resolution" submitted to the All-India Workers' and Peasants' Party conference in December 1928. This was printed at the Star of India Press at Calcutta.

(Vide Exh. P. 56.)

P 895.

An issue of the Magazine "The Masses of India" for the month of February 1928. (Vol. IV—No. 2).

P. 896.

A number of cuttings from the "Worker's Weekly" and other similar other newspapers.

Several issue of the "Worker's Weekly" as follows:—

- No. 142 D/ 23-10-1925
- No. 143 D/ 30-10-1925
- No. 144 D/ 6-11-1925
- No. 146 D/ 20-11-1925
- No. 147 D/ 27-11-1925
- No. 148 D/ 4-12-1925
- No. 150 D/ 18-12-1925
- No. 151 D/ 25-12-1925

P. 897.

A booklet in English entitled "India and the Next War" by Miss Agnes Smedley. (Berlin, Germany).

Published by the Kirti Office Amritsar India.

P. 898.

A book in English entitled "The Proletarian Revolution" by N. Lenin.

P. 899.

A booklet in English entitled "Wage Labour and capital", by Karl Marx.

P. 900.

A book in English entitled "The State and Revolution". by
Nicholai Lenin.

P. 901.

A booklet in English entitled "The Meaning of the General
Strike" by R. Palme Dutt.

Published by the Communist Party of Great Britain, 16 King
Street, Convent Garden, London, W.C. 2.

P. 902.

A type written copy of the Presidential Address of the First
All-India Worker's and Peasants' Party conference, delivered by
comrade Sohan Singh Josh at Calcutta on December 21, 1928.

(Vide Exh. P. 596)

P. 903.

A type written copy of "Resolution on Organisation".

(Vide Exh. P. 832).

The Workers' And Peasants' Party of Bengal

Statement to the All-Parties Conference on the Report of the Nehru Committee and the Draft Principles of the Constitution for India.

The workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal cannot agree to the Principles of the Constitution for India, drafted by the Nehru Committee of the All-Parties Conference for the following reasons: (1) it disagrees with the majority of the member of the All-Parties Conference in regard to the functions of the Conference, and in particular disented from the resolution of May 19 whereby a Committee was appointed to draft the Principles of a Constitution ; (2) even accepting the proposal to draft a Constitution it objects to many parts of the draft produced.

(1) The disagreement of the Workers' and Peasants' Party with the resolution of May 19th, which was expressed at the time by the delegates from the brother Party of Bombay, was for the following reasons:-

(a) The function of the All-Parties Conference was in the view of the workers' and Peasants' Party to conclude an alliance of all possible forces, with a common programme of demands and of action, for the attainment of Complete Independence. The time was, and is, most opportune for the adoption of this policy, and the interests of the great majority of the population clearly demand such a militant programme as the Workers' and Peasants' Party contemplated, and a mass movement to enforce it.

The decision, on the contrary, to adopt the formula "Full responsible Government" with other resolutions of the Conference including that to draft a Constitution, constitute a complete abandonment of the real functions of the All-Parties Conference, and a submission to the compromising policy and sectional interests of the Liberals and other capitalist and landlord groups.

(b) The preparation of a Constitution seemed to the workers' and Peasants' Party to be a step designed to reestablish that cooperation with the Government which had been abandoned in part during the Boycott of the Simon Commission, and thus to constitute not only a tactical error, but also a betrayal of the masses who were enthusiastically rallying and demonstrating in favour of the Boycott. It was confessedly undertaken in reply to the "challenge of Birkenhead and others, who had obviously issued the challenge with the object of luring the Indian movement along the blind alley of so-called "constitutional advance".

(c) The Constitution to be prepared was clearly expected to be put into force by the British Government. The voew has been expressed that this Constitution, which is to provide a basis for peaceful agreement with Britain, should be looked upon as a final offer, which if refused, leaves India no alternative but to embark upon a militant policy of agression and mass action. An end must, however be made at some point to "final" offers, and there is actually no likelihood that this will really be treated by its propounders as final. But in any case the British Government has clearly shown that it will never peacefully come to any agreement satisfactory to India. And this statement, which is surely irrefutable, is a conclusive argument against the policy of drafting a Constitution to be put into force with the consent of Britain.

For these and similar reasons the workers' and Peasants Party objected to the proposal to appoint a Committee to prepare a Draft of the Principles of a Constitution.

(2) Nevertheless, now that the draft is prepared, the question arises how far can it be regarded as a satisfactory statement of the demands of the people, and as a programme behind which the masses can rally and for which they can fight? In the first place, it cannot suffice in itself. The demands of the masses, economic and social, go far beyond what any Constitution can possibly provide. The All-Parties Conference has made no attempt to tackle this question. Secondly, the draft, even so far as it goes, is in several respects extremely defective. The chief of these defects are here dealt with.

(a) The most important point of all is that it abandons complete independence. The arguments of the Committee on this question (pp 1 and 21) show that the real significance of this point is either completely missed or intentionally neglected by them. "Dominion Status" they declare (p 21) " has come to mean something indistinguishable from independence, except for the link with the crown. The real difference, between the two is a difference in the executive". The difference is indeed in the excutive, in the real and not only in the technical sense, but it most certainly is not a negligible difference. On the contrary it is enormous and vital. It is the difference between continued, though possibly veiled, subjection and exploitation of the masses by British capital, and freedom from that exploitation and subjection. The Committee, by confining attention to legal forms, has obscured political realities. In theory there may be little difference, but in reality the attainment of Indian Independence would necessitate a struggle in which, among many fundamental changes, the complete expropriation of all British capital invested in India would have to be undertaken. And this alone, in the view of the workers' and peasants' Party, would constitute a status worth attaining. The

most astonishing passage in the whole report is that on p. 11 which assures European commercial interests that they have nothing to fear. In the view here maintained, even complete independence, if it could be had for the asking, and therefore subject to the maintenance of European commercial interests, would be only nominal independence, and would not be worth having.

It may be unnecessary to labour the point, but the workers' and peasants' Party attaches great importance to it. It is quite clear that a Government which was really "responsible to the people of India" could not tolerate the absolute stranglehold which British interests at present have over practically all the industries and means of communication of the country. If the Government were to attempt to do anything for the masses, or to assert its own authority in any way, it would have immediately to curb these interests. The far less extreme examples of Australia, the South American Republics, etc. can be cited to show how Dominions, or even independent states are in fact more or less completely subjected to foreign powers in control of their economic resources. None of these countries can be compared to India for the pitiable extent to which its vital and strategic economic machinery is in the possession of foreigners. Moreover, in the case of India, as opposed for example to China, the foreign economic interests are concentrated effectively in the hands of one power.

It appears to the workers' and peasants' party dishonest to obscure facts as elementary and important as these, and to attempt to secure mass support for a programme which, however, superficially attractive, actually omits to deal with what is perhaps the principal consideration of all. It is further hardly necessary to point out the implications of this, namely that the political future of the country suggested by the Report is a totally unreal one. The peaceful evolution there contemplated can only mean the continuance under other forms of subjection and exploitation, and no self-government worthy of the name. Any real freedom for India can only come as the result of revolutionary action, and must take the form of complete independence.

(b) It will be clear from what has just have been said, that from the point of view of the workers' and peasants' party, fundamental error vitiates the whole report, and that consequently much of the detail of the constitution is of little interest. If it is to be granted by the British Government, that is, is Dominion status is to be established, the detail are unimportant. And on the other hand, if it is regarded as part of the Constitution of Independence India which has to be fought for, such points as the exact degree of autonomy of the provincial Governments, the exact nature of the electoral machinery, and many other important questions, can only be decided in the light of the political situation, which will come

about as the result of the struggle. It may be expected for example, that the exigencies of that time will necessitate a far stronger central government, and less independence on the part of provinces, at any rate as a temporary measure. But no objection can be taken in principle to the idea of a great degree of provincial autonomy ultimately, nor to the redistribution of provinces in the way suggested.

The workers' and peasants' party has little objection to the solution proposed to the communal question, but considers that it is allowed a quite excessive amount of attention. Experience tends to show that there is little communal feeling among the masses, except when it is artificially created, sometimes by honest fanatics but also by persons of suspicious antecedents, working against the national movement. Neither of these classes will be affected by facts, constitutions, or agreements, and it therefore seems better to avoid altogether the discussion which can only excite communal consciousness and to leave the solution of the problem to the growing national and political sense of the masses.

Many other details of the constitution are naturally objectionable, which follow logically from the erroneous assumptions made initially by the Committee. The tone of loyalty to the British Empire which pervades the whole Report, the presence of the king, Governor-General and Governors, the conditional retention and the pensioning of the Indian Civil servants, etc. cannot but be repulsive to every Indian. These things, though not in themselves of the first importance, will go to show something of what is implied by the initial false premises of the Committee, and perhaps served to disabuse of these false ideas many who would otherwise tend at first sight to accept them.

On the other hand, universal Adult Suffrage is of course welcome, as is the statement of "Fundamental Rights". But at the same time the workers' and peasants' party feels it necessary to say that, in view of the general nature of the constitution, such rights may have little real value. Even if the members of the All-parties Conference seriously mean to insist upon them, and this may well be doubted, in view of the hostility which the British would undoubtedly show to many or all of them, and even if they are incorporated in the constitution of the Dominion of India, they may turn out to be of little use to the masses. As the example of Great Britain or indeed of almost any capitalist country shows, democratic right and nominal freedom can easily be rendered in practice almost entirely nugatory by an aggressive ruling class. Moreover, in the circumstances contemplated by the Report, such a class, partly Indian and partly British, would in fact be in possession of effective political power in the "Commonwealth of India". Though, therefore, the workers' and peasants' party welcome the pronouncement of the committee in favour of universal suffrage and

very complete civil rights for the individual, it wishes to utter a warning against attaching great importance to the pronouncement.

(c) Two other points remain, which because of their importance require notice, and necessitate criticism of the Report. The first is the question of the armed forces. In consequence of the fundamental error on the part of the Committee already complained of the question is treated in a most superficial and unreal manner. It is indeed an extremely difficult question, and one of the first importance, which will require the most earnest attention of the India's leaders in future. Contrary to the view of the Report (Sir Sivaswami Iyer's speech, p. 13) it is essential for India to establish any army under its control. If India were to attempt to attain real freedom, it obviously could not leave the defence of the country to the British army, which would constitute its bitterest and most dangerous enemy. It must be emphasised again that Britain, owing to its so-called Imperial commitments, regards its control of the armed forces of India as of no less importance than its control of her economic resources—indeed they are interdependent and would not permit in any circumstances, any relaxation, gradual or sudden, of its complete military command. Again constitutional formalities seemed to have blinded the authors of the Report to political facts.

It cannot be denied that the unarmed condition of India renders the question unusually difficult to solve, but that does not in any way render a solution unnecessary, and in fact the difficulty is not by any means insuperable. The question can obviously not be dealt with here, but one or two remarks may be made. The bogey of shortage of recruits, which is quoted in the Report seems to be a hopeful rather than a discouraging sign. No intelligent and conscious Indian would enrol himself in a foreign army in which he may be called upon at any moment to shoot down the most patriotic of his countrymen. When India is independent however, the question will be entirely different. There are many cases, that of China for instance, of the rapid creation of a highly efficient national army, which makes up in enthusiasm and the superiority of its personnel, for its deficiency in training and equipment.

(d) The other remaining question is that of the Indian States. The treatment of this subject has also suffered from lack of political realism, and even from the narrow constitutional point of view, is most objectionable. Whatever safeguards may be demanded as to the rights of the populations of the states, the fact remains that the present rulers are expected to retain their power. This cannot be completed by any true democrat. The population of the states must be put on exactly the same basis as that of what is at present British India, must be allotted to their proper and natural

linguistic and administrative provinces. There can be no compromise with the intensely oppressive and reactionary feudal regime prevailing in practically all the states, and their existing rulers must be entirely swept away.

Even from the practical point of view this programme is wise. The Report itself remarks (p. 72) that no doubt is left in the minds of the authors "that an attempt is being made to convert the Indian States into an Indian Ulster....." It must be remarked that the analogy with Ulster may go further than the constitutional bounds which the Report contemplates. It is well known that the Central Government, with far more sense of realities than the Committee, is encouraging the raising and improvement of armed forces within the States. The national movement cannot establish alliance with the Princes, most of whom are open loyalists, but on the contrary will find it valuable, and indeed necessary, to ally itself with the rebellious peasantry and discontented middle and working classes of the States.

For these main reasons, the workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal objects to the "Principles of the Constitution for India" drafted by the Nehru Committee of the All-Parties Conference.

The adverse criticism which has already appeared in Great Britain has provoked some defenders of the Constitution to threaten mass action to enforce it. The workers' and Peasants' Party is of course always eager to throw itself into a mass movement for national ends. But it cannot commit itself to support of such proposals as these, which, as has been shown, constitute an entirely inadequate and unsuitable programme for a mass-movement. The workers' and Peasants' Party asserts, indeed, that the Constitution is framed merely in the interests of the wealthy upper classes of India society, who have no intention of going beyond what the British Government will grant, or of encroaching seriously upon the claims of the British commercial and industrial interests in India. Talk of mass action on the part of such classes is obviously a mere empty threat.

For this reason the workers' and Peasants' Party feels that no apology is needed for its criticism of the Report and Constitution in spite of the appeal for Unity of all national forces behind the new programme. Such unity would really be the unity of the nation behind the demands only of the upper exploiting "two-per-cent" of the nation; demands, further, which that section itself has not the power or determination to enforce in the event of serious opposition by the rival British exploiters.

On the other hand, the workers' and Peasants' Party is anxious to establish the real unity of the nation, behind demands

which really express the needs of the majority. The real unity of the nation is the alliance of the exploited, cheated, browbeaten, unemployed middle-class, with their even more unfortunate brethren of the working class and the peasantry. The demands which they will put forward will be for Complete Independence, in the real sense indicated above, real democracy, abolition of the Indian States and the almost equally oppressive and reactionary zemindari system and a real guarantee by the Government of Independent India to concentrate its attention upon the economic and social well-being of the masses, and to secure for them the elementary rights which all workers now expect.

Such a programme will destroy the apparent unity of the political Parties of India. But if consideration is given, not to Parties, but to the classes which they represent, the justice and wisdom of this programme will be seen. All the respectable and established Parties represent one or other section of the small upper class, the "two-per-cent." Their unity or disunity, their loyalty or disaffection, their cooperation or their boycott, mean, fundamentally, very little. What is important is to encourage the unity, the consciousness, and the action of the vast mass, the "ninety-eight-per-cent." This the All-Parties Conference Constitution will not and cannot do. And the failure of the All-Parties Conference even to attempt this urgent task of leading a mass movement against imperialism, marks the final retirement of the bourgeois Parties from the arena of national politics, and their collapse into object submission to Imperialism.

As opposed to this arbitrarily selected, and essentially unrepresentative Conference, the workers' and Peasants' Party suggests that a campaign should immediately be undertaken for calling together a Constituent Assembly for All India, elected as far as possible by Universal Suffrage, or by some alternative, but properly representative method, which shall have as its object not merely to prepare the Constitution for the Independent Republic of India, but to formulate practical demands for rallying the masses to the struggle to put that Constitution into effect. The facts must be faced that the constitutional methods and timed demands of the upper classes will no longer procure any tangible benefit for India and will no longer secure the support even of the middle classes. A policy of mass action behind a programme of mass demands, such as are here outlined, is alone sufficient for our purpose.

P. 905.

A type written copy of the "A. I. T. U. C. Resolutions."
Only the first ten Resolutions are typed.

(Vide Exb. P.—549 (14).

P. 906. *Rejected.*

A book in Hindi entitled "My journey to Russia" by
Shoukat Usmani.

P. 907. *Rejected.*

A book in English entitled "Hundred Percent Indian". by
C. G. Shah.

P. 908.

A book in English entitled,

"The Future of Indian Politics.

by

M. N. Roy.

P. 909.

A vest pocket Diary for 1929 belonging to Sohan Singh Josh written from 1st January to 19th March in Urdu. The following entries are important:

- 1-1-29 } Attended Conferences and Sub-Committees at
2-1-29 } Calcutta.
- 3-1-29 Went to Jamshedpur and delivered a lecture. Bhag Singh was with him.
- 6-1-29 Return to Amritsar.
- 26-1-29 Attended a meeting of the Nau Jawan Bharat Sabha at the Jallianwalla Baug, Amritsar.
- 28-1-29 Interviewed Kedar Nath Sehgal in Hoshiarpur with the permission of the Magistrate.
- 30-1-29 Attended the meeting of Nau Jawan Bharat Sabha.
- 9-2-29 Attended a meeting at Lahore, where Jawahar Lal Nehru delivered an address. Stayed at Kedar Nath's place for the night.
- 11-2-29 Bhag Singh stayed with him at Islamabad for the night.
- 12-2-29 Sohan Singh's house was searched.
- 13-2-29 Delivered a lecture at Jallinwalla Baug. Bhag Singh stayed with him.
- 19-2-29 Prepared his address for the Nau Jawan Bharat Sabha.
- 22-2-29 Went to Lahore and attended the Nau Jawan Bharat Sabha Conference.
- 15-3-29 Attended a meeting of the Nau Jawan Bharat Sabha, at Jallianwalla Baug.
- 18-3-29 Attended a meeting of Nau Jawan Bharat Sabha.

P. 910.

A Diary book for 1928 belonging to Sohan Singh Josh, containing entries from 31st October, to 31st December in Urdu. The following are important :—

- 27—11—28 Slept at the house of Majid for the night.
20—12—28 Arrived at Calcutta in the morning.
21—12—28 Attended a Conference held in the Albert Hall, Calcutta.
31—12—28 Visited 2/1 European Asylum lane and interviewed his Bengali friends.

P. 911.

Several issues of "Kirti" for the following months:—

Urdu editions:—

May 1928.

January 1929.

Gurumukhi editions:—

August 1926	January 1928
March 1927	February 1928
.. Do ..	March 1928
April 1927	April 1928
... Do ...	May 1928
.... Do Do ...
July 1927	August 1928
... Do Do ...
August 1927	.. Do ...
December 1927	January 1929.

P. 912.

Pages 5 to 8 of the issue of "Sunday Worker" of 13-5-28

Three issues of the "Farmers' and Peasants' International correspondent", for the months of January 1927, March 1927 and September and October 1927.

[NOTE:—The top portion of the issue for Sept: and Octr: 1927 has been cut off.

P. 913

Rejected.

The cover of a registered letter on which the following superscription appears:—

The Manager

Kirti

Amritsar

Punjab

India.

P. 914.

Manifesto of the Workers' and Peasants' Party
to the

Indian National Congress.

Madras, December 1927.

(Vide Exb. P. 23).

P. 915.

A copy of the Printed Presidential address in English of the First All India Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference, delivered by com. Sohan Singh Josh at Calcutta on 21st Dec. 1928.

(Vide Exb. P. 596)

916. P

A pamphlet in English entitled "The Trade Union Movement" Thesis presented to the First All India Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference.

December 1928.

(Vide Exb. P. 51).

P. 917.

Search Statement

We the undersigned were present at the time of the execution of search warrant of Sohan Singh Josh which was conducted by Chowdri Jamal Uddin Sahib sub-Inspector Thana Majitha and the following articles were taken possession of by the conducting officer.

1. Rasala Kirti, Gurmukhi.
2. Rasala Kirti, Urdu.
3. Self Help by Samuel Smile 340 pages with index.
4. Up the rebels 298 pages.
5. Marx Lenin and the Science of Revolution 215 pages with notes and references.

6. Lawless laws 192 pages with appendix.
 7. The Republic of Plato, 406 pages.
 8. My religion by Tolstoy 268 pages.
 9. Reflection on the French revolution 361 pages.
 10. Group Photo with frame.
- | | |
|--|--|
| Sd. Gopal Singh
D. S. P., C. I. D. | Sd. Ganga Singh
Inspector police. |
| Sd. Sohan Singh
20-3-29. | Sd. Sarup Singh Kapur
Manager Sodhi Cycle
Agency Amritsar. |
| Sd. Lal Singh Ahluwalia
Katra Jalianwala. | Sd. M. Habib Ulla
Sharifpura Amratsar. |
| Sd. Mohammed Mukhtar
Contractor Sharifpura
Amritsar. | Sd. Jamal Uddin
Sub-Inspector
Majitha
Amratsar. |
| Sd. Sundar Singh Numberdar
Chaitanpura. | Sd. Mair Singh Zaildar
Chaitanpura. |
| Sd. Gaury Shaankar Sahukar
Majitha, Amritsar. | Sd. Sohan Singh
Chaitanpura. |
| Sd. Banta Singh
Chaitanpura. | Sd. Rahmatullah
S. I. Civil lines
20-3-29. |

P. 918.

Several issues of Gurmukhi "Kirti" for the following months :-

February 1927.
 March 1927.
 June 1927.
 September 1927.
 January 1928.
 April 1928.

P. 919.

Three copies of the Union "Kirti" for the months of April and May 1928 and March 1929.

P. 920.

A book in English entitled "Marx Lenin and the Science of Revolution" by Max Eastwan.

P. 921.

Warrant of arrest issued under sec. 121-A I. P. C. by the District Magistrate, Meerut, for the arrest of Arjun Atmaram Alwe, Shivram Agri's Chawl, first floor, close to Elphiston Mill, BOMBAY.

Executed by the Bombay City Police, on 20th. March 1929.

P. 922.

Search warrant issued under sec. 96 C. P. C., by the District Magistrate, Meerut, for searching the house of Arjun Atmaram Alwe, Shivram Agri's Chawl, first floor close to Elphiston Mill, BOMBAY.

Executed by the Bombay City Police on 20th March 1929.

P. 923.

PUNCHNAMA.

We the undersigned members of the Punch viz :—

1. Bhikubhai Devabhai Prajapat Hindu, age 25 years occupation Landlord, residence near Elphinston Mill in his own House.
2. Mahadeo Narayan Devli, Hindu, age 28 years, occupation Millhand residing Sivram Zink Chawl, ground floor near Elphinston Mills.

Were present at the time of the execution of search warrant No. nil, dated 15th day of March, 1929, by District Magistrate, Meerut, to witness the search of the place of Arjun Atmaram Alve, room situated on the 1st floor of Shivram Tinik's Chawl, near Elphinston Mills, at 10-30 a.m. on 20th of March 1929.

The above search was conducted by Parviz. Pheroazshaw Kothawal, Sub-Inspector of Police, Bombay City Police, Pydhoni Sub Division, in our presence and the following articles were taken possession of by the officer conducting the search :—

- (1) 34 Marhati hand written papers found on a shelf in West corner of room marked 1 to 35 consecutively.
- (2) 1 printed notice of meeting of Bombay Provincial Congress Committee. Marked "36" found on the West shelf in the room.
- (3) Handbill printed in Marathi 99 Girni Kamgara Ishara. Marked 37-
- (4) Marahthi printed Varsik report meeting Handbills dated 17-12-27 36. (Marked 38).
- (5) 1 Marathi Handbill Warning Mill hands to remain alert, by K. N. Joglekar. (Marked 39).
- (6) One Marathi and two Gujrati Hand bills asking people to boycott Simon Commisson (Marked 40).
- (7) 58 Marathi Hand Bills printed Girni Kamgar Maha Mandal. What we should do " (Marked 41).
- (8) Marathi printed hand bill Girni Kamgar Maha Mandal Jher Subha, by Alve. 9 copies. Marked 42).
- (9) Marathi Printed hand bills Girni Kamgar "Jaher Suchna". 7 copies. (Marked 43).
- (10) (a) Marathi Printed hand bill "Girni Kamger Maha

Mandal Sampwala Jangi Jaher Sabha. 5 copies.
(Marked 44).

- (10) (b) Marathi printed hand bills Boycott Simon Commission 10 copies. (Marked 45).
- (11) Marathi printed hand bill Johers and head Jobers meeting. One copy. (Marked 46).
- (12) One Marathi printed appeal to the citizens of Poona assist Sampwal Girni Kamgar. (Marked 47).
- (13) One hand bill, Bombay Girni Kamgar Union Lal Bavta, by Alve in Marathi. (Marked 48).
- (14) 4 Marathi hand bills printed " Ghukichi Durusti". (Marked 49).
- (15) One printed Marathi Hand bill regardidg Rs. 51/-, by Weaving department paid to Sampwala. (Marked 50).
- (16) Bombay Girni Kamgar Union No. 2, by S. A. Dange. 7 copies. (Marked 51).
- (17) 12 copies printed Marathi hand bill " Sayukt Sang Kamity Nagrik Bandhuna Vinanti " by Syed Munawar and R. S. Nimkar. (Marked 52).
- (18) Printed handbill in Marathi by Secretary, Samp Committee, asking whether Mill hands would listen to him or the mill owners. (Marked 53).
- (19) 7 copies printed Marathi hand bills " Girni Kamgar Maha Mandal, Bombay Girni Kamgar's Jangi Mirvanuk and Jahir Sabha. (Marked 54).
- (20) Kranti Ank Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 9, 9, 10, 11, 18, 37, 40, and one copy of 1927 marked 54 to 73.
- (21) Receipt of Girni Kamgar Maha Mandal 14 of As. 4/- and 1 of anna 2/-. (Marked 74 and 75).
- (22) One hand bill in printed Bombay Girni Kamgar Union Lal Bavta, Muncipal election, by S. A. Dange 76.
- (23) 29 Marathi and written papers. (Marked 77 to 106).
- (24) 5 forms printed in English to join congress Committee. (marked 107).
- (26) Bombay Provincial Congress Committee regarding adjournment. (Marked 109).

- (49) 1 exercise book, containing account. (Marked 187).
- (50) Onr Marathi Lahan Mulacha Maharsst. (Marked 188).
- (51) G. Ward District Congress Committee Report. (Marked 189).
- (52) 1 Marathi Note book. (Marked 190)
- (53) 1 English Khadi Patrika. (Marked 191).
- (54) 1 Photo of the group of Girni Kamgar Union. (Marked 192),

All the above papers and articles were found on a shelf in west corner in the room.

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

Before me.

Sd/- P. Kothavala.

Sub-Inspector of Police,
Pydhoni Police Sub-Division.

B. C. P.
20-3-1929.

1. Sd/- Bhikubhai

Devabhai

Prajapat,

20-3-29.

(Signed in vernacular).

2. Sd/- Mahadeo Narayan.

20-3-29.

- (49) 1 exercise book, containing account. (Marked 187).
(50) Onr Marathi Lahan Mulacha Maharssht. (Marked 188).
(51) G. Ward District Congress Committee Report. (Marked 189).
(52) 1 Marathi Note book. (Marked 190).
(53) 1 English Khadi Patrika. (Marked 191).
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Devabhai

Prajapat,

20-3-29.

(Signed in vernacular).

2. Sd/- Mahadeo Narayan.

20-3-29.

Punchnama.

We the undersigned members of the Punch viz :-

1. Ibrahim Haji Abdulrehman, age 20 years, caste Memon, occupation soap merchant, residence Nul Bazar, Haji Building, 2nd floor.

2. Abdul Aziz Alli Mahomad, age 20 years, caste Mahomedan, occupation Mill hand, residence Elphinston Road, Bethi Chawl, C/O Budhu Karmalikhan, were present at the time of the execution of search warrant No. Nil, dated 15th day of March 1929, by District Magistrate, Meerut, to witness the search of the person of Arjun Atmaram Alve at Nagusayaji Wadi Punji Haridas Chawl, room No. 36A, 2nd floor at 6-20 A.M. on 20-3-1929.

The above search was conducted by Parviz Pherozshaw Kothavala, Sub-Inspector of Police, Bombay City Police of Pydhoni Sub-Division in our presence and nothing was found on his person and nothing was taken possession of from his person by the officer conducting the search.

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/- Ibrahim Haji

Sd/- P. Kothavala.

Abdulrehman,
20-3-29.

Sub-Inspector of Police,

(Signed in Vernacular).

B. C. P. Pydhoni Sub-Divn.

2. Sd/-Abdul Aziz Alli

Officer conducting the search

Mahomad.

20-3-29.

(Signed in Vernacular).

R. H.

10-4.

P. 925.

PUNCHNAMA.

We the undersigned members of the Punch viz :-

1. Ibrahim Haji Abdulrehman, age 20 years, caste Memon, occupation soap merchant, residence Nul Bazar, Haji Building, 2nd floor.

2. Abdul Aziz Alli Mahomad, age 20 years, caste Mohamedan, occupation mill hand, residence Elphinston Road Betei Chawl, C/O Budhu Karamalikhan, were present at the time of the execution of search warrant No. Nil, dated 15th day of March 1929, by district Magistrate, Meerut, to witness the search of the place of accused Arjun Atmaram Alve, who was present at Nagu Sayaji Wadi, Punji Haridas Chawl, room No. 36 A, 2nd floor, at 6-20 A. M. on 20-3-29.

The above search was conducted by Parviz Pherooshaw Kothavala, Sub-Inspector of Police, Bombay City Police, Pydhoni Sub-Division, in our presence, and the following articles were taken possession of by the Officer conducting the search:-

1. One Marathi Book named "Yeshwant" marked 1. Found on bedding in the room.

2. One chit written in Gujrati by Dyaram to Arjun Atmaram Alve, dated 26-2-29, found in a white trunk lying open in the room. Marked "2".

3. One Marathi book titled "Mumbai Girni Kamgar Union, Registered, Lal Bavta Wiam (Rules)", marked "3".

4. One Marathi handwritten chit dated 15-2-29, addressed to Secretary Girni Kamgar Union, by R. V. Purandare, marked "4".

5. One Second Class Railway ticket No. 06156, dated 19th March 1929, from grant Rd. to Elphinston Rd. marked "5".

Articles Nos. 3, 4, 5 were found in the right outer coat pocket of a cotton grey with black striped squares belonging to Arjun Atmaram Alve.

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.

Sd/-P. Kothavala.

Sub-Inspr. of Police.

Pydhoni Sub-Divn.

B. C. P.

20-3-29.

1. Sd/-Ibrahim Haji

Abdulrahman.

20-3-29.

(Signed in Vernacular).

2. Sd/-Abdul Aziz Alli

Mahomad.

(Signed in Vernacular).

A letter dated 12-6-28 in Marathi from one who signs himself a well wisher of the workers, to Shriyut Nimbkar, secretary Strike committee.

In this letter the writer compliments Nimbkar Dange Mirajkar, Jhabwalla, Bradley, Joshi and others for the troubles they had taken to make the strike a success, and while pointing out that the volunteer pickets were not successful in keeping away the defaulters from going to the mills, suggests that the time of picketing should be changed and fixed from 6 to 8 in the morning and from 12 to 2 in the noon instead of from 7 to 10-30 continuously in the morning. The writer further suggests that small mill committees should be established the members of which should visit the respective mills, dissuade the defaulters from going to work and if they still persisted, to threaten them that their dismissal will be demanded.

P 927.

*Rejected as P.
D. J. Alwe*

BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE.

Notice of meeting

An urgent meeting of the BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE will be held on THURSDAY the 17th May, 28 at 6-30 p.m. (S.T.) at the Congress Office to consider the following Agenda:—

1. The All-India Congress Committee's letters re: arrangements of the All Parties Conference meeting in Bombay on Saturday the 19th May '28 at 2 p.m., Council Resolution dated 5-5-28.

"Arrangements to be left to the Estate Committee with the Secretaries of the B. P. C. C. to act as Secretaries for this purpose.

"PLACE:—A request to be made to the Swarajya Sabha to allow the use of their Hall and such other-rooms necessary for the purpose.

"A sum of Rs. 300 be sanctioned to meet the necessary expenses for furniture, refreshments etc. from the general funds."

2. The Strike Committee (Mr. B. F. Bradley) letter dated 28-4-28 re; Grant. Council Resolution dated 5-5-28.

“That the sum of Rs. 1,000 be immediately—handed over to the Strike Committee.”

3. Letter dated 10-5-28 from Mr. B. T. Desai requesting to convene a Public Meeting of the Citizen of Bombay to support the Bardoli Satyagraha.

4. Letter No. P. 1/844 dated 8-5-28 from the All-India Congress Committee intimating to send 5 representatives to the All Parties Conference to be held in Bombay on Saturday the 19th May 28 at 2 p.m.

Congress House, 414, Girgaum (Sd.) K. B. SANZGIRI,
Back Road, BOMBAY, 14th (Sd.) R. S. NIMBKAR,
May 1928. Joint Hon. Secy.

P. 928. & T. *Rejected. Later on Taken as P. 1016-T(1)*

A leaflet in Marathi issued by the Worker's and Peasant's Party of Bombay, to the Mill workers, warning them not to be deceived by the false representations of certain interested parties. The leaflet further advises the workers to join the strikers of the Sassoon Mills and declare a general strike.

P. 929.

A hand-bill no 2 in Marathi dated 12-12-28, issued under the signature of S. A. Dange, General Secretary, Girni Kamgar Union, Bombay, informing the workers that the Police attacked the strikers near Lalbaug, in which casualties occurred on both the sides. After stressing the necessity for 5000 trained volunteers, Dange says “we should always remember this murderous attack on our labourers, and should prepare ourselves for wreaking vengeance. This preparation cannot be done in one day. Be prepared to mobilise peaceful armies for your protection during the next one month. So, calmly take a vow of vengeance to crush both

capitalism and Imperialism, and in order to effect complete solidarity, join your duties from tomorrow and make preparations for the fight while still continuing to work."

P. 930.

Issues of the Marathi Newspaper "KRANTI" of the following dates:—

- (1) 12 November 1927.
- (2) 30 June 1928.
- (3) 5 July 1928.
- (4) 12 July 1928.
- (5) 15 July 1928.
- (6) 29 July 1928.
- (7) —Do.—
- (8) 2 August 1928.
- (9) 5 August 1928.
- (10) 2 September 1928.
- (11) 23 February 1929.
- (12) 9 March 1929.

This newspaper is declared by the publishers to, be "A GENUINE NEWSPAPER FOR GENUINE WORKERS, ON BEHALF OF THE WORKERS, AND PEASANTS' PARTY, BOMBAY."

P. 931. *Rejected.*

A hand-bill in Marathi dated 26-1-29, issued under the signature of S. A. Dange, General Secretary, Girni Kamgar Union, Lal Bawta, Bombay, advising the mill workers to vote for the workers' leaders viz. Messrs. Nimbar, Mirajkar, Joglekar, and Lalji Pendse, at the ensuing Municipal elections.

A group photo showing amongst others the following:—

Dange, Ghatge, Joglekar, Bradley, Alwe, Nimbkar, Mirajkar and Kasle.

P. 933.

Warrant of arrest issued by the District Magistrate, Meerut, for the arrest of Govind Ramchandra Kasle, Bombay Development Department's Chawl No. 24, ground floor, near DeLisle road Police Station, Bombay, under section 121-A of the I. P. C.

The warrant was executed by the Bombay City Police on 20th, March 1929.

P. 934.

Search warrant issued under Sec 96 C. P. C. by the District Magistrate, Meerut, for searching the house of Govind Ramchandra Kasle, Bombay Development Department's Chawl No. 24, ground floor, near DeLisle Road Police Station, Bombay.

The warrant was executed by the Bombay City Police, on 20th March 1929.

P. 935.

PUNCHNAMA.

We the undermentioned members of the punch viz :—

1. Charles William Christopher, 56 years, European, Mechanical Engineer, residing Moghul House No. 175, DeLisle Road, Bombay.
2. Joseph DeSylva, 38 years, East Indian, Doctor, residing at Moghul House, 175 DeLisle Road, Bombay, were present at the time of the execution of Arrest Warrant, No. nil, dated 15th March 1929 by the District Magistrate, 1st Class Meerut, at 6 A. M. on 20-3-29 to witness the search of the person of Govind Ramchandra Kasle.

The above search was conducted by Sergeant Gardiner in our presence and the following articles were taken possession of by the officer conducting the search.

1. Two unmounted copies of photographs of the said Govind Ramchandra Kasle.
 2. A manuscript letter in pencil written in Marathi.
 3. A printed handbill "My open letter No. 2" dated 8-2-29 from S. N. Natha to Sir J. E. Jackson, Agent B. B. & C. I, Railway.
 4. One unmounted copy of a photograph of the said Govind Ramchandra Kasle.
 5. A manuscript letter in Marathi written in pencil.
 6. A printed handbill in Marathi, signed by Raghunath Sakojea Bairut.
 7. A pocket dairy containing 6 Cash Memos. for tea, one visiting card bearing the name G. R. Kasle. Vice President Bombay Girni Kamgar Union and a G.C. Note for Rupees Ten bearing No. G. 646927.
- 41
8. A manuscript letter in Marathi written in pencil, unsigned addressed to the Girni Kamgar.
 9. A manuscript letter in Marathi written in pencil addressed to Govind Kasle, asking for Rupees five.
 10. A manuscript letter in Marathi written in pencil addressed to Kasle Sahib and signed by Ghate, the address and signature are in English.

11. A printed handbill in Marathi dated 16-3-29.
12. A piece of paper with a list of stores written in Marathi.
13. A printed booklet of the Girni Kamgar Union.
14. Cash Memo. No. 4410 for Rs. 37/2/- in the name of B. G. Kasle.
15. An unsigned letter in Marathi written in pencil, asking for Rupees Ten.
16. A manuscript letter in Marathi from A. Alve to Kasle on Bombay Girni Kamgar Union paper.

Nos. 8 to 16 were folded together in a bundle.

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.

Sd./- Charles W. Christopher.

Sd/- Gardiner.

20-3-1929.

Sgt.

B. C. P.

20-3-29.

Sd/- Joseph DeSylva.

20/3/29.

P. 936.

Punchnama.

We the undersigned members of the punch viz :—

1. Charles William Christopher, 56 years, European, Mechanical Engineer, residing at Moghul House, 175 DeLisle Road. Bombay,
2. Joseph Desylva, 38 years, East Indian, Doctor, residing at Moghul House, 175 DeLisle Road, Bombay,

were present at the time of the execution of search warrant No. Nil, dated 15th March 1929 by the District Magistrate, 1st Class Meerut, to witness the search of the place of Govind Ramchandra Kasle at Development Chawl No. 24, Room No. 17, ground floor near DeLisle Road Police Station, Bombay, at 6 A. M. on 20-3-29.

The above search was conducted by Sergt. Gardiner in our presence and the following articles were taken possession of by the officer conducting the search :—

1. Counterfoils of receipts of the Girni Kamgar Union pages 5601 to 5625 Type numbered consecutively. Found in a black coat which was hung on the wall.
2. Third class ticket No. 76400 from Church gate to Lower Parel, dated 8-3-29.
3. Names of Vishnu Baboo, Ramchandra Gaba, Laxman Rama in Marathi in pencil
4. Handbill dated 8-3-29 of the Girni Kamgar.
5. Receipt for Rs. 4/8/- paid by Mrs. Kasle.
6. Booklet of the "Girni Kamgar" dated 6-2-29. Found in a black coat which was hung on the wall.
7. Handbill of the Girni Kamgar, dated 9-3-29.
8. Seven Blank Voucher forms of the Girni Kamgar.
9. A letter from Gokhale to Govind Ramchandra Kasle, dated 5-3-29, written in Marathi in ink.
10. Receipt for Rs. 4/8/- Taxi hire.
11. Two notices from the Managing Committee of the Girni Kamgar, dated 5-3-29.
12. Receipt for Rs. 5/- from Anantha Vithal Parthu, dated 22-2-29.
13. Certificate granted to Maruti Kasle by Mr. Jabwalla, Secretary, G. I. P. Rly. Men's Union.
14. Receipt for Taxi hire Rs. 6/8/- dated 25-2-29.
15. One Juventa Portable Typewriter. Found on a table in the corner of the room.

16. Photograph of three persons.
17. Two photographs of Govind Ramchandra Kasle (framed). Found hanging on the wall.
18. One pamphlet of Workers' and Peasants' Party. Found on top of desk.
19. Report on Baglan Situation.
20. Copy of the Marathi Karmanook.
21. Terms of settlement of the Jamshedpur Labour Dispute, 1928. Found on a shelf of the desk.
22. Presidential address by M. Daud M. A. B. L.
23. All India Trade Union Congress.
24. Address of Welcome, by P. Dinda.
25. Political Resolution.
26. Workers' & Peasants' Party Principles and Policy.
27. Official Organ of the Taxi drivers' Union.
28. Address of Welcome, by P. Dinda.
29. Bombay Taxi Drivers' Union. Found in right hand drawer of cupboard.
30. Booklet of Girni Kamgar Union. Found in left hand drawer of cupboard.
31. Joint Mill Strike Committee Relief Fund book.
32. List of Girni Kamgar Members. Found in drawer of desk.
33. One bundle of papers tied with tape. Found in a box underneath the bed.
34. Girni Kamgar diary with a delegate's Badge.

35. Copy of a letter and receipt for same from M. I. Kastle to S. H. Jabwalla.
36. One envelope containing fifteen letters, etc. relating to the Kamgar Union.
37. Names of men employed in Mills, written on Bombay Girni Kamgar paper.
38. Cash Voucher book of the Girni Kamgar
Type numbered from 24876 to 24900.
39. Cash Voucher book of the Girni Kamgar
Type numbered from 8101 to 8120.
40. Letter from Mr. Chatrapatti to Narayan H. Pandia, Solicitor.
41. Notice to workers of the Bomanji Petit Mills.
42. Bill from G. R. Kastle for expenses incurred by Volunteers, dated 4-2-29.

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.

Sd/- Charles W.

Sd/- Gardiner.

Christopher,

Sgt.

20-3-29.

B. C. P.

Sd/- Joseph De Sylva.

20-3-29.

20.3-29.

P. 937.

A visiting card bearing the following address:—

"G. R. Kastle"

Vice—President

The Bombay Girni Kamgar Union.

A hand bill in Marathi notifying a public Meeting on 16-3-29 of the Dane-Bunder labourers under the Presidentship of G. R. Kasse.

P. 939.27. *Rejected.*

A small booklet containing the rules and objects of the Girni Kamgar Union (Registered) Lal Bavta.

P. 940

A booklet containing 6 songs by Gangaram Pandu Devag and Jayaram Pandu Devag.

The first song details how Capitalism flourished and crushed the labourers cruelly by starving them.

The second traces the history of the strike, its progress and the excellent work done by Kasse, Joglekar, Mirajkar, Nimbkar, Alwe, Bradley, Dange, Ghate and Pendse in that connection, and eulogises the fighting spirit shown by the labourers in their struggle with the owners.

The third song describes a meeting held at the Nagu Sayaji's wadi, and says that the labourers had to put up a very hard fight against Capitalism.

The fourth describes how dastardly attempts were made by wicked people to cause friction and how as a result of that four labourers met with their death. Then it goes on to advise that Hindus and Mahomedans are the children of one mother and there should be no question of communalism in the labour camp.

The fifth song says that Capitalism and Government while supporting each other are starving the labourers and tormenting

them. The labourers are advised to start unions and strikes and not be afraid of arms, machines or armies. Workers and Peasants should unite, declare a class war and raise a cry for workers' rule after breaking away from the tentacles of Zulum.

The sixth asks, are we born to live the life of slaves and die like goats, when the rich are rocking in luxuries at Mahableswar and Matheran? There is no other alternative for the unions but to declare strikes and thus prove its power to the whole world.

P. 941.^{d T.} *Rejected.*

A hand bill in Marathi dated 8- 3- 29 issued under the signatures of certain Mill hands, announcing a public meeting of Mill Labourers held with a view to discuss certain method adopted by the Mill owners to cause a split in the ranks of the labourers, and thus manage to drive away Communist leaders like Dange, Nimbkar, Mirajkar and etc. from the Union.

P. 942.

A copy 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.)

P. 943

A copy of "Workers' and Peasants' Party Principles and Policy." Thesis submitted to the First All-India Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference, December 1928.

(Vide Exh. P. 161)

P. 944.

A slip of paper with names of the members of the managing Committee of the Girni Kamgar Union, Bombay.

The following names are included amongst others:—

A. A. Alwe; R. S. Nimbkar; B. F. Bradley; G. R. Kasle;
S. A. Dange; S. S. Mirajkar. K. N. Joglekar;

P. 944. (E)

An envelope on which the names of the members of Managing Committee of the Girni Kamgar Union, Bombay, are written in Marathi.

P. 945.

A pamphlet in English entitled

“Political Resolution.”

(Vide Exh. P- 56)

P. 946.

Search warrant issued under sec. 96 C. P. C. by the District Magistrate, Meerut, for searching the premises occupied by the Girni Kamgar Union office, Aspar Building, 1st. floor, Poibawdi, Parel, Bombay.

Executed by the Bombay City Police on 20th. March 1929.

P. 947.

Punchanama.

We the undersigned members of the Punch viz.

1. Jamshed Ardeshir Irani, age 30 years, occupation Tea shopkeeper, residing at Poibowdi Corner Vahedino Mansions.

2. Behram Khodadad Irani, age 35 years, occupation Tea shopkeeper. Asper Building Poibowdi.

3. Dattoo Sanshet, Hindoo, age 38 years. Caste Vani occupation Pan shopkeeper, residing at Kavarana Building, Poibowdi, were present at the time of execution of a warrant of search issued by the District Magistrate, Meerut, dated 15th March 1929, in the office of the Girni Kamgar Union, Asper Building, 1st floor, Poibowdi, Parel, Bombay, at 6 a. m. on the 20th March' 29 by Dy. Inspector M. B. Sait of the Bombay City Police. The above search was conducted by Dy. Inspr. Sait in our presence. The office door which was found locked was broken open in our presence and the broken lock in two pieces was taken charge of by the Police. There was no one in the office. The following articles were taken charge of by the officer conducting the search:—

1. 1 Black Sign Board bearing the name of Bombay Girni Kamgar Union Office in English and Marathi, which was fixed to the wall near the door of the office room.

1 A. 1 Red Flag, found outside the office window facing the Main Road.

2. 1 File marked File No. 1 containing 70 sheets consecutively numbered 1 to 70 containing names and accounts of persons subscribing to the Fund, found on the counter.

4 949

3. 1 Sundry File containing Marathi, English letters and papers of account, found on the counter. Pages marked 1 to 164. File marked File No. 2.

4. 1 File marked File No. 3 containing pages marked 1 to 30, bearing the heading "Ferguson Road Centre. Book Returned".

5. 1 File No. 4, containing Sundry Papers marked Pages 1 to 14.

6. 1 Chart of the Bombay Mill Owners Association showing the progress of the Mill Industry till 31st August 1927.

7. 1 File No. 5 containing letter and sundry papers marked 1 to 54.

8. 1 File No. 6 containing Receipts of Books received, pages marked 1 to 16.

- 950 9. 2 copies of Group Photographs of Volunteers.
10. 1 File No. 6 containing Receipts marked No. 1 to 51.
11. 5 copies of Printed circular issued by the G. K. Union's General Secretary to the Mill Owners, dated 20th February 1929.
12. 1 statement of men working in the Crown Mill in October 1928. Pages 1 to 27.
- 951 12 A 21 Marathi Handbills under the signature of A. A. Alwe and S. I. Danges.
- 952 13. 49 copies of Urdu paper Payame Mazdoor. Consecutively numbered 1 to 49.
14. 1 file containing loose issues of (1) Railwayman dated 26. 1. 29. (2) Kesari, dated 5. 3. 29. (3) Maharashtra, dated 3. 3. 29. (4) Dinbandhu, dated 8. 3. 29. (5) Majoor Bandhu, dated 3. 2. 29. (6) Payame Majdur, dated 3-3-29 (7) Kranti, dated 20-1-29 (8) Kaivari Special issue, dated 24-1-29 (9) Evening News of India dated 19-2-29.
15. 1 Small Photo? *of Navarekar*
16. 1 copy of Indian Trade Union Act of 1929.
- 16 A. 4 cuttings from Newspapers. (1) Daily Mail, dated 22-2-29, re. death of Dy. Insp. Priestly. (2) Ahmedabad Labour Demands (3) Labour Leader Jailed. (4) Weak and Halting Explanation. Mr. Dange in a Fix.
- 953 17. 1 Manuscript Article under the signature of A. A. Alwe, bearing the heading "Bhandwal Shahi Majli Pan Kamgar Upashich Rahila". Page 1 and 2.
- 954 18. 1 Diary of the Bombay Girni Kamgar Union's Officers daily work. Only 18 pages marked 1 to 18 written in Marathi.
19. 1 Note Book of A. K. Navarekar, only 38 pages marked 1 to 38 written.
- 955 20. 1 Letter of Muzafar Ahmed, dated 1st March 1929 to Comrade S. A. Dange.
21. 1 Challenge Duplicate Book only 34 pages from 1 to 34 written.
- 956 22. 1 Post Office Register acknowledgment of a packet insured for Rs. 500/- bearing sender's name A. K. Navarange and signature of addressee Muzaffar Ahmed.
- 957 23. 1 Post Card from Saukat Usmani—? of Amritsar, dated 8-1-29, addressed to Com. S. A. Dange.
24. 1 Receipt Book of Centre No. 6. Naigaum. Only pages 1 to 90 filled in.

25. 1 Receipt Book of Centre No. 4 Lalbag. Only pages 1 to 84 filled in.

26. 1 Receipt Book of Centre No. 1 Nagoo Sayaji wadi. Only pages 1 to 70 filled in.

27. 1 Receipt Book of Centre No. 7 Tardeo. Only pages 1 to 10 filled in.

958 28. 1 Diary of the Girni Kamgar Unions meetings held in 1928. Only pages 1 to 19, written in Marathi and signed by Messrs. Alwe or Dange or both.

29. Receipt Book of Centre No. 3 DeLisle Road. Pages only 1 to 66 filled in.

30. 1 Receipt Book of Hd. Centre Office. Only pages 1 to 38 filled in.

31. 1 Receipt Book of Hd. Office marked 4. only pages 1 to 25 filled in.

32. 1 Receipt Book of Centre No. 2. Ferguson Road. Only pages 1 to 72 filled in.

33. 1 Receipt Book of Centre No. 5 Sewri. Only pages 1 to 41 filled in.

959 34. 1 Account Book commencing from 1st February 1929 to 19th March 1929. Only pages 1 to 28 filled written.

35. 1 Subscription Receipt Book, bearing serial Nos. 1501, 1503 to 1600, out of which pages 1501, 1503 to 1552 filled in.

36. 1 Muster Roll of the Staff of the Union. Only pages 1 to 17 filled in.

37. 1 Receipt Book of Tardeo Centre Book No. 8. Pages 701 to 712 filled in.

38. 1 Register of Books issued to the Staff bearing serial Nos. 1 to 1500. Only pages 1 to 26 filled in.

39. 3 Marathi Pamphlets of the Girni Kamgar Union. Printed Pages 1 to 12.

40. 1 Receipt Book of the money received by Mr. B. T. Alwe. Containing Receipts 101 to 200 out of which only 60 receipts up to 160 used.

41. 37 Exercise Books containing the names of subscribers of the Union. (In one Bundle).

42. 1 Form A of application Registration of the Girni Kamgar Union under the Trade Unions, dated 23. May 1928.

43. 20 Exercise Books containing the names of Subscribers of the union (in one bundle).

44. 1 "Good Luck Exercise Book containing Receipts of Books of subscription by the workers. Pages marked 1 to 20 written and filled.

46. 1 Typed copy of a Circular issued by the Workers' & Peasants' Party of Bengal, under the heading of "Trade Disputes Bill", dated 11th August 1928.

47. 11 Marathi Posters entitled "Help the Millhands and strikers etc.

48. 1 File containing Pleaders Notices etc. and an account of Fund. Pages marked 1 to 11.

49. 3 copies of communique No. 8 (Typewritten) of the Strike Committee.

50. 1 Honest File of statement of accounts of Centres. Marked I.

51. 1 Star File I containing letters and papers marked 1 to 37.

52. 27 application Forms of the District Congress Committee Bombay, consecutively numbered 1 to 27.

✓ 53. 32 Miscellaneous Bills and papers marked 1 to 32.

54. 1 Marathi Manuscript article for being published in Kranti, dated 18 th August 1928 without signature.

55. 1 Marathi Report of the meeting of the Girni K. Mandle. No date. No signature.

✓ 56. 1 Imperial Bank of India current account pay in slip Book only 1st three slips used.

57. 5 English Printed Hand Bills of an Appeal for help to the Mill workers families, signed by N. M. Joshi and others marked 1 to 5.

58. 1 Bundle of Marathi and English Miscellaneous papers marked I to 100.

59. 1 Pen and Pencil Duplicating Book. Only first 18 (eighteen) pages contain copies of letters sent. *by members of S.K. Mand*

60. 1 Marathi circular issued by the Hd. Clerk to the Centre Clerk. Marked No. 8.

61. 1 Register of Subscribers of Crown Mill containing the names of 352 subscribers on pages 2 to 16.

62. 1 Register of Receipt Books, from Book No. 1 to Book No. 450, (Pages 18 filled in).

63. 1 Register of Receipt Books I to 500 and 1 to 500.
(94 pages filled in).

961 64. 1 Register containing the names of 102 Volunteers
(pages 1 to 70).

65. 1 Marathi Poem beginning with the line " Kal Viparti
Ala" etc. and ending with the line Tari Sahay Jan ha sagala.

66. 1 Typewritten copy of an application to H. E. the
Governor of Bombay, dated 18th June 1926.

67. 1 Cardboard file containing 12 Printed Handbills of the
Girni Kamgar Medali. → *Marcher. Rev. 1925 Strike & Labor.*

68. 1 Suspence Book of the Girni Kamgar Union, from 1st
January 1929. Pages 1 to 3 filled (the rest Blank).

962 69. 84 Belts of cloth for the Volunteers of the Girni Kamgar
Maha Mandal (16 green and 68 Red).

70. 3 cloth placards of the Girni Kamgar Maha Mandale
with different mottos written in Marathi.

71. 4 Green, white and red cloth badges of Volunteers.

72. 1 Cash Box (Locked) forced off the counter.

73. 1 Tin Suit Case. (Locked).

74. 9 Rubber stamps.

75. 1 Bunch of 7 keys in a chain.

76. Cash As. -/12/- in a tin box.

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

Dated 20th March 1929.

Before me.

(1) Sd/-Jamshed Ardeshir.

Sd/-M. B. Sait.

(Signed in vernacular).

Dy. Insp. of Police.

(2) Sd/-Behram Khodadad.

(Signed in vernacular).

(3) Sd/-Dattoo Sanshet.

(Signed in vernacular).

PUNCHNAMA.

We the undersigned members of Panch viz.

1. Mordecai Asher Saygaon, Jew, age 33, occupation Photographer, Asper Building Powbowdi.

2. Moses David, age 19 years, Jew, occupation Photographer, near Asper Building, Poibowdi,

were present at the time of execution of a warrant of search issued by the District Magistrate, Meerut dated 15th March 1929, for searching the office of the Girni Kamgar Union, Asper Building 1st floor, Room No. 27, Poibowdi Parel at about 12.30 p. m. on 20th March 1929 by Dy. Inspr. M. B. Sait of the Bombay City Police. The search was conducted in our presence. The office which is known as the Head Office was locked and the lock on the front door had to be broken open in our presence. One Mr. W. K. Watve a clerk of the Union was present but had no keys. In all 4 cupboards and table drawers were forced open and the following property was taken charge of by the Officer conducting the search:—

77. 1 Royal Typewriter Machine with cover, No. X 819231.

77-A. 1 Black sign board of the Bombay Girni Kamgar Union Head Office found lying inside.

3 78. 5 groups photographs of (1) Volunteers, (2) Dead
4 bodies in Riots, 2 Photos, (3) Group of Labour leaders, (4) Bal Gangadhar Tilak.

79. 5 Loose copies of Photos of 3 Dead Bodies.

80. 1 framed certificate of the Registration of the "Union".

965 a pamphlet entitled "A Call to Action.

82. 5 Marathi handbills under the signature of R. S. Nimbkar and Sayed Munawar entitled "Malkanchi Girni Kamgaras Notice". 25.5.28 §.

83. 1 copy Marathi Issue of Port Trust Kamgar for February 1929.

84. 1 copy Marathi Issue of Dinbandhu, dated 1st March 1929. Pages 1 to 12.

85. 1 copy of English The Voice of Labour, dated 13th January 1929. Pages 1 to 8. ✓

86. 1 File of Daily reports of Expenditure and Income of the Union. Pages 1 to 31. Abstract in Marathi form 1-1-29 to 31-1.

87. 1 File "Era" called Agreement File, containing letters papers consecutively numbered to 1 to 76. *Get 18 to Dec 20.*

88. 1 Managing Committees Circular File, containing letters marked 1 to 14. *30 June 1928 to 16 January 1929.*

89. 1 Complaint Book, Pages 1 to 79.

90. 2 Typewritten statements of Millowners. *to Jawcett Com*
(1) Page 1 to 17 with a chit of Mr. B. B. Joshi.
(2) Page 1 to 9.

91. 1 Blue Pamphlet Marathi of the Girni Kamgar Mahamandal. Pages 1 to 8. *Founded 31 Dec. 1913*

D. 439 92. 1 Red Note Book. (Minute Book). Pages 1 to 18 written up in Pencil. *of Girni Kamgar Mahamandal 25.1.28 to 24.5.28*

93. 1 Eagle Brand Green Exercise Book, containing the list of Injured. Pages 1 to 40.

94 to 97. 1 Newspaper File (Krishna File), containing 1 copy of Majur Bandhu dated 3rd March 1929, 1 copy of Majur-bandhu, dated 6th January 1929, 1 copy of Swarajya, dated 10th Kartik 1850 or 6th Decemder 1928. 1 copy of Kamkari dated 9th December 1928, 1 copy of Kranti, dated 9th December 1928, 2 copies of Port Trust Kamgar, dated 1st April 1928, 1 copy of, Kranti, dated 9th December 1928, 1 copy of Port Trust Kamgar, dated 31st March, 1928, 1 copy of Mill Kamgar dated 15th November 1928, 1 copy of Majur Bandhu, dated 25th Novr. 28, Pages marked 1 to 28.

98. 1 Marathi Cash Book Pages 1 to 43, written up.

99. 1 English Ledger Pages 1 to 34 written up.

100. 1 Orange coloured File of Bulletins, sent to papers. Papers marked 1 to 4. *only two. 6 Nov. 28 a telegram to the Government*

101. 1 Green star File of Managing Committees Rough notes. Papers numbered 1 to 22.

102. 1 Cash Book of the Bombay G. K. Union, pages 1 to 79. *X*

103. 1 Green "honest" File "Riot Inward" contents marked 1 to 17.

104. 5 Hand bills of the public meeting of 9-3-29 at 9 a.m. at Morbang.

105. 1 Green "Krishna" File of Sundry Important Papers marked 1 to 7. *Contains a letter of Mr. V. V. help to municipal election.*

106. 1 Orange "Star" File of Drafts, marked 1 to 31.

*To mill owners - 21
several matters.*

107. 1 Blue "Star" File of Circulars, papers marked 1 to 5. *to Centre of G.K.U.*
108. 1 Grey Renown File of matter to be sent to Press, papers marked 1 to 3.
109. 1 Paysheet Book of the Staff. Pages 1 to 6. *Blank G.K.U.*
110. 1 Legal file, papers marked 1 to 14.
111. 1 Loose copy of Kranti, dated 9th March 1929, pages 1 to 4. *against Hon. Yechar's Speech in Council.*
112. 1 Despatch Book of the Union only. Pages 1 to 15 written.
113. 1 Inward Era File contents marked 1 to 72. *Contains copies of correspondence with Girni Kamgar Mahamandal. 1928.*
114. 1 Red Book of subscriptions, pages marked 1 to 23 written up.
115. 1 Blue subscription book, pages marked 1 to 22 written up.
116. 1 Brown "Babu" File. Circulars marked 1 to 31.
117. 1 Blue File on Miscellaneous Hand Bills.
118. 1 Minute Book. Pages 1 to 16 only written. *Girni Kamgar Mahamandal. 1928.*
119. 1 Register of G. K. *Mahamandal.* ~~Union~~ Strike Committee of 1928. Pages 1 to 13 written up.
120. 1 Krishna File of papers for ensuing Managing Committee. Contents marked 1 to 92.
121. 1 "Honest File" Riot outward. Pages marked 1 to 7. *contains a typed statement of the riots.*
122. 1 "Royal Office File" Outward. Papers marked 1 to 12.
123. 1 Marathi Cash Book of the Girni Kamgar *Union.* Pages marked 1 to 15 written up. *contains a typed statement of the riots. Mahamandal.*
124. 1 List of members of the Girni Kamgar Mandal. Pages marked 1 to 116 written up in Marathi.
125. 1 Era File Outward. Contents marked 1 to 36. *
126. 1 Post Book. Account of Stamps. Pages marked 1 to 25 written up.
127. 5 Broken locks.
128. 1 Grey coloured Honest File of New letters. Papers marked 1 to 33.
129. 6 Iron Bars old and bent (5 bars and 1 pipe).

130. 1 Flag staff.

Dated 20th March 1929.

Before me.

(Sd.) M. B. Sait.

Dy. Insp. of Police.

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

Dated 20th March 1929.

Before me. (1) (Sd.) Mordecai Ashu Saygaon.

(Sd.) M. B. Sait, 20-3-29.

Dy. Insp. of Police. (2) (Sd.) Moses David.

20-3-29.

P. 949.

A file containing a number of account papers both in Marathi & English. Pages 21 to 25 are written in English & contain a list of vouchers paid by Dange in February & March 1929. The following entries are interesting:—

6 - 2 - 29	A. A. Alwe	2 0 0
25-2 - 22	Dange	1 2 0
14-2 - 29	Mirajkar	3 14 0
15-2 - 29	A. A. Alwe	8 6 0
16-2 - 29	Dange & others	2 8 0
—Do—	—Do—	11 0 0
—Do—	Mirajkar	2 8 0
20-2 - 29	Dange	3 12 0
23-2 - 29	A. A. Alwe	2 8 0
26-2 - 29	G. R. Kastle	20 0 0
27-2 - 29	Adikri	8 12 0
1 - 3 - 29	G. R. Kastle	3 6 0
—Do—	—Do—	1 8 0
2 - 3 - 29	—Do—	5 8 0
4 - 3 - 29	R. S. Nimbkar	4 0 0
—Do—	—Do—	36 0 0

--Do--	S. S. Mirajkar	10 14 0
5 - 3 - 29	Usmani	10 0 0
--Do--	G. R. Kasle	30 0 0
--Do--	S. S. Mirajkar	10 0 0
6 - 3 - 29	A. A. Alwe	70 0 0
11-3 - 29	--Do--	50 0 0

Pages 26 to 31 are also written in English and contain the following entries amongst others:—

2 - 2 - 29	B. F. Bradley	3 4 0
--Do--	R. S. Nimbkar	120 0 0
--Do--	Mirajkar	4 8 0
3 - 2 - 29	B. F. Bradley	3 4 0
5 - 2 - 29	Dange & others	5 4 0
--Do--	Govindrao Kasle	28 10 0
6 - 2 - 29	Shaukat Usmani	10 0 0
--Do--	--Do--	6 0 0
--Do--	Kasle	10 0 0
--Do--	Mirajkar	10 4 0
7 - 2 - 29	B. F. Bradley	10 4 0
--Do--	Shaukat Usmani	8 2 0
8 - 2 - 29	--Do--	6 4 0
--Do--	G. R. Kasle	10 0 0
9 - 2 - 29	Usmani	10 0 0
--Do--	G. R. Kasle	20 0 0
11 - 2 - 29	B. F. Bradley	10 0 0
--Do--	Kasle	15 0 0
--Do--	A. A. Alwe	30 0 0
12-2 - 29	K. N. Joglekar	5 0 0
14-2 - 29	B. F. Bradley.	11 4 0
17-2 - 29	A. A. Alwe	30 0 0
--Do--	--Do--	45 0 0
19-2 - 29	R. S. Nimbkar	3 0 0
20-2 - 29	G. R. Kasle	20 0 0
24-2 - 29	R. S. Nimbkar	7 8 0
28-2 - 29	G. R. Kasle	3 4 0

P. 950.

Two copies of a group photo of the Girni Kamgar Union Volunteers. One of the two men in Mufti is S. S. Mirajkar.

Rejected as P.
D. of Nimbkar

P. 951. & E & T.

21 hand bills in Marathi issued between 17-1-29 and 10-2-29 by the Girni Kamgar Union, Lal Bavta, except no 4 which is issued by the Workers' and Peasants' Party.

P. 952

Several issues of "Payam-i-mazdoor" dated 17-3-29.

P. 953.

A manuscript article in Marathi supposed to have been written by Alwe—a member of the Worker's and Peasant's Party. A pencil note in the left hand Top corner shows that the article has been published in the "KRANTI" of 29-1-29. The article is entitled "capitalism has flourished but the worker has continued to starve.

P. 954.

A note book containing manuscript entries in Marathi regarding work done by the members of the Union. On page 5 under date 2-1-29 S. S. Mirajkar has stated that he took Ryan to the Morarji Gokuldas Mill, returned home at about 1 p.m. and then again went with Ryan to the DeLisle Road Meeting at about 6-30 p.m.

Under date 4-1-29 S. A. Dange has written the following:—
Muzaffar Ahmed had asked for information regarding the strikes and so sent a telegram to him.

On page 14 under date 9-1-29 S. A. Dange says that he attended the meeting of the Tramway Union, where Bradley and Jhabwalla were also present.

Other entries are signed by G. R. Kasle, S. V. Ghate, and S. S. Mirajkar. Some entries are not signed at all.

P. 955.

**Workers' and Peasants' Party of India
2-1, European Aslyum Lane? Calcutta.**

BENGAL PROVINCIAL BRANCH.

March 1, 1929.

Organs:

"Ganavani"

(Bengali Weekly)

Comrade S.A. Dange,

General Secretary, Girni Kamgar Union.

Kondaji Building, Parel, Bombay.

Dear Comrade,

After receiving the telegraphing instruction from you I began to spend the money on the defence of the criminal cases brought against several Bauria workers. I have already spent Rs. 300/- on that account. But, I have stopped paying money at present for the following reasons:

Though thousands of rupees are necessary to depend the innumerable cases yet the office bearers of the so called union are quite reluctant to reaise any fund from those workers who joined the duty.

All the money received from the Dundee Jute and Flax workers' Union (£40/- in all) were not spent. An announcement about the receipt of this money was not even made to the workers.

Mr. Kishore Lal Gosh received Rs. 600/- from the Trades Union Congress. He too has not made any announcement to the workers about this money. To me he had written to the effect that

old liabilities were meted out with the money. But, no body knows what are the liabilities.

I have informed them that unless Mr. Ghosh comes out with the account and remaining sum of Dundee (about Rs. 150) be spent I am not going to pay a single rupee. Because it is useless to pay money in that way. I shall let you know the later development soon.

With greetings,

Yours fraternally,

(Sd.) MUZAFFAR AHMAD.

P. 956. *Rejected.*

A Postal acknowledgment receipt in respect of an insured packet for Rs. 500, sent by A. K. Navrange of the Bombay Girni Kamgar Union to Muzaffar Ahmad, 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta. The receipt is signed by Muzaffar Ahmad on 26-1-29.

P. 957.

A Post card dated Amritsar 8-1-29 from Shaukat Usmani to S. A. Dange of the Girni Kamgar Union. Its contents are as follows:—

Amritsar:

8-1-1929.

Dear Comrade,

Was very sorry to have read the other day that you were assaulted by some hired hooligans.

I hope you are uninjured, coming back from Kashmir I had been to Calcutta but found nothing interesting there.

B. C. and greetings to Mrs. Dange,

Yours, "

SHAUKAT USMANI.

Kirti office.

P. 958.

This is minute book in Marathi, of the proceedings of the Meetings held by the officials of the Girni Kamgar Union. The following entries are important:—

- (a) Page 2 shows that a meeting was held on 22-5-28 at Nagu Sayaji's Wadi under the Presidentship of A. A. Alwe. In this meeting the establishment of the Girni Kamgar Union was announced with the following office bearers:—

President: A. A. Alwe.

General Secretary: S. A. Dange.

Secretaries: Satam, Tawde and Joglekar.

Vice-Presidents: Jhabwalla, Bradley, Nimbkar and Tamhankar.

Treasurers: B. T. Alwe and Ghate.

Members: Kasle, Mirajkar and others.

The minutes are signed by Alwe.

- (b) Page 7 shows another meeting on 25-10-28. By resolution 4, G. R. Kasle was appointed Vice-President in place of Jhabwalla resigned. By resolution 8, Mirajkar was appointed Centre Secretary at Lalbag, Ghate as Centre Secretary at Wadi, Nimbkar at Ferguson Road and Joglekar at De Lisle Road. These minutes are signed by S.A Dange as General Secretary and by A. A. Alwe are President.

- (c) Page 16 shows another meeting held on 16-1-29. Resolution 5 shows that Rs. 1,000 were sanctioned by the Union to assist the Bauria Jute strikers. Rs. 500 were to be sent at once, while the balance was to be sent later on if required. This resolution

was proposed by Bradley, supported by the President and passed unanimously.

Resolution 6 shows that Rs. 200 were sanctioned as a second instalment for the help of the oil strikers in Bombay. The resolution was proposed by Mirajkar and passed unanimously.

P 959

An account book written from page 1 to page 28 and covering a period between 1-2-29 to 19-3-29.

The following entries are important :-

2-2-29	G. R. Kasle (Suspense)	25 0 0
--Do--	R. S. Nimbkar	25 0 0
--Do--	S. A. Dange (Newspaper)	4 14 0
--Do--	--Do--	4 14 0
--Do--	--Do--	4 14 0
--Do--	--Do--(Conveyance)	4 0 0
--Do--	--Do-- --Do--	9 12 0
--Do--	--Do-- --Do--	18 0 0
--Do--	--Do-- --Do--	14 4 0
--Do--	--Do-- --Do--	18 0 0
3-2-29	--Do--(Suspense)	25 0 0
--Do--	Govindrao Kasle. (Suspense)	100 0 0
--Do--	R. A. Dange (Suspense)	400 0 0
23-2-29	R. S. Nimbkar (Conveyance)	6 8 0
--Do--	A. A. Alwe. (Suspense)	20 0 0
--Do--	--Do-- --Do--	30 0 0
27-2-29	S. A. Dange	55 0 0
11-3-29	A. A. Alwe (Conveyance)	9 10 0
12-3-29	--Do-- --Do--	3 4 0
13-3-29	R. S. Nimbkar --Do--	33 8 0
14-3-29	S. A. Dange (Suspense)	70 0 0
15-3-29	Joglekar and A. A. Alwe (Conv.)	1 0 0
15-3-29	A. A. Alwe	5 6 0
--Do--	G. R. Kasle	6 14 0
--Do--	--Do--	6 10 0
--Do--	--Do--	3 14 0
--Do--	S. A. Dange	236 5 0

—Do—	R. S. Nimbkar (Conv.)	1 12 0
18-3-29	A. A. Alwe (Suspense).	2 0 0
19-3-29	—Do— (Conveyance).	1 4 0

P. 960. ^{27.} *Rejected.*

This is a minute book in Marathi of the proceedings of the Managing Committee of the Girni Kanigar Union Bombay.

On page 1 to 3 the proceedings of the meeting held on 30th Dec. '28 are registered. Resolution 7 shows that Rs. 500/- were Sanctioned for the uniforms of 100 Volunteers, and that Messrs Mirajkar and Ganpat (i.e. Kandalkar) were appointed captains of the core. Resolution 9 shows that Rs. 105/- were sanctioned for helping the oil strikers.

The proceedings are initialled by Mirajkar.

On page 7 the following resolution is recorded:—

It has been decided to pay Rs. 1000/- to help the Strike of Bauria. Rs. 500/- should be sent now and the remaining 500/- later on if required. This was proposed by Bradley, supported by the President, and ultimately passed unanimously.

On the reverse of page 7 the following resolution appears:—
Rs. 200/- should be given as a second instalment to assist the Oil strikers. Proposed by Mirajkar, seconded by Pednekar and passed unanimously.

On page 8 the following resolution appears:—

The Mill owners' Association should be regarded to declare Tuesday as a holiday in connection with the Municipal elections. A movement should be set on foot by publishing handbills on behalf of the Union, advising that our men should be elected.

Proposed by Nimbkar and seconded by Dange.

P. 961.

A register containing the names of 102 Volunteers enrolled from the different Mills on 2nd July 1928.

P. 962.

84 Girni Kamgar Union Volunteer belts made of cloth.

P. 963.

A group photo of Girni Kamgar Union Volunteers. One of the men in mufti is S.S. Mirajkar.

P. 964.

A group photo showing amongst others the following:—

Dange, Ghate, Joglekar, Bradley, Alwe, Nimbkar, Mirajkar and Kasla.

P. 965.

A booklet in English entitled "A call to Action"
(Vide Exh. P. 523).

P. 966.

This is a leaflet in Marathi issued by S. A. Dange, R. S. Nimbkar, S. S. Mirajkar, A. A. Alwe, and G. Kasle. The Translation of the leaflet is as under:—

"Are you prepared to continue your fight against the proposal of 3 looms and 2 sides? If so, then make preparations for a boycott"

Let us prepare two red armies, one of 500 non-cooperating volunteers and another of 100 persons who will make speeches in meetings. Let us also start preparations for collecting Rs. 25000/- for grain.

Brother Workers—

A year ago the Sassoon mill workers struck work (as a protest) against three looms and two sides, but unfortunately it fizzled out. After that, all the 84 mills struck work in order to stop the cut in wages. Even though there was a general strike the Sassoon mill labourers were working on three looms and two sides. When however, the general strike occurred, the demands of the Sassoon group workers also were included in the General demands.

As a result of the negotiations 15 mills refused to yield while the remaining 69 agreed to the proposals.

We only accepted the peace terms in order to take some rest. The Sassoon group workers are determined to fight the battle to the finish.

In order to fight with them let us prepare a red army of 500 volunteers and also 100 speech makers to explain the genesis of the fight and to collect assistance from our brother workers in other mills.

We must face them and fight with them. Our enemies have let loose a secret army in order to facilitate their plans of causing a split between the workers and their leaders and then to cut down

both easily. Do not therefore listen to rumours set afloat by them, and continue your fight. We are not now going to retire.

Attend the meetings. Turn down false rumours. Take a vow of non-cooperation. All the leaders are prepared for a further fight and suffer consequent miseries. A meeting is going to be held this evening behind the Gokhale Hotel (Poibaodi) to consider these proposals. Those who are prepared to boycott these mills and if necessity arises to go to god or adopt satyagraha, should attend the meeting.

Obeying all orders in your interest,

we remain, yours,

Sd/- { S. A. Dange.
R. S. Nimbkar.
S. S. Mirajkar.
A. A. Alwe.
G. R. Kasle.

P 967.

A leaflet in Marathi dated 12-10-28 issued by the Girni Kamgar Union, under the signatures of S. A. Dange, R. S. Nimbkar, S. Mirajkar, Gadkari, B. F. Bradley, A. A. Alwe, K. N. Joglekar, G. R. Kasle.

This leaflet contains an important paragraph, the translation of which is as follows :-

(3) STRIKE FUND.

In order to fight the workers' fight we must start collecting men and money even from now. In order to carry the new fight regarding the demands of all the Mills to a successful termination, we must make preparation for six months. 5000 RED ARMY, 100 ORATORS, AND 2 LACS OF STRIKE FUND must be kept ready. Those who will be in possession of these fund tickets will only receive assistance of grain, steamer passage etc. in the next strike.

P. 968.

Warrant of arrest issued by the District Magistrate, Meerut, for the arrest of Shripad Amrit Dange, Mulji Haridas Chawl, 3rd. floor, Nagu Sayaji's wadi, Parbhadevi Road, Bombay, under Sec. 121-A I. P. C. Executed by the Bombay C.I.D. on 20 th. March 1929.

P. 969.

Search warrant issued under 96 C. P. C. by the District Magistrate, Meerut, for searching the house of Shripad Amrit Dange, Mulji Haridas Chawl, 3rd. floor, Nagu Sayaji's wadi, Parbhadevi Road, Bombay.

Executed by the Bombay C. I. D. on 20th. March 1929.

P. 970.

PUNCHNAMA.

We the undersigned members of the Punch Viz:—

1. Narsingh Krishna, age 31 years, Vaishnav Brahmin, Keeper of Refreshment room at Parbhadevi Road.

2. Ramlal Bhajanlal, age 45 years Bania; grocer, at Parbhadevi Road.

Were present at the time of the execution of search warrant dated 15th March 1929 by the Dist; Magistrate Meerut to witness the search of the place of Shripad Amrit Dange at Mulji Haridass Chawl 3rd floor Nagoo Sayaji's wadi Parbhadevi Road Bombay at 6-30 A. M. on 20th March 1929.

The above search was conducted by Rao Sahib Pitwardhan inspector C. I. D. in our presence and the following articles were taken possession of by the officer conducting the search:—

Name of the articles document etc.	Place where found.
1. Letter from Kishori Lal Ghosh Secretary Provincial Committee of the All India Trades Union Congress, Calcutta.	In the hand bag.
2. Summary of vouchers of money spent Feb. 1929, as General Secretary.	do.
3. Group photo of a mill Committee under the Nagoo Sayaji wadi centre No. 1.	do.
4. Group photo of another Mill Committee under Nagoo Sayaji wadi centre No. 1	do.
5. Group photo of a mill committee under centre No. 1.	do.
6. Group photo of a Mill Committee under centre No. 1.	do.
7. Group photo of a Mill Committee under centre No. 1.	do.
8. Photo of Worker's Meeting.	do.
9. Acknowledgement of a registered letter addressed to Raghunath, Balkrishna Shetey Building.	do.
10. Visiting card of Andre Phillip Professor faculty of economic Lyon, France.	do.
11. A copy of Kranti Karak series book 2nd "Deshtyagascha Itihas" (History of exile)	do.
12. A photo of Ganpat Kandalker Captain of Volunteer corps of the Bombay Girni Kamgar Union employed in simplex Mill as a fancy jobber.	do.
13. A manuscript form prepared for the Press, entitled the Bombay Girni Kamgar Union daily account report for the centre.	do.
14. Another manuscript form prepared for the Press entitled the Bombay Girni Kamgar Union daily report for the centre.	do.
15. A blank printed form signed by Mr. Dange dated 9th March 1929 entitled Bombay Girni Kamgar Union Voucher.	do.
16. A letter addressed to the President Girni Kamgar Union By D. M. Pangarkar.	do.

17. A note of complaint by Janardhan Mahadev of the Simplex Mill. do.
18. Four vouchers two of them dated 14th March and signed S. A. Dange one not signed and two not dated of the Bombay Girni Kamgar Union. do.
19. Letter addressed by Dange to Tamnekar of the Standard Mill asking for a copy of the rules of the Provident Fund of the standard Mill. do.
20. A receipt with envelop for Rs. 2600/- for depositing in Court for bail of 25 persons by V. H. Joshi dated 27/2/29. do.
21. Group Photo of workers under centre No. 2 of the Bombay G. K. Union. do.
22. Another group Photo of Workers under centre No. 2 B. G. K. Union Ferguson Road. do.
- 971 23. Rough note book with notes of account kept by Mr. Dange. do.
24. 2 Lists of prevailing weavers rates of Standard Mill, and another for all Mills. do.
25. Two news paper cuttings from Bombay Chronical January 20th. do.
26. Notes of payments by cheques and cash regarding accounts (various) of the B. G. K. Union 7 loose sheets. do.
27. Rough notes of Union work for one week 7 pages. do.
28. A receipt for a type writer bought for the Union for Rs 150/- do.
29. A statement regarding various bills payable to Shardhanand Press. do.
30. List of accused persons in the Pearl Mill murder case. do.
31. A bill for blocks prepared for the Kranti news paper for Rs. 20/- do.
32. Receipts five from "Shardhanand Press for payment made by Mr. Dange with accompaniment chits. do.
33. Ten bills from Shardhanand Press submitted to Mr. Dange. do.

34. Receipt of telegram sent to Alwy Malwan Dt/-9/11/28. do.

35. Intimation from G. P. O. for non delivery of the above mentioned Telegram Dt-10/11/28. do.

36. Balance sheet of the Standard Mill Co. do.

37. Four bills of the Kamal Printing Press submitted to Mr. Dange with four attachment of samples of work done. do. *Re. Trans*

38. News paper cutting from the Times Dt/-22nd February 1929 to which is attached a compose proof copy of the same. do. *Compos. c. proceedin. print copy*

39. A statement of the bills from the Shardhanand Press. do.

972 40. A letter from A. A. Alway dated 26/1/29 to Mr. Dange. do.

41. A letter from K. N. Khot requesting publications in the Kranti together with a copy of Dange's reply to it. do.

42. News paper cuttings (3) 1 from Daily Mail and one from Times and one from Herald with a compose proof of the same. do. *(from A. on 11/1)*

43. A letter from Alway to Dange dated 18/2/29. do.

973 44. A note from Alway to Dange. do.

45. A receipt for suspense money returned signed by A. R. Nawrange Head clerk of the Girni Kamgar dated 15-1-29. do.

449-8 → 14.2
190-0 → 12.2
125-0 → 4.2
205-0 → 9.2
395-0 → 9.2
363-8-0

46. Five receipts for money recd by the Treasurer B. T. Alway of the Union. *from 709. Rd Centre - Anandkar in Feb. 1929.* do. ✓

47. Letter from Alway to Dange to which is attached cops of Dange's reply dated 19-2-29. do.

48. Receipt for money by B. T. Alway dated 30-11-28. *for Rs. 176-12-0 Pupa fund.* do. ✓

49. Receipt for money received by Nawrange do. ✓

50. Bill made by K. R. Sumant on the Union do.

51. Copy of a letter addressed to A. A. Alway by Mr. Dange Dt/-26-1-29. do.

52. Statement of accounts by B. T. Alway, Treasurer of the Union Dt/-16-2-29 to Dange and Alway secretary and President of the Union respectively. do. ✓

53. A cutting from news paper headed "End Domain of capital " do.
54. Four complaints from Workers to Dange. do.
55. Letter addressed to the Editor " Kranti " by K. N. Khot for publication dated 15-3-29. do.
56. List of the accused in the New China Mill case. do.
57. A copy of a hand bill of the Union dated 14-3-29. do.
58. A chit recording sums deposited as bail money.
$$\begin{array}{r|l} \text{Rs. } 300 & \text{Balance } 450 \\ 400 & \\ \hline & 750 \end{array}$$
 do.
59. Copy of article for publications in "Kranti" entitled disorderly behavior of Mr. Jhabwalla in a public meeting. do.
60. Manuscript article for publication in the Kranti entitled the Oil strike. do.
61. A list of amounts received and paid on behalf of the Union. do.
62. Post card addressed to Alway by an unknown man. do.
63. List of persons arrested at Tardeo do.
64. Four copies of a Marathi hand bill issued on the table. by Mill hands of Sewri Dt/—8-3-29. do.
65. An invitation card for Satya Narayan Puja at Dinsha Petit Mill to Dange on reverse containing notes of sentence passed on the accused in the Pearl Mill Murder case. do.
66. Letters addressed to V. H. Joshi by Usman Dt/—18-3-29 from payani Mazdur office Parel. do.
67. Four group photos of workers at No. 2 centre of the Unions with duplicate copies of two of them. do.
68. Press proof of three blocks for publications in the "Kranti." do.
69. Copy of republished articles by V. H. Joshi entitled "Russia Virudhya Kesaricha hetu Purassar Veparyas i. e. Intentional misrepresentations against Russia by the 'Kesari' do.
- 4/ 70. A bundle of copies (50) of the urdu paper "Payani Mazdoor" on the wall shelf.

- * 71. Printed Proceedings in 42 volumes of the daily record of evidence led before the Government Committee on Bombay strike enquiry. do.
72. Freedoms battle by Mahatma Gandhi. do.
73. A copy of Lord Rosebary's Nepolean. do.
74. International Scintific series Volum 33 entitled " sight " do.
75. " 15 questions by Daniel D Leon do.
76. The new economic menace to India by B. C. Pal. do.
77. A Locke on civil Government. do.
78. Two war maps one of Dardanelles the other of Western Front by Johnston. do.
79. A copy of a report on Indian Constitution reforms. do.
80. Government and parties in continental Europe. do.
81. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, a sketch of his life and career. do.
82. The Indian seamen's Union History and developments. do.
83. A book on Oil Engine in Vernacular. do
84. Copy of a letter from Mill owners association Dt/-14-1-29. do.
85. A copy of a photo of Govind Kasale. do.
86. A letter from U. K. Oza Dt/-31-10-28 addressed to Dange from three traders Union of Uganda. do.
87. Economics of Unemployment by A. C. Pigon. do.
88. Mystry of the daily Mail. do.
89. " Drydu Absalom and Achitrphel " do.
90. Imaginery conversations by Walter Savage. do.
91. Bismark by Powicke. do.
- * 92. The politics of Oil. do.
93. The life of Mazzimi. do.
- 975 94. Left wing communism by Lenin do. ✓

	95. One bundle containing Motor Industry Workers Union receipt book blank.	do.
	96. Mahatma Gandhi.	do.
	97. International scientific Series. Volume No. 52.	do.
	98. Hundred percent Indian.	do.
	99. Indian Nation Builders.	do.
	100. Bal Gaangadhar Tilak Appreciation by Aurobindo Ghose.	do.
	101. The elements of reconstruction.	do.
	102. A History of Politics.	do.
	103. Manuscript copy of Politics of Oil in Vernacular.	do.
76	104. 8 issues of the Labour Monthly No. 6 Dec 1923 No. 9 Sept 1925 No. 2 February 1927, No. 1 January 1924. No. 1 January 1927. No. 4 April 27. No. 5 May 1926 No. 12 Dec 1926.	do.
77	105. The Diplomacy of Mr Ramsay Mc Donald.	do.
78	106. The Trade Union Movement Thesis presented to the First All India Workers and Peasants Party Conference December 1928	do.
	107. Workers and Peasants party Principles and Policy.	do.
	108. 12 "The Monthly circular issues" from January to December 1926.	do.
	109. One copy of the February issue 1927 of the Monthly circular of the Labour research Department.	do.
	110. Persian book of the Poetry of Hafiz.	do.
	111. A wooden block with the zinc plate for the title of "Kranti".	do.
	112. Persian book entitled "Anwar Suheli".	do.
	113. One number of the Quarterly Magazine in Urdu entitled Suhel.	do.
	114. A Persian book called "Dustoor-us-Sibiyān."	do.
	115. Persian book entitled "Musdari Faygoose".	do.
	116. Persian book called "Dulistan"	do.
	117. Persian book Bostan	do.

118. Japan by John Harrington Gibbins do.
119. Pre-History of Iron and steel. do.
120. British Dominions year book 1916. do.
121. The Challenge of Waste do.
- 979 122. On the road to Insurrection do.
123. "The Nation" Dt/-28-2-1922. do.
124. The Statist issues one of 16-2-24 and 26-1-1924. do.
125. The Economist of January 19th 1924, Feb. 2, 1924. Feb. 9, 1924. March 29, 1924. and May 3, 1924. and Supplement January 1926 and issue of January 26 1924. do.
126. The Economic World of January 5, 1924 January 12, 1924. Feb 2, 1924, March 15, 1924. do.
- 980 127. The Title page of "Die Kommunistische International" do.
128. Pictures of Genosse Belakin, Genosse Tibarsza uniely W. C. Lichtenstadl (Masin) Engen Inurch, Engen Levince, Nissen, Leo Jojiches (Tyschko Dobrudsbalu, gerea, Jukkarabja. John Reed, Dunitre Tuzo Witseh. do.
129. Manifesto of the Workers and Peasants Party to the Indian National Congress 1927. do.
130. Pictures of prominent Left wing Labourities on the from Sunday Advocate Nov 1, 1925 wall shelf.
131. Forms of "Mumbai Majour haq sauraks-han sungh" do
132. File of the socialist from January 20, 1929 to March 12, 1924. do
- 981 133. Programme proposed by R. N. Joglekar and R. S. Nimker members of the A. I. C. C. do
134. Issues of the socialist Monthly of Feb and July 1923 do
135. Three issues of the Plebs of Feb 1925 March 1927, and Septmber 1927. do
136. File containing materials for presenting textile workers case, before the Govt. strike enquiry committee of Justice Fawcett (president) pages 1 to 52.

137. A file of chits regarding Union work containing pages 1 to 16 do
138. Copy of a book called Kakori ke Shaheed. do
139. A complaint in vernacular from the Choi silk Mill worker. do
- 782 140. A piece of paper on which some figures and the names of Usmani and B. F. Bradley are written. do
141. A pamphlet containing rules of of the B.B. and C. I. Ry: Employee's Union. do
142. Two copies of a communique sent to Press for publication. do
143. Two letters received by the secretary B. G. K. U. from the Elphinston Mill. do
144. Correspondence regarding the case of Ballu Sami a worker in the Imperial Mill, between Watts and R. S. Nimbkar. do
845. Letter addressed to Mr. Stones by Mr. Dange Dt/9/3/29 do
- ↓ 146. A chit addressed to Dange by B.T. Alway dated 1/2/29 *copy in P. W. A. S.* do
- 783 147. A letter addressed to Mr Bradley by Kishori Lal ghosh of Bengal Trades Union Federation Dt/blank with an appeal to the students community of Calcutta. do
148. Manuscript copy an article published in Kranti by K. T. patel 1 to 8 pages. do
- 784 149. A copy of Resolutions for A. T. U. C. do
150. Two communications from P. Master zaria. do
151. A circular issued by the Reception Committee of the 9th A. I. T. U. Congress of 20/11/28, do
152. A letter addressed to Dange by the Dean of the K. E. M. Hospital. do
153. (Correspondence) statement of bills for work done by the Kamut printing press. do
- / 154. Rough Diary book of Dange from 9th October to 26 November 1928 do
- 85 155. Specimen of signature for current account in the Bank. do

	156. Typed copies of materials published in the Fawcett committee's proceedings.	do
	157. The Rapid Multi copier.	do
	158. Manuscript copy of an article published in the Kranti by A. A. Alway.	do
	159. Papers regarding complaints and rates etc. recd. from workers of the Tata Mills.	do
	160 Notes in pencil and ink regarding Miscellaneous subjects pages 1 to 13.	do
986 QP	161. One Kranti file from Nos 1 Dt/30/6/28 to No. 33 Dt/ 20/1/29.	do
	162. U. S. S. R. Central Council of Trade Unions. Trade Union Bulletin Decembers 1927 No.11,12.	do
	163. Copy in Manuscript of a promisory note passed to Joshi by T. V. Parwate of 1st August 1926.	do
	164. A note prepared for being placed before the strike enquiry committee.	do
	165. A printed circular of the peasants and Workers party in Bengal Dt/ 19/3/28.	do
✓	166. One receipt No. 1450 the central Bank of India Ltd Dt/ 17th February 1929.	do
✓	167. Five vouchers of the Girni Kamgar Union	do <i>3 signed by R.S. Numb do not signed by Total No. 2</i>
	168. Worker's complaint from the phoenix Mill	do
	169. Complaint of the workers of the Dawn Mills.	do
	170. Typed copy of one statement of Mr. Bakhale before the strike enquiry Committee.	do
	171. A copy of a hand bill issued by motor workers Union (vernacular)	do
987 QP	172. Two copies of the issue of " Spark " Dt/ 27th January 1929.	do
988 QP	173. Another issue of "Spark" of Feb.17th 1929 and two copies of the issue of January 27 1929.	do
989 QP	174. Spare copies of the " Kranti " bundled together.	do
990 QP	175. Two copies of the Payami Mazdoor of 10th March 1929.	do
991 QP	176. A photo of Lenin.	do

92	GA	177. A group photo of Mr. Dange and his friends.	do
93	GA	178. Copies of a circular of the workers and peasants party in Bombay.	do
		179. List of workers retrenched from the Tramway workshop early in 1928.	do
94	GA	180. Two lists of books.	do
		181. Report of the peasant and workers party of Bengal 1927-28	do
		182. Post card from C.N. Vakil dated 20.8.27 to Mr. Dange.	From a leather hand bag.
		183. Manifesto of workers and peasants party to the Indian National Congress. 1927.	do
		184. Copies of Introductory (printed) letter of the National research and publicity Institute.	do
		185. Programme of the National research and publicity institute.	do
		186. A list of proposed office bearer of Indian Economic society.	do
		187. Strike committee communique No .4	do
		188. Typed copy of news of Workers Meeting for news paper.	do
95	GA	189. A letter from the Oriental information and publicity Bureau Delhi Dt/ 22/4/28	do
		190. Membership card of the workers and peasants party.	do
		191. N. M. Joshi's statement regarding the Mill workers strike.	do
96	GA	192. Saukat Usamani's chit enquiring about Dange's book entitled "Hell found"	do
97	GA	193. Postal receipt of registered packets sent to C. P. Datt London. G. C. Bashak Dacca, Muzaffar Ahmed Calcutta and K. N. Joglekar.	do
		194. Receipt for the book entitled "Lenin's Imperialism"	do.
98	GA	195. Telegram receipt sent to Usmani by Dange d/ 13/2/28.	do.

- 999 *Ex* 196. Three copies of an open letter to Indian Trade Unionist by S. Saklatwalla. do.
197. A typed copy of a book sent to Mr. Dange for being gone through one part of pages from 1 to 55 and another part of pages from 1 to 51. do.
198. N.M. Joshi letter to Dange of 23/4/28. do.
- 1000 *Ex* 199. A hand bill for the sale of the book Peshawar to Moscow by Saukat Usmani. do.
- 1001 *Ex* 200. 6 lists of books do.
from tin hand bag.
201. Rough notes on 5 pieces of papers. do.
202. List of workers of the Manukji Petit Mill. do.
203. Notes for submission to the Riot enquiry Committee. do.
- 1002 *Ex* 204. Manuscript copy of an article published in "Krantii". do.
205. Congress Bulletin of 14/2/29. do.
206. A letter addressed to Kasle by Mr. Dange d/ 27/2/29. do.
- 1003 *Ex* 207. pages 2 to 6 of the organisation of the International. do.
From Wooden Box.
208. Economics made easy by Mary E. Mursey. do.
209. Karl Liebknecht. do.
210. A form of membership of the Indian communist party. do.
211. Future programme of the Indian communist party with its translation in Hindi. do.
212. List No. 1 of the socialist bookshop Cawnpore; do.
213. The first Indian Communist Conference 1925 together with Presidents address. do.
214. General Rule of the Indian Communist Party, (Provisional) do.
215. Appeal to the followers of communism (literally Sarwa Vad) do.
216. Two copies of the "Samya Vadi" one dated 1st January 1926 and the other 16 Jan. 1926. do.

217. Two issues of New Masses one of March 1927 another of Sept. 1927. do.

218. "Communism Kia Hai" by Radha Mohan Gokulji. do.

219. Two letters written by V.H. Joshi to Dange in the year 1936 when he was in prison. do.

220. A letter from V.H. Joshi to the Supdt. Sitapur Jail while Dange was in prison. do.

221. File of the socialist from 12th August 1922 to 27th January 1923. do.

222. Cash Rs. 171/5/- (one packet containing notes and silver of the amount of Rs. 120/- and one cloth purse containing Rs. 51/5/-) 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

(Sd.) S. R. Patwardhan	Inspector of police C.I.D.	20/3/29.	Signatures of the Punch	(Sd.) Narsing Krishan
				(Sd.) Ramlal Bhajan Lal.
				(in Vernacular)

P. 971.

A small note book containing pencil entries regarding certain accounts. The following entries are important.

6-2-29	5 6 0	B. F. Bradley, conveyance from Wadi and back.
do.	10 0 0	Kasle.
7-2-29	2 0 0	Kasle at Allies Rest.
16-2-29	10 0 0	B.F. Bradley.
do.	2 8 0	Mirajkar (conveyance).
18-2-29	5 0 0	Usmani
do.	15 0 0	Usmani
22-2-29	10 0 0	B. F. B.
do.	20 0 0	Kasle.

do.	2 8 0	Alwe.
25-2-29	20 0 0	Kasle.
do.	10 0 0	B. F. B.
do.	20 0 0	Usmani.
do.	30 0 0	Usmani.

P. 972 ^{Handwritten} *Rejected.*

A note in Marathi from A. A. Alwe to Mr. Dange, General Secretary, requesting that as he is not keeping well, some arrangement should be made for his expenses.

P. 973. ^{Handwritten}

A chit in Marathi supposed to be in the hand writing of A.A. Alwe, issuing instructions that three meetings should be held tomorrow, one at 4th November, another at Dadar, and the third at Nagu Sayaji's wadi, with a view to advise the workers to elect Mirajkar and Nimbkar at the ensuing Municipal elections.

P. 974. ^{Handwritten}

Several issues of the Urdu paper "Payam-i-Mazdoor", d/ 10-3-29.

P. 975. ⁹³

A book in English entitled "Left Wing Communism" An Infantile Disorder by Nikolai Lenin. Published by the communist Party of Great Britian, 16 King Street, W.C. 2.

P 976. ¹⁰⁴

Several issues of "The Labour Monthly", a magazine of International Labour, of the following months.

December 1923	(Volume 5, No. 6)
May 1926	(" 8, " 5)
January 1924	(" 6, " 1)
September 1925	(" 7, " 9)
December 1926	(" 8, " 12)
January 1927	(" 9, " 1)
February 1927	(" 9, " 2)
April 1927	(" 9, " 4)

P. 977. ¹⁰⁶

A pamphlet in English entitled "the Trade Union Movement" Thesis presented to the First All-India Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference, December 1928.

(Vide Exh. P. 51)

P. 978. ¹⁰⁷

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

(Vide Exh. P. 161).

P. 979 ¹²²

A book in English entitled "on the Road to Insurrection" by N. Lenin.

Published by the Communist Party of Great Britain, 16 King Street.

Convent Garden, W.C. 2.

P 980. ¹²⁷ & photographs

PROLETARIER ALLER LÄNDER VEREINIGTEUCH!

DIE KOMMUNISTISCHE INTERNATIONALE.

No. MOSKAU
KREML

PETROGRAD
SMOLNY. **II**

P. 981. ¹³³

A copy of a leaflet entitled "Programme" embodying a resolution moved by K.N. Joglekar and seconded by R. S. Nimbkar at a meeting of the All India Congress Committee.

(Vide Exh. P. 843.)

P 982.

¹³ Rejected.

A note sheet having certain figures written on it. 300 is written against B.F. Bradley's name. Usmani's name also appears at one place and below it certain figures have been added and subtracted bringing the total to 55.

P. 983.

¹⁴⁷ Rejected.

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 Lal Ghosh**

Dated, Calcutta the.....192

Dear Mr. Bradley

I am sure you have not forgotten that the Bengal Provincial Committee was granted Rs 250/ particularly for the organisation of the Jute Workers. Well, since March last the organisation work, you will be interested to learn, has been briskly proceeding. But as you know that the Managements not being accustomed to deal with the unions nor to being checked in any way do their best to prevent unions being formed and when unions are formed in spite of them to break them by victimising the active members who are their employees.

This is exactly what happened at Bauria, a big village on the Ganges - a B. N. Ry Station - about 16 miles away from Howrah. There are three Jute mills the North, the New, and the Old Mill under a company called Fort Gloster Ltd. These three mills between them employ about 15000 workers men, women, and boys. In March last the first union that was formed under the auspices of the Provincial Committee was the Chengail Jute Workers' Union Chengail being another B. N. R. Station next to Bauria within three miles of the latter and has an American owned mill called the Ludlow Mills Ltd. The Union had to conduct two successive strikes which ended in honourable settlement. The Bauria workers approached in the first week of June

and after five meetings which were largely attended and were held under the auspices of the Federation to explain to the workers the need and the utility of Trade Union a union was formed called Bauria Jute Workers Union, the idea being that after a month or two after two or three other neighbouring mills had been captured we would form a big union with two or three branches. The Union was formed on 15th July. But on the 16th July the mill-authorities suddenly without any rhyme or reason dismissed five of their admittedly best workers who were also very active members of the union. Their comrades protested against this high-handed proceeding and getting no satisfactory reply stopped work and demanded to be paid. The Durwans and the Policemen (about 100 policemen including several armed police men had been requisitioned by the mill-authorities since about three weeks ago when some European Managers and assistants were assaulted and the Management had lodged information to the police to the effect that myself and other agitators were inciting the workers). Of course if thousands of workers are provoked, naturally they retaliate. After the Police and the Durwan had assaulted and severely injured several workers they also hit back and there was firing which resulted in 24 men being injured. 72 workers were arrested but subsequently the police discharged some & some were discharged by the Magistrate at the time when he framed charges against them. Now in all 48 persons are being tried for rioting and on other similar charges. Though, it is a Crown case the management is defraying the cost of the prosecution. The Public prosecutor has been engaged on a daily fee of Rs 250/- and a junior on Rs 25/- It has taken 24 days to finish the Examination-in-chief. We have already taken 28 days in cross-examination and four or five more days will be taken to finish it. Then will come the argument after a brief respite. The enclosed appeal to the student community will supply you with some more facts.

In the mean-time the deadlock continues. To-day is onehundred thirtyfourth day of the strike. The workers against overwhelming odds have made a splendid stand. The mill-authorities are trying their level best to break the strike but they have not yet been successful. But we apprehend that at any moment the strike may collapse. I do not know whether it is because there are Indian share-holders but the fact remains we are not having a good press. The meeting reports or the news are given but they are not given the prominence they deserve. However I am collecting from the leading trade-unionists messages of good-will, encouragement and support. I trust that on the receipt of this you would send me at the adress below my signature, a message at your earliest convenience for the workers, so that they may know if they do not collapse in the meantime, which I am sure they would not unless

something untoward happens, that all trade-unionists are with them.

Yours sincerely,

Kishori Lal Ghosh

1 Kanta Pukur Land

P. O. Bagbazar

Calcutta

We have placed before the Management our demands which include an increase in wages (they are the lowest paid workers in the neighbourhood) though the dividend that the company declares is the largest, only last year they having declared 140 p. c and at no time during the last few years lower than 60 p. c. But thrice have negotiations brokedown.

AN APPEAL TO THE STUDENT COMMUNITY OF CALCUTTA.

DEAR YOUNG COMRADES,

You must have seen in the papers that forty eight jute workers have been placed on trial on charges of rioting, theft, loot etc. It is a matter of deep regret that the defence of the accused is being much hampered for want of money. The newly formed Bouria Jute workers' Union organised under the auspices of the Bengal Trade Union Federation under a mandate from the Executive Council of the All-India Trade Union Congress has been doing its best in the matter. But the little money that it was able to collect was primarily devoted to relief for those who are starving because since July 16th last the workers numbering about 12,000 have been locked-out.

It would not be out of place to recall here that on the 16th July last the workers were fired upon by the police for alleged rioting and that 24 persons were injured. Sixty eight persons were arrested of whom 12 were not sent up by the police and 8 were discharged by the Magistrate after the examination-in-chief was concluded. The bailing out of those who are being tried was an expensive affair and most of the accused not being able to afford the travelling expenses from Bouria to Howrah where the case is being tried from day to day have to pass the night in the open and live on Murhi and Murhki. The case is expected to go on till November next.

In view of the numerous calls on the public for donations and subscriptions to the various funds set up for the relief of the detenus, the flood and famine-stricken people and for other such laudable purposes, we did not at first approach it but confined our

appeal to the workers of the neighbouring Jute mills. But after over two months while the number of candidates for relief is increasing daily, the court expenditure (exclusive of lawyers' fees) is also increasing and copies of depositions could not be taken out in time for want of money. The cost of taking out copies alone is estimated to cost above Rs. 600/ there being 92 witnesses in all and the depositions of most of these are fairly lengthy. The total cost is estimated to be Rs. 700/ in the lower court excluding fees of lawyers who are conducting the cases gratis.

In these circumstances I make bold to approach the student population of Calcutta to help at this crisis with their usual generosity. I appeal to them not only for fund but also to attend the meetings which would soon be held. It has been our sad lot to find that while political meetings which appeal to their imagination are attended largely, our youngmen are not at all interested in labour meetings. It is all the more regrettable that the students who have a keen sense of justice should be so apathetic to a movement which has for its ideal equality of opportunities and economic justice. We expect that they should at least hear the labour point of view before they form their judgement on the labour movement itself which has very powerful and organised hostility to face and that hostility is not confined amongst the alien bureaucracy and capitalists alone.

Will you not do your bit for the workers? Would you you not lend your ears to what they have to say about the ideal they have set before them? Would you not stretch out your helping hand to those who have been denied their human rights?

34, BOWBAZAR STREET, }
CALCUTTA. }
Dated the 30th Sept. 1928. }
Yours truly—
KISHORI LAL GHOSE, *Hony. Secy.*
Bengal Trade Union Federation.
(Provincial Committee, All-India Trade
Union Congress).

P 984. 149-

A Typewritten copy of the A. I. T. U. C. Resolutions.
(Vide Exh. P. 519 (14)).

P. 985.

A piece of paper with the Specimen Signatures of the following men given to the Bank for current account :-

A. A. Alwe (in Marathi)
R. S. Nimbkar (in English)
S. V. Ghate (—Do—)
S. A. Darge (—Do—)
Bhiva Tanse (in Marathi)

P. 986.

A file of the Newspaper "Kranti" in Marathi, containing the following issues :-

D/-	20-1-29	4-11-28	2-9-28	29-7-28
"	13-1-29	13-10-28	30-8-28	26-7-28
"	6-1-29	5-10-28	23-8-28	22-7-28
"	1-1-29	27-9-28	19-8-28	19-7-28
"	16-12-28	20-9-28	17-8-28	15-7-28
"	9-12-28	13-9-28	12-8-28	12-7-28
"	25-11-28	6-9-28	9-8-28	8-7-28
"	12-11-28		5-8-28	5-7-28
"			2-8-28	30-6-28

P. 987.

2 copies of the issue of "The Spark", 27-1-29.

P. 988. 173

2 copies of the issue of the "The Spark" 27-1-29 and 1 of 17-2-29.

P. 989. 174

Issues of "Kranti" of the following date :-

7-5-27 to 11-6-27

17-2-29 (Spare copies)

23-2-29 (Spare copies)

3-3-29

30-6-28 to 12-11-28 (In a file).

25-11-28

6-1-29

3-2-29 (Spare copies)

29-1-29 (—Do—)

20-1-29 (Spare copies)

13-1-29

17-3-29

9-3-29

16-12-28 (Spare Copies)

9-12-28 (—Do—)

P. 990. 175

A issue of "Payam-i-Mazdoor" in Urdu 10-3-29.

P. 991.

A photo of Nicolai Lenin.

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P. 992

A group photo showing amongst others the following :-

Kishori Lal Ghosh, S. A. Dange, S. S. Mirajkar, Dr. Vishwanath Mukherji, Muzaffar Ahmed, S. V. Ghate, M. A. Majid Shibnath Banerji, Shankat-Usmani, and Samsul Huda.

178

P. 993.

Several printed copies in English of a representation from the Workers' and the Peasants' Party, Bombay, to all the Trade Unions.

(Vide Exh. P. 545 (7))

179

P. 994.

Two lists of Communist Books by Lenin, Bukharin, Palme Dutt, and Fox. One of the lists contains the following :-

Economic Theory of the Leisure class—N. Bukharin.

Historical Materialism — N. Bukharin.

Imperial Criticism — N. Lenin.

Imperialism — —Do—

The State and Revolution — —Do—

Socialism and the Living wage — R. Palme Dutt.

Defence of Communism — Ralph Fox.

Foundations of Imperialist Policy — —Do—

189
P. 995

The Oriental Information and Publicity Bureau.

Director :
Shaukat Usmani.

Sadar Tram Terminus.

Reference No.....

DELHI 22nd April 1928.

Dear Dange,

Yours dated 18-4-28. I have written to all concerned. I hope they will send you their photos as well as short notes regarding their careers.

As for myself, please ask Com. Nimbkar to give you a copy of my photo ; he has got two of it.

In few words I sum up my career below :—

“I was born in 1901, at Bikaner. My father was a sculptor mother came from a petty aristocratic family. My father died when I was only six months old, my mother left me when I covered another six months. Thus within a year of my birth I was relieved of both of them. My grand-parents and uncles brought me up.

“At the age of 5 I was sent to a Muktab, where I learnt nothing except absconding. At the age of 10 I was sent to a school where my art of absconding developed. There the rambling in the jungles in the company of my vagabond friends was my favourite game.

“My entire school career is full of somersaults. Sometimes I used to pass examinations scoring remarkable marks at others I used to fail in toto. Of all the subjects History and Geography were my favourite subjects Mathematics I used to hate. In sports I was never well versed yet I was always soldierly in my behaviour.

“The Great war in 1914, opened a new chapter in my life. The ideas of political freedom began to take shape. In 1918, I wrote an essay against India's joining War. It was a childish attempt of course, but as I was constant reader of newspapers, I succeeded in surprising my teachers. Instead of encouragement I was severely reprimanded by the Educational authorities. I regarded them all cowards and planned of running away from India. By this time the news about the Russian Revolution penetrated the barriers of censor. The news papers were ringing with their successes. Here the idea of showing military talents coupled with the revival of Pan-Islamism entered my head. But the first attempt at absconding away was foiled by my uncles.

“In the year 1919 the Indian movement commenced. I thought of joining it, and was actually working for it, when a rude shock in the shape of Non-violent Non-cooperation upset me. Gandhi's program had no attraction for me.

“At last the right movement come in the guise of Hijrat movement. Although by this time my ideas of Pan-Islamism had undergone a considerable change I hastened to join the army of Hijrat. Here I met several like myself who were disgusted with impotent Gandhian philosophy. All the radical element united in Afghanistan and went away to Russia. Here we got the opportunity of showing our talents. The defence of Kirki is an instance of it. I was one of the 36 defenders of Kirki.

The rest you know very well. For further information consult the book “PESHAWAR TO MOSCOW”.

The following is in blue pencil in the margin :—

P. S. Just now I discover that I have sent you the wrong one letter. The previous one is full of mistakes. B. C- to all.

S. Usmani.

192
P. 996.

In some of the spare pages of the book I wish to give advertisement of 'The Labour Monthly' Shah's Hundred Percent—Yours' 'Hell', and other things which you want to be put therein.

What about your 'Hell Found'. Is it out, if so please send me some two or three copies of it soon.

What about Ghate and Mirajkar are they alright?
COMRADELY GREETINGS TO ALL.

Best regards to Mrs. Dange.

Yours Frat.

S. Usmani.

(Signed in blue pencil).

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

193
P. 997.

Postal receipts of registered pockets addressed to the following:—

No. 55. G. C. Bask, Dacca. 9-3-28.

The piece of paper on which this is pasted contains the following:—

Reg. No. 55. To G. C. Basak. copy of Manuscript on "Prisons".

Ans. 5/-
9-3-28.

No. 042. C. P. Dutt. 24-2-28.

162 Buckingham Palace Road.

London.

The piece of paper on which this is pasted contains the following:—Books, Reports &c. Per reference Letter D.

No. 175. Muzaffar Ahmed. 7-3-28.

Calcutta.

The slip of paper on which this is pasted contains the following:—Muzaffar Ahmed, containing Introduction of Jail Mss.

No. 57. Muzaffar Ahmad. 17-2-28.

Calcutta.

The slip of paper on which this is pasted contains the following:—

Jail Mss. 1st Chapter.

No. 165. Muzaffar Ahmed

Calcutta.

The slip of paper on which the receipt is pasted contains the following :—

Resolutions for party Congress.

Byculla P. O.

No. 547. K. N. Joglekar.

10-10-27.

Bombay.

There are also three acknowledgment cards, one of which is signed by Gopal Chandra Basak, and two by Muzaffar Ahmed.

1915
P. 998.

A receipt for an ordinary telegram D/- 13-2-28.

On the back of the receipt the following manuscript endorsement is seen.

Usmani,

Start immediately fare on arrival.

Dange.

1916
P 999.

**The All-India Trade Union Congress and the
Workers Welfare League of India and the
International Federation of Trade Unions**

An open letter to Indian Trade Unionists

BY S. SAKLATVALA.

The trade union movements in every country have an important part to play in the political emancipation of the people for the simple

reason that the workers organised in trade unions represent the mass more effectively than purely political organisations actually dissociated from the trade union workers.

Unfortunately, however, certain ambitious persons have come to the front in most countries who carry on their own designs in the name of the trade unions and who use the trade unions to further their political ambitions, which are found to be based upon a reactionary policy that ignores the freedom and independence of the masses and that placates the opinions and self-interests of imperialist rulers.

It is this unfortunate phase of public life within the labour movement that recently staggered India with the spectacle of the bulk of the Labour Party in the House of Commons and of the political wing of the leadership of the trade union movement deserting the cause of the freedom of India. The same labour movement, through their emissaries have been trying their utmost for the last two or three years to wreck or obstruct the position of the Workers' Welfare League of India in England, which aims at keeping close contact between the masses of rank and file workers in Great Britain and their fellow workers in India. The powerful Labour bureaucrats have introduced amongst the Indian political figureheads who have associated themselves with the Indian trade union movement the tactics of seeking for brotherhood between the representatives of the imperialistically minded bureaucracy and of weakening the contact between the rank and file of the class-conscious workers in India and Great Britain.

One step in the operation of these tactics in India was witnessed when the All-India T.U.C. met at Cawnpore in November 1927. In the face of the elected representatives of the various trade unions assembled there, an open attack on the Workers' Welfare League of India was artfully and diplomatically shelved aside, the question of the League being left out on the customary excuse of want of time. The matter was then handled by the Executive Council of the A.I.T.U.C, in which the Indian political figureheads, under pressure from the British Labour leaders, openly betrayed their secret love for reactionary imperialist bodies like the British Trades Union Congress and the I.F.T.U. both of which are strongly in favour of the Simon Commission and of British domination in India, China and other parts of the world. The political figureheads in the Executive Council by unjustifiable and unconstitutional exploitation of their position decided in the name of the Indian trade union workers to sever their connection with the Workers' Welfare League.

In the first place, this move is an act which is neither honest nor constitutional. The association between the A.I.T.U.C. and the Workers' Welfare League of India has been a natural one from the very inception of the A. I. T. U. C. and has always—been maintained

by an open vote carried in the full open session of the Indian Trade Union Congress.

In the second place, it is too patent that the last session of the A.I.T.U.C. was artfully prevented from discussing the position, especially in view of the fact of the presence of the fraternal delegate from the Workers' Welfare League of India. At the utmost what can be constitutionally justified is that until the next session of the All-India Trade Union Congress, the position should remain in *statu quo* as established by the Delhi session of the Congress in March 1927, the last meeting at which the subject was considered. Instead of this, a few persons by means of a political intrigue in favour of imperialism and imperialist organisations have tried to make the A.I.T.U.C. believe that connection with the Workers' Welfare League of India should be severed because half a dozen political intriguers by wire pulling from British political labour bureaucrats have come to that conclusion.

Let me hope and pray that every genuine and bona fide trade union branch in the country will oppose itself to this intrigue and will not countenance this most unnatural and un-Indian step of allowing an Indian body in London to be ousted on the demand of a bureaucratic British apparatus, the imperialistic nature of which has been exposed to the world. Let me hope also that every self-respecting Indian trade union branch will openly repudiate any and every connection with the so-called International Federation of Trade Unions, which is a most treacherous body that has cynically opposed every measure that rank and file workers have taken in this country in support of the liberation and freedom of India and other conquered colonies.

√ The All-India National Congress at Madras resolved to affiliate to the International League against Imperialism and to vote a donation towards its cause, which was a natural and honourable step for Indian nationalists to take. This League is being attacked and fought against by all the traitors in the Labour Movement who pretend to work for the masses but who are very anxious to perpetuate the system of slavery and exploitation at the disposal of their capitalist masters. Through their notorious organisation, the so-called Labour and Socialist International, they have issued a false and mendacious manifesto calling for the boycott of the League against imperialism, a manifesto which the advanced rank and file workers have not accepted in any country in Europe.

Curiously enough, Mr. Joshi and Mr. Chaman Lall, who are against the Simon Commission, have accepted this manifesto from those who are bitterly opposed to India's action in boycotting the Simon Commission, and have made the A.I.T.U.C. act under their instructions. They go further and seek to bring about the affiliation of the Indian trade unions to the discredited International

Federation of Trade Unions, just as they also seek to abolish their natural and honest agency, the Workers' Welfare League of India, and hand over instead all work on behalf of Indian workers to the notorious bureaucratic committee of British labour leaders who gave to India the Bengal Ordinance and the Simon Commission and who have taken no action against the shooting of workers and the cruel political persecution of class fighters in India

I appeal without hesitation to all my countrymen and women who take an active and sincere interest in the Indian trade union movement to rouse themselves against this trap laid by imperialist labour bureaucrats of Great Britain and India, into which ambitious and unprincipled politicians like Lajpat Rai, Chaman Lall and others have walked so easily. Such a trade union movement would be more of an obstacle than a help to the progress of the workers. I beg you to take my advice still after all your bitter experience and to pin your faith in the mass and rank and file of the people and not in those who vote for the Simon Commission one day and who the next day vote against the League that is formed to combat imperialism, and who advise the workers to entrust their country's honour to those very same bureaucratic leaders of Britain who have never missed any opportunity in joining in the oppression and exploitation of India whenever they had a chance.

I appeal to every trade union branch to pass their vote of confidence in the workers' Welfare League of India, to refuse to countenance any association with the so-called International Federation of Trade Unions and to demand that all further negotiations with British or European bodies be conducted through the workers' welfare League, and to take steps to remove from their committees men who would dangerously commit the masses of Indian workers to association with undesirable organisations by dodging an open discussion at the open session of the All-India Trade Union Congress for settlement of such important matters.

Your fraternally,
SHAPURJI SAKLATVALA

P. 1000.

*The Book for a Patriot and a Student a
Historian and a Propagandist.*
PESHAWAR TO MOSCOW

by

Shaukat Usmani

with an introduction by

P. SPRATT,

author of "India and China"

The author, while a student, ran away from his home, joined the hijrat movement and left India. The book relates, **how he met the present Amir**, his imprisonment in Afghanistan along his comrades, the death sentence passed on him in Bukhara and his romantic escape. It shows you how an Indian can fight, when the time comes. The author fought and saved a fort in Turkestan for the revolutionaries. You can see an eye witness account of the Bukharan revolution, of Tashkend, Moscow, of interviews with the greatest of Bolshevik leaders, like Zinoviev, Stalin, Rykov, Radek and others.

On his return, the author was sentenced to four years R. I. in the Cawnpore Case in 1924.

Price 1-1-0.

By V. P. P. 1-10-0.

Available from :—

- (1) ADVANCE LITERATURE Co.,
751, Girgaum, Bombay.
near Benambhall Lane Entrance.
- (2) S. A. DANGE,
Wadekar Building,
Girgaum, Bombay,
- (3) THE BOMBAY BOOK DEPOT,
Girgaum, Bombay.
- (4) THE PEASANTS & WORKERS PARTY,
2/1 European Asylum Lane,
Calcutta.

E. A. Vasi & Sons, Printers.

260
P. 1001.

About 9 papers printed together. The first paper contains an account of the charges paid to a typist for typing portions from the following books:—

The Red Army of Russia.
Labour in Soviet Russia.
How they fight illiteracy in Russia.
Criminal Law in Russia.
Biographies.
Thermidor.
Relation of Worker's party to Religion.
Lenin on Marxist doctrines.
British War Preparations.
Correspondence regarding Mrs. Naidu.
Report on China.
The World & U. S. S. R.
Lenin on Meco-Malthusianism.

The second paper is headed "The National Research & Publicity Institute", under which the names of six Departments are written.

The next four pages are Type written & contain the different heads under which the books of the Labour Library fall.

The 7th page is headed "National Publicity", & below it is given the initial equipment required for establishing the National Publicity

The 8th page is headed Report on Handbook for March 1928 and the 9th page is headed "Land Legislation."

204
P. 1002.

A manuscript copy in Marathi of notes drawn for the purpose of writing an article headed "Communist Worker".

Two pages from a pamphlet entitled
 "The Organisation of the International".

The following paragraphs are important:—

The masses are the social power, or, at least, the essence of that power. But they lack two things in order to free themselves from the hateful conditions which oppress them: education and organisation. These two things represent, today, the real foundations of power of all government.

To abolish the military and governing power of the State, the proletariat must organise. But since organisation cannot exist without knowledge, it is necessary to spread among the masses real social education.

* * *

But what do we mean by the natural organisation of the masses? We mean the organisation which is founded upon the experience and results of their everyday life and the difference of their occupations, i. e., their industrial organisation. The moment all branches of industry are represented in their international, the organisation of the masses will be complete.

* * *

What we seek is the abolition of the artificial, privileged, lawful, and official influence. If the Church and State were private institutions, we should be, even then, I suppose their opponents. But we should not have protested against their right to exist. True, in a sense, they are, today, private institutions, as they exist exclusively to conserve the interests of the privileged classes. Still, we oppose them, because they use all the power of the masses to force their rule upon the latter in an authoritarian, official, and brutal manner. If the International could have organised itself in the State manner, we, its most enthusiastic friends, would have become its bitterest enemies. But it cannot possibly organise itself in such a form. The International cannot recognise limits to human fellowship and equality, whilst the State cannot exist unless it limits, by territorial pretensions, such fellowship and equality. History has shown us that the realisation of a league of all the State of the world about which all the despots have dreamt, is impossible. Hence those who speak of the State, necessarily think and speak of a world divided into different States, who are internally oppressors and outwardly despoilers, i. e., enemies to each other. The State, since it involves this division oppression, and despoilation of humanity, must represent the negation of humanity and the destruction of human society.

There would not have been any sense in the organisation of the workers at all, if they had not aimed at the overthrow of the State.

Not from the top to the bottom, by imposing a seeming unity and order on human society, as the state attempts, without regards to the differences of interest arising from differences of occupation. On the contrary, the International organises the masses from the bottom upwards, taking the social life of the masses, their real aspirations as a starting point, and encouraging them to unite in groups according to their real interests in society. The International evolves a unity of purpose and creates a real equilibrium of aim and well-being out of their natural difference in life and occupation.

P. 1004.

217

Two issues of the "New Masses" in English for the months of March.

P. 1005.

PANCHNAMA OF THE SEARCH OF SPRATT'S ROOM ON
6-9-1927.

PANCHNAMA

We, the undersigned members of the Panch, namely—

- (1) Mr. H. W. Bryant, General Secretary of the Y. M. C. A.,
Bombay,
- (2) Mr. F. F. Halliwell, Acting House Manager of the Y. M.
C. A., Bombay.

were present at the time of the execution of Search Warrant No. 313 dated 6th September 1927 issued in connection with the proscription of the booklet 'India and China'. The search was conducted in our presence by Rao Saheb Pattvardhan, Superintendent, C.I.D., and the following things were taken charge of:—

1. Letter from Mr. P. Spratt to Mr. Horniman dated 10th February 1927 re articles on Indian Nationalism and China.

2. Chapter VI of the book on British Imperialism in China, 30 pages,
3. Copy of the Masses of India, Vol. III No. 5 dated May 1927,
4. Copy of a book 'China' by Seng Sin Fu,
5. Copy of Labour Monthly, Vol. 9 No. 8 for August 1927.
6. A rough Note book containing notes of some of his observances, including some portion of 6 lines embodied probably in the India & China,
7. An envelope containing six sheets of paper marked from 1 to 6 and initialled by the Panchas,
8. File containing loose papers, typescripts manuscripts and newspaper cuttings touching the League against Imperialism among others. 89 sheets in all.

The above panchnama was typed in our presence on Juventa Standard Typewriter No. 5 belonging to Mr. Spratt.
Before me

S. R. Patwardhan,

(1) H. W. Bryant,

Offg. Superintendent of Police

6/ix/27.

C. I. D.

(2) E. F. Halliwell,

6-9-27—6 P. M.,

6-9-27.

Bombay 6th September 1927.

P. 1006.

A note book containing manuscript entries in English.

The following are interesting :—

Wed. 15. Wandering about Paris in the morning aimfully but resultlessly. No. found the Hotel at Mabillon at length. Met for lunch. Wait of 4 hours for Clemens. Tired &c.

Sun. 19.
.....

The objection we have to middle class English people is not thus one of principle. (They are indeed too like ourselves ?—No.) It is after all the direction of

their activity—not anything more fundamental. (Don't let me reconcile myself with the English middle class. It is the effect of sentimental hymns probably) I have no knowledge or aptitude at the estimation of human character. Even such obvious characteristics as those.

At another page the following are found :—

T. U.

Employees Gazette.		Employees' Ass. Calcutta.
General letter		Bombay Pres. Postal & R.M.S. Ass. Bombay,
1/ Postman		A. S. R. S. India & Burma. Bombay.
4/ Railway Times.		Poona City.
R. M. S. "B" Dn. Union.		B. N. R.
2/ Seamen	Iron steel.	E. B. R.
3/ Dockers	Cotton.	B. B. C. I.
5/ Clerks.	Jute	G. I. P.
Press	General workers	N. W.
Miners		

(Failed to sign contract with representative. ha' ha')

P. 1007.

June 9, 1927.

Dear appa,

How are you getting on ? It is quite some time since I heard anything from you. You would like to be paying a visit to England in our present weather, though perhaps you would not think it hot enough. Anyway, Whitsun has been fine on the whole and I for one had a very pleasant walk on the Sussex Downs.

Are still in touch with the Methodist Times ? It is worth examining for news of old friends. I understand that you did not receive any mss. from them. If I were you I should give them a reminder about it. It is good to get any useful greetings and messages. I believe your old friend Fh. knows someone in Columbo who would write something. It would be worth while arranging to get a short mss. from him. How do your arrangements stand about getting news like this in general ?

Whenever I get the opportunity, I study the press for what is happening in India, and everything seems to come from Bombay. It must be the real capital of the country. I like to read the names of distinguished people who take part in public functions there.

Well, best of greetings and all that.

Let me hear from you,

Yours

G

(Note : The paper on which the letter is typed is soiled with ink).

P. 1008.

August 9 1927.

Dear Des.,

I received your letter dated 14/6 not two weeks ago ! Since then I have not heard from you. I hope very much that it will be possible to re-establish communications on a better basis. I hope you will have received the addresses of various friends with whom you ought to be in touch. Recently also you may have received a note from me through M. M. with whom I hope you are acquainted.

You inform me that Baker has been inclined to criticise the Methodist policy as adopted by the Church session at Bombay. I can assure you that he stands alone in this respect. He attempted to raise something of the sort but was decisively routed and it was agreed that he was not to make any attacks on the Methodists. So he had no business to go around criticising. I should like to hear more details of what he has done as he can do harm if we are not careful.

I was sorry to hear that Hig. has been acting so badly, though you do not specify his crimes exactly. We must get sufficient number of people so that single individuals are not so important. This applies especially to the Methodists. There are all sorts of little groups more less with us who ought to be linked up through the Methodists, but as far as one can judge no attempt is being made. Take, for instance, Rumbu: or even Zhurocgu, they ought to be brought in. Have you any news about Don? Nobody here seems to have heard anything of him or how to get in touch with him.

Things are still very dull here. There will be a talk soon and then there should be a lot to write to you about. There might also be some suggestions about Ambrose. I am inclined to think that he will be asked to stay in his parish. I have heard that there is a university fellow going out before long. I hope that M. M. will be able to get what we want. If you could use your influence in this it would be very good. He should try to follow the example of his friend who preceded him. That is the latest advice we have for him and I hope that you will be able to convey it.

With regard to the Y. M. C. A., the situation is as you say, but it is not possible to do anything about it at present.

Is there such a thing as a complete file of the College bulletin obtainable? If so please try and send it. Also could you send direct the published list of the colleges and their addresses—if possible noting any changes of importance.

Doug. has to thank you for sending several interest books on agriculture. Could you send him some more, he says e. g. Radhakumar Mukherji on Economics of Indian agriculture, S.G.Panandikar on Wealth and Welfare of the Bengal Delta, N. G. Ranga on Economic Organisation of Indian villages, and any others such. Please do not be sparing on these but get all you can.

I should be glad to hear that you have received this letter.

Best wishes

G (?)

P. 1009.

Bombay,

4. 9. 27.

Dear Brother,

I have had a chat with Musa. I am sorry I could make little out of the photograph you sent. I think the chemical must have become almost completely oxidised, (they took nearly two months to get here) and no intensification be attempted was agreed. His chief point which you also put in your letter was that the Methodists were becoming too like the Y. M. & in fact were largely the same thing. That is so in Bombay. Four or five people run the whole show in any case. And although the Bombay

Methodists have now 20 members on paper, only the same few do anything whatever. The others do not even pay subs. The idea of membership of a Church organisation is yet absolutely not understood. Lev & Co. agree completely with this, but have been too occupied recently to take any steps to improve it. Your suggestion in 9-8-27 re: Rumbu etc. is of course sound and at the last A. I. C. C. we had a sort of agreement with him. Such people cannot be organised in opposition however, until the leading people in the Church go over more definitely. The next Chr. Con. will probably be the time. About MSS. Phusu spoke to me on the subject. I think his will be a good scheme. But finances at the moment.....Generally they are bad. You spoke in a letter dated end of May, that I should send about 200 words to Baker. I have not done so yet. But in a month from now we shall be forced to or...if absolutely nec. I should by Musa. The general arrangements are not satisfactory yet. Actual sending is extremely difficult, and each time someone has to travel from Kalyan, But Calcutta is better. Rest is carried out according to the plans we sent, but there are always miscellaneous additions for travelling etc. Victor's case has taken a good deal, though of course Bhum was free. Re: A. I. English Journal. We have had an informal general conference, Lagzeg, Lujec & Co. at Bombay, and have agreed to start one as soon as arrangements can be made, chiefly in charge of Confe & Rhug. It will not be official, they think. On present circes. (circumstance?) it can be done by reducing the Bombay organ to smaller size and devoting it mainly to stuff to univs. But that should be avoided if possible and if it is avoided more material would be required.

We have therefore drawn up a possibly rather ambitious scheme for the whole country which would resolve itself into a total of nearly 200 a month.

Try not of course too often.

2/7. 2/6. 1/24. 10/8. 3/9. 17/23. 8/1. 2/1. 5/1. 3/3. 6/10. 2/2.
4/1. 5/4. 1/2. 3/1. 12/4. 12/9. 8/6. 2/4. 1/10. 2/1. 5/1. 5/5. 4/2. 4/3.
4/6. 8/2. 9/6. 8/4. 1/1. 9/4. 1/2. 3/4. 12/5. 7/3. 6/2. 6/11. 6/10. 7/11.
1/10. 9/19. 2/8. 11/4. 9/20. 9/4. 17/11. 3/17. 5/6. 6/6. 9/6. 6/12.
7/3. 2/9.

i. e. an inc. of 33 $\frac{1}{2}$ % for the year Lahore and Calcutta alone (this is essential.) The papers absorb all that is at present about (300 per month.) The rest is required for fares etc. For an English weekly (from Bombay) 500, per m. fr. Bombay paper 300. And A. I. propaganda (a new and excellent suggestion.) The released men especially, should be enabled to tour the country and agitate. And one man should do so continually. We estimated 500 as ample

P. 1009-T.

Translation of the cypher contained in the letter:—

N.S. Mudkatte Wharf Superintendents Office Sewri Bombay

Fifteen.

for this. With 300 Misc. This comes to Rs. 2400 per m. What do you think?

Re. Colombo. At present it is not possible we think at present. Re. Nuddx. We should like him to come to us. But he is bound to go to gaol, at least that is the view here. Probably not for more than 3 months might go again, what do you think? 50 for Y. M. C. A. office is ample.

P. 1009 (P 1)

In the letter printed above at P 1009 the last sentence contains the following words: "FOR Y.M.C.A. OFFICE". A photograph of these words reveals that the letters Y.M.C.A. have been written over the original letters C.P.I.

Bombay 21-8-27,

Dear Brother,

Com. Majid brought us all news from your side; we were almost wondering why you were silent. On account of want of reliable address we had to keep quiet even about books to be sent to your centre. Calcutta got theirs in time. I am doing well and I got a Bolshevik babe two weeks back; child and wife both are doing well.

Paper is coming out regularly inspite of Non-co-operation from Joglekar's side. I have considerably improved in my writing and I feel confident of filling the whole thing myself if need be. Mr. Dange is also assisting to some extent; its sale is not very encouraging. T. U. circulation is increasing. Advertisements side is also hopeful; since the recent raid on the office and house we as well as the paper is well advertised. T. U. activities are slowly growing and developing. I have become the secretary of B. P. T. Ry. men's Union and there are signs of my taking over the charge of B. P. T. Employees U. also; the difficulty is of leisure. Clerks Union has not yet been organized; because they are rather awfully dirty people to be organized. Mr. Joglekar and Mayekar are conducting a strike of the Apolia and Manchester mills; I am not enthusiastically participating because the tacticts adopted by those two people are in our opinion wrong; this was the proper time to amalgamate the two Union viz. Girni K. Maha Mandal & B.T. Labour Union. Mr. Bakhle was willing as also Messrs Munawar and Zab, but Mayekar is very obstinate and I think Jog. is encouraging him indirectly. I wish you were here at this juncture. Strike might end in a day or two either successfully or unsuccessfully. Mr. J's attitude is just the same, I may say worse then before. He is practically dropped; more about this in person; the problem of

getting the T. Us. affiliated to the Party is, in my opinion, of distant future. Party consolidation is a great necessity of today; and there I am sorry I have not been able to do much, since paper and T. U. activities alone keep me busy. Until we are economically independent it is almost impossible to do regular work; in that connection I have to make you concrete proposals which will require personal conference. I will request you to finish up your tour as early as you can and run up over to Bombay. English paper has not been started yet because, I am afraid its running is not yet assured. I mean economic.

Last mail I got some books from English friend and also two articles for Kranti. The books are all important ones and will be immense use. The articles I am putting in the paper. God's messenger has come from brother and wants to meet you here. He will go first week of the next month (5-9-27). Please come and meet him.

I think my letter covers all important points; the letter is to be handed over to M. Just now. More in person when we meet and the meeting must be arranged at once since I am once more free ! free ! Today (23-8-27) I am no longer the slave of French Bank. Although I have obtained leisure; yet I must know that my bread is gone. We shall talk about it later on when we meet.

Greetings

Yours etc

M.

P. 1011.

Bombay 22-8-27.

My dear Sp—

The main points with regard to the information that you require are being dealt with by Mirajkar in his letter. I have, therefore, only to add that I am sending your matter to the Party Concerned. With my remarks, in the form a report.

The question of affiliation—I think you already know my opinion; which I held when Harold was with us, and which I still adhere to. So far the Party has made no move in this matter. I shall of course tell them, that I stand for the affiliation of Unions with the W. & P.

I have arranged with Majid regarding future remittances but still I am doubting whether it would be a safe method. He will tell you himself what method it is.

I am sending some copies of the "Masses" that were sent for us thro' the boy who returned yesterday. I am sending a letter that he brought with him Re. F. E's father, I am afraid, with matters quite unsettled just as they are at present, it will not be possible to render assistance at this stage—that would depend—

I think, we would seriously concentrate on bringing out an English paper—I have begun to doubt our wisdom in coming out with the Vernacular paper first. I am to blame in this respect as much as any body else.

I forgot to mention about Joglekar. He is engaged with the weavers' Strike of the two mills,—Apollo and Manchester mills. The strike is continuing, and he hardly finds time to meet us. Since the major portion of the Textile union has kept aloof—I mean the Bakhle Party—the chances of the men holding out long are not very promising and we had requested Joglekar to merge his group with the other to make it a formidable union. But he and Mayekar are holding out—for the same old reason—Egoism. I have warned Joglekar of the consequent reaction in case of failure of the strike. Sad ? Tale to tell—Mirajkar is likely to be asked to go away and I think he is leaving it himself—and I have severed connection with Acharya and Co.

Mirajkar's communist son has been amidst us, we haven't seen him yet and Papa Mirajkar is glad—glad—because "unto him a son was born"

With love=

Yours

S. V. G.

P. 1012.

Dear Desmond,

I have not had any news from you for more than a month. I hope you will let me know how things are going with you. What is the position with regard to mss. I hear of complain that the Y. M. C. A. send no mss. to you. That is in general correct & the general decision still stands but you must use your discretion.

There should have been a conference to decide on all points but it has not taken place yet. What about the all I. Methodist organ in English. That should be one of next things. Of course it should really be preceded by an all I. conference.

I have sent letters to the only address you gave. In last I mentioned that your last letter, was illegible just where most important. Can you try again?

The Bombay Meth. paper seems to be very good from opinions received. I saw recently an article of yours in I. N.H. which struck me as very good. I have given it to the circular for use.

It is very unfortunate that Nelson is in no condition to travel. On the other hand there is an engineer who will be going to Glasgow soon, who should help the university there as you will be glad to learn.

Try sending a letter to me to H. W. Gardiner, 88 Hatfield Road, St. Ablans, with enclosure for "your college pal" on it.

The Methodists & Y. M. C. A. are becoming too much two names for the same things.

I have seen some interesting friends over here and there should be a full dress discussion on the future very soon.

Have a talk with Musa.

Yours

J.

P. 1013.

A file of papers containing amongst others the following two documents:—

- 1 Suggested syllabus
- 2 What the Workers' & Peasants' Party stands for. The full text is as follows:—

I Suggested Syllabus.

(1) Politics...classes...national groups...state...other party and class instruments.

Why join the party?...to cooperate in the pursuit of certain ends.

What ends?...The interests of certain sections of Society.

What sections?...Nations or classes. What is a class?...A set of persons having approximately similar economic interests. A nation?...A group occupying a certain partly as a training territory, or having some more or less distinct racial character.

The class divisions must be emphasised as more fundamental than national divisions, and the tendency for class divisions to remain, while fundamental material interests diminish with modern technical developments. Even in international wars, some classes are primarily concerned, and have to lead and even forcibly suppress other classes.

The party is a political party...What is politics?...the struggle of classes or national groups. What do they struggle for? economic interests, and sometimes as a means for the furtherance of economic interest, for political power. (power defined roughly).

It is wise for an individual to concern himself primarily with the affairs of his class, since in the modern world the immense majority of individuals cannot get away from their class limitations...they rise or fall with their fellows. But further, we have reason to think that the play of class forces, and their development have enormously important influences on human culture and life generally. In particular, the attainment of political power by the working-class will, we believe, be a fundamental step forward in human progress. Hence it is wise to further so far as possible, the attainment of this end. And we encourage middle-class individuals who realise this, and sincerely adopt a working-class political outlook, and are willing to do work in this direction, to join the party.

Politics is the struggle of classes or national groups. What then is a political Party? It consists, in general, of the most class-conscious, active intelligent members of a class, who take it upon themselves to do the class-thinking, and to energise, *to lead*, the rest of the class when necessary. The function of the party is leadership.

Politics may represent more than one class, coalesced or federated together for some more or less limited end; e.g. the national struggle. In this case the nationalist party (the Kuomintang e.g.) may represent several temporarily allied interests, classes. But the fundamental thing is the class-party.

What are the parties in Indian politics?

(1) The non-Congress parties. These are parties of that section of the bourgeoisie which has been won over by Imperialism to side with it.

(2) The National Congress parties. These are also mainly bourgeois parties, who a few years ago were anti-imperialist, but owing to political lag, still pretend to be. The Swaraj party contains most of the representatives of the petty-bourgeoisie...shop-keepers, minor bureaucrats, unemployed university men-whose education is bourgeois, but whose interests are not. The leadership of the Swaraj Party is bourgeois however.

(3) The Workers' and Peasants' Party, which represents the interests of these sections. It realises that the industrial workers are the backbone of the movement it must lead, but the interests of the peasantry are fundamentally similar and it is essential to get peasant support. It must oppose strongly the formation of a separate peasants' Party since experience shows that these parties almost always fall under landlord leadership against the towns...bourgeoisie and proletariat...thus creating a thoroughly unhealthy and absurd social division.

The Nat. Cong. forms a sort of federated Nationalist Party. As the W. P. P. must support the national struggle, it must be a congress party, but will fight in the congress for its point of view. (See lesson on the national struggle).

Parties, in pursuit of the economic interests of their classes, sometimes contend for power. What is this?—the possession of the machinery of State. What is the State?..*Essentially an organ of a class, used against the classes, which it suppresses.* This is the Marxian view, as opposed to all sorts of variants of the view that the State is above classes, an impartial controlling arbitrating force. Experience shows that dynamically, i. e. for periods of rapid social change and class action the Marxian view is correct, and provides a sound guide to action. *The state is a class-weapon.*

How? It controls the armed forces, the police, the formal press censorship, the judiciary to some extent, large financial resources, and the sentimental attachment of great numbers of "law-abiding citizens", etc. It is an enormously powerful weapon.

SUGGESTED SYLLABUS.

(1) Politics -- classes -- national groups -- parties -- the State -- other instruments of Class struggle.

(2) Economics -- the formation of classes -- exploitation. History of economic development. The contradictions of bourgeois society.

(3) Imperialism, The War of 1914 -- The working-class and national revolutions.

(4) Working-class history - trade union movement -- different types. Working-class parties. -- effect of imperialism on the

European working-class (and American). Our attitude to the various working-class organisations.

(5) National history in Russia, China, India. Relation to the working-class movement and the class-struggle generally.

(6) The Party. Role of the Party -- a working-class organ primarily -- In the national struggle and the class struggle. Organisation of the party -- Contrast with the 2nd International parties - Relative to the peasantry and the petty-bourgeoisie. -- Tactics-revolutionary parliamentarism. etc.

(7) The revolutionary crisis -- war -- general strike, armed uprising -- seizure of power -- attitude to the State (destruction of the State machine and erection of a new one) -- Beginnings of socialist reconstruction.

(8) Attitude on various miscellaneous questions. The approach to each question is -- how will it help us, to make the revolution, and seize power? Religion, sex-equality, education, social reform, Youth movements; petty bourgeoisie generally. Art. etc.

General bibliography: Every member of the class must have read, and if possible should read again during the course:

Marx & Engels: Communist Manifesto.

Lenin : State and Revolution.
Left Wing Communism.
The Proletarian Revn.
Imperialism.

Stalin : Leninism.

R. Palme Dutt: Communism.
Modern India.

Radek's "Nicolai Lenin" also contains a good summary of Lenin's contributions to the subject. *M. N. Roy's* books, especially "*India in Transition*" should be read if possible, and any *3rd Intl. Thesis, resolutions* and discussions which are obtainable.

I wish to stress one or two points, as this is a type of journalism which you are probably not familiar. "Agitational Journalism" it may be called.

The part of the paper with which I am concerned are:

Editorial. 2 columns roughly, usually three editorials, either on general lines of policy or on important events of the week. Short and to the point always. Shorter comments on current events, important speeches, etc.

Theory: One or two articles, not technical, explaining simply but not in an agitational manner, points of party policy, or the significance of current events. Reviews might be included, especially of party publications.

EDITORIAL POLICY.

"On the Battle front". A section should be in every issue, with that heading. It includes items of "labour" news and "nationalist political" news mixed together, so that the impression is driven in that they are the same fight; e. g. any strike during the week in India should be mentioned, just a short announcement, or if possible anything more about it, with or without a comment at the end. Usually the news if properly put is enough. Any event such as a new development in the Bengal detinue case, the resignation of the Sikh M. L. C. S etc., anything which conveys the impression that the fight is going on in a militant manner.

Battlefront Abroad: Bombay or other important labour news should be splashed, in accordance with its importance. Any strike in Bombay must go on the front page, double column. One member of the staff is the labour corr and it is his job to inquire personally, or get an authoritative and detailed account of any such movement, and this is published, with suitable agitational headings, and possibly a comment in the editorial column. That issue of the paper should be sold to the men concerned, or if necessary distributed free. There should be frequently a discussion of the condition of one industry in Bombay, if possible by an actual writer or T. U. official, showing need of fighting against it etc., telling if possible something about the bosses in question and their position. Again circulation among the people in question. Also articles on T. U. position fairly often, giving our lines of policy (advocating unity between unions which ought to combine, asking for action by central bodies (T. U. C., A. I. R. F., C. L. B., etc.) when necess.

"The Battlefront Abroad". Treat in same way as other. Mix up all news of labour affairs and anti-imperialist movements in China, Morocco, Siria, Mexico, South American States, Java, etc. While the China affair remains acute, give each week a short summary of the week's events. On Britain summarise or publish

in full news of the week in connection with Labour Party and T. U. 's Stress un-repr. character of right wing, welcome left-manifestations, especially genuine ones.

Editorial Policy. General lines of policy unnecessary to detail. Avoid personal attacks, but object to the actions and speeches of individuals. Good steps by nationalists or parties, even small ones, discreetly approved, bad ones do condemned. Point out occasionally (in flagrant cases) the conflict of views between important nationalist leaders and those of their followers.

General. Get messages in first issue from T. U. and Jhabwalla (and Patel).

II What the Workers' and the Peasants' Party Stands for

The Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bombay was founded in February 1927. The inaugural meeting felt that while it is necessary that an All-India Workers' and Peasants' Party should be established as soon as possible, that meeting was not of a sufficiently representative character to undertake the task. It was therefore decided to limit activities to the Bombay Presidency until the time is ripe for the various Parties and groups of similar character which are now arising in other parts of the country, to come together for that purpose. Meanwhile much work can be done in any locality on the general lines of the Party, so that the ground will have been broken and experience gained when the time comes to launch an All-India movement.

The following resolution explaining the need for the Workers' and Peasants' Party was passed at the first meeting: (Resolution)

Why a New Party?

Many critics ask us, Are there not enough parties already? Is not the great need of the moment unity, and not fresh divisions?

We reply, Yes, there is great need for unity. Unity of the Nationalist movement is an essential condition for victory and the freedom of India. Without unity, not only do our warring sections waste their strength on each other, but they sacrifice the support of the great mass of sensible men, who will not stand for Swarajist against Responsivist, or Muslim against Hindu, although all these sections claim to stand for the Nation, for Swaraj.

Why then a new Party? Because, we reply, it is useless to shout 'Unity' when the conditions for unity are not present. There must be a real basis for unity, or it cannot exist. What can that basis be? The only basis for unity lies in the fight for Swaraj by

all those whose real desire and interest it is to obtain Swaraj. All those....Mr. Das's "98 per cent".....who have nothing to lose and everything to gain by winning national independence, can unite for the struggle. Those on the other hand who have much to lose and little to gain from Swaraj, cannot be expected to fight for it.

And the tragedy of our situation lies in this fact, that since the collapse of the non-cooperation movement, the fight for Swaraj has remained in the hands of precisely those - the "2 per cent" - who are, and must necessarily be, afraid of Swaraj. They have gone into the Assembly and the Councils with brave words about fighting the autocracy, and everyone knows how they have miserably collapsed. Whether avowed cooperators or not, they have cooperated; they have debased Swaraj to the level of "Dominion Status"; they have declared that the British connection brings "many material advantages" to India, a statement in flat contradiction to the experience of the 98 per cent.

What wonder that under such leadership the movement has lost all enthusiasm and life? Is it astonishing that the masses have turned away in disgust from the mimic warfare of the Assembly and the wordy battles of Responsivist and Swarajist, knowing that on all essential points the gladiators are at one? Is it again surprising that many of them have been led by short sighted leaders and Government agents to give vent to their unrest in communal conflicts? It is no accident that communal feeling is more intense now than for many years past. The misery of the masses is growing more and more intolerable, they must find an expression for their indignation, and while the Congress and the nationalist movement has no message for them, they are only too easily led into such suicidal courses.

The present leadership and programme are useless for the masses. What then are we to do? Shall we return to non-cooperation, civil disobedience, and non-payment of taxes? Such a step, all will agree, would be better than our present policy of doing nothing whatever. Non-payment of taxes and non-cooperation constitute the beginnings of a mass programme, a programme too which has roused the masses in the past, and came near in 1921 and 1922 to leading them to victory. But non-cooperation collapsed in 1922, just as the Swaraj Party has collapsed since, and for two main reasons. The programme, good as it was, was not worked out and thorough enough, and the organisation not complete enough, so that all possible support was not brought in. And the leadership failed. Just at the critical moment, when autocracy was tottering, and Swaraj seemed within sight, the campaign was stopped, on the ridiculous plea that the masses were "not sufficiently non-violent." Once again we are confronted with a leadership fundamentally alien to the masses which, it leads. The leadership of the non-

cooperation movement was afraid of Swaraj, just as the Swaraj Party is afraid of Swaraj.

What then does our new party propose to do? It proposes to supply these needs which have been lacking in the past. A programme and an organisation which shall rally the largest possible support of the masses to the struggle against Imperialism, and for National Independence. And a leadership springing from the masses themselves, which will not be afraid to carry the struggle through to the very end.

Our party endeavours to introduce into the Nationalist movement conception which, though not new, has never been before stated adequately. It is that the fight for Indian National Freedom is only a part of a larger fight which is at once broader and deeper than we have been accustomed to think. It is broader, in that this fight is going on all over the world, in different forms and with different methods. It is deeper, in that this fight is not completed with the mere attainment of formal independence from external domination. We do not mean to minimise the importance of independence. The attainment of Swaraj will be an enormously important step in advance, probably the biggest and most difficult that we shall have to make. But it is only part of the way to complete social liberation.

Our immediate fight is for national independence, against the Imperialist Government which exploits us and holds us back at all points. The Workers' and Peasants' Party puts forward a programme and a policy which will organise and win the support of the whole of the exploited 98 per cent, and lead them forward conscious of their common interests and not of their differences, towards swaraj. This is the only possible basis for unity, and the only possible road, to success.

We therefore appeal to all those, and there are many, who regardless of class and community are devoted first and foremost to the cause of India's freedom, to support and assist us in our struggle for the revival of the Nationalist Movement and the Congress out of the slough of despond in which they are sunk, and for their re-establishment on a new basis which alone can promise victory.

PROGRAMME.

The contradiction between the sufferings and needs of the 98 per cent masses and the programme and practice foisted upon the Nationalist movement by the 2 per cent, has long been so glaring that it has been the subject of many speeches and pronouncements by Nationalist leaders. Mr. C. R. Dass, Lala Lajpat Rai, Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar and many others have declared that Swaraj will not be obtained without the organisation of the masses. Yet nothing has been done beyond showing a little fatherly benevolence

towards the Trade Union Congress. Although many leaders thus realise more or less clearly the necessities of the situation, they have been unable to break with the old tradition that the Congress and the Nationalist movement generally were upper-class affairs run with the object of obtaining concessions on behalf of Indian Capitalism. The desire to go to the masses for strength in the struggle is correct, but the manner of approach is entirely wrong. Throughout the speeches of prominent nationalists on this subject runs the conception that "*We must go to the masses to get their support for our struggle.*" Such a policy is impossible, and consequently in spite of much rhetoric, nothing has been done.

The problem must be approached from the point of view which we have put forward above. National freedom for India, desirable as it is in itself, is only one step, though a gigantic one, in the long, world-wide struggle of the oppressed for liberty. In particular it cannot be isolated from the struggle of the Indian masses for social liberation, and it can only be successful if treated as a part of that struggle. The masses of India are crying out for relief from their intolerable miseries. The exploitation of Imperialism, and the oppression of the Imperial Government are the chief cause of these miseries and the chief obstacle to their removal. Hence the movement for emancipation must be directed first against Imperialism. But the aim throughout must be the alleviation and removal of the misery and degradation of the masses.

Our programme seeks to pick out the main points upon which the fight must be concentrated, in the interests of the masses, and as a challenge to Imperialism.

The Peasants. The peasantry, with the agricultural labourers, are the most important section, numerically and economically, of Indian society. Although their interests are not uniform throughout India, owing to local and class divisions, we can treat them at the present early stage as one. The twenty crores (including families) of cultivators, as opposed to the crore or so of landlords, suffer extreme hardships for the following chief reasons: overpressure on land (excessive subdivision, too small holdings), technical backwardness (largely owing to general poverty), excessive rents, taxation, and indebtedness. Technical backwardness can only be altered slowly, with increasing prosperity and education. But the other disabilities can be attacked at once on the lines of the following demands:

(1) Cultivation, with state aid, of cultivable land at present lying waste. (Official figures state that the area of such land is 150 million acres, as opposed to 220 million acres actually sown).

(2) Payment of all rent direct to state, and limitation of such rent to 10% of total produce.

- (3) Abolition of indirect taxation.
- (4) Legal limitation of rates of interest on loans to a reasonable figure, such as 7% per annum.
- (5) Establishment of state cooperative-banks for the supply of credit.
- (6) Prohibition of the expropriation of landholders by money-lenders in lieu of payment of debts.

The Working Class.

From the point of view of the actual struggle with Imperialism, the town workers, though numerically fewer, are as important as the workers on the land. This results from their concentration, the strong organisation which is forced upon them by the condition of their work and their gradual loss of the individualistic outlook which distinguishes the peasant, and hampers him in his struggles. The conditions of the workers' life however, are so bad that they are unable yet to offer anything but the most feeble protest against them. It is extremely urgent that the workers' claims for improved conditions should be pushed forward as speedily and effectively as possible.

The general demands of the working class are familiar, (though it is less commonly known how far we are from their realisation).

- (1) Legal limitation of hours of work to 8 per day, and of days to 6 per week.
- (2) Legal minimum wage (which should be fixed by provinces, at a substantial level, 33% above the official cost of living figure).
- (3) Prohibition of the employment of children under the age of 14 years.
- (4) Abolition of the employment of women underground, at night, or in dangerous occupations.
- (5) Schemes of maternity benefits, old-age, sickness and unemployment insurance, to be conducted through the Trade Unions.
- (6) Workmen's Compensation, and Employers' Liability Acts.
- (7) Freedom of organisation for Trade Unions, especially exemption from liability for the acts of individual members, and freedom to take part in political activities.
- (8) Weekly payment of wages.
- (9) Legislation providing for adequate safety devices in factories, mines, etc.

With regard to general social conditions, India is perhaps the most backward country in the world. Education, health, housing, are all grossly neglected, and in a terrible condition, while the mass of the people, of all kinds and occupations, who suffer from this neglect, either lack the facilities, or are definitely prevented from giving expression to their views and needs. Further, the public expenditure, which goes so largely to military affairs, is a drain primarily on the poor, owing to the predominantly indirect taxation. In view of this situation the following demands will meet with universal approval.

(1) Universal free education both technical and liberal up to the age of 18 years.

(2) Hospitals and maternity homes at one per 10,000 of population. Education in schools and otherwise in hygienic principles and practice.

(3) Housing on an adequate scale and at rents within the means of the poor.

(4) Universal adult suffrage.

(5) Freedom of press and platform, and of association.

(6) Abolition of discrimination on grounds of religion, caste or race.

(7) Abolition of indirect taxation, and substitution of a graded income tax on all incomes above Rs. 250 per mensem.

Finally, it is clear that changes of this kind cannot be made effective without the establishment of a strong central Government, completely under popular control, which will take over the chief industries, and proceed energetically with the improvement of agriculture.

POLICY.

We put forward the programme of demands given above, not with the hope that they will be granted for the asking. We realise that only after the most bitter conflict with the Government and the forces of Imperialism, can such a programme be realised. And the only way in which this inevitable conflict can be waged by the largest masses of the people, is by the method of non-cooperation and civil-disobedience, suitably adapted to the circumstances of the various classes and sections. The peasantry and the urban middle-classes can exercise pressure by withholding payment of rent and taxes. The working class can act most effectively by withholding their labour.

What is required therefore, in addition to popularising this programme, is the organisation of the machinery by which action is

taken. As we suggested above, the working class is, by its very nature, strategically in the strongest position, and organisation of its machinery for action, namely the Trade Unions, is the most urgent task. For the peasantry wide associations, based on the village councils, elected by all the adults of the village, must be formed and extended. For the middle classes of the towns, the Congress and Party organisations alone provide a suitable means for assembling and rallying them for the fight. It is obvious that close connection must be maintained between the various sections, and this can best be done by means of mutual affiliation and representation.

Our policy can then be best summarised under heads:

(1) The Congress. We believe in using to the utmost the machinery of the Congress, which has stood for 50 years for the national cause. All our members are obliged to join the Congress and work actively for it, at the same time seeking to amend its programme and organisation in the direction of making it more representative of the masses for whom it has to stand. We look upon it as the centre about which will gather all the sections of the great national movement of the future, and provision must be made in its constitution to allow of the national and local affiliation of Trade Unions and Peasant Societies, and other like organisations.

(2) The Trade Unions. We regard the working class as an enormously important factor in the national awakening, and while the organisations of the working class must be attached as closely as possible to the movement as a whole, they must retain independence, and perfect their own structure. Accordingly we do our utmost to increase the strength of the Trade Unions and to guide them along the most advantageous paths. We advocate the adoption of the principle of national industrial unionism, the formation and strengthening of national and local federal bodies for the performance of common tasks, the propaganda of international solidarity and class consciousness, and the general political education of the members, etc.

(3) Peasants. Towards the peasants' Societies we take up an attitude similar to that on the Trade Union question. We devote all possible energy to the establishment and improvement of organisations both locally and nationally, and to the spread of true views on the interests of the peasants in relation to the landlords, the Government, and the national movement and the working class.

(4) Youth. Youth Societies, Students' Societies etc. which are in existence in some parts of India, with the Young Comrades' League suggested by Mr. Saklatvala during his recent visit, can be of great service to the national cause. They grow up relatively free from the traditions and superstitions of our elders, which have helped to hold India in political and intellectual bonds for so long. We shall make every effort to draw them into the national movement in an organised manner and to assist them to study the real facts of modern conditions.

(5) Internationally. We believed that India, large as it is, cannot stand apart from the rest of the world, but must learn to look upon its struggle as part of the World-wide struggle of the subject classes and peoples for freedom from Imperialist oppression. Consciousness of this has been slowly increasing, and the National Congress long ago recognised the need for propaganda abroad. Much improvement is yet required, and in particular our relations with the Chinese nationalist movement must be solidified, and a more thorough study made of that movement. The Congress was represented at the first Conference of the League against Imperialism and for National Independence, and this relation must be cultivated.

(6) Assembly and Councils. We are entirely and unrelentingly opposed to the existing Government, and know that while it remains, the welfare and prosperity of the masses for which we stand cannot be achieved. We are not opposed in principle to Council entry, though we do not expect with the present small and entirely upper-class electorate to achieve great success in any efforts we make to get members into the Councils. Any of our members who are elected will use their position solely for exposing the uselessness and class character of the Council machinery, and for voicing in as public a manner as possible the demands of the masses.

(7) Religion and Communalism. We are of course completely opposed to the splitting of the national movement on religious or any other irrelevant ground, and we welcome any steps which promise to heal in any degree the disastrous communal wounds we have suffered recently. We believe, however that the only real way to obliterate the communal canker is to concentrate and work on common interests, and common enthusiasms, and to neglect the trivial and largely imaginary grounds of difference.

Conclusion : We believe that what we have said above constitutes the outline of a programme of common sense, which most genuine nationalists can agree with. We intend to work for it, and as far as may be to get the agreement of the Congress for it. In order to work on these lines we require support for our publications and support for our finances, but above all, members. One of the most vital needs, which has been fatally lacking in the past, is for a united and strongly organised party of those who see the lines along which we must go, and work together for progress along those lines. Such a party the Workers' and Peasants' Party intends to become. We are at present weak, and our voice with difficulty makes itself heard. But our voice is the voice of the masses, and must be heard sooner or later. We are weak, but we can grow strong in the struggle, and only in the struggle.

Punchnama

We the undersigned members of the Punch called by the Police do hereby certify that the premises 2/3 *Khandke Building*, Dadar, occupied by S. S. Mirajkar were searched in our presence by the Police and the following books taken in their possession :-

47 copies of the booklet entitled "India and China" published by S. S. Mirajkar.

1 copy of "Bolshevik Russia by G. E. Ranie.

1 Evolution and Revolution by Elisee Reclus.

1 'Who are the liars' ?

1 "Bengali Krantikarak"

1 "Soviet Russia"

1 Michel Bakounin Communist.

1 Communism is common sense.

1 Out-lawing Socialism

1 The Communist International No: 17

1 The Communist International Nos: 18 and 19

1 The Communist International paper Dt/- 15-10-26

1 Sunday Worker's issue of 10-10-26

5 copies of the Masses of India No: 2 February 1927

11 copies of the same No: 3 Dt/- March 27.

19 copies of the same No; Dt/. April 1927

S. S. Mirajkar was present at the search and no damage or the like was done to the property.

PANCH

1. W. A. Kumame Kag 28-7-27

2. (In Vernacular) Illegible
Before me

S. R. Patwardhan

Off. Supdt. C. I. D.

28-7-27

Resolution from Mr. Rajaram K. Vaidya.

"In view of the present situation of the country and the desirability of bringing about the unity amongst persons of different shades of opinion the Congress in future should not take part directly as a body in any elections to the Assembly, Councils and the Municipalities.

Resolution from Mr. K. N. Joglekar.

CHANGES IN CONSTITUTION OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

Article I—In place of the Old Article the following should read as Article I of the Congress Constitution:-

"The object of the Indian National Congress is the establishment by all possible means of the Federal Republic of India based on Universal Adult franchise."

Article IV—After the words "in writing" "in the 4th line add" or by thumb impression and the Article should read as amended:-

"No person shall be eligible to be a member of any of the organisations referred to in the foregoing **Article**, unless he or she has attained the age of 18 and in writing **OR BY THUMB IMPRESSION** his or her acceptance of the object and the methods as laid down in article I of this Constitution and of the rules of the Congress."

Article VII—Clause (i) line 3 delete words beginning with "or 2000 to spinning", in the 4th line.

Clause (ii) delete completely.

Clause (iii) should be made Clause (ii)

Clause (iv) should be Clause (iii) and in the 8th line put *full point* after the word "hereof" and delete the rest.

Saving Clause.—Delete the whole of it.

Article VIII—Para 5, 2nd line delete commencing from "due regard to the end" and join para 6th to para 5. Add the rules of the Provincial Congress Committees shall not be inconsistent with the rules of the Indian National Congress.

Article XXIV—Add at the end "from among the members of the All-India Congress Committee Line 3. Add after the word "nine," "of its."

PROGRAMME OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

Whereas, the present Congress activity and programme is completely divorced from the everyday life of masses, the toiling 98% of the people of India have lost all sympathy and interest in the Congress activity and the Congress has become a feeble body, and whereas for want of a right vision to link the interest of masses of the Congress Programme the present leadership, in its instinctive subconscious inspirations has engaged itself and the whole of the Congress Machinery to a programme of work definitely of interest to only an insignificant section of the whole people—the big bourgeoisie and its Allies the petty bourgeoisie intellectual upper classes of the Indian Society—and as direct consequence of the limited scope of activity of which a regular rivalry has been inspired between the various groups and individuals, to the point of degeneration into an ugly internicine warfare of a personal and communal character, to the utter negligence and detriment of the interest of the 98% of the masses, and whereas as it is highly urgent to pull out the Congress from this narrow shackles of class interest and yoke it to the task of the complete Political, Economic and Social emancipation of the masses from their age-long slavery and subjection, this Congress assembled at Madras in its 42nd Session emphatically resolves, that.—

1 The aim of the Indian National Congress is the establishment of the Federated Socialist, Soviet Republic of India based on Universal Adult Franchise.

2 This Congress reiterates its faith in Civil Disobedience i. e., **Direct Action** as the only effective weapon that will ultimately emancipate the people of India from their subject position but realises that a great general awakening will have to be brought about before this weapon of **Direct Action** could be put into operation.

This Congress therefore adopts the following programme to bring about a general awakening in the Masses:-

(i) Whereas 70% Masses of India are engaged in Agricultural activity this Congress resolves to start peasant organisations beginning from District down to Taluka and Village.

(ii) These Organisations will be worked to secure the control of the actual cultivators over the Social and Economic life of their Village, Taluka and District and will be managed by Village, Taluka and District Councils on the lines of Village Panchayats based on Universal Adult Suffrage.

(iii) Whereas without the use of Modern Scientific implements of Agriculture, our agriculturist cannot stand the competition on the world market and whereas in consequence he is forced to

lead a starvation life it is resolved to start State Agricultural Co-operative Banks to enable the cultivators to have access to all modern appliances.

(iv) Whereas it is found that the cultivator on account of his un-modern methods being to starvation, is dragged into indebtedness and whereas the *Saukars* or money-lenders have been found to harass him considerably it is resolved to secure him easy Credits through the State Agricultural Co-operative Banks and free him from the clutches of the money-lenders and speculating trader and further it is resolved to make it illegal by Law to charge more than 4% interest on all loans advanced to the Cultivator.

(v) Hospitals and Public Health Centres will be created for every circle of 10,000 population and adequate arrangement will be made to give possible free Medical help to Masses.

(vi) Whereas Industrialism is growing on apace and must necessarily grow for the full development of the natural resources of India, it is resolved that this Congress will hasten all such development by all possible means of state or private initiative.

(vii) Whereas side by side with the development of Industries the Working Class will inevitably grow, this Congress resolves that all the Public utilities and means of production will be owned and controlled by the State in the interests of the whole society due regard being given to private interests in initial stages.

(viii) The Working Class shall be organised into workers' Committee according to different trade and these Committees shall control their respective trades. Further in order to guarantee the worker a human living the following legal provisions shall be enacted.

(a) An eight hours day, with a maximum of 48 hours in one week.

(b) Minimum living wage.

(c) Abolition of child labour under 14 years of age.

(d) Inauguration of a scheme of Old age, Health and Un-employment Insurance for the Industrial and Clerical workers, similar provision being made for the Agricultural workers through their village Councils.

(e) The introduction of employers liabilities and Workmens' Compensation Act.

(f) To create full free status for all Trade Unionist Activity.

(g) To make all necessary provisions for decent and adequate housing.

(ix) Free and compulsory Education both for Boys and Girls will be enforced in the Primary Grades and full facilities will be created for the Secondary Grades. Provisions will also be made to give free Technical and Vocational training. Special attention will be paid to give instruction in the Elementary principles of Hygiene Sanitation and Civics. Instructions through Vernaculars will be necessarily looked at as the most saving element.

(x) Woman shall enjoy full Social, Economic and Political life on equal status with man.

(xi) All indirect taxation will be abolished so also will feudal rights and dues from the Cultivator. Land rent will be fixed to a minimum.

(xii) A progressive Income Tax shall be imposed upon all incomes exceeding Rs. 300 P. M.

(xiii) Full freedom of speech, Press, and Association will be ensured for all.

(xiv) Full freedom of Religion and Faith will be established for all and it shall be absolutely an individual concern.

(xv) This Congress does not recognise any vested interests and will therefore seize every opportunity and means to abolish any and every vested right and privilege whenever and wherever it can be done.

(xvi) While distinctly reiterating the opinion that the reforms and the Political Machinery created thereunder are unsatisfactory and inadequate, this Congress holds that whatever advantage could be secured from existing Political Machinery must be utilised in the interest of the masses.

This Congress further holds that the above mentioned Programme of actual work among the Masses alone will ultimately emancipate them and therefore all possible efforts have to be made to create all favourable circumstances for the actual working of the same. In the elementary and initial stages of the above work all legal protection and conditions of direct help will have to be created under the existing Political Machinery and with this definite purpose alone the Councils and all other Political Bodies will be worked and utilised by all Congressmen whenever and wherever possible.

Congressmen will go into the Councils, Local Boards, Municipalities, village organisation and occupy all points of vantage and will use them to the fullest extent for the furtherance of the above mentioned Programme and to bring more and more power in the hands of the people. For this purpose of utmost deocratisation of the whole Machinery of Government, Congressmen will make use of and exploit all existing Laws and Statutes and

will further try to introduce New Status by moving Bills, Resolutions Amendments, etc., in furtherance of this cause. While thus utilising the existing Machinery for the furtherance of the cause of the control of the Masses over the same, Congressmen will continue the policy of continuous constant and uniform obstruction to all Government measures whereby the Bureaucracy intends to or is likely to strengthen its position. All possible tactics will be used by Congressmen to foil Government interest, as opposed to above aims, whenever and wherever possible.

(xviii) Whereas some Political sanction must be created at the earliest possible date, to effectively compel the Government to create favourable conditions and ensure sufficient latitude for the successful operation of the above mentioned programme of general awakening and actual building up the CLASS CONSCIOUS MASS FORCE for the final emancipation means have to be devised to force the Government to come to terms for the purposes of granting further immediate Political Reforms.

Therefore to successfully checkmate the Government which is essentially entrenched behind its scientific resources, this congress is of opinion that the Railway Posts, Telegraphs and all other Transport Machinery such as Steamship, Docks, Motor services and other means of Transport and Conveyances must be effectively controlled by building up strong Trade Unions in these Trades and attempts must be made at the point of threat of General Strike to bring the Government to book to release further political Reforms from its unwilling hands. It is therefore resolved to make systematic attempts Province by Province, to effect this Organisational Work at the direct initiative of each Provincial Congress Committee and under the instructions of the All India Congress Committee.

This attempt at a General Strike of all Transport and Conveyances will be strengthened and supplemented by creating a general atmosphere of General Strike on other Trades as well and for this purpose the Congress resolves primarily to devote itself to the task of Trade Unionism in all possible spheres.

Resolutions,

I This Congress fully approves of the aims and activities of the League against imperialism of oppressed nationalities and congratulates the organizers over their success in holding the conferences at Brussels.

Further this Congress resolves to affiliate to the League and send its elected representatives to represent the case of Indian Freedom at all meetings of the League.

II This Congress congratulates the U. S. S. R. on reacting the 10th year of its rule and highly appreciates the services that the U. S. S. R. is doing to free the enslaved masses of the world.

Further This Congress expresses its deep gratitude for the honour done to the I. N. Congress by U. S. S. R. by inviting prominent Congress men like Pandit Motilal Nehru, Javahurlal Nehru, Shapurji Saklatwalla and others. On the occasion of the celebration of the 10th anniversary of the U. S. S. R.

III This Congress stonghly sympathises with the brave struggle of the Chinese nationalists against world Imperialism in General and British Imperialism in particular and strongly Condemns the agressive attitude of Britain towards Chinees freed tour and calls upon the members of the Legislatives, Provincial and Imperial to oppose unreservedly by all measures calculated to further the ends of British Imperialism in China in particular and in Asia in general.

iv This Congress views with apprehension the Imperialastic designs of British Imperialism in creating a general War atmosphere and suspects that all these activities are calculated to create a War psychology against U. S. S. R.

This Congress emphatically declares itself against all such subtle machinations and resolves to carry on an anti War campaign in India in the event of any such Imperialist War.

v This Congress is of opinion that appointment of the parliamentary Statutory Commission is a positive insult to the Indian aspirations for freedom. As it denies the fundametal and inherent right of Indian Nation to establish self Government in this country. This Congress therefore resolves in unequivocal terms to completely boycott the Simon Commission and calls upon the Provincial and District Congress bodies to undertake an effective organisation of the Masses of India to successfully launch a country wide movement of direct action to complete the British Imperialism to recognise the right of Indian Nation to absolute Independence and to establish a federated Socialist Soviet Republic of India based on Universal adult Fannchise.

Resolution from Mr. S. A. Dange.

I Re-Membership,

No one shall be eligible for membership of the I. N. Congress who is directly or indirectly concerned with or directly or indirectly living on the profits of—

- (a) The liquor trade.
- (b) The opium trade.
- (c) And prostitution.

2 Resolution.

Believing as it does that the conquest of Swaraj is not possible without the active cooperation of the masses, of whom the majority are poor workers and peasants and that such conscious and active co-operation on their part cannot be evoked without offering to solve their immediate economic and political demands, and whereas the solution of many of them (demand lies in the hands of their employers and land-owners, and on their good will and co-operation this Congress resolves that efforts be made to persuade these people to refrain from wherever possible—

- (a) Increase in hours of work.
 - (b) Reduction of wages.
 - (c) bloc retrenchment.
- and to assist in.
- (a) Widening the franchise in the local Municipalities and Councils so as to admit the poorer classes.
 - (b) Improvement of housing and sanitary conditions in cities, plantations and mines.
 - (c) Preventing illtreatment of the employees.

3 That the following form attached herewith be made universal for Congress membership.

Creed and Declaration of Acceptance.

Signature	
Name.....	Age.....
Address.....	Vernacular.....
Sex.....	Race.....

Information to be filled in by the intending member,

A member should mark a cross on the line of that category and subdivision, to which he belongs.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>1 Land-lord Urban.....</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">Agricultural.....</p> | <p>4 Contractor with Jealings</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">(a) below 3000/-.....</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">(b) above 3000/-.....</p> |
| <p>2 Factory owners-a (State whether, Textile, Steel, Motors, Printing etc.,.....</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">(b) with an investment</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">1 below 5000/-.....</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">2 above 5000/-.....</p> | <p>5 Coupon-Clipper-(i.e. living on dividends on shares & stocks, interest on bank deposits, or loans, etc.).....</p> <p>6 Clerical Line Salaried</p> |

3	Distributive Tradesman	(a) below 50/-.....
		(b) between 50/- 150/-.....
(a)	Textiles (Khadi or non Khadi	(c) above 150/-.....
		7 Labourer (a) Urban.....
(b)	Food supplies (cerals, milk, general provisions hotels etc)	(b) Agricultural.....
		8 Peasant (Tenancy holder)...
(c)	Miscellaneous	9 Political & Social
		Workers (paid by organization or individual.)

Chaupati Printing Press, Bombay 4.

P. 1016.

A leaflet in Marathi issued by the Workers' & Peasants' Party, Bombay, to all the Mill Labourers warning them against the attempts of the Mill owners to reduce the rate of wages. It further warns them about the treacherous attempts to create a split amongst the labourers and advises them to join the strike of the Sassoon Mill group.

A second leaflet in Marathi issued by the Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bombay and signed by K. N. Joglekar is also with the first leaflet. It shows how Mayekar had joined hands with Government and was betraying them.

P. 1017.

The Workers' and Peasants' Party.

1. Whereas the Government of India, representing the interest of Imperialism, exist to maintain the exploitation and political subjection of all classes of India, 95 o/o of whom are Peasants, workers and middle classes of India, and has shown itself to be in opposition to the promotion of their interests and

2. Whereas the National Congress and the parties within it, as well as, the Liberals, Independents, and other non-congress parties, while at times advocating the improvement of the conditions of the masses, have shown in practice a complete lack of interest in the political, economic and social needs of the peasantry and working class, and by their actions have proved themselves to be parties promoting the interests of Imperial and Indian Capitalism and

3. Whereas the peasantry, constituting the bulk of the population, suffer exploitation in three main directions. by excessive taxation, by high rents, and by the exactions of usurious money-lenders, and in consequence of their illiteracy, and the dual character of their oppression, are incapable of taking the steps towards their emancipation from these evils and

4. Whereas the industrial working class, subjected to intense exploitation, in the absence of adequate protective legislation, and the lack of means to enforce that which exists, has failed to organise effectively its own struggle, against these conditions, and has allowed its Trade Union movement to fall largely under the leadership of middle-class elements which exploit it for their own communal, political or personal ends and

5. Whereas the overwhelming majority of the population, consisting of classes whose interests, though not identical, are not fundamentally opposed, is economically exploited and denied educational and social advancement both by the Indian Capitalists and foreign Government and held in political subjection by the said Government with indirect and unconscious help of Indian Capitalist class and

6. Whereas the exploitation and subjection of the workers and peasants cannot finally cease until economic and political power have been taken from the present rulers and transferred to the workers and peasants, it is hereby resolved that (A) a political party of workers and peasants be established to voice the demands of these classes within the National Congress, to promote the organisation of Trade Unions, to wrest them from their present alien control, to advance the organisation of peasants on the basis of their economic and social requirements, and to present a determined and pertinent opposition to the Government and thus secure the social, economic and political emancipation of these classes. (B) Since an essential condition for the fulfilment of this programme is the attainment of complete National Independence, the party will co-operate for that end with other organisations which profess to desire it and are willing to struggle for its realisation. (C) It shall therefore be the ultimate object of the party to obtain Swaraj where in the means of production, distribution and exchange are publicly owned and socially controlled.

PARTY'S DEMANDS

(A) IMMEDIATE POLITICAL DEMANDS.

1. Universal adult suffrage and Responsible Government.
2. Abolition of communalism.
3. Freedom of speech, Press and the right of Association.
4. Removal of all restriction on Trade Unions.

(B) ECONOMIC DEMANDS

1. The abolition of Indirect taxation and the introduction of of graded income-tax on all income exceeding Rs. 250/- per mensem.
2. Nationalisation of land wherein all cultivable and will be leased by Government direct to the cultivator.
3. Nationalisation of means of production, distribution and exchange.
4. Rent on landholdings not to be excessive.
5. Establishment by the Government of State-Aided Co-operative Banks, controlled by local organisation for the provision of credit to peasants at interest not exceeding 7 %
6. Establishment by law of the 8-hours day and 6-day week for industrial workers.
7. Establishment by law of minimum living wage.
8. Establishment of schemes of insurance for sickness, unemployment, old-age pension and maternity benefits.
9. Improvement of laws regarding workmen's compensation and employer's liability.
10. Legal enactments providing for installation of modern safety appliances in factories, mines etc.
11. Weekly payment of wages.

(C) SOCIAL DEMANDS.

1. Complete elimination of illiteracy and the provision of adequate facilities for free and compulsory, liberal and vocational education for all upto the age of 18.
2. Establishment of hospitals, health centres, free medical treatment and maternity benefits.
3. Training and education in the principles of hygiene and sanitation.
4. Provision of adequate housing for workers and peasantry at rents within their means.

5. Legal prohibition of all employment of women in dangerous occupation.

6. Legal prevention of employment below the age of 18.

OFFICE BEARERS.

President :	Mr. Dhundiraj Thengdi.
Secretary :	Mr. S. S. Mirajkar.
Executive)	Mr. S. H. Jhabvala.
Committee)	„ S. V. Ghate.
Group)	„ Lalji Pende (Congress).
Leaders)	„ K. N. Joglekar (Trade Union).
)	„ R. S. Nimbkar. (Education).
)	„ J. B. Patel. (Peasants).

P. 1018.

Search Warrant issued under sec. 96 C. P. C. issued by the District Magistrate, Meerut, for searching the house of H. L. Hutchinson, Shri Manek Anand Nivas Laxminagar, 1st Road Khar Road, Bombay Suburban District.

P. 1019.

(1) Mahadeo Babaji Savant.

(2) Khudadad Rustom Irani.

We the undersigned Panchas called by the Bandra Police to take search of Mrs. Nambiar and Mr. Lester Hutchinson, residing in the room belonging to one Miss Chatoupadya and the following papers and books have been attached :—

- | | | |
|---|------|--------|
| (1) The first report of Khar Youth League | ... | 0-0-0. |
| (2) The Labour Monthly, Volume 10 and No. 10 and 12 | | 0-4-0. |
| (3) All parties Conference, 1928, one book | | 0-2-0. |

- (4) Leninism, by Joseph Stalin. English 0-4-0.
- (5) Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference dated 27-12-28.
English book one 0-0-0.
- (6) Monthly review, three books, out of which one for
May 1928 and two for October 1928. 0-0-0.
- (7) Appeal and rules of the Teachers' International, by
D. Cooper two copies. ... 0-0-0.
- (8) The Young Liberators, 12 copies, of which one of
November 1928, one of December 1928, one of October
1928, two of January 1929, three of February 1929, two
of September 1928 and two of 1929 0-0-0.
- (9) M. Gorkay "My Childhood" 0-2-0.
- (10) The Trade Union Movements of December 1928 0-0-0.
- (11) Political resolution. English book with yellowish
cover 0-0-0.
- (12) Workers' and Peasants' Party Principles and Policy of
December 1928 0-0-0.
- (13) 18th Annual Report of the Sevasadan Society of
2/12/26. 0-0-0.
- (14) Exercise book containing 11 pages written in
English 0-0-0.
- (15) Old exercise book containing 9 pages written in
English 0-0-0.
- (16) The Golden Treasury of 1914 written in English. 0-8-0.
- (17) Stentor or the Press of today and Tomorrow. English
book having black cover ... 0-4-0.
- (18) "British Foreign Policy". 5 pages typed in English,
by H. Lester Hutchinson ... 0-0-0.
- (19) 'An appeal to the teachers of India from the Educa-
tional Workers' International'.—5 pages typed in
English dated 1 October 1928 ... 0-0-0.
- (20) Six pages typed in English bearing heading "Thesis
on the revolutionary Movements in the Colonies and
Semi-Colonies Extracts referring to India 0-0-0.
- (21) 5 pages typed in English, under the heading "Inter-
national Affiliation of the Indian Labour Movements" 0-0-0.
- (22) 9 pages typed in English, under the heading "Bombay
Mill strike, by B. F. Bradley from April to October
1928. ... 0-0-0.

- (23) 5 pages typed in English under the heading "On the road to * Insurance " by H. Lester Hutchinson. 0-0-0.
- (24) 9 pages typed in English under the heading " The Seva Sadan Society " 0-0-0.
- (25) 5 pages typed in English under the heading " On the road to Insurance. by H. Lester Hutchinson 0-0-0.
- (26) 5 pages written in English under the heading " The Development of revolutionary Thought in France " 0-0-0.
- (27) 5 pages written in English under the heading "The Russian Revolution " 0-0-0
- (28) 2 pages written in English under the heading " Youth and Politics " 0-0-0.
- (29) 15 pages written in English under the heading " Bombay Mill Strike, April to October, 1929 0-0-0.
- (30) 12 pages written in English " Story for Magazine " 0-0-0.
- (31) A. J. Z. Picture Magzaine No. 42 0-0-0.
- (32) Newspapers cuttings 10 0-0-0.
- (33) Five photographs 0-4-0.
- (34) A letter dated 6/3/29, from St. Xavier's Hostel, Bombay 0-0-0.
- (35) A letter dated 9/9/28, from Hotel Royal, addressed to Mrs. Nambiar 0-0-0.
- (36) A letter written in English, dated 10/10/28, heading " League against Imperialism and for national Independence." 0-0-0.
- (37) A letter to Mr. Hutchinson's address in Germany, sent by Sunday Worker's Editor, dated 15/10/27 0-0-0.
- (38) A letter typed, sent to Mr. B. G. Horniman, dated 23/1/29.
- (39) Rules and notices of Khar Youth League and Matunga Youth League. 5 copies 0-0-0.
- (40) 10 copies of the Spark, dated 27/1/29 one, 10/2/29 two, copies 24/2/29 two copies 3/3/29, two copies, 10/3/29 two copies and 17/3/29 one copy 0-0-0.
- (41) The people, Lahore. One copy dated 3 and 10/1/29 and one of 16/8/28 0-0-0.
- (42) Young India, 14/3/29 0-0-0.

(43) Passport No. L. 074908 issued to Mr. Hutchinson.

The above things were attached by the Police and the possession of the same was taken, Mr. Hutchinson and Mrs. Sumagdarbai Nambiar were present at the time of search. The panchama was written in our presence and is correct.

Before me.

1. Sd/- B. M. Sawant.

Sd/- J. Scott.

2. Sd/- Khudadad Rustam.

C. P. I. Bandra.

Dated 20-3-29.

P. 1020.

Two issues of "The Labour Monthly for the months of Dec. 1928 and October 1928.

P. 1021.

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

P. 1022.

A copy 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. 526).

P. 1023.

Three issues of the magazine "The Teachers' International, one for the month of May 1928 and two for the month of October 1928. The magazine is in English and is stated to be an official organ of the Educational Worker's International.

P. 1024.

*Rejected as P.
D of Hutchinson.*

Two copies of a small booklet in English entitled "Appeal and Rules of the Teacher's International".

P. 1025.

Several issues of the magazine in English entitled "The Young Liberator" edited by H.D. Rajah, for the following months:—
November 1928.
September 1928 (2 copies).
October 1928
December 1928
January 1929 (2 copies)
February 1929 (3 copies)
March 1929 (2 copies)

P. 1026.

A pamphlet in English entitled "The Trade Union Movement". Thesis presented to the First All-India Workers' and Peasants' Party conference December 1928.

(Vide Exh. P. 51).

P. 1027.

A pamphlet in English entitled. "Political Resolution."
(Vide Exh. P. 162).

P. 1028.

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

Thesis submitted to the First All-India Workers' and Peasant's Party conference, December 1928.

(Vide Exh. P. 161).

P. 1029.

An exercise book containing minutes of the executive committee meetings of the Study Circle, held between 20-11-28 and 17-3-29. The office bearers have signed themselves as Fraternity, Liberty, Equality, Sagacity, Tenacity, Solidarity &c.

P. 1030.

An exercise book containing minutes of the Study circle meetings held between 26-12-28 and 6-3-29, the proceedings have been signed by the office bearers as Fraternity, Liberty, Equality, Sagacity, Tenacity, Solidarity etc.

The first page reads as follows:—

The circle met on Wednesday 26th Dec. 1928 at K. The minutes of the last meeting were read and ratified, the summary of

the portion of the chapter on "International Situation" from Stalin's "Leninism" was then read by Equality. The rest of the chapter was gone through and discussed. After this certain parts of "Stentor or the Press of today or tomorrow" by David Ockham were read. The meeting closed at 8 p.m.

At the end of the exercise book there are two pages attached, in which a copy of a reply to Liaquat Husain's letter, accepting his resignation from the Study Circle is seen.

P. 1031.

A book in English entitled "The Golden Treasury" of the best songs and Lyrical Poems in the English Language.

P. 1032.

British Foreign Policy since the War.

The importance of a clear understanding by all progressive Indians of the trend and ultimate objects of British Foreign Policy cannot be overestimated. The struggle between the various Imperialist Powers for Commercial Markets and territorial domination dictates their respective policies towards their rivals, and inevitably leads to war in the long run. The Great War was a result of such Imperialist antagonism chiefly between Germany and Great Britain. At the close of the Great War, with Germany crippled and vanquished these antagonisms found different expressions. These expressions it is the purpose of this article to clarify.

In the years immediately following the signing of the Armistice of November 11, 1918, Europe found herself bankrupt and war-weary. Capitalism was in such a sorry state that the whole structure of bourgeois society was crumbling. Russia was already in the hands of the Communists, the German Social Democrats were in the throes of a mortal struggle with the Workers and Peasants (the Spartacus movement and the Munich Soviet), the Liberal Government of Italy

was tottering under the Communist will of the people, and France and Great Britain had their own industrial and economic crises to deal with. With the aid of American capital Europe succeeded in stabilising capitalism—thus greatly increasing the Allied Debt to America—and, consequently, the revolutionary workers and peasants of Central Europe and Italy were butchered into submission, thus giving the victorious Allies time to quarrel over the division of the spoils.

The quarreling began with the Peace Treaty of Versailles, when President Wilson put forward his famous scheme for controlling the destinies of Europe in America, and which he formulated in the League of Nations, with himself as perpetual President. The refusal of France and Great Britain to allow America the hegemony of Europe led to the latter's abrupt withdrawal from active participation in European politics. France and Great Britain immediately stepped into America's shoes and took control of the League of Nations. Consequently the League of Nations became a mere tool of French and British Imperialism.

But it was not to be expected that France and Britain could agree. Besides the German colonies in Africa Britain had been given by the Treaty of Versailles Palestine and Mesopotamia, and France had received Syria. The struggle for supremacy in the Near East between Britain and France led to the tragic war between Greece and Turkey, and ultimately, despite the Imperialists, to a strong Nationalist Government in Turkey. In this war Britain helped the Greeks, and France the Turks. The collapse of Greece and the consequent set-back for Great Britain led to the latter adopting a different policy: to counteract French aggression the British Foreign Office cleverly allied itself with Mussolini and Fascist Italy. Italy and France were already at loggerheads over Italian aspirations in Abyssinia, which were against French interests in North Africa, and over the French Continental policy of linking up the Balkan States to prevent Italian Imperialism progressing in Albania and the Near East. The Anglo-Italian understanding led to the triumph of British diplomacy in the East and to another bone of contention between Britain and France.

There is, however, a third bone of contention between the two allied nations: the French occupation of the Saar coalfields and the Steel works of the Ruhr. This occupation enabled France to obtain coal and Steel independently of Britain, who lost much trade thereby. Consequently, Britain, to the great annoyance of France (see the Curzon Poincaré correspondence of 1923) supported Germany's righteous demands for the French evacuation of the Rhineland. Germany to give strength to her demands carried on a spasmodic flirtation with Soviet Russia.

The collapse and rout of the white Armies of Kolchak Denikin and wrangel (all financed by the Allies) enabled the bolshevik Government to stabilise and fortify its authority throughout Russia. The communist doctrine being essentially anti-imperialist was attacking Britian at her very roots. The British Capitalists, therefore decided to destroy this doctrine before it destroyed them. They consequently prepared an economic blockade of Russia as a prelude to a war of intervention. To achieve this Germany was necessary, and British diplomacy was hard at work attempting to reconcile France with Germany, which would lead to the latters co-operation in the British scheme. This was achieved on paper by the Treaty of Locarno, and the " spirit of Locarno" proved to be definitely anti-Russian. Having obtained the allied co-operation of the European powers, the British Bourgeoisie then set out to crush the spirit of the British working class to prevent it from boycotting a probable war against Russia. This it achieved, thanks to the treacherous leadership of the T. U. C. by the General Lock-out of 1926. Then, having made their military preparations in Poland, India, the Baltic States and Persia (Treaty between Persian Government and Anglo-Persian oil Company), Britain, as a prelude to war, expelled the Russian Charge, Affaires and the Trading Mission, and immediately after a Russian Minister was murdered at Warsaw. Britain was on the threshold of war, but the commercial greed of France and Britain for the Russian Trade lost by Britain, was greater than their loyalty to Loçarno, and so the war did not come off.

Although Britain still continued her anti-Russian preparations, and even greater problem occupied her closest attention: the rival Imperialist antagonisms between herself and America. America having all the world's wealth (of the 9 millions of the total gold reserves in the world, 5 million are in America) found it necessary to have markets for her capital and produce. The monopoly of the world's markets belonged to Britain, and America can only expand at the expense of Britian. And as it is economically necessary for America to expand so it is economically necessary for Britain to resist. All over the world the two rival Imperialisms are clashing over oil and rubber and other essential commodities, which gives its expression in the American Big Navy programme, and in the British military and Naval alliances with France and Japan. Britain in allying herself with France against America, has scrapped all her old anti-French policy, and has forfeited the confidence of Germany and Italy. This is significant of the intensity of the struggle between the two Anglo-Saxon Imperialism. War, on an unparallelled scale, is the only logical outcome of such a state of affairs, and both America and Britain are openly preparing to commence hostilities.

Capitalism in its last form is called Imperialism, and Imperialism, with its commercial and territorial rivalry, has as its only logical outcome-war. War, and its attendant horrors, in the interests of the

capitalist oligarchies can only be prevented by an united effort of the oppressed peoples of subject countries with the proletariat of imperialist countries. The enemy is a common one, but only an united and international revolution can finally destroy it and liberate humanity.

H. LESTER HUTCHINSON

P. 1033.

A typewritten copy of "Thesis on the Revolutionary movement in the colonies and semi-colonies"

(Vide Exh. P. 344)

P. 1034.

International Affiliation Of The Indian Labour Movement.

In a long letter addressed to the Trade Union Congress Mr. C. F. Andrews advises the Indian Labour movement to "become truly Swadeshi" and "to avoid entangling engagements." He had previously given the same advice. Concretely, he proposes that the Indian Trade Union Congress should affiliate itself neither to the Amsterdam nor to the Moscow International. In his letter to the Trade Union Congress Mr. Andrews advances reasons for this policy of splendid isolation. An examination of his reasons shows clearly that the Indian Labour Movement must reject the recommendation of Mr. Andrews, and free itself from the leadership of those who sympathize or solidarise with him. The Trade Union Congress has done so by declaring its adhesion to the International League against Imperialism. This has been done as a protest against the arbitrary arrest and expulsion of the representative of the League by the British government. It is a step in the right direction. It proves that the international

affiliation of the Indian Labour Movement will be determined neither by intrigues of the hateful Communists nor by the prejudices of others, but by the pressure of circumstances. Indian working class will inevitably ally itself with that section of the international labour movement which unconditionally supports it in its struggle. Any one, who recommends a contrary policy, is an enemy of the Indian Labour movement, and should be exposed and condemned as such. Perhaps Mr. Andrews is not conscious of the implication of his advice; but his possible ignorance of the implication does not render it any less dangerous.

Indeed, Mr. Andrews does not recommend a policy of splendid isolation. He would have Indian Labour Movement shun Moscow and Amsterdam, but tie itself to the International Labour Bureau of the League of Nations. He believes that the Indian Labour Movement will get into touch with the international situation by sending representatives annually to the League of Nations Labour Conferences at Geneva. So, Mr. Andrews' objection to the Amsterdam Trade Union International is deceitful. If his objection to Amsterdam was sincere, he could not recommend Geneva. There is no difference between the two. In fact, Geneva represents the realisation of the official policy of Amsterdam, namely the subordination of the labour movement to the interests of capitalist and imperialist states. It is a very unconvincing argument that Indian Labour Movement should not go to Amsterdam because it is dominated by the labour-imperialists of Britain, but prefer Geneva which is an instrument of imperialism. How could we take Mr. Andrews' criticism of Macdonalds and Thomases seriously, when he proposes to hand over the Indian Labour movement not only to the same labour-imperialists, in another place, but to Chamberlain himself? Indeed, subjected to critical examination, Mr. Andrews' Christian advice is discovered to be the desire to smuggle Indian Labour Movement into the Amsterdam International through the backdoor.

A frank proposal for affiliation to Amsterdam would be unceremoniously rejected. Those making and supporting this proposal would be discredited in the Indian labour movement. Owing to the openly imperialistic attitude of its leaders, Amsterdam International stands thoroughly condemned before the colonial working class. In his letter to the Trade Union, Congress, Mr. Andrews himself gives evidence to this effect. Discredit of the Amsterdam International means the discredit of those leaders of the Indian labour movement who represent the spirit of Amsterdam, namely, reformism. This being the case, the perspective is clear. It is that the Indian labour movement promises to develop in a revolutionary direction, nationally and internationally. The further it goes from Amsterdam the nearer it comes to Moscow, if we should

put the case in terms of Geography. But be it observed incidentally that it is not a geographical difference: it is a political distinction - between imperialism and revolution. The more the Indian Labour movement becomes consciously anti-imperialist, the closer it allies itself with the revolutionary section of the international working class movement. Mr. Andrews' advice to the Indian Trade Union Congress is the result of his vision of this perspective. He wants to prevent that the Indian labour movement develops that way. Knowing that a frontal attack is sure to fail, he devices a stratagem; he recommends the policy of splendid isolation which, he hopes, will succeed by virtue of our nationalist prejudice. But he forgets that this very nationalist prejudice is, in the given situation, a revolutionary factor and, as such, will operate against his scheme of making Indian labour movement safe for the labour-imperialism of the Amsterdam International.

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

In spite of all difficulties, Indian working class are seeing this fundamental divergence between the two Internationals. Imperialist terrorism, propaganda of lies and the efforts of the misleaders have failed to keep them in perpetual ignorance. Proper appreciation of their task, overthrow of imperialist domination, helps them to distinguish between false friends and loyal comrades. This being the case, all the arguments of Mr. Andrews about Communist blood thirtiness are irrelevant. The standard by which Indian working class, indeed, the entire oppressed Indian people, should judge their friends and allies is neither religious nor ethical; it is essentially political. Should we be guided only

by the ethical prejudices of Christian gentlemen, as Mr. Andrews suggests, then the advices of Romsay Macdonald and George Lansbury would be no less binding on us than that of Mr. Andrews. They are also devout Christians, and hate revolution and Communism apparently on religious and ethical grounds. Mr. Andrews, in his letter to the Trade Union Congress, says "I as a Christian have my own principles which, on no ground whatever, can I abandon." This cherished principle of Mr. Andrews is "non-violence," and as, according to his understanding, Communist trade union policy is inseparable from violence, he advises the Indian Trade Union Congress against affiliation to the Red International of Labour Unions, and in favour of entrance into the imperialist Amsterdam international through the backdoor.

Neither religion nor ethical code is the determining issue. Indian Trade Unions will eventually join the Red International, not because it advocates violence (as Mr. Andrews thinks) but because it offers unconditional support for the struggle against imperialism. So, for a serious consideration of the question, from the point of view of material advantage real & community of interests, we could reasonably leave the bug-bear of violence aside. But as Mr. Andrews raises the issue, and opposes affiliation to the Red International exclusively on this issue, a few words must be said about it.

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

objection to violence, in the last analysis, is direct support for the existing capitalist society. By raising this objection Mr. Andrews advises the Indian working class to submit themselves to the capitalist and imperialist exploitation. And thus he is found to be in the same boat with the leaders of the Amsterdam International.

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

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

P. 1035.

Bombay Mill Strike

(Lasting 6 months, April to October, 1928.)

by

B. F. BRADLEY

Rationalisation and attempts at stabilisation are a feature fixed of present day capitalism. In practically every country in the world capitalism is struggling to exist against its own contradictions, and to show how acute this position is becoming we have only to turn and look at a country like India. One would not think that a country like this would so early show this form of capitalist decay.

India is a country that has only just started to become industrialised, a vast country with huge natural resources abundance of cheap labour, market and resources at the door of the mill or factory, yet we hear the same cry from the capitalist of this country as we hear from the capitalist of the other countries, the cry of international competition, and so to try and keep afloat and safeguard their profits, they turn to the worker and demand retrenchment and wage-cuts, resulting in further unemployment and poverty.

The mill strike in Bombay was brought about by this process 150,000 mill workers have been existing until now on an average

wage of less than Rs 20 per month, this in a town where cost of living and rent is extremely high. To sum the whole position, the general housing, working and living conditions of these workers is nothing short of damnable. But despite this fact the mill owners of Bombay because, as they say, of competition from Japan etc., starte a campaign to still worsen these conditions.

This campaign to reduce the cost of production by attacking the conditions of the worker took definite shape at the latter end of 1927, and their fear of the workers revolting against these attacks, and to avoid a general strike, was shown by the method they adopted to introduce these conditions. This method was to select mill by mill and force the workers to accept. Between the beginning of 1928 and April of the same year isolated strikes took place in individual mills, to attempt to prevent the introduction of the new system and wage cuts, but the workers were forced back to work. The workers could see what was happening. Mill after mill was being attacked, and the workers were getting sick and tired of waiting to be attacked, waiting to be beaten. Propaganda was being carried on by the Workers and Peasants Party but that the only effective method to stop this attack of the mill owners was by the united stand of the workers, ie, a general strike, as against this some prominent Trade Union leaders were carrying on propaganda. However, the workers could see no other way than by uited action, and so they decided for a general strike.

Early in April this was decided and immediately it was known, the mill area of Bombay which has some 84 mills became an unarmed camp, "posses" (gangs) of police stood at all mill gates prominently showing their weapons. Groups of armed police were stationed everywhere and lorry loads of them through the streets of the mill area. Despite this show by the government, mill after mill was closed down by the strike, and on Monday 16th of April the general strike took definite shape. Even at this stage Mr. N. M. Joshi, secretary T. U. C. was against this strike.

On Monday 24th, 100,000 workers were on strike and 42 mills closed down. At this stage a very serious incident happened: a large crowd of mill workers who had decided to strike and were returning to their chawls from Dadar were met by a group of armed police near a place called Kalachowki, about a mile away from any mill and on an open space which is a stone quarry. The police became aggressive and demanded that the workers should not proceed for some unknown reason. Then the police tried to disperse them and chase them in all directions. Then orders were given to open fire, with the net result that one worker was killed shot through the head, and another seriously wounded. After doing this piece of work, the police vanished leaving the dead and wounded lying there. The news spread and in a short time huge crowd of over 10,000 workers collected. In the mean time

the Commissioner of Police and the Chief Presidency magistrate arrived, and for the moment the position looked ugly because the workers wanted to carry the body in procession, and the Commissioner of Police had banned processions. However after some discussion it was allowed and the workers had won the point of being allowed to follow their dead comrade. It was a tragic sight, the body was placed on an improvised stretcher carried by four workers, and thousands of workers formed a huge procession.

The funeral procession was most imposing; workers marched with red flags in their hands and shouting, "Down with capitalism" "Down with Imperialism" "Long live the workers" etc. to the Jury house, where the inquest was held. After the inquest the workers formed a procession again and carried the dead body of their comrade to the cremation ground with shouts of "Long live the workers" etc.

The situation at this juncture was becoming extremely critical. I had been with the workers and the processions the whole time, but in other parts of the city the police had also been assaulting the workers. At Supavi Bang there was a clash between the strikers and the police, about 15 strikers being injured and about 5 police. The situation was becoming more serious and the workers were becoming more exasperated by the fact that policemen were entering the workers chawls day and night, and many cases of assault took place, so that the strikers pass their day in perpetual dread. Peaceful processions of workers were set upon by the police and all the police that were on duty in the mill area now carried lathis or long sticks. The police were ordered to attack every procession that took place, and they would be labour the workers right and left for nothing. Then an order was issued by the Commissioner of Police banning all processions.

Huge meetings of mill workers were organised by the workers and Peasants Party at least once or twice a day at which thousands of workers would attend. Prominent at all these meetings were mounted and foot police commanded by armed and arrogant English inspectors and sergeants.

A strike committee was elected and means of raising money was considered. By April 25th every cotton mill in Bombay was closed down, a general strike had been effected. 150,000 mill workers were on strike. At this juncture it was necessary to bring about unity among the trade union leaders for certain reasons; although there was considerable hostility shown to Mr N.M. Joshi it was decided that a joint strike committee should be set up. Nagu Sayag Wadi became a famous place, for every morning thousands of strikers collected there, meetings were held and the progress of the strike reported. On April 28th the Governor of Bombay met some deputations of supposed leaders of the strikers. The one led

by a Mr. Majekar and the one led by Mr N.M. Joshi did not represent the workers and so no result was shown. The Governor returned to Poona and the strikers were escorted back to their villages by the strike leaders.

On May 1st a joint strike committee was set up a real organisation of the strike taken in hand, picketing was started, volunteers were called for and posted at the mill gates but the Commissioner of Police said he was not going to allow picketing and asked them to be withdrawn. The workers, however were determined to carry on picketing. Hundreds of volunteers came forward prepared to go to prison if necessary. A meeting was held and it was decided to start regular picket of all mills from that day.

The Commissioner of Police could see that the workers were determined and so he had to climb down and allow picketing.

At this juncture certain interesting rumours were spread about me: that I was an agent of Moscow, and again another and the more interesting, that I was an agent of Lancashire sent out to ruin the mill industry of Bombay. The latter was of course a rumour spread by the nationalists.

The police were still carrying on a reign of terror and many cases of volunteers being arrested or beaten were report. The strike committee met regularly and a full programme of the worker's demands was drawn up including eight hour day, minimum wage Rs 30, abolition of the system of fines etc; as against this the mill owners association published their scheme called Standardisation which meant an increase of working hours reduction in wages, where one worker was working one side spinning he would have to work two, where one worker was working two weaving frames he would have to work three and the total number of workers on the other jobs would be reduced. In short this scheme would mean the retrenchment of at least 15,000 workers. Now there existed an already growing army of unemployed and a feature of the Bombay Mill industry was a system of Badli (substitute). Badlis were stand-by men who would take the place of another worker who may be absent. This system of Badli is to be discontinued under the standared scheme because of the knowledge that at the mill doors will wait a mass of workers ready to take the place of any who may be absent or replace any who they may like to sack. Although the owners protested that there was no reduction and no hardship for the workers their case would not hold water. It was simply a scheme to hide from the public the big wage-cuts and the impossible position in which it place the worker.

More volunteers came forward for picketing and it was decided to enlist women pickets, so for the first time in Bomba the women took an active part in an industrial dispute. Women pickets were place on the mills and vigorous picketing carried on.

Preparations were made to start giving relief to the strikers. Money was received from Russia and the Workers Welfare League of India. Fourteen centres were opened throughout the mill area and on the 15th June two seers of rice and dal was given to each striker. This relief was carried on until the end of the strike.

On June 1st the police framed up a charge against S.A. Dange who was arrested but owing to the mill hands whom the police had got hold of to frame the charge refusing to carry it through, the charge was dropped.

All the while the solidarity of the strikers was splendid. Huge meetings were being held every day and the consciousness of the workers was being awakened. The police tried to stop small processions of the workers carrying slogans going out to collect relief but in this matter they failed. Many attempts were made by the mill owners to break the solidarity of the workers with the aid of the police. Such an attempt was made on August 6th, the workers having been out for five months when the owners decided to open the mills in small groups. Elaborate plans were laid, a few mills here were to open today and a few mills there were open the next day with police protection. The chosen mills got up steam made ready to start and blew their whistles, but no employee turned up at the gate. So the police pickets were withdrawn and the owners failed.

One notable incident occurred early in the strike when two special C.I.D. shorthand reporters were sent to attend our meeting. They filled up many notebooks in reporting and one day they were driven away by the workers. They ran to their nearest telephone and within a short time several Lorry loads of armed police and a party of mounted Sâwars appeared on the scene.

Many attempts to settle these strikes by conciliation boards failed, because the owners were called upon to drop these standardisation scheme which they refused to do.

It was becoming obvious that the workers though still determined were becoming exhausted because the strike had gone on for nearly six months and the funds of the strike committee were running short. On the 4th October a meeting was called by the government of Bombay at which representatives of the mill owners and strikers attended. Terms of agreement were arrived at, the owners should drop for the moment the standardisation scheme and everything should be submitted to a government committee, ie, the workers demands, standardisation etc. Thus ended the longest and biggest strike that has ever taken place in India.

The workers consider it only a truce to give them time to prepare for when the owners again attempt to force this scheme on them. A very important point of the struggle is the wonderful consciousness that has awakened among them, and they realise

now that they have always waited to be attacked by the employer. But now the workers are organising to alter this and fight for better conditions.

In closing I wish to pay tribute to the wonderful fighting spirit of the India textile worker in the splendid manner in which they held on to the struggle despite persecution and prosecution by the police, and despite lack of funds and organisation. The splendid show of solidarity deserves the praise of the workers throughout the world. Such spirit as shown by these workers means early emancipation from the bonds capitalism and imperialism.

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ON THE ROAD TO INSURRECTION

by

H. LESTER HUTCHINSON

Under the above title, one which was used by the greatest of all proletarian thinkers, Lenin, it is purposed to set forth the problems of India and suggestions for their solution, from the view-point of a foreigner.

It is well known that India is the brightest jewel in the British Crown, and should Britain lose India she would obviously lose all her international prestige and ultimately her Empire. The successive British Governments-including that of so-called Labour are well aware of this fact, and in consequence have taken and will take in the future all measures necessary and possible for the perpetuation of the British Raj. The Non-Cooperation movement awakened them to the danger of a united movement which might well drive them into the Indian Ocean. Unfortunately, owing to its weak leadership, the Non-cooperation movement collapsed, and ever since then the Government has taken all the precautionary measures possible to prevent its revival. But the Government today is faced with a graver situation than any other that has occurred in Indian History: I speak of the rapid awakening of the proletariat and the general growth of extremist revolutionary thought.

The Indian Nationalist Party is chiefly composed of native capitalists and professional men. Its object is definitely non-revolutionary but reformist in its own interest. The Indian

bourgeoisie tends to form a compromise with Imperialism with a view to sharing the latter's profits. Hence the Nehru Report and the Congress vote for Dominion Status. The revolutionary elements are the petty bourgeoisie, which is economically insecure, and the proletariat, which although small is already commencing to put up a vigorous fight against the miserable conditions in which it is forced to live. The Government is much more afraid of the consequences of the Bombay Mill Strike, for instance, than all the prating and babble that took place at the last Congress threatening to compel Britain to grant Dominion Status. Accordingly, while the Anglo-Indian press is openly amused at the antics of the Congress Wallahs it is definitely and seriously hostile to what it calls the "Communist Menace". It does not advise legislation for the suppression of the Nationalist Movement or the Independence League, but, instead, it demands that the Government should force the Public Safety Bill, i. e. of course the Imperialist Safety Bill, and the Trades Dispute Bill. As far as these Bills are concerned the Government is receiving the support of a large part of the Indian bourgeoisie. The Nationalists voted against the "Imperialist Safety Bill" at the last session of the Assembly because they were afraid, not of the Government deporting dangerous Communists, indeed, they rather agree to that, but that this Bill, if passed, might be used by the Government against themselves. When the Government assures the Nationalists, by the insertion of a few mutually satisfying amendments, that they themselves are in no danger as long as they remain law abiding citizens of the British Empire then they will vote for the Bill as one man. Such is the "revolutionary" character of the Indian Nationalist Movement.

The hope of revolutionary India lies not with the prophets of peaceful evolution and non-violence, but with those who are willing and prepared to go to any length, including violence and bloodshed to achieve their end. The arch prophet of non-violence, Mr. Gandhi, showed us the real value of such a policy by issuing the Baroli resolution, in which he calls off a huge National movement because a few constables were injured and a police station burnt down. Mirabeau said that revolution cannot run on rose water nor can a leader of a revolution keep his hands in white kid gloves. It is to be noticed here that Imperialism is not squeamish as regards blood and violence, as witness Amritsar, and the policy of turning the other cheek does not appeal to a true revolutionary. The latter realises that Capitalism and its last form Imperialism can only protect its immense vested interests by violence, and that is why there is a powerful military and naval force always at its command.

How then can India achieve complete freedom?

The position of Great Britain in International politics is becoming increasingly precarious. The industrial and political conditions in England, and the growing independence of its white dominions, the complicated relationship with the great European Powers, and, most important, the commercial rivalry between her and America, which will inevitably lead to war in the near future all tend towards the speedy collapse of Britain as an Imperial and world power. On the old Irish principle that Britain's difficulty was Ireland's advantage, India ought to take advantage of this situation. British Imperialism has suffered an immense blow recently in China. It has been forced to come to a compromise with the Chinese bourgeoisie for the joint exploitation of the Chinese masses. The success of the Chinese bourgeoisie cannot do otherwise than have violent repercussions in India and Egypt. Even the policy of Amanullah, with his leanings towards Moscow and Angora, have given an impetus to the National ideal in India. The situation then is becoming rapidly more favourable for India.

Now, it is necessary to distinguish clearly between a bourgeois revolution and a proletarian revolution. In the usual course of things the former precedes the latter, and in all probability the Indian bourgeoisie, taking advantage of the International situation, will compel the Imperialist Government to grant it a certain measure of political autonomy and a share in the profits. In order to do this they will have to follow the lead of Chinese bourgeoisie in misleading the agricultural and industrial masses as to its object in attacking Imperialism. In all probability time will see an Indian proto type of Chiang Kai Shek turning his guns on the revolutionary workers of for instance, Bombay. With the success of the native bourgeois compromise with Imperialism, the masses will awaken to the fact that their conditions are no better, perhaps even worse, under their own bourgeoisie than they were under that of a foreign power. In consequence, a class conscious proletariat will arise in direct opposition to the native bourgeoisie. The bogey of Imperialism will no longer serve the purpose of the ruling native bourgeoisie to secure the support of the half-starved and toiling masses. This situation has already been reached in China, when the National Government goes to all lengths to suppress Communism, the doctrine of the proletariat, and when the proletariat is beginning to ally itself with the peasantry against the native bourgeoisie.

Revolution, that is to say the complete destruction of the present system of society and the substitution of another, has its birth in the WORKING CLASS only, and is international in character. It is neither an intellectual nor a bourgeois movement. It is not even a peasant movement although in Russia, China and India the peasantry is 75% of the total population. It is a movement which springs up in modern industrial centres, where the

masses come into contact with progress and industrial contradictions. The proletarian movement had its birth in the introduction of machinery into the factories, which gave rise to a situation where one machine could do the work of ten men, and consequently 9 men were thrown out of employment. And from this date industrial conditions have gradually become worse until the present epoch of Imperialism when they have become well nigh intolerable. When Capitalism cannot pay its labour a living wage, Labour becomes revolutionary. A hungry worker will rally to the party that has a programme which will fill his stomach. In Russia, Kerensky and the bourgeoisie by not stopping the war failed to provide the starving masses with bread, consequently they turned to the only party which could do so—the Bolsheviki. The Peasantry is on the whole backward and ignorant, it does not come into contact with industrial centres of progress, it is confined to little villages, without newspapers, schools, but with plenty of policemen and priests. Consequently any attempt at the present stage to educate the peasantry is reformism and not revolution. The Indian proletariat must follow the lead of the Russian in first taking political power before attempting to educate and convince the ignorant majority. One day the Indian proletariat will do this.

H. Lester Hutchinson

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THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION.

I. Introduction:

- (i) Significance of Red Star.
- (ii) Anti-Bolshevik propaganda in India.
- (iii) Object real facts of Russian Rev.

II. Russia and the War:

- (i) Condition of troops from Black Sea to the Baltic.
12,000,000 troops, clubs against machine-guns,
hunger, Arcangel guns and merchants.
- (ii) Treachery of General, Govt. officials in German pay.
- (iii) Repression of workers and peasants at home.
- (iv) Starvation.

III. February 1917. Bourgeois Revolution.

- (i) Kerensky, impersonation of Bourgeoisie.
- (ii) Determination to go on with War.
 - (a) Big profits in War material, food.
 - (b) Constantinople and Black Sea for shipping.
 - (c) The policy of Catherine. War to distract the attention of the masses and postpone the day of reckoning.

IV. Armed Demonstrations. Revolt of sections of the Army. Repression:

- (i) Trotsy and Kollatai and other lead us in prison.
- (ii) Lenin and Zinoviev in hiding.

V. The Man of Iron—Kornilov.

- (i) March on Petrograd.
- (ii) 10,000, Turkomans, Tartars, Corsairs, British ranks and armoured cars, and aeroplanes.
- (iii) Demoralization of Army—Kornilov deserted.

VI. October, 1917.

- (i) Winter approaching. Speculation, robberies, orgies, Famine.
- (ii) Reaction open and arrogant.
- (iii) Has Kerensky given us more to eat than the Czar?
- (iv) Constituent Assembly Farce.
- (v) Lenin—"All Power to the Soviets."
- (vi) Kerensky troops go over to masses.
- (vii) Congress of Soviets. Bolshevik victory.
- (viii) Desertion of Social Democrats. Refuse in garbage heaps of History.
- (ix) Provisional Govt. Deposed.

VII. Attack on Winter Palace.

- (i) Prov. Govt. and Cruiser '*Aurora*'.
- (ii) Peasant and blanket. Revolutionary order.
- (iii) The Working-class in Power.

VIII. After the Victory:

- (i) White Counter-revolution.
- (ii) Peace of Brest Litovsk.
- (iii) Allied Intervention.
- (iv) White soldiers, poison gas, bombs, etc.
- (v) East—Kolchik.
West—Armies of Finland, Letts, Lituanians.
North—British, French, Americans.
South—Death Battalians of Denikin.
Esthenian—Yudurich.
Poland—Patlura.
Crimea—Wrangel and cavalry.
- (vi) White atrocities.

IX. Red Army:

- (i) Propaganda among Allied Troops.
- (ii) 400 miles from Moscow—defeat of Kolchik.
- (iii) Denikin smashed except a Brit cruiser.
- (iv) Budenry smashed Petlura and Wrangel.
- (v) Petrograd Yudurich cut to pieces.

X. Blockades of Russia.

- (i) Death list appalling.
- (ii) No medicine' instruments.
- (iii) Wounds dressed with newspaper.
- (iv) Typhus and cholera.

XI. Triumph of Soviets.

XII. Conclusion.

- (iii) Changes in Society.
Workers, sex, Religion,.....etc.
Rest Houses, Sanitoriums.
"In France sex is an obscene jest; in,
England, often enough a tragedy; here in
Russia it is a simple fact."
- (iv) Communism is not a Religion. "I do not belief in it;
I know it, Earthly, material benefits for the
oppressed. Not spiritual hope of a hereafter."
- (v) Communism is not Russian but International.

YOUTH AND POLITICS.

I. Introductory Remarks:

- (a) Home Member on Youth and Communism. "There can be no more fatal blow than the youth of the country should be tainted by the tenets of Communism. No greater blow can be inflicted on India's future."
- (b) Reason for Mr. Crear's fear—looks.
- (c) Youth must decide. Progress or Reaction.
- (d) Youth shall reshape the world, new?

II. Present Society:

- (a) Its foundations.
- (b) Justice.
- (c) Science.
- (d) Education.

III. The Press, Trusts and countries:

- (a) Nature of a newspaper.
 - (i) Advertisements. Pictures. Cooking. Gossip. Police Court. Crossward Puzzles.
 - (ii) British Press come into the hands of five men who sitting at lunch can dictate what community is to be told to think.
 - (iii) Importance of a Free Press.

IV. Religion.

- (a) If religion did not exist it would be necessary to invent it.
- (b) Napoleon. 1898.
- (c) Lord Liverpool—industrial unrest—churches—£12,000,000.
- (d) G. B. S. and fable of missionary.
- (e) Difference between Bible and Vulg etc.
- (f) Significance of Christ Anatole France and Christians.
- (g) Danger of Christianity to-day. Bishop of Bombay. Spark.

V. Universal repression and Struggle for Liberty.

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|--------------|------------|
| (i) Italy | } Intense. |
| (ii) Balkans | |
| (iii) Poland | |

Can Youth remain quiet. We are all bound together.

VI. Conclusion.

P. 1039.

Bombay Mill Strike.

Lasting Six Months—April to October, 1928.

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of Bombay, owing as they say to competition from Japan etc. started a campaign to still worsen these conditions.

This campaign to reduce the costs of production by attacking the conditions of the worker took definite shape at the latter end of 1927, and their fear that the workers would revolt against these attacks, and to avoid a general strike was shown by the method they adopted to introduce these conditions, this method was to select mill by mill and force the workers to accept, and between the beginning of 1928 and April isolated strikes in individual mills took place, to attempt to prevent the introduction of the new system and wage cuts but the workers were force back to work.

The workers could see what was happening mill after mill was being attacked, and the workers were getting sick and tired of waiting to be attacked, waiting to be beaten. Propaganda was being carried on by the Workers' and Peasants' Party that the only effective method to stop this attack of the mill owners was by the united stand of the workers that is a general strike, as against this some prominent trade union leaders were carrying on propaganda against a general strike, however the workers could see no other way than by united action, and so they decided for a general strike.

Early in April this was decided and immediately this become known the mill area of Bombay which has some 84 mills became an armed camp, posses of police stood at all mill gates with officials prominently showing their arms. Groups of armed police were stationed about, and loory loads of armed police were run through the streets of the mill area.

Despite this show by the Government, mill after mill was closed down by the strike, and on Monday 16th of April the general strike took definite shape, even at this stage Mr. N. M. Joshi, Secretary, T. U. C., was against the strike.

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This news spread and in a short while a huge crowd of workers collected of over 10,000 in the meantime. The Commissioner of Police, and Chief Presidency Magistrate arrived, for a moment the position looked ugly because the workers wanted to carry the body in procession and the Commissioner of Police had banned procession, however after some discussion it was allowed. They had won the point to be allowed to follow their dead comrade, it was a tragic sight, the body was placed on an improvised stretcher, four workers carrying the body, thousands of workers formed a huge procession.

The funeral procession was most imposing, workers were marching with red flags in their hands and shouting, Down with Capitalism, Down with Imperialism, Long live the workers, etc; to the Jury House, where the Coroners Jury held their inquest. After the inquest the workers formed a procession again and carried away the dead body of their comrade to the cremation ground with shouts of, Long Live the Workers, etc.

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Preparation were made to start giving relief to the strikers. Money had been received from Russia, and the Workers Welfare League of India. Fourteen Centres were opened through the mill area and on 15th June two seers of rice and some "dal" was given to each striker, this relief was carried on until the end of the strike.

On June 1st the police framed up a charge against S. A. Dange. He was arrested but owing to the mill hands whom the police had got hold of, to frame the charge refusing to carry it through, the charge was dropped.

All this while the solidarity of the strikers was splendid; huge meeting were being held every day and the consciousness of the workers was being awakened. The police tried to stop small processions of workers carrying slogans going out to collect relief but in this matter they failed. Many attempts were made by the mill owners to break the solidarity of the workers with the aid of the police. One such attempt was made on August 6th. Workers having been out 5 months now, the owners decided to open the mills in small groups, elaborate plans were laid, a few mills here were to open to-day and a few mills there would open the next day with police protection. The mills named got up steam, made ready to start, blew their whistles but no employee turned up at the gate, the police pickets were withdrawn. The owners foiled.

One notable incident was early in the strike two special C.I.D. shorthand reporters were requisitioned to attend our meeting. I may say they filled up many books in reporting. One day they were driven away by the workers. They ran to the nearest telephone and within a short time several lorry loads of armed police and a party of mounted sowars appeared on the scene.

Many attempts to settle the strike by conciliation boards, etc., failed. The owners were called upon to drop the standardisation scheme. This they refused.

It was becoming obvious that the workers though still determined were becoming exhausted. Nearly six months the strike had gone on and the funds of the strike Committee were running short.

On the 4th October a meeting was called by the Government of Bombay at which representatives of the mill-owners and strikers attended; terms of agreement were arrived at the owners should drop

for the moment the standardisation scheme, and all should be submitted to a Government Committee. That is the workers demands, standardisation, etc: and so terminated the longest and biggest strike that has taken place in India. The workers consider it only truce for time to prepare for when the owners again attempt to force this scheme on them. A very important point of the struggle is the wonderful consciousness that has awakened among them; they realise now that they have always waited to be attacked by the employer, but the workers are organising how to alter this and fight for better conditions.

In closing I wish to pay tribute to the wonderful fighting spirit of the Indian Textile worker in the splendid manner in which they held on to the struggle despite persecution and prosecution by police, despite lack of funds and organisation. Their splendid show of solidarity deserves the praise of the workers throughout the world. Such spirit as shown by these workers mean early emancipation from the bonds of Capitalism and Imperialism.

B. F. Bradley

P. 1040.

LEAGUE AGAINST IMPERIALISM

AND FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

Paris Office: 55, Rue Faubourg Montmartre. **International Secretariat** 24, Friedrichstrasse, Berlin S. W. 48 Cable Address: Ankolina, Berlin, Telephone: Donhoff 6061.

Ligue contre l'Imperialisme
et pour l'Independence National

Liga gegen Imperialismus
und fur nationale Unabhangigkeit

HONORARY PRESIDENTS:

Professor Albert Einstein, Germany

Henri Barbusse, France

Mme. Sun Yat Sen, China

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

President:

James Maxton, M. P., Great Britain

Vice-President:

Edo Fimmen, Holland

Secretaries:

Willi Munzenberg, M.P. Germany
V. Chattopadhyaya, India

Berlin, October 10th. 1928

Dearest Gunnu,

This is an official letter which I am writing on behalf of the Educational Workers' International which has its seat in Paris and which is deeply interested in the lot of our Indian teachers. It is

Members:

Jawahar Lal Nehru, India
Mohamed Hatta, Indonesia
Liau Hansin, China
Mustapha Chedli, North Africa
Mme. Duchesne, France
S. Saklatvala, M.P., Great Britain
Dr. A. Marcoux, M. P., Belgium
R. Bridgeman, Great Britain
Roger Baldwin, U.S.A.
Diego Rivera, Mexico

GENERAL COUNCIL

Chen Kuen, All-China Labour Federation
Professor Koumenyou, China
Sen Katayama, Japan
Ismael Martinez, Trade Union Cartel of Tampico
Julio A. Mella, Peasants Federation of Mexico
Dr. Jose Vasconcelos, Late Minister of Education in Mexico
A. Alminiana, Philippines
Mohamed Hafiz Bey Ramadan, M.P., National Party of Egypt.
Hadj Ahmed Messali, North African Star.
Daniel Colrairie, South African Trade Union Congress
A. Semaoen, Indonesia
Kin Fa Lin, Korea
Ahmed Assado ff, Persia
Manuel Gomez, U.S.A., All-America Anti-Imperialist League
Fenner Brockway, Independent Labour Party of Great Britain
S.O. Davies, Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Harry Pollitt, National Minority Movement of Great Britain
Henriette Roland Holst, Holland
Georges Gerard, Belgium
P. S. Spaak, Belgium
Charles Plisnier, Belgium
Victorio Verri, Italy
Guido Miglioli, Italy
Albert Fournier, France
Leon Vernochet, Educational Workers' International, France
Prof. Theodor Lessing, Germany
Prof. Alfons Goldschmidt, Germany
Georg Ledebour, Germany
Dr. Helene Stocker, Germany
Prof. Nejedly, Czecho-Slovakia

intended to organise the ill-paid teachers of India into a trade-union organisation not only for bettering their own conditions of life but for conducting a struggle for the liberation of the Indian school from the yoke of capitalist-imperialism. The International has drawn up an Appeal to the teachers of India, 50 copies of which I am sending to your address. There are two things which I request you to do with this Appeal. Firstly, the English text is to be translated into Gujrati and Mahratti immediately and if possible multigraphed in as many copies as you think necessary for distribution either at the Conference or among the teachers of the Bombay Presidency. Secondly, the English text is to be distributed among the teachers at the Conference. I have sent 50 copies also to Lakshmi Kutti who will most probably attend the Conference, and who will have the mandate to represent the Educational Workers' International. She understands the aims and objects of our International & will probably be the best person to explain to all those who are interested the necessity of organising the teachers of India on a trade-union basis. I do not know whether you yourself will attend the Conference. If you do not I should feel greatly obliged if Suhashini would undertake the work of conducting the propaganda personally at the Conference in conjunction with Lakshmi Kutti. I understand too that Miss Saifud Din is a progressive teacher and is socialistically

inclined in which case it would be her duty to take up the work of the International also. You, Suhashini and Miss Saifud Din together with Lakshmi Kutti would be quite sufficient to make it possible by personal work to form a nucleus of left owing teachers and lay the foundations of an All-India organisation.

I feel perfectly sure that my Appeal for help in this important task will not be in vain. If you will send me a bill for the expenses occurred in connection with translation, duplication and distribution and if need be for journeys to the Conference, I should be very happy to ask the General Secretary of the International to pay you the sum without delay. I have no idea what the expenses may be, otherwise I

should have made a budget and had the money forwarded immediately.
Our friend Dange will surely be able to give you technical help in
such a way as to avoid unnecessary expenditure.

Yours lovingly

Bimue

P. 1041.

Telephones: MUSEUM 9496 & 9578

Labour's Sunday Newspaper

SUNDAY WORKER

Proprietors: **WORKERS' PUBLICATIONS LIMITED**

254 GRAY'S INN ROAD

LONDON

W. C.

I

Lester Hutchinson,
10 Mon Bijou Plats III.
BERLIN C.
GERMANY.

15th October 1927.

Dear Lester,

I am very much surprised to hear that you are in Berlin, as no one had mentioned it to me in Manchester.

I am afraid it will not be possible to send you photographs, because most of those which appear in the "SUNDAY WORKER" generally find their way to the A. I. Z. but if anything special comes along. I will pass them on to you.

If you could send us news items from Berlin, to arrive here on Thursday, it would be very helpful to us, and would, incidentally, be good practice for yourself.

If you are doing work for the League against imperialism, there must be good stories that you could send us, and also photographs, and we would give them full publicity.

With all good wishes.

Yours fraternally,

William Paul
EDITOR.

P. 1042.

Certain issues of the English paper "Spark" of the following dates:—

27th January 1929
10th February 1929
24th February 1929 (2 copies)
3rd March 1929 (2 copies)
10th March 1929 (2 copies)
17th March 1929

P. 1043.

Passport No. L 074908 issued to Mr. Hugh Lester Hutchinson on 21-2-1925 for travel in the British Empire, France, Belgium, Italy, Switzerland, Holland, Germany & Austria.

P. 1044.

Rejected.

Search warrant issued under Sec. 96 C. P. C. by the District Magistrate, Meerut, for the search of the house of Dr. U. B. Narayanrao, Gordhandas Khatau Building, 3rd floor, Girgaon Road, Bombay.

The warrant was executed by the Bombay city Police on 20-3-29,

P. 1045.

Rejected.

Search warrant issued under Sec. 96 C. P. C. by the District Magistrate, Meerut, for the Search of the "Ryan Pharmacy," Girgaon Road, Bombay, belonging to Dr. U. B. Narayanrao. The warrant was executed by the Bombay City C. I. D. on 20-3-29.

P. 1046.

Rejected.

PUNCHNAMA.

We, the undersigned members of the Punch Viz :-

1. Balaram Purshottam Bhiwanker, 25 years Kshatriya. Draftsman G. I. P. Ry. Res-Charni Road Kshatriya Dnyati Niwas 2nd floor.
2. Shridhar Govind Moye, H. 26 years, Goud Suraswut Brahmin. Clerk in Dy. Controller of Currency's office. Res-11th Nikdawadi Lane, Bombay 4.

Were present at the time of the execution of the warrant Dt/-15th March 1929 issued by the Dist; Magistrate, Meerut, U. P. to witness the search of the residence of Dr. U. B. Narayanrao, at Gordhandas Khatao Building, 3rd floor Girgam Road, Bombay, at 6 A. M. on 20th. March 1929.

The above search was conducted by Sub-Inspector U.G. Kale and Inspector Hurst in our presence and the following articles were taken possession of by the officer conducting the search.

Name of Article	Where found.
1. Good Luck Exercise book with writing in canarise.	found on the writing table.
2. Book of Poems in canarise -	—Do—
3. Part of Indian National Herald Dt/-22nd July 1928.	found in the drawer of the writing table
4. Two pages of writing paper embossed Heading Rayan Pharmacy (Chemist and Druggist) 751, Girgam Road, Bombay 4.	On the writing table.
5. Two sheets of note papers with the heading as No. 4.	—Do—

6. Two sheets note paper heading Dr. U. B.
Narayanrao L. C. P. S. Bombay 751, —Do—
Girgam Road, Bombay 4.

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 us	Sd/- Balaram
Sd/- H. Hurst Inspector of Police	Purshottam
7-15 A. M.	Bhawandker.
Sd/- Upendranath Govindrao Kale	Sd/- Shridhar
Sub-Inspector	Govind Maye.
Lamington Road P. Station	
7-15 A. M.	

Officer conducting the search.

P. 1047.

Rejected

PUNCHNAMA

We the undersigned members of the Punch Viz:-

1. Balaram Purshottam Bhivandker H. 25 yrs. Kshatriya Drafts man. G. L. P. Ry: Res. Chami Road, Kshatriya Duyati Niwas 2nd floor.

2. Shridhar Govind Moye H. 26 years. Gord Saraswat Brahmin, Clerk in Dy. Controller of Currency's office. Res. 11th Nikdawadi Lane Bombay 4.

Were present at the time of the execution of the warrant Dt/- 15th March 1929, issued by Mistrict Magistrate Meerut U. P. to witness the search of the Dispensary of Dr. U. B. Narayan Rao known as Rayan Pharmacy, Girgam Road at 7-30 A M. on 20-3-29.

The above search was conducted by Inspector Hurst in our presence and the following articles were taken possession of by the officer conducting the search. where found

Name of articles

1. 45 Books in Gujrathi with the title " Arwachin Hind Edited by Pam Dutt and published by Mr. S. V. Ghate at Girgam Advance Literature Book Shop.	In the cupbord kept in the Dispensing Room.
--	---

2. One book of counter foil of 16 cheques from No. H 392641 to H 392656 on the Central Bank of India. Drawer of writing table.
3. One book of counter foil of 16 Cheques No. H 401345 to H 401360 on the Central Bank of India Ltd. Do
4. One Book of Counter foil of 16 cheques No. H 411553 to H 411568 on the Central Bank of India. Drawer of a writing Table
5. One Note book containing accounts of S. V. Ghatе etc. Do
6. Two papers with embossed heading. Advance Literature Company, Book Sellers Publishers and stationners 751 Girgam Road Bombay 4. on the writing table
7. Two papers with embossed heading Dr U.B Narayanrao A. C. P. S. Bombay 586 Girgam Road Bombay 4. In the drawer of the writing table.

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

Before us

Sd. Harry Hurst
Inspector of police

Sd. Balaram Purshottam
Bhiwandker.

8-45. A. M. 20/3/29

Sd. Shridhar Govind Moye.

Sd Upendranath Govindrao kale
Sub-inspector of police Lamington Rd.
Bombay. 8-45 A. M. 20/3/29
Officers conducting the search.

P. 1048.

Receipt

Cheque book of the Central Bank of India Containing Counterfoils of cheques No. H. 401345 to H 401360.

Cheque nos. H 401348 }
H 401355 } are in favour of
H 401359 }
H 401360 } S. V. Ghatе.

H 401345 is in favour of Appajirao.

P. 1049.

Rejected.

Cheque book of the Central Bank of India Containing Counterfoils of Cheques no.

H. 411553 to H 411568.

Cheque nos. H. 411557 } Are in favour of
H. 411560 } S. V. Ghatе.

H. 411568 is in favour of Appajirao.

P. 1050.

Search Warrant issued under Sec. 96 C.P.C. by the District Magistrate, Meerut, for searching the the premises occupied by the office of the Youth League, Bombay.

The Warrant was executed by the Bombay City Police on 20-3-29.

P. 1051.

PUNCHNAMA.

We the U/s members of the punch, viz:—

1. Shantaram Laxuman Mathure, Age 25 years Hindu. Tea shop keeper, J. K. Building, Gamdevi Road.

. Jaisingh Ladha, Age 32 years . Hindu. Grain Merchant J. K. Building, Dummer Lane, were present at the time of the

Execution of a Search Warrant. No number. D/ 15th day of March 1929. Issued by the District Magistrate, Meerut, (U. P.) to witness the Search of the place mentioned therein, i. e. " Office of the Youth League, Bombay " situated on the 1st Floor of Madani House at the junction of Hughes Road and French Road, Bombay being a room in the flat occupied by Mr. K. F. Nuriman. The search commenced at 6 a. m. and ended at 12 noon.

The above search was conducted by Inspector J. Simmons of Gamdevi police Station in our presence and the following articles were taken possession of by the Officer conducting the search .

1. Copies of the Youth Movement. First annual report,
2. Copies of Appendix " A " Resolutions.
3. Leaflets. The young Liberator.
4. Hand-bills. The Battle of Charka
5. Leaflet. The Bombay Youth League Simon Boycott Committee.
6. Copies of Rules and Regulations of the Bombay Youth League.
7. The Bombay Youth League. Protest against the enhancement of School and College Fees.
8. Copy of " Khadi Patrika ". D/ Friday 1st Feb. 1929.
9. Typewritten letter signed by Mr. D. J. Koppikar.
10. Two handbills. Headed The Bombay Press: Youth League (Leaflet Nos.19 & 20.)

The above articles were found on the top of a cupboard on the right hand side of the door in the office.

11. The Bombay presidency Youth Constitution consisting of 5 sheets.
12. The Bombay presidency Youth League (Leaflet No 14)
13. The Bombay presidency Youth League (Leaflet No 15)
14. Typewritten letter addressed to P. N. Guha, Esq., and signed by Y. J. Meherally.
15. Typewritten letter addressed to R. G. Bhandarkar, without signature D/ 7 Dec.
16. The Bombay presidency Youth Conference (Aims and Ideals).
17. Membership Forms of Bombay Branch Independence for India Leagues.

18. (Booklets) First Session The Bombay Youth Conference.
19. Copies of the Publicity and propaganda Committee. (Leaflets)
20. Miscellaneons correspondance numbered from 1 to 5.
21. Copy Books Bombay students Bardoli Day D/ 4 July 1928.
22. Book containing Congress Ditties.
23. The Bombay Youth League. Rough Minutes and agenda Book.
24. The Bombay Youth League Minutes Book.
25. Membership Receipt Book.
- 25A. do
26. One Bombay Youth League Bill File Voucher of Expenses.
27. Correspondence numbered from 1 to 5 containing letters
28. Correspondence numbered 1 to 4.
29. Papers. " Manifold Activites " No. 1 to 2.
30. Papers. " Nefarious propaganda " No. 1 to 2.
31. Papers containing the Rough Minutes of the Executive Committee and other meetings numbered from 1 to 6.
32. Papers of the names of members present at the Annual General Meeting of the B. Y. League. Numbered 1 to 3.
33. Papapers containing notes on Resolutions numbered 1 to 2.
34. File of cuttings from newspapers.
35. Papers containing Telegraph Receipt, D/- 7 August 1928 and copy of Telegram sent to Vallabha Patel, by Nariman, and copies of Notices of various meetings of the B. Y. League committee.
36. Letters numbered from 1 to 7.
37. Papers numbered from 1 to 9.
38. List of the Members of the Executive Committee present at the meeting held on 21st Sept.
39. List of Members of the Strikers' Relief Committee.
40. Letter to the Secretary, Bombay Youth League, from S. L. Kashikar.

Serial numbers from 33 to 43 found inside the cupboard in the Office to the Right-hand side of door as entered

Found inside cupboard as shown above.

Serial number from 53 to 56 found in Iron stand in the left hand corner of room near window. (

41. Membership Form of the Independence for India League.

42. A file of Membership Forms of the Bombay Youth League.

43. Correspondence File No' 1 to 48.

44. The B. Y. League Expenditure Book.

45. The B. Y. League. Youth Guards Committee Book.

46. Committee Members of Youth Guard Corps (List of).

47. Two pamphlets. Headed " The Lion of the Punjab ".

48. Hand-bills of the B. Y. League Simon Boycott Committee. (4).

49. Hand-bills of the B. Y. League Simon Boycott Committee (7)

50. Papers numbered from 1 to 2, headed " Appeal to Youth ".

51. Paper headed B. Y. League "Important Activities".

52. Second Annual Report of the Belgaum Student Union.

53. Leaflet No 1 Headed " Are you a Youth "

54 Hand-bill. Meherally purse Fund Committee

55. File numbered from 1 to 4, Regarding Young Liberator.

56. File with cuttings from newspapers, regarding Bardoli's case and some correspondence.

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

Before me.

Sd J.. Simmons.

Inspr.

Gamdevi.

20-3-49.

2 P. M.

Signature of Panches.

1 Sd Shantaram Laxman

Mathuri

2 Sd Jaisingh Ladha

(signed in Gujrati)

20/3

PUNCHNAMA.

We the undersigned Panches (Members of)

1. Ramnivas Ishari, age 38, Hindu, Medical Practitioner, residing; Laxmi Narayan Lane, Matunga, Near Railway Station.
2. Mohanlal Bhagwanlal, age 28 years. Milk shopkeeper. Residing: Laxmi Narayan Lane, Matunga.

Were present at the time of the execution of a search warrant dated 15th March 1929. issued by the District Magistrate, Meerut, (U. P.) to witness the search of the place mentioned therein, i. e, Office of the Youth League, Bombay, situated in Lakhamsi Napoo Hall, Matunga, being, a room on the northern side of the building. The search commenced at 2. 50 P. M. and ended at 4 P. M.

The above Search was conducted by Inspector J- Simmon of Gamdevi Police Station in our presence and the following articles were taken possession of by the officer conducting the search. .

1. Membership Register, The Youth League Matunga,
2. Cash Book.
3. Petty Cash Book.
4. Minutes Book.
5. Rough Minutes Book.
6. Visitors Book.
7. Committee Member Circulation.
8. Public Meeting Book.
9. Duty Book of the Secretary.
10. File of press Cuttings.
11. Confidential File, The Youth League, Matunga, containing correspondance etc. numbered from 1 to 12.
12. Sub-Committee Records, numbered from 1 to 5.
13. The Youth League, Matunga, Miscellaneous File, numbered from 1 to 57.
14. Press Notification. File numbered from 1 to

Item
Nos. 1 to
18 found
in a cup-
board in

the office of the Youths League, Matunga Situated in the corner of the room opposite the door. Item No. 19 found on a stand in the above-mentioned room.

15. The Youth League, Matunga (Miscellaneous File numbered from 1 to 32.

16. Membership application Forms File, numbered from 1 to 105,

17. Miscellaneous Correspondence etc. numbered from 1 to 12.

18. Miscellaneous papers, etc. numbered from 1 to 19.

19. Book "The Young Liberator," Vol. 1 No. 6. February 1929.

The above-mentioned Punchnamma was read over to us and it contains a full and true account of what we have witnessed during the searches.

Before me.

Signature of Panches.

Sd/- J. Simmons.

1. Sd/- R. I. Mishra.

Inspr,

Gamdevi

20/3/29.

20. 3. 1929.

5. 30 P. M.

2. Sd/-M. B. Bhatt.

20. 3. 29.

P. 1053.

APPENDIX 'A' RESOLUTIONS.

I. The Late Hakim Ajmal Khan

This Conference expresses its sorrow at the demise of Hakim Ajmal Khan who, besides being a perfect gentleman and a self-sac-

rificing patriot, was a veritable apostle of Hindu-Muslim unity and offers its heart felt condolences to the members of his family in their bereavement.

(*From the Chair*)

2. Fraternal Greetings

This Conference tenders its fraternal greetings to the youths and youth organizations of the World and sends its felicitations to the valiant youths of China, Egypt, Ireland, Phillipines and all other countries similarly situated for their brave fight for the liberty of their country.

Proposed by Mr. K. S. Sitaram B. A. B. Com.

Seconded by „ H. P. Mirchandani

3. Communal Problem.

(a) This Conference affirms its unequivocal conviction that nationalism should always stand above communalism. This Conference is, therefore, deeply pained at the recent communal dissensions that have rent the country, and calls upon every youth in the presidency to spread the gospel of communal peace, harmony and goodwill and to combat the forces of fanatical reaction by all means available to them;

(b) This Conference further declares its emphatic opinion that the introduction of communal principle in public life is vicious and detrimental to the best interests of the country, and, therefore, demands that Communal Electorates be abolished and Joint Electorates be established in their place and that the recruitment of the Public Services be based solely on the principle of merit.

Proposed by Miss N. N. Samarth, B. A.

Seconded by Mr. A. M. Baakza

Supported by „ Joachim I. S. Alva

„ „ Yusuf J. Meherally, B. A.

4. Education.

This Conference emphatically asserts its opinion that the progress of education is fundamentally essential for the success of any scheme of mental, moral or social development of this country and therefore

(a) calls upon the Government of the Presidency to carry out, without any further delay, the provisions of the Free and Compulsory Primary Education Act of 1922 by making necessary funds available on a liberal scale for giving substantial help to the Municipalities and Local Boards;

(b) calls upon the local Minister of Education to declare the introduction of vernaculars as the media of instruction in all

branches of education and with a view to effective fulfilment of this declared policy create scholarships and endowments for the necessary vernacular scholars and the translation of necessary texts into the vernaculars;

(c) calls upon the Government to revise its niggardly and backward policy regarding higher vocational education and to start, without any further delay, more agricultural, commercial, technical institutes, schools and colleges and to provide sufficient facilities for practical training as these are imperatively required not only for giving suitable employment to the youths in the country but also to speed up National progress so as to bring the country in a line with the advanced countries of the world;

(d) and while recognising the importance of English as one of the international languages, this Conference is of common opinion that the Hindi is the only possible common language for an overwhelming majority of the people of India, and calls upon every youth and also the Government to lose no time and effort in making Hindi compulsory in school and colleges;

(e) and further calls upon the Government and the authorities concerned to revise the current curriculum and text books of Primary and Secondary Schools and without further delay to drop out portions in them which are harmful to Indian honor and sentiment.

Proposed by Mr V. K.R. V. Rao, B. A.

Secoeded by ,, A. R. Bhat, B. Com.

Supported by ;, S. P, Nadkarni.

5. Mass Education.

This Conference is convinced that voluntary and systematic efforts and co-operation must be organised to spread light and knowledge among the masses and therefore decides upon the establishment of Mass Education Volunteer Corps to go round the village areas and the working class areas and co-operate with the Central Youth Organisation and other organizations with the same purpose in starting and supervising schools, libraries, etc., in villages and cities and in taking other steps for the general upliftment of the population.

Proposed by Mr. I. K. Yajnik, B. A., LL. B.

Secoeded by ,, Phillip Spratt

Supported by ,, N. A. Mavlankar

6. Untouchability.

This Conference declares its faith in equality of all human beings and therefore calls upon the youths to effect the abolition of untouchability in their own society and further calls upon all young men and women to work in co-operation with other institut-

ions for the educational, social and economic emancipation of the depressed classes.

(*From the Chair*)

7. Social Reform.

(a) This Conference emphatically declares its opinion that all antiquated social and religious customs, like child marriage, purdah system, dowry, hardships to women and widows, caste-system, and marriage laws etc, that sap the vitality and mar the efficiency of the people should be done away with and calls upon the youth in the country to rebel against these customs by forming volunteer organisations that will be pledged to the eradication of these evils in their own society;

(b) This Conference offers its whole-hearted support to the Age of Consent Bill introduced in the Legislative Assembly by Mr. Harbilas Sadra.

(c) This Conference maintains that the chapter on Caste in the Census Reports of the Government of India perpetuates the mischief of the social hierarchy and therefore demands that the Chapter of Caste be deleted from future Census Reports

Proposed by Miss S. V. Desai,

Seconded by Mr. S. S. Batliwala, B. A.

Supported by „ D. V. Shidore.

8 Internationalism.

It is the considered opinion of this Conference that the Government and the people of this country must revise their attitude towards foreigners. The members of the ruling classes of those countries wherein Indians are suffering under any disability, political, social or economic, should also be subjected to similar political, social and economic ostracism in this country.

Proposed by Mr. S. V. Desai, M. Sc.

Seconded by „ Sunder P. Kabadi,

Supported by „ I. J. Thakore.

9 Unemployment.

(a) This Conference emphatically opines that the present deplorable state of unemployment among the youths of the country is primarily due to the economic and industrial policy of Imperialism. It further deplores the literary bend of the present educational system which makes them unfit for practical life;

(b) It further demands the rapid Indianisation of the Public Services and industrial and commercial concerns in this country;

(c) It proposes the establishment of an Unemployment Bureau and appoints a Committee with powers to coopt other members to their number and

(d) It demands that the elementary provisions of unemployment relief which are carried out in every civilised country be extended to India.

Proposed by Mr. A. R. Bhat, B. com

Seconded by „ D. Y. Tikekar.

Supported by „ S. S. Mirajkar.

10 Swadeshi.

This Conference views with very great concern the abject poverty in which millions and millions of this country are steeped as also the economic and commercial backwardness of the country and the very low standard of life in India and therefore exhorts every youth of the country to actively help the commercial, industrial and economic development of this country by becoming independent of Government as well as of other service and taking to small scale businesses, home industries and agriculture; and further calls upon the youth to encourage Swadeshi in its purest form by precept as well as by example even at a sacrifice and to boycott foreign goods and British in particular.

Proposed by Mr. S. P. Nadkarni.

Seconded by „ G. V. Ketkar, B. A., LL. B.

Supported by „ H. D. Rajah.

11 University Reform.

This Conference views with disfavour the recent attempts of Government to interfere with university affairs and deplores the reactionary outlook, constitution and administration of the Bombay University and urges the following reforms :

(a) That the University must now cease to be merely an examining body and must shoulder the responsibility of a really training and educative institution;

(b) The Constitution of the University must be thoroughly overhauled on democratic lines and all graduates shall automatically be empowered to vote for the election of Fellows and also for electing a University representative to the Council;

(c) The University Reform Bill introduced by Government must be so radically altered as to carry out the principles mentioned above.

Proposed by Mr. C. C. Mehta, B. A.

Seconded by ,, N. P. Sipahimalani, B. A.
Supported by ,, S. B. Shringarpure

12 "Mother India "

This Conference condemns the uncouth and inspired propo-
ganda recently broadcasted under the name of " Mother India " and offers its heartfelt sympathy to all sane Americans in their sad predicament in which a fellow country woman of theirs has placed them by her vicious and despicable propensities as social moun-
te-bank.

Proposed by Miss G. H. Engineer
Seconded by Mr. S. S. Batliwala, B. A.
Supported by ,, U. S. Basrurkar

13 Prohibition and Racing.

(a) This Conference strongly deprecates the attitude of the Government in encouraging Racing directly and calls upon the Government to make it illegal in the interests of the masses.

(b) This Conference calls upon the Government of Bombay immediately to put into practice the policy of Prohibition

(From the Chair.)

14 Physical Training Movement.

(a) This Conference deems it the duty of every young man to be physically fit for the service of the country, and, therefore views with satisfaction the recent renaissance in the younger generation regarding physical training;

(b) This Conference asks the Government to provide for compulsory physical and military training for the younger generation between the ages of 18 and 21 for a period of three years;

(c) This Conference congratulates the Principals of the three Arts Colleges of Poona for introducing compulsory physical training in their Colleges;

(d) This Conference strongly condemns the decision of H. E. the Viceroy in disallowing the resolution on Compulsory Military and Physical Training in Schools and Colleges in the Assembly by Dr. B. S. Moonje. *(From the Chair.)*

15 Scout & Guide Movements.

This Conference, while recognising the great potentialities of Scout and Guide Movements in the training of good and useful citizens and in creating a spirit of brotherhood and service among the young, emphatically protests against their being made Imperial movements and urges upon the authorities concerned that they

should be conducted on purely National lines and be completely adopted to Indian conditions.

(From the Chair.)

16 Self-Determination.

This Conference emphatically declares its faith in the principle of self-determination for all nations and recommends to the youths of this Presidency not to participate in any movement that violates the principle of self-determination and is derogatory to the self-respect of the country.

(From the Chair.)

17 Simon Commission.

This Conference condemns the policy of the Government as embodied in the appointment of the Simon Commission and is of the opinion that the youth should boycott the Commission at every stage and in every form.

Proposed by Mr. S. S. Batliwala, B.A.

Seconded by „ U. V. Desai,

Supported by „ S. A. Dange,

„ „ G. G. Shimoga.

18 Bengal Detenues.

This Conference strongly condemns the policy of the Indian and the Bengal Government of imprisoning, interning and externing innocent patriots without trial for indefinite period under the Bengal State Prisoners Regulation III of 1818 and the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1925.

(From the Chair.)

19 Imperialism.

This Conference declares that Imperialism, the overthrow of which is the supreme task before India, is international in its action, and can best be combatted on an international scale. This Conference, therefore, welcomes the efforts which are being made to associate together the peoples oppressed by Imperialism all over the world.

(From the Chair.)

20 World Youth Peace Congress

This Conference sends its hearty greetings to the World Youth Peace Congress to be held in Holland in August next and, while wishing it every success, reciprocates the feeling of Brotherhood and Comradeship contained in its message.

(From the Chair.)

21 National Education.

This Conference urges the youths of this Presidency to

support the existing National Educational Institutions.

(From the Chair.)

22 Bombay Presidency Youth League.

(a) This Conference resolves that with a view to start a vigorous Youth Movement in the Presidency a permanent organisation, to be named the Bombay Presidency Youth League, be established with a proper constitutions;

(b) and that a committee of there presentatives of the Districts and local areas and from Youths Associations and Institutions be formed;

(c) and to that end this Conference appoints the following Committee with power to add to its number, to draft a constitution for the League to be submitted to the next Sessions :

President :

Mr. K. F. Nariman, B. A. LL. B., M. L. C.

Vice President :

Mr. I. K. Yajinik, B. A. LL. B.

Hon. Gen. Secretary :

Mr. Y. J. Meherally, B. A.

Jt. Hon. Asst. General Secretaries.

Mr. K. S. Sitaram, B. A. B., COM.

„ H. P. Mirchandani,

Hon. Treasurer :

Mr. S. B. Shringarpure,

Hon Secretary :

Publicity and Propaganda Committee :

Mr. A. R. Bhat, B. COM.

Members :

Miss N. N. Samarth, B. A.	Mr. S. R. Tikekar,
„ S. V. Desai,	„ R. K. Chikekur,
„ G. H. Engineer,	„ S. P. Nadkarni,
Mr. S. S. Batliwala, B.A.	„ M. N. Thakkar, B. A.
„ Sunder P. Kabadi,	„ U. V. Desai, B. A.
„ S. S. Dubash, B. A.	„ G. C. Gandhi,
„ V. K. R. V. Rao, B. A.	„ S. S. Navare, B. A.
„ D. V. Shidore,	„ V. M. Gokarani,
„ S. M. Bhavnani,	„ N. P. Sipahimalani,

23 The next Conference should be held in Poona.

Proposed by Mr. G. V. Ketkar, B. A. LL. B.
Editor the Kesari.

Seconded by „ R. K. Chikerur,

P. 1054.

A note book, only 3 pages of which are written on the first page it is written "Distinguished Visitors Book." On the second page there is a note by Hutchison saying that he had great pleasure in speaking to the Matunga Youth League as he found the audience most cordial, intelligent and attentive.

P. 1055.

The Youth League Matunga.

President :- Lakhamsi Napoo Hall
Seth Velji Lakhamsi Napoo Matunga.
Bombay, 28th Feby. 1929.

NOTICE.

A public Lecture will be delivered at this hall on Saturday, the 2nd. March at 9 P. M. (S. T.) on "Youths & Politics"; by Mr. H. Lester Hutchinson.

Mr. Maneklal Vakil has kindly consented to preside.

All are cordially requested to attend.

Sd/- Vedantham.
Hon. Secretary.

P. 1056.

Search Warrant issued under Sec. 96 C. P. C. by the District Magistrate, Meerut, for searching the premises occupied by Amir Haider, General Motors Ltd. Rehm Seth's Chawl, Ghelbhai Street, Madanpura, Bombay.

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

P. 1057.

PUNCHNAMA.

We the undersigned members of the punch viz :-

(1) Hasanally Mulji Khoja M. aged 39 years, occupation shopkeeper, residence Ripon Road No. 153.

(2) Peter Simon Saldana Chri, aged 31 years, occupation service, residence Ripon Road No. 180, 1st floor, were present at the time of the execution of search warrant dated 15-3-1929 from the District Magistrate, Meerut (U. P.) by Sub Inspector S. N. Savant of Palton Road Police Station, Bombay, to witness the search of the place at Rahimoo Seth's Chawl, 2nd floor, Ghelbhai Street, Madanpura in Bombay and occupied by Amir Haider, at 6 a. m. on 20-3-29.

The above search was conducted by Sub-Inspector S. N. Savant in our presence and the following articles were taken possession of by the officer conducting the search.

1. One pamphlet on communism by R. Palme Dutt, was found on the shelf (in the room) of book stand.

2. Manifesto of the Communist party by Karl Marx Frederick Engels found on the shelf of book stand in the room.

3. do. do. do. do.

4. The Working Class by Karl Kantsky found in the shelf of book stand in the room.

5. do. do. do. do.

6. do. do. do. do.

7. The Rights of Labour by John Ruskin found on the shelf of book stand in the room.

8. do. do. do. do.

9. Address of Welcome by P. Dinda (Bar-at-law) found on the shelf of book stand in the room.

10. do. do. do. do.

11. Bombay provincial Trade Union Conference found on the shelf of book stand in the room.

12. Political resolution found on the shelf of book stand in the room.

13. do. do. do. do.

14. do. do. do. do.

15. do. do. do. do.

16. do. do. do. do.

17. do. do. do. do.

18. do. do. do. do.

19. do. do. do. do.

20. do. do. do. do.

21. do. do. do. do.

22. do. do. do. do.

23. Presidential address of the First All-India Workers' and Peasants' Party found on the shelf of book in the room.

24. do. do. do. do.

25. do. do. do. do.

26. do. do. do. do.

27. do. do. do. do.

28. do. do. do. do.

29. do. do. do. do.

30. do. do. do. do.

31. The Bombay Textile Labour Union found on the shelf of book stand in the room.

32. Scientific Socialism by W. M. Paul, found on the shelf of book stand in the room.

33. Useful work versus useless Toil, by William Morris, found on the shelf of book stand in the room.

34. Monopoly or how labour is robbed, by William Morris, found on the shelf of book stand in the room.

35. The Trade Union Movement. Thesis presented to the first All-India, Workers' and Peasants' Party conference, found on the shelf of book stand in the room.

36. do. do. do. do.

37. do. do. do. do.

38. do. do. do. do.

39. do. do. do. do.

40. do. do. do. do.

41. do. do. do. do.

42. do. do. do. do.

43. Workers' and Peasants Party, Principles and Policy found on the shelf of book stand in the room.

44. do. do. do. do.

45. do. do. do. do.

46. Hell Found, by S.A. Dange, found on the shelf of book stand in the room.

47. The religion of Capital by Paul Lafarque found on the shelf of book stand in the room.

48. One book written in Urdu (The Bombay Mill Majur Union) found on the shelf of book stand in the room.

49. Indian Seamen's Union, Bombay found on the shelf of book stand in the room.

50. British Imperialism in East Africa, found on the shelf of book stand in the room.

51. Indian Seamen's Union (in Urdu), found on the shelf of book stand in the room.

52. do. do. do. do.

53. do. do. do. do.

54. do. do. do. do.

55. The Indian Seamen's Union, Bombay, found on the shelf of book stand in the room.

56. One German grammar found on the shelf of book stand in the room.

57. Bombay Motor Driver (official of the Taxi drivers' Union of Bombay) found on the shelf of book stand in the room.

58. Extracts referring to India found on the shelf of book stand in the room.

59. Basis on the revolutionary movement in the colonies and semi colonies. Extracts referring to India.

60. One type written letter in precis stuck together on a paper at Hamburg 18th December 1928 found on the shelf of the book stand in the room.

61. Workers' and peasants' party (In Urdu) found on the shelf in the book stand in the room.

62. One German newspaper found on the shelf of book stand in the room.

63. Bombay Flying Club Limited dated 20. 8. 1928 found on the book stand in the room.

64. do. do. do. do.

65. Motor Industry Workers' Union, found on the shelf of book stand in the room.

66. do. do. do. do.

67. The Workers' & Peasants Party, Bombay, found on the shelf of book stand in the room.

68. One letter written in English, dated 26. 11. 28 with envelope found on the shelf of book stand in the room. The letter is addressed to R. Amir Haider Khan.

69. to 77. Nine pages written in English on "The Civil War in Bombay" with letter paper pad, found on the shelf of book stand in the room.

78. Motor Industry Workers' Union constitution and rules found in a leather suit case kept on the shelf of book stand in the room.

79. Photograph of Amir Haider found in a leather suit case on the shelf of book stand in the room.

80. do. do. do. do.

81. do. do. do. do.

82. do. do. do. do.

83. One visiting card "J. C. Humphrey" found in a letter suit case on the shelf of book stand in the room.

84. Supreme Court first judicial District New York State

No. 4335 dated 13. 3. 1923 found in the leather suit case in the shelf of book stand in the room.

85. Certificate of lost or destroyed license L 40483 dated 12. 3. 1923, New York, found in the leather suit case on the shelf of book stand in the room.

86. National Aeronautic Association of U. S. A., D/- ✓
February 26, 1925 in the name of Amir H. Khan found in the leather suit case on the shelf of book stand.

87. National Aeronautic Association of U. S. A. "Notice to F. A. I. Pilots, found in the leather suit case on the shelf of book stand in the room.

88. One cover in the name of Amir H. Khan and stamped with 2 cents U. S. A. stamp, found in the leather suit case on the shelf of book stand in the room.

89. Bulletin 55 Important notice to all Pilots with cover with 2 two cents U. S. A. stamps on it and addressed to Amir H. Khan found in the leather suit case on the shelf of book.

90. A cover stamped with 2 cents stamp of U. S. A. from New York State Department of Labour 446 Bramson building Buffalo N. Y. The cover contained two notices of award Nos. 8409356 and 8411318 in the name of Amir Mohamed. It also contains 2 receipts in the name of Amir Mohamed from Pennsylvania Rail Road company, found in the leather suit case on the shelf.

91. National Aeronautic Association of U. S. A. in the name of Amir Haidar Khan found in the leather suit case on the shelf of book stand in the room.

92. do. do. do. do. do.

93. A newspaper in Urdu (News of the Labour) found in the leather suit case on the shelf of book stand in the room.

94. Seamen's Union (In Urdu) found in the leather suit case on the shelf of book stand in the room.

95. One air mail cover in the name of Mr. Amir Haider Khan from Sanfrancisco California. The air mail cover contains a letter to Haider Khan, dated 12. 2. 1928 from 'B'. Found in the coat pocket of Amir Haider, the coat was hanging on the wall of the room.

96. One visiting card "H. Lester Hutchinson, Journalist found in the coat pocket of Amir Hyder, the coat was hanging on the wall of the room.

97. The Kranti official organ of the Workers' and Peasants' Party, Bombay, found in the coat pocket of Amir Haider the coat was hanging on the wall of the room.

98. Motor Industry Workers' Union, found in the coat pocket of Amir Haider. The coat was hanging on the wall of the room.

99. One pocket book containing English poems, found in the coat pocket of Amir Haider. The coat was hanging on the wall.

100. A paper containing the address of Miss Chattopadhyay and the address of Suhasini Nambier, found in the coat pocket of Amir Haider, the coat was hanging on the wall of the room.

101. The Bombay Girni Kamgar Union 'Voucher.'

102. One certificate of National Aeronatic Association in the name of Amir Haider with his photo attached on it, found in the coat pocket of Amir Haider. The coat was hanging on the wall of the room.

103. One letter written in English by one Alli Jan found in a basket in the room.

104. One letter written in Urdu by Abdul Karim found in a basket in the room and with an envelope.

105. One Indian Seamen's Union, Bombay, found in a basket in the room.

106. do. do. do. do.

107. do. do. do. do.

108. Photograph of one Ibrahim found on the wall inside the room.

109. One World map found on the wall of the room.

The above punchnama was read over to us and it contains a full and true account of what we have witnessed during the search. The search completed at 10-5 A. M. on 20. 3. 29. Amir Haider was present at the time of the search.

Before me.

(1) Sd. HASANALLY

Mulji Khoja

(Sd) S. N. SAVANT.

(Signed in Gujrati)

20. 3. 29.

Sub-Inspector of police,

Palton Road Police Station.

(2) P. S. SALDANHA.

Bombay.

20. 3. 29.

20. 3. 29.

P. 1058.

A book entitled "Communism" by R. Palme Dutt
(Vide Exh. P. 719).

P. 1059.

A booklet entitled "Manifesto of the communist Party" by
Karl Marx Frederick Engels. (2 copies).

P. 1060.

A pamphlet in English entitled. "Political Resolution."
(11 Copies).
(Vide Exh. P. 162)

P. 1061.

A pamphlet in English entitled "Presidential Address of the
First All India, Workers' & Peasants' Party Conference" delivered by
Comrade Sohan Singh Josh at Calcutta on December 21, 1928.
(8 Copies).

(Vide Exh. P. 596)

P. 1062.

A booklet in English entitled "The Trade Union Movement." (8 copies).

(Vide Exh. P. 51).

P. 1063.

A booklet in English entitled "Workers' & Peasants' Party Principles & Policy" (3 Copies).

(Vide Exh. P. 161)

P. 1064.

A Typewritten Copy of "Thesis on the Revolutionary Movement in the colonies & Semi-Colonies."

(Vide Exh. P. 334)

P. 1065.

Hamburg the 18th December 1928. ✓

Dear Comrade;

This is to notify you, that I have received your mail and forwarded the same at once to the persons to whom addressed. I was glad to hear some good news from you and also your friend from the ship was very interesting. He seems to be a very able man to carry on our work. If you could get about 2 or 3 good men more for our communication work, so that we have 3 or 4 men on the run between

Bombay and Hamburg, would be quite sufficient for the time being. This would give us about one ship every month. You always must take good care, that your men get and remember their right number when they are taking up connexions with us. *Then on this depends the safety of our work. Therefore let the number be M 27 for your men from the ship, and for our men here in Hamburg M 71.* You can instruct your men, that when they call at the International Seamens Club, to ask for Carl or Walter or Julius. Any of those comrades introduced to your men, what know the number M 71 and ask the man of the ship for their number (M27) are our comrades to whom they can deliver the mail etc, and speak to freely. Furthermore it might arise a situation that our International Club and Communist Party become illegal institutions, being closed through police activities, so that your men will find nobody there. Under these circumstances will have to send your men to a private address, where they will meet some of us. For the time being, I will give you Julius' address for this purpose, so whenever the situation should become acute, that there will be no stoppage in our work of communication work. Julius address is: *Julius Trosin, Hamburg, St. Pauli, Heinestrasse 10.1 flat.*

This address is near ferry 7 and very convenient for your men, also near Singh's bar. Heinestrasse lays right across from Hotel Stein. You yourself must remember this street and can give an explanation to your men. You and your men must be very careful with this address. Also send me a good address from Bombay, which I can use sometimes for direct mails to you. This is necessary, there might things happen, which needs our attention and knowing about it immediately. As a Hamburg address for direct mail, you can use the old one where you lived, this one is very safe. With the next mail, let me know your opinion on this matter or send me definite instructions. About a week ago I visited Singh in the Bernhard street, the Indian who runs the saloon there. I had to go there for some reasons. On this occasion I had a long talk with Singh on India. etc. and he inquired, whether you people arrived safe in India. I pretended, not to know any thing about this matter. I got interested and asked him many questions. So I found out that Singh knows everything and that it was him, who managed the business between Gubda and the Serrains. Singh told me, that at any time I have someone to go to India, he wants to help me. I was at first kind of surprised to hear this. Gubda should have told me all about this business, because it is of great importance for us. For instance, while your comrades were on your trip to India and you would have been arrested somewhere, we had a line to trace where the traitors could be. On the other hand, if this Singh is halfways good, (which I no doub.) we could have used him long ago for getting comrades to India, who laid a long time in England and had no possibility of getting there. My opinion is, that we leave Singh outside our communication work altogether, that

your men are not telling anything to Singh about it. But if we should need Singh, make use of him, then he is a business man and wants to make some money. Write to me about this matter. Now Comrade. *It is Carl who is writing this letter to you, and I will sign all correspondence under the name of Robert Smith.* In the matter of sending men to school to Moscow, I cannot do anything. You must write all your needs and wants straight to the EKKI. They are the people to decide on this matter. As I was told, are there at present a

P. 1066.

A Writing pad containing manuscript notes in English on "The civil war in Bombay." These notes have reference to the Bombay Riots.

P. 1067.

Four copies of the bust form photographs of Amir Haider, who is also known by the name of Amir Khan as will appear from an endorsement on the back of one of the photos.

P. 1067. (E)

This is an envelope containing the photos mentioned in P. 1067 above. On this envelope, in place of address, is written with pencil "To Ali Mardan."

1152
P. 1068.

GODFREY L. CABOT
President

R. W. SCHROEDER
Vice-President

B. F. CASTLE
Treasurer

HOWARD F. WEHRLE
Secretary

National Aeronautic Association of U.S.A.

INCORPORATED

THE REPRESENTATIVE IN U. S. A. OF THE
FEDERATION AERONAUTIQUE INTERNATIONALE

CABLE ADDRESS
NATAER

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
1623 H. STREET N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

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H. C. Callihan	La.
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R. E. Lee Cone	Ga.
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Gould Dietz	Neb.
W. F. Dillingham	T.H. Calif.
Donald Douglas	N. H.
Wm. B. Farnsworth	Ill.
R.R. Ferguson	Mich.
Carl B. Fritsche	R. I.
Edson F. Gallaudet	Me.
W.H. Gannett	Conn.
L. S. Horner	Miss.
Samuel Kaye, Jr.	D. C.
Geo. W. Lewis	Tex.
W. F. Loog	Pa.
C. T. Ludington	N. M.
Edwin B. Lyon	O.
Glenn L. Martin	Kan.
A. E. Merriam	Colo.
Carl S. Milliken	Wash.
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W. H. Oldfather	N. J.
C. G. Peterson	Fla.
Herbert E. Ross	Ark.
F. G. Smart, Jr.	N. Y.
Elmer A. Sperry	S. C.
Elliott Springs	Mass.
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K. H. Woolson	
GOVERNORS-AT-LARGE	
Porter H. Adams	Mass.
Howard E. Coffin	Mich.
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F. B. Patterson	O.
Carl H. Wolfley	Mo.

February 26,

19 25.

Mr. Amir H. Khan,
Y.M.C.A.
Olean, New York.

Dear Mr. Khan:

We have received your application for the 1925 annual license. Since your application has been filled out and certified in accordance with regulations, we are pleased to enclose herewith your 1925 annual license No. 64.

Very truly yours,

NATIONAL AERONAUTIC ASSOCIATION

By:—

Carl F. Schory
Secretary
Contest Committee

CFS:R

Enc:

1925 Annual License No. 64

"AMERICA FIRST IN THE AIR"

P. 1069.

GODFREY L. CABOT
President

CARL H. WOLFLEY
Vice President

B. F. CASTLE
Treasurer

DONALD DOUGALS
Secretary

National Aeronautic Association of U.S.A.

INCORPORATED

THE REPRESENTATIVE IN U. S. A. OF THE
FEDERATION AERONAUTIQUE INTERNATIONALE

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NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
1623 H. STREET N. W.
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R. E. Lee Cone	Ga.
Ralph W. Cram	Ja.
Gould Dietz	Neb.
W. F. Dillingham	T. H.
Donald Douglas	Calif.
Walker S. Estes	Okla.
R. R. Ferguson	Ill.
Robert S. Fogg	N. H.
Carl B. Fritsche	Mich.
Edson F. Gallaudet	R. I.
W. H. Gannett	Me.
Arthur F. Hall	Ind.
Thomas F. Hamilton	Wis.
L. S. Horner	Conn.
Samuel Kaye, Jr.	Miss.
Geo W. Lewis	D. C.
W. F. Long	Tex.
C. T. Ludington	Pa.
Edwin B. Lyon	N. M.
John C. McDonald	Vt.
T. A. Marquam	Alaska
Glenn L. Martin	O.
James A. Meisner	Ala.
A. E. Merriam	Kans.
Carl S. Milliken	Colo.
W. H. Oldfather	P. R.
C. G. Peterson	N. J.
Herbert E. Ross	Fla.
F. G. Smart, Jr.	Ark.
Elmer A. Sperry	N. Y.
Elliott Springs	S. C.
E. P. Warner	Mass.
H. J. Wilson	W. Va.

GOVERNORS-AT-LARGE
Porter H. Adams, Mass.
Howard E. Coffin, Mich.
Wm. P. MacCrocken, Jr., Ill.
Howard F. Wehrle, Mo.
Moorhead Wright, Ark.

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C. T. Ludington
Glenn I. Martin
M. A. Mitscher
C. G. Peterson
B. Russell Shaw
E. P. Warner
C. F. Schory, secretary

NOTICE TO F.A.I. PILOTS.

Enclosed you will find a list of World and American Records as of December 1st, 1925.

We are also enclosing an application blank for your 1926 aviator's license. If you are in training, kindly fill in and return to us with a photo of yourself (approximately 2½" x 2½") will immediately issue your 1926 license

At this time we wish to call your attention to the advisability of obtaining your license as soon as possible so you will not meet with any delay and inconvenience in entering air meets sanctioned by the N.A.A.

With the advent of commercial airlines, we predict that licensed pilots will be more in demand than at any other period in the development of aviation. If we can assist you in any way whatsoever, do not hesitate to call on us for it is our pleasure to co-operate to the fullest extent.

Very truly yours,

NATIONAL AERONAUTIC ASSOCIATION

G. F. Schory,

By:

C. F. Schory,

Secretary

Contest Committee

Enclosures.

"AMERICA FIRST IN THE AIR"

P. 1070.

An enveloph addressed to

Mr. Amir H. Khan,

Y. M. C. A.

OLEAN, NEW YORK.

The envelope appears to have been sent by National
Aeronautic Association of U. S. A.

1623 H Street N. W.

Washington, D. C.

The postal stamp is dated 25th February 1925.

P. 1071.

GODFREY L. CABOT
President

CARL H. WOLFLEY
Vice-President

B. F. CASTLE
Treasurer

DONALD DOUGALS
Secretary

National Aeronautic Association of U.S.A.

INCORPORATED

THE REPRESENTATIVE IN U.S.A. OF THE
FEDERATION AERONAUTIQUE INTERNATIONALE

CABLE ADDRESS
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NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
1623 H. STREET N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

GOVERNORS

A. H. Amlck, Jr.	MD.
Harry Block	MO.
A. H. Bowman	Ky.
Frank H. Whitteh	La
Ed. T. Chapman, Jr.	Minn.
R.E. Lee Cone	Ga.
Ralph W. Cram	Ia.
Gould Dietz	Neb.
W.F. Dillingham	T.H.
Donald Douglas	Calif.
Walker S. Estes	Okla.
R.R. Ferguson	Ill.
Robert S. Fogg	N. H.
Carl B. Fritsche	Mich.
Edson F. Gallaudet	R. I.
W.H. Gannett	Me
Arthur F. Hall	Ind
Thomas F. Hamilton	Wis.
L. S. Horner	Conn.
Samuel Kaye, Jr.	Miss.
Geo. W. Lewis	D. C.
W. F. Long	Tex.
C. T. Ludington	Pa.
Edwin B. Lyon	N. M.
John C. McDonald	Vt.
T. A. Marquam	Alaska
Glenn L. Martin	O
James A. Meisner	Ala
A. E. Merriam	Kans.
Carl S. Milliken	Colo.
W. H. Oldfather	P. R.
C. G. Peterson	N. J.
Herbert E. Ross	Fla.
F. G. Smart, Jr.	Ark.
Elmer A. Sperry	N. Y.
Elliott Springs	S. C.
E. P. Warner	Mass.
H. J. Wilson	W. Va.

GOVERNORS-AT-LARGE

Porter H. Adams	Mass.
Howard E. Coffin	Mich.
Wm. P. MacCreeken, Jr.	Ill
Howard F. Wehrle	Mo
Montehead Wright	Ark.

CONTEST COMMITTEE

Orrville Wright, Chairman
Geo. W. Lewis, vice-chairman
Porter H. Adams
W. E. Gilmore
P. P. Lahm
C. T. Ludington
Glenn L. Martin
M. A. Mitscher
C. G. Peterson
B. Russell Shaw
E. P. Warner
C. F. Schory, secretary

January 1, 1926.

Mr. Amir Haidar Khan,
155 Sibley Street,
Detroit, Michigan.

My dear Mr. Khan:—

In reply to your note of December 30th, please be advised that your membership card was mailed Thursday, December 30th and should be in your possession now. If by chance the letter has become lost in the mails, we shall be pleased to issue a duplicate.

Very truly yours,

CONTEST COMMITTEE

By:— C. F. Schory

C. F. Schory

Secretary

CFS: R

"AMERICA FIRST IN THE AIR"

P. 1072.

GOPFREY L. CABOT
President

CARL H. WOLFLEY
Vice-President

E. F. CASTLE
Treasurer

DONALD DOUGLAS
Secretary

National Aeronautic Association of U.S.A.

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THE REPRESENTATIVE IN U.S.A. OF THE
FEDERATION AERONAUTIQUE INTERNATIONALE

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Ralph W. Cram	Ia.
Gould Dietz	Neb.
W. F. Dillingham	T.H.
Donald Douglas	Calif.
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R.R. Ferguson	Ill.
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Carl B. Fritsche	Mich.
Edson F. Gallaudet	R. I.
W.H. Gannett	Me.
Arthur F. Hall	Ind.
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L. S. Horner	Conn.
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T. A. Marquam	Alaska
Glenn L. Martin	O.
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W. H. Oldfather	P. R.
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Howard F. Wehrle Mo.
Moorhead Wright Ark.

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F. P. Lahm
C. T. Ludington
Glenn L. Martin
M. A. Mitscher
C. G. Peterson
B. Russell Shaw
E. P. Warner
C. F. Schory, secretary

December 24,
1925

Mr. Amir Haidar Khan,
155 Sibley Street,
Detroit, Michigan.

My dear Mr. Khan:—

We have received your application for 1926 aviator license and since it is in compliance with F.A.I. regulations, we are pleased to enclose herewith 1926 license No. 115.

Very truly yours,

CONTEST COMMITTEE

By:— C. F. Schory

Secretary

CFS: R

"AMERICA FIRST IN THE AIR"

P. 1073.

An issue of "Payam-i-Mazdoor" in Urdu dated 3-3-29.

P. 1074.

A letter 12-2-28 from 'B' to Haidar Khan. The contents of the letter are as follows—

12-2-29.

Dear Haidar Khan,

I received as a pleasant surprise your letter dated 10-10-28.

I stayed in Antwerp 2 weeks and since then have been wandering all over the world. What I told you before still holds good with me and soon I hope to fullfill the second half of my wish very soon. I hope you understand what that means. If even you do not understand I hope to not keep in suspense long for a explanation.

Kindly be careful with yourself.

yours truly,

B.

On the back of the letter the following further matter is seen:—

About the two men you wrote I have been able to find out nothing.

My address is

Des Raj

P: O. Box 1738

San Fransisco.

But please do not write till my next letter or otherwise.

P. 1074. (E)

An envelope of the Air Mail service, having the following address on it:—

To Mr. Amir Haidar Khan,
c/o Mohamad and Alam Tailor
Barty Road near J. J. Hospital
Port of Bombay, India.

P. 1075.

A visiting card having on one side the printed address of H. Lester Hutchinson, Journalist, and on the other side the address of Miss Peggie Welby, 99 Gloucester Place, London, W. I. written in ink.

P. 1076.

A note sheet on the top of which the following statement is printed:—

The Kranti.

Official organ of the Workers' and peasants' Party, Bombay.
Shetye Building, Parel, Bombay.

P. 1077.

A diary book containing certain entries. Certain entries on the last page have been rubbed off.

P. 1078.

A piece of pink coloured note paper having on it the following addresses :—

Miss Chattopadhyay

5 Napier Road.

Fort (New High School for Girls).

Near whiteaway and Laidlaw and Co.,

Off Hornby Road.

Suhasini Nambiar

Shree Manik Anand Nivas

1st Road

Khar.

P. 1079.

An Aviator's Certificate No. 6121 D/- 7-8-1925 granted to Amir Haider Khan by the National Aeronautic Association of U. S. A. Inc.

P. 1080.

A book in English entitled "British Imperialism in East Africa". Prepared by the Labour Research Department. 162 Buckingham Palace Road, London S. W. I. 1926.

P. 1081.

Rejected.

BOMBAY FLYING CLUB LIMITED.

SECRETARY :-
E. A. ALTON.

SECRETARY'S TEL. NO. 23507.
OFFICE " " 26511.

REGISTERED OFFICE:
**E. D. SASSOON BUILDING,
DOUGALL ROAD, BALLARD ESTATE.**

BOMBAY, 20TH AUGUST 1928.

PROSPECTUS.

There are four classes of Members of the Club, namely, Patron Members, Founder Members, Flying Members and ordinary Members. The subscriptions for a Flying Member are Rs. 50/- as entrance fee, Rs. 20/- as annual subscription and Rs. 8/- as monthly subscription. The monthly subscription will for the time being kept in abeyance till the Club is in a working order. The enrolment of Ordinary members will be put off till the Committee is in a position to give them some advantage.

A Flying Member is entitled to the full privileges of the Club in all its activities. This does not necessarily mean that a Flying Member has to fly. The object for a Flying Member is to assist in the promotion of Flying in India.

The liability of the Members is limited to the extent of Rs. 20/- each.

A provisional charge of Rs. 25/- per hour has been arrived at for Flying Instruction. The amount of time taken in learning to fly depends on the individual capacity and natural aptitude. The history of Flying has shown that men have learnt to fly without any instructions with machines hardly capable of leaving the ground. Since then, great strides have been made in teaching others to fly. Some men learnt to fly in a very few hours during the last war. In the last few years, quite a number of ladies have learnt to fly and one of the outstanding examples is of Lady Heath who recently flew to South Africa and back. In the recent King's Cup Race, Miss Spooner won the trophy for amateur pilots, flying Moth Machine.

The principal objects for which the Club is established are:-

- (1) To teach the art and science of Aeronautics and all matters connected therewith to all Indians and other nationalities resident in India who are desirous of studying the profession.
- (2) To encourage Flying in all its various aspects.
- (3) To assist and render all possible help to Firms or individuals interested in Commercial Aviation.

- (4) To provide facilities for and Flying for the housing of the Aircraft and for such purpose to provide for, erect, repair and maintain buildings, erections, hangars, sheds, anchorages, slipways, moorings, workshops, machinery, plant, instruments and apparatus, boats, launches and other things necessary or incidental to Flying.
- (5) To provide, lay out, prepare, and maintain aerodromes, landing grounds (permanent and temporary), Golf links tennis courts, football hockey and cricket grounds, pleasure grounds, grounds for recreation and sports, gardens, and conveniences for bathing.
- (6) Generally to do all such other things as may be incidental or conducive to the attainment of the above objects or any of them and all particular things laid down in the Memorandum.

For further particulars and membership forms, please apply to the Secretary at the abovementioned address.

E. A. ALTON,

Secretary

P. 1082.

A note Sheet having at its Top the following printed matter:—

The Workers' and Peasants' Party, Bombay.

17 Dwarkadas Mansions,
Sandhurst Road
Bombay, 4.

P. 1083.

Search Warrant issued under sec. 96 C. P. C. by the District Magistrate, Meerut, for searching the office of "Payame Majdoor", Aspar Buildings, 1st Floor, Poibavdi, Parel, Bombay.

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

PANCHNAMA.

We, the undersigned members of the Panch, i. e. (1) Mardacail Asher Saygoon, 33 years, Jew, Photographer, Asper Building, 1st floor, (2) Ahmed Moosa, 25 years, Memon Mohammadan shopkeeper, Asper Building, ground floor, Parel, were present at the time of the execution of search warrant dated 15/3/29, by District Magistrate, Meerut, to witness the search of the place of Payame Majdoor Office, at Asper Building, 1st floor, Poibavdi, Parel, at 6-15 a. m. on 20/3/29.

The above search was conducted by S. I. Deshpande of the Bhoiwoda P. 8. in our presence and the following articles were taken possession of by the officer conducting the search:-

Name of the articles found.	Place where found.
(1) 161 copies of Payame Majdoor, dated 17-3-29	On sitting bench.
(2) 130 copies of Payame Majdoor dated 10-3-29.	— do —
(3) 6 copies of Payame Majdoor, dated 3-3-29.	— do. —
(4) 2 correspondence files, containing numbers of addresses, a post card, a letter re. Kirti, and 2 other letters, one in Urdu and one in English.	Found on writing table.
(5) 3 miscellaneous papers.	

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/- P. R. Deshpande.
S. I. of Police,
Bhoiwoda P. S.
"E" Dn. Bombay.
20/3/29.

Signature of Panch.
1. Sd/- M.A. Saygoon.
2. Sd/- Ahmed Moosa.
(Signed in vernacular).

P. 1085.

Telegram: "Kirti"

Telephone: "714"

"K I R T I"

THE ONLY LABOUR ORGAN IN URDU.

The best Medium
for
Advertisements.

Commands
Widest
Circulation.
Amritsar 7th March 1929.
(India).

Ref. No.....

Dear Comrade Usmani,

Your chit to hand, we have received no other letter than this. We hope you will be faring quite well, and trust you will come out successful in your new venture. Kindly send us two copies of your weekly, one to my address and one to the address of the Editor Kirti.

I am arranging to send you the back issues of Urdu Kirti. I think you might have read about the arrest of the editor and the search of our office.

The man you mention is our man, kindly get him any job, if you can. Kindly keep up correspondence with us occasionally and contribute now and then to our paper

Wishing you God-speed.

Yours fraternally

Sohan Singh

Workers' & Peasants' Party

Punjab.

P. 1086.

A file containing typed addresses for use in the despatch of "Payam-i-Mazdoor" Among the addresses are those of M.A. Majid, P. C. Joshi, & the Editor, "Ganavani."

P. 1087.

Transcription of shorthand notes submitted by sub Inspector Mangal Singh Tiwari of the U. P. C. I. D., of the speech delivered by Abdul Majid of Lahore on 13-10-28 at the Kisan & Mazdoor conference, Meerut.

The resolution which Abdul Majid Seconded at the Conference is as under:—

“This Conference, while expressing its heartfelt sympathy with the political prisoners, appreciates their work & condemns severely the treatment meted out to them by Government.”

(The speech being in Urdu will be printed separately).

P. 1088.

Transcription in *Urdu* submitted by S. I Mangal Singh Tiwari of the U.P.C.I.D., of the resolution moved by M.A. Majid at the Kisan & Mazdoor Sabha (Conference) Meerut, on 15-10-28.

This resolution was seconded by ch. Dharamvir Singh, M. L. C.
(This will be printed separately):

P. 1089.

A leaflet in *Hindi* giving the resolutions proposed at the Majdoor Kisan Conference held at Meerut.

P. 1090.

Transcription in Urdu of the shorthand notes, submitted by Sub Inspector Mangal Singh Tiwari of the U. P. C. I. D. of the speech delivered by Sohan Singh Josh on 15-10-28 at the Kisan & Majdoor Conference, Meerut.

(Will be printed separately).

P. 1091.

Transcriptions in *Urdu* of the shorthand notes submitted by S. I. Mangal Singh Tiwari of the U. P. C. I. D. of the speech delivered by Muzaffar Ahmad on 15-10-28 at the Kisan & Mazdoor Conference, Meerut.

(Will be printed separately).

P. 1092. T. *P. 1092. T.*

Transcriptions in *Urdu* of the shorthand notes submitted by S. I. Mangal Singh Tiwari of the U. P. C. I. D. of the resolution moved & speech delivered by Professor Dharamvir Singh on 14-10-28 at the Political Conference, Meerut.

(Will be printed separately)

P. 1093.

Report submitted by S. I. Mangal Singh Tiwari of the U. P. C. I. D. of the speech delivered in Hindi by Comrade S. H. Jhabwalla at the Labour Conference at Jhansi on 28-10-28.

(Will be printed separately).

P. 1094.

A copy of the hand written mottos that were hung up in the Pandal of the Bundelkhand Kisan and Mazdoor Conference, Jhansi.

(Will be Printed Separately).

P. 1095.

Mangal Singh Tiwari of the U.P.C.I.D. in his diary of the 10th. January 1929 mentions the following:—

In today's Mail I intercepted two envelopes addressed to P. C. Joshi, 34 Holland Hall, Allahabad, from Dr. Biswanath Mukerji L. M. & S. President of the U. P. Workers' and Peasants' Party, Gorakhpur, & from K. G. Sharma, Editor of the Kranti-Kari Jhansi. The text of the letter given below:—

The U. P. Workers' & Peasants' Party.

From

Dr. Biswanath Mukerjee L. M. & S.

To

P. C. Joshi esqr. M. A.

General Secretary of the U. P. Peasants' & Workers' Party.

Dear Joshi,

I was in due receipt of your two postcards. Sorry could not reply to them owing to ill health. Perhaps you know that I could not attend the Trade Union Congress as well as the National Congress owing to the same reasons. However I would like to start work in the Province. Please chalk out a programme of work & send it to me. Have you got the letter perhaps printed? As regards the collections we shall do it during our tour. I would like to see you at Allahabad. Will you kindly let me know when I could do it. Hoping you are all-right.

Yours in true comradeship,

Sd/-Biswanath Mukerjee.

President.

Gorakhpur.

9-1-29.

(Note:—This was a typed letter & bore the post mark of Ali Nagar Gorakhpur, 9 Jan. 1929.)

(2). Translation of the Hindi letter.

My dear Brother,

You did not send me any matter. Please try to do so very quickly. Please try to increase the number of the subscribers of the Kranti-Kari & to get articles for it from outside. Send me the charges for printing the forms.

Yours

Sd/. Krishan, Gopal Sharma.

Editor Kranti-kari.

(3) P. C. Joshi also received the paper Krantikari dated Jhansi 5 th. January 1929.

The letters were duly returned.

P. 1096.

Address: " GANAVANI "Calcutta.

Workers' and peasants' party of India

2/1, European asylum lane, Calcutta.

BENGAL PROVINCIAL BRANCH.

Organs:

GANAVANI"

(Bengali weekly)

March 2, 1929.

Comrade P. C. Joshi, M. A.

34, Holland Hall, Allahabad.

Dear Comrade,

I regret much that I have not replied your letter in time. The reason is that I had a mind to go to Lahore to attend the Naujawan Bharat Sabha Conference, and wanted to stop at

Allahabad for a day on my way. But unfortunately I could not go there for pecuniary reasons. I have yet mind to go to the Punjab via Allahabad, I hope you will not leave the place in these days. The meeting of the N. E.C. of the party is due in this month.

Comrade Nimbkar has not issued any circular to that effect as yet.

I have asked my Book Seller to send to you some books per V. P. P. I do not remember what books were sent to you before. If there is any book twice sent please dispose it up there. I think, it will not be very difficult for you. Books, are not at all available now-a-days. Some important books you must procure by sending money in advance to Europe. This I have spoken to you many a time. At least Lenin's works you must procure in this way. For three volumes now published in English you are to pay about Rs. 43/-. One of the volumes is some times available in Calcutta, the price of which is 10s. 6d. Other two volumes are very costly and have never been stocked here. If you are desirous of getting these books please send me money which I shall forward. You will get books within 40 days.

Please let me know at once if you are willing to get "The Memoirs of a Revolutionist" by Vera Figner. Price is Rs. 9/-

Your booklet on "Organisation" is being prepared by Comrade Spratt. It will be ready in a few days' time. What have you done with the former one? If the bill is passed in to an Act there is no chance of detaining Comrade Sparrt in India. You must have read in papers about Aftab's case. He has been ordered to execute a bond of Rs. 250/- in default to undergo a simple imprisonment for one year under section 108 of C. P. C. He has signed the bond to prefer an appeal in the High Court.

I am not getting "Karntikari" what is about Dr. Mukherji? Does he mean to do any thing? Ramshran Vidyarthi and Hindu Mitra Press had refused V. P. P. The former must pay Rs. 1/-/7. While the latter is to pay As 5-. Please write to them.

As regards the letter to the "League of Independence for India" I myself have neither read it nor have I got any copy of it with me. I believe, you have gone through the other things very carefully. Very recently a "Bengal peasants' League" has been formed. It will be following the party programme. Comrade Hemanta Kumar Sarkar has become the Secretary of it.

With greetings,

Yours fraternally,

Sd. Muzaffar Ahmad.

P. 1097.

2/1, European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

The 9th March, 1929.

Dear Comrade Joshi,

Your letter of no date was to hand in time. I have asked the Book Company Ltd to send you the Memoirs and one book of Engels. They have got two or three volumes only on Soviet Russia at present. These may be sent for your friend. You sent to me a list of books with your previous letter. All most all books of that list are not in the stock now. I asked Comrade Aftab Ali to prepare a list of Basak's books which he has not done as yet. He went home day before yesterday and will come back by the 20th instant. R. Palme Dutt's Modern India is not now available in Calcutta.

I have not decided as yet when I shall go to the Punjab. I shall go via Your place certainly if I go at all. I am financially bankrupt now-a-days.

I have gone through Com. Lasmi Narayn's letter forwarded by you.

I am sorry that I cannot support his explanation at all. Is this a fact that the masses of the people have still got a blind faith in the bourgeois programme and policy? Does he mean the congress programme and policy by his terms? If so, where is the link between the masses and the congress programme? Our duty is to rouse the masses consciousness at any cost. But, Comrade Lasmi wants to keep them in darkness. What I have understood from his letter is that he together with his group is not at all ready to incur the displeasure of the reactionary petty bourgeois patriots. When he spoke of the masses he had in his mind this reactionary people who will play the part of counter revolutionaries at the time of revolution. Really speaking the outlook which these comrades has got is very dangerous for the future of the Party. I wish I could regularly read "Krantikari." I do not understand why the different offices of the Party should not be supplied with copies of the paper.

Bauria strike was over long ago. The people who were in charge of it have scandaiously failed in their duties. Otherwise a strong Union would have come into existence even after the collapse of the strike. "Bengal Peasants League" has been formed with Comrade Hemanta Kumar Sarkar as president. The resolutions and the constitution of it has been drafted and published in Bengali. They will be translated into English very soon. I shall send you and the "Krantikari" the copies of these as soon as that is

done. The league referred to above will now be recognised as an affiliated body of the Party. But, in time it will become the peasants' section of the Party.

Now about the proposed magazine in English. I have already read in a Punjab paper an announcement published by Comrades Sohan Singh and Bhag Singh that they are going to start an English Monthly under the name of "THE INDIAN WORKER." They have not made any correspondence with us regarding that. A central theoretical organ in English is more than necessary now. But, I am not sure about the success of sporadic attempts like these. It is better that we shall discuss this matter in the meeting of the N. E. C. of the Party. I have got my own point of view about the All-India English Organ. I believe, I had a discussion with you about this matter.

To speak the truth I would rather prefer a Hindi ideological monthly to be published at Allahabad. This kind of paper will come to a great assistance to those comrades who can-not digest things through the medium of English. Their numbers are not very few. I do not know whether you and your friend will like the idea.

Why do you bother so much about what Mr. Jawahirlal Nehru had told you? What more one can expect from a timid reformist like him? In his speech he is very bold about the using of phraseology regarding the masses of the people, but he is not bold enough to go and work amongst them. We really care little for this kind of reformists. A worse propaganda was made against Lenin and his comrades by the people of this school of thought. How do you expect that we shall be saved by them? I know that in Calcutta he saw certain people who are nothing at all.

They belonged to the terrorist school once. But now nobody knows what they are. These people came forward to join Mr. Jawahirlal's League. He might have formulated his idea of Indian Communists from these people.

In Berlin he does not know all communists. Nor all communists there know the communists in India. One or two men there might have told him some thing for personal reasons. Two belonging to this group have already been expelled from the Party. In any case we can-not bother our heads for what Jawahirlal might be thinking about us.

With greetings.

Yours fraternally,

Sd. Muzaffar Ahmad.

P. 1098.

Letter Dated 15-3-29, from R. S. Nimbkar, General Secretary Workers' & Peasants' Party of India, to Comrade P. C. Joshi, esqr. 34 Holland Hall, Allahabad., which runs as follows:—

THE WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' PARTY OF INDIA.

17 Dwarkadas Mansions.

Sandhurst Road.

Bombay 4.

15-3-29.

Dear Comrade,

No letter or any report from you since we left. Please send me a report of our activities in your province, since the meeting. We had decided to call the National Executive at Amritsar during Easter. Friends in Bombay object to it due to some urgent calls here i. e. G.I. P. annual meeting, textile & situation. I therefore propose to call it during the middle of April. Please to let me know your group's consent to this. More when I get from you a reply. I am leaving for Ajmer today & will return in a week.

Yours comradely,

Sd/ R. S. Nimbkar.

General Secretary.

P. 1099.

Letter dated 15-3-29 from S. V. Ghate, Bombay, to Puran Chand Joshi esqr, M. A., 34 Holland Hall, Allahabad. The contents of the letter are as follows:—

THE PEASANTS' AND WORKERS' PARTY ? BOMBAY.

17 Dwarkadas Mansions.

Sandhurst Road.

Bombay No. 4

Dear comrade Joshi,

Please excuse me for my delay which is really inexcusable.

Owing to heavy work here I have not been able to send you the books I promised to send. I am telling the Editor of Spark to send you a copy of the 1st. number. As far as I know it is being send to the Editor of Krantikari, which is not send to our party any way. Com. Nimbkar is calling the N. E. C. in April, because we have an important meeting of the G. I. P. Union. We cannot leave earlier. You may be getting notice of the same. He is leaving for Aimer to-night. With greetings,

Yours Fraternally,

15-3-29.

Sd/. S. V. Ghate.

(NOTE:—In his diary of the 17th. March 1929, S. L. Mangalsingh Tiwari of the U. P. C. I. D. makes the following remark below the above letter:—

As usual in today's Foreign Mail too, Joshi received some typed pages, articles on the under-mentioned subjects by London Agents:—

- (1) Imperialism on the brain.
- (2) The Hunger March End.
- (3) Watching a newspaper.
- (4) A Conference of the League against Imperialism with resolution.

P. 1100.

2/1, European Asylum Lane,

Calcutta,

17.3. 1929,

Dear Comrade Joshi,

I hope, you must have received my last letter. Being in troubles I am writing to you again. Are you in a position to spare Rs. 50/- at this moment? If so, please do send the amount at once by T. M. O. I require this amount for Com. Spratt. He has not been getting his allowance for the last few months. We are exhausted on account of the last conference. This is why I am asking for your assistance in this respect. The money will be repaid as soon as Com. Spratt gets his allowance.

With greetings,
Your fraternally,
Sd. Muzaffar Ahmad.

P. 1101.

Transcriptions in *Urdu* submitted by S. I. Mangal Singh Tiwari of the U. P. C. I. D. of the Presidential address delivered by Lala Kedar Nath Sehgal of Lahore on 13-10-28 at the Kisan & Mazdoor Conference, Meerut.

(Will be printed separately).

P. 1102.

Warrant of arrest issued by the District Magistrate, Meerut, for the arrest of Keshav Nilkant Joglekar, 168 Fanaswadi BOMBAY, under Sec. 121-A of the I.P.C.

Executed by the Bombay City Police on 25-3-29.

P. 1103.

Search warrant issued under 96 C. P. C. by the District Magistrate, Meerut, for searching the house of Keshav Nilkant Joglekar, 161 Fanaswadi, Bombay.

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

P. 1104.

Punchnama.

Bombay.
dated 20/3/29.

We the undersigned, members of the Punch Viz:—

1. Nivrattinath Hari Bhivandkar age 25 caste Kshatriya occupation short hand typist in the office of the "Allied advertising Association" Fort residing at 11 Koli's wadi, Fanaswadi Bombay.

2. Devisingh Arjunsingh age 30 years occupation manager of Jalamsing's estate Fanaswadi residing at Jalamsing's wadi Fanaswadi Bombay.

were present at the time of execution of search warrant dated 15th March 1929 issued by the Dist Magistrate Meerut. (U. P.) to witness the search of the house of Keshav Nilkant Joglekar 168 Fanaswadi (Ground floor), at 6 a. m. on the 20th March 1929.

The place which had the board of "K. N. Joglekar B. A. " was found locked and was broken open in our presence.

The search was conducted by Inspector N. P. Wagle of Princess St Police station and sub Inspector B. S. Kothare of the C. I. D. S. B. Bombay in our presence and the following articles were taken possession of by Inspr. Wagle:—

1. One wooden board bearing the name "K. N. Joglekar B. A." which was hung outside above the door.
2. A book post addressed to K. N. Joglekar containing "G. I. P. Railwaymen's Union Memorandum" dated 17th March 1929. found inside the door.
3. A closed envelope with postal stamp addressed in Marathi as "Keshav Nilkant Joglekar Socialist". etc.
4. One book (minute book) of the G. I. P. Ry: men's Union with list of the members of the managing committee at the beginning and minutes of meetings from 8-6-27 to 12-8-28. pages marked in pencil from 1 to 109 found in the left hand drawer of the writing table in the front room.

Other articles found along with No. 4 in the left drawer of the table.

5. 8 loose sheets written in marathi and pinned together containing serial Nos of items 1 to 24
6. Two printed hand bills in English and Vernaculars issued by the G. I. P. Ry men's Union over the signature of S.H. Jhabwalla, one of them bearing notes in copying pencil of events from 1917 to 1924.
7. Type scripts of a book entitled "The Indian war of Independence of 1857" by an Indian Nationalist containing the front page with title of the book and pages 1 to 82 and loose cover. (two copies).

8. One marathi printed leaflet "serial No. 4 dated 6-2-20. beginning with (Om Shri Swatantrya Devi Prasann) and ending with (Bande Materam) in Hindi Script.

9. Printed Marathi leaflet serial No. 7 beginning with (Shri Swatantrya Devi Prasann Swakartavya) and ending with (Bande Materam) in Hindi Script.

10. Sixteen Marathi printed leaflets beginning with (Om Shri Shankara) and ending-Bande Materam in Hindi.

*Found in the middle drawer of the writing table
in the front room.*

11. One piece of paper containing the address "Lux Hotel, Moscow".

12. 3 typed loose sheets on the subject "Washington Conference" Signed K. N. Joglekar.

13. One letter signed by V. H. Joshi dated 10/12/24.

14. One typed letter dated Lahore 23/1/25. signed by S.D. Hasan to the Editor "Socialist" and cover with postal stamp.

15. One printed pamphlet issued by the Congress Radical Party entitled "Bulletin No. 1" by S. A. Dange.

✓ 16. A manuscript letter addressed to R. Bhawan dated 18/7/25 containing 32 loose sheets some pages being eaten by white ants or mouse.

17. Manuscript letter dated 31-7-25 written to R. Bhavan by K. N. Joglekar in loose papers numbering 21.

18. Typed copy (Draft) of Indenture of Mortgage possession of "The Labour Press" pages 17.

19. Issues of "Kranti" marathi paper dated 23-2-29, 3-3-29, and 9-3-29.

20. Pamphlet printed in English issued by "The National Research and Publicity Institute".

21. Programme of Trade Union work (a typed loose sheet of paper).

22. Typed matter headed "Events of the last Riots" in loose sheets 1 to 6 containing accounts of Bombay riots of February last.

23. Marathi leaflet dated 15-2-29 signed by A.A. Alve and S. A. Dange under the Heading "Lal Bavta" (red flag).

24. Letter dated 11-2-28 from S. S. Mirajkar to "comrade K. N. Joglekar".

25. Letter from Jhansi written by L. N. Kadam dated 16-2-28 to K. N. Joglekar re: copy of Soviet year Book with postal envelope.

26. Four manuscript loose sheets.

27. An English printed Pamphlet entitled "Two World Currents communism-Fascism by Mr. Bhupendra Nath Datt.

Found in the right hand drawer of the writing table in the front Room.

28. Two issues of the English paper "The Spark" dated 10-2-29 and 17-2-29.

Found on the writing table in front room

29. An English magazine called "The Far Eastern Monthly No. 19 Shanghai China.

30. Letter dated 8-12-1928 from Jawaharlal Nehru to K. N. Joglekar.

31. A piece of paper written in English with the sentence "Campaign for 100% organization,

32. Pamphlet in English "G. I. P. Ry. men's Union" Constitution Rules and Regulations.

33. Typed letter in two sheets dated 1-2-29 by the Chairman Reception committee Rohtak (Punjab) Provincial Worker's and Peasant's Conference).

34. Telegram from Rustomji Ginwala sent from Calcutta dated 16-5-28.

35. 2 typed copies entitled "Thesis on the Revolutionary movement in the colonies and semi Colonies—Extracts referring to India" 10 pages each (two copies).

36. Letter written by P. Spratt dated Calcutta 20-10-28 with cover addressed as the "organizing Secretary G. I. P. Ry Union".

37. Letter written by P. Spratt from Calcutta dated 1-11-28 to organizing Secy. G. I. P. Ry. Union with postal cover.

38. Issue of "The masses of India" for January 1928.

39. Letter from P. Spratt from E. I. R. Union Asansol to K. N. Joglekar (no date).

40. Pamphlet "The worker's and Peasant's Party of Bengal" in English.

41. The Labour Monthly Vol: 10 (5) for May 1928 published in London.

42. "The Socialist Standard" No. 292 Vol- 25 December 1928, London.

43. Printed pamphlet 'The Trade Union Movement' December 1928.

44. Pamphlet 'Political Resolution' published by D. K. Goswami Calcutta.

45. Presidential Address delivered by Comrade Sohan Singh Josh (Calcutta December 21 of 1928),

46. Pencil written draft beginning with the sentence "with a view to prepare the Nation for the overthrow of British imperialism" and ending with 'an effective general strike and non payment of taxes at the call of the country' in 5 pages.

47. Printed book 'The I. W. W. Its history, sturcture and methods' Printed in Chicago.

48. Copy of the Urdu Magazine 'Kirti' of Amritsar for December 1928.

Found in a wooden box (open) in the front room.

49. Typed three sheets being 'An open letter to Indian Trade Unionist by S. Saklatwala signed Shapurji Saklatwala.

50. An envelope addressed to the Secretary Bombay Press workers containing typed matter as follows:—

(a) 7 pages pinned together with heading 'A reply to Josh, by Shapurji Saklatwala.

(b) A typed letter (Roneo-typed) with draft resolution from Shapurji Saklatwala.

51. A typed letter dated 21-12-1927 from D. R. Thengdi to Joglekar with postal envelope.

52. One Photo with frame (of K. N. Joglekar) found on the wall in the front room.

53. One block (with wood) engraved with a man's figure and procession with flag found in a wall-cupboard in the front room.

Found on a wooden rack near the front door passage.

54. Manuscript loose papers containing the life of "Karl Marx with an outer page and 3 sheets of written matter.

55. A manuscript letter written in English dated 6-12-24 from Cawnpore and signed by S. Satyabhakta and two sheets (torn

in 4 pieces) addressed to the Editor Socialist dated 5-12-24 also signed by S. Satyabhakta with a registered postal envelope.

56. Proof of Printed matter in English with the heading "British Imperialism in China" containing 13 pages.

57. A letter dated 7-3-24. written by Ranchoddas Lotwala to Balubhai with an introduction to Joglekar.

58. A typed letter dated 2nd April 1927 written from Rewari by the General Secretary the Communist Party of India enclosing the draft constitution of the communist Party of India in 3 pages.

59. A manuscript letter dated 25-10-23 written from Allahabad to Mr. Dange by one Sachindra N. Sanyal.

60. Letter dated 1-2-27 written from Harrison Road, Calcutta to Joglekar by one Muzaffar Ahmed, with the postal envelope.

61. A letter as above dated 2-2-27 signed Muzaffar with its postal envelope.

62. A printed Appeal for funds by the Indian Communist Defence Committee with Photographs of the 4 accused in the Cawnpur Bolshevik Conspiracy case—2 pages.

63. Draft article in-manuscript under the heading " Russian Revolution and its lesson" in 18 pages.

64. One sheet containing printed addresses of different men and institutions in India and outside.

65. A group Photograph of 4 men including Parvate and Joglekar.

66. 7 issues of " The International Press Correspondence dates respectively 7-11-22, 12-1-25, 30-3-25, 9-4-25, (Nos. 29 and 30) 10-4-25 and 7-6-28 and also one more issue No 62 with front page torn.

67. Three issues of " The Masses of India " for March, April and November 1927.

68. One issue of "The Vanguard" of 15-11-24,

69. One issue of "The Socialist" for April 1923.

70. Three issues of " The Soviet Union Monthly " for April, May and August 1926.

71. Eight issues of " Russian Information and Review " dated 7-6-24, 5-7-24, 12-7-24, 19-7-24, 26-7-24, 9-8-24, 30-8-24 and 20-9-24 respectively.

72. Three issues of "The Worker's Weekly" dated 25-7-24 1-8-24, 20-8-26 respectively.

73. Two issues of "The worker's Weekly" dated 19-9-24 and 3-10-24,

74. Eleven issues of "The Worker" dated 4-10-24, (four copies) 18-10-24 (3 copies) 3-2-28, 24-2-28 23-3-28 and 21-12-28. respectively.

75. One copy of the American Labour Monthly for August 1924.

76. Book "The coming of Socialism".

77. One copy "The Communist International".

78. One copy "the" Reds "in Congress",

Found in the Almira kept in the middle passage.

79. A leaflet "May Day 1927" S. Saklatwala's message".

80. A letter from Madras dated 23-8-26 written to Joglekar by J. P. Begerhotta (typed pages 3).

81. A typed letter addressed to T. V. Parvate. by Sayed Ahmed from Lucknow dated 31-10-25 together with "A thesis on the Attitude of Communism towards Religion" and a letter addressed to the Secretary Indian Communist party dated, Lucknow 31-10-25 (in all typed pages ten in number).

82. A letter dated 9-6-27 written by P. Spratt to Joglekar to pay Rs. 250/- to Ghate. with envelope.

83. A typed letter addressed to Mr. Begarhatta, Ajmere and signed by M. N. Roy of Novr 6, enclosing, a copy of M.N. Roy's letter to the Editor Socialist Bombay with heading "Should the Communist Party be a secret Society?" portions of the letters being eaten by white ants.

84. A typed letter dated 11-2-27 from "Comrade Well-wisher" addressed to Joglekar giving certain information of police prosecution impending.

85. Typed copy of a letter signed by S. V. Ghate dated 5-2-26 addressed to V. H. Joshi and sent to Joglekar.

86. Letter dated 9-1-26 from Muzaffar Ahmed of Calcutta and addressed to K. N. Joglekar with a postal envelope.

87. A letter from the Business Manager "Ruth stout" of New York city of 29-6-26 advising a copy of "New Masses" with Postal envelope addressed to "The Socialist 434 Thakurdwar Bombay.

88. A letter dated Calcutta 2-4-26 from Muzaffar Ahmed to Joglekar in 2 pages and postal envelope.

89. Typed matter with heading " An appeal to Indian Patriots and Champions of oppressed" 4 pages.

90. Typed copy of declaration form to be signed by the member of the communist party of India. 2 pages.

91. Telegram from Saklatwala to Joglekar dated 25-2-27.

92. Telegram from Singaravelu to Joglekar dated 25-2-27

93. Letter from D. To J. dated 26-11-26 enclosing copies of draft resolutions in all 7 pages.

94. Issue of "Worker's Dread naught" dated June 14th 1924.

95. "Constitution of the Communist Party of India in 6 typed pages.

96. Printed copy of " The manifesto of the Communist Party of India ".

97. Printed copy of "The future programme of the Indian Communist Party (2 pages).

98. "The Indian Communist and M. N. Roy" (on 1 sheet printed matter.)

99. Hand written article on " Communism and the pope " in 9 pages.

100. 2 Issues of "Trade Unions Information" dated 16-1-28 and 4-10-27.

101. Pamphlet containing Resolutions passed at the session of the General Council held in Brussels in December 27.

102. Report on the International Congress at Brussels in February 1927 submitted by Jawaharlal Nehru to the All India Congress Committee.

103. A pamphlet " And now for power " (Battersea dated 16-10-26)

104. Book " Peshawar to Moscow " by Shaukat Usmani.

105. 4 issues of "The Plebs" for December 1924, February 25, February 26 and June 26.

106. 6 copies of "Socialist Review" for Sepr 24, February 1925, July 25, August 1925, December 1; 25, February 1926

107. 6 copies of the Communist International No 7 (2 copies) No. 10, 12, 17, and 20.

108. 14 copies of "Labour monthly" for August 1924, Octr. 24, (2 copies) April 25 May 25, Octr 25, January 26, February 26, March 26, June 26, July 26, January 27, February 27, and January 1928.

109. 9 copies of "The Communist Review" for January and February 1923, February 25 (2 copies), August 1925, Sepr 25 (2 copies), Octr 1926, Nov: 26, and January 1, 27.

110. 2 copies of pamphlet "India and China " by an Internationalist.

111. A printed book in English 96 pages with the heading " The Labour Movement in China ".

112. A copy of " The History of The I. W. W. " published in Chicago.

113. Pamphlet called "The land Revolution in Russia".

114. Pamphlet called " The International Trade Union Review ". for April, June 1924.

115. A pamphlet called "Reform or Revolution" by Daniel De Lean.

116. Book " Bolshevism-The dream and the fact ".

117. Pamphlet known as " Communist Industrial policy " issued by the communist party of Great Britain.

118. Pamphlet entitled " G. Zinoviev's Report of the Executive Committee of the Communist International for 1920-21 "

119. Book called "The Future of Indian Politics by M.N. Roy

120. Book called "India in Transition" by M. N. Roy.

121. Book "India's problem and its solution" by M.N. Roy

122. Book "What do we want" by M. N. Roy.

123. " An open letter to the RT. Hon. J. R. Mac Donald " by M. N. Roy.

124. Book " The militant proleteriat "by Austin Lewis.

125. Book on "Theory and Practice of Leninism" by I. Stalin

126. Book called " Creative Revolution " by Eden and Cedar Paul.

127. Two cloth embroidered badges with red ribbons and safety pins One steel trunk locked found in the bed room was broken open in our presence but nothing suspicious was found there in.

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

Concluded at

5/30/P. M. on 20/3/29.

Before me

Sd. N. P. Wagle

Inspector of police

Princess Street

Police station

Sd. Illegible 20/3.29.

Special Br. C. I. D.

1. Sd. Nivirithinath

Hari Bhivandker

2. Sd. Devi Singh

Arjun Singh Thakur

P. 1105.

PUNCHNAMA.

We, the undersigned members of the Punch

(1) Waman Bhaskar Pradhan, age 34 years, caste Somawanshiy Keshatriya Pathare, occupation Electrical Engineer, residence Shankarshet Rd. Grant Road, Piroz Lodge, I floor Bombay.

(2) Yellappa Lakhani Shetti, 25 years, caste Shetti, occupation tea shopkeeper, residence Picket Road, were present at the Princess Street Police Station to witness the search of the person of Keshav Nilkant Joglekar who is in custody of the Police at the Police Station at 8-40 P. M. on 25-3-29.

The above search was conducted by Inspector N. P. Wagle of the Princess St. Police Station in our presence and the following articles were taken possession of by the officer conducting the search:-

Found in the search of his coat :-

(1) One printed English pamphlet regarding rules and regulations of G. I. P. Railwaymen's Union, Parel.

(2) Cash Rs. 12/- in two G. C. Notes of Rs. 5/- each and Rs. 2/- in silver.

(3) 3 used Railway tickets viz :-

(a) V. T. to Masjid dated 14-3-29.

(b) Reay Road to Bombay, dated 15-3-29.

(c) Bhopal to Lasalgaon, dated 21-3-29.

(4) One bunch containing 4 keys and one broken part of a key.

(5) 1 pencil, 1 nib, and -/3/3 three annas three pies.

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

Concluded 8-45 P. M. 25-3-29.

Before me.

1. Sd/- W. B. Pradhan.

Sd/- N. P. Wagle.

25-3-29.

Inspector of Police,

2. Sd/- Yellappa Lakhan Shetti.

Princess St., Bombay.

(In Vernacular.)

P. 1106.

A piece of paper on which the following address is written in ink :-

Lux Hotel

Moscow.

P. 1107.

Three issues of the Marathi Newspaper "Kranti" of the following dates :-

23-2-29

3-3-29

9-3-29

Programme of Trade Union Work.

I. *Left Wing in the trade unions.*

1. Left wing and communist fractions in the trade unions to be organised.
2. ditto in the A. I. Trade Union Congress.
3. Fighting programmes should be drawn up for the separate trade unions and their adoption secured and made known to the members. These should be on the lines of the Minority Movement programmes in the British T. U. movement. Such programmes especially required for the Railways, iron and steel, mining and shipping industries.
4. Constant fight necessary against the reformist leadership in the trade unions and T. U. C.
5. Fight necessary against the reformist labour party proposals.

II. *Organisation Work.*

1. The trade union organisations need to be set on a proper basis, e. g. arrangement for membership cards, proper collection of dues, financial records, and for regular meetings of members to elect officers etc. As far as possible trade union officers should be actual workers. The rank and file should take a much greater part in running the trade unions.
2. Movement in direction of industrial unionism should be encouraged and extended.
3. The majority of the workers are still unorganised. Energetic efforts are necessary to secure extension of trade unionism among the unorganised workers.

III. *Education Work.*

1. Organisation of circles and classes on trade unionism and trade union work.
2. In the chief industrial centres or for the chief industries there should be a proletarian paper for workers, consisting largely of pictures and cartoons, with the simplest possible propaganda.
3. Trade union meetings and demonstrations should be organised on a much wider scale.
4. Distribution of trade union and socialist literature to trade union officers and trade union workers.

IV. *Miscellaneous.*

1. Closer contact with the British Workers' Welfare League of India is required. Trade unions and branches should send reports of strikes, grievances, etc. for propaganda in Britain.

2. Closer contact with the British Minority Movement.

3. Special attention should be paid to the organisation of seaman and contact with the Indian Seaman's Union, London.

4. Watch should be kept for opportunities for employment for British workers which could be utilised by British comrades.

P. 1109.

For the emancipation of the enslaved & enslaved masses.

Workers of the World Unite.

THE WORKERS' & PEASANTS' PARTY.

Executive committee.

President: Comrade D. R. Thengdi.

Secretary: , , , S. S. Mirajkar. 17 Dwarkadas Mansions.

E. C. Members: S. H. Jhabwalla. G I R G A O N .

, , , S. V. Ghate. Bombay 11th. February 1929.

Group Leaders.

Congress : Com. Lalji Pendse.

Trade Union : , , K. N. Joglekar.

Education : , , R. S. Nimbkar.

Peasants : , , J. B. Patel.

To

Comrade, K. N. Joglekar

Trade Union group Leader, W. P. Party, Bombay.

Dear Comrade,

Please send me a brief report of the work done by your group during the year 1927-28 within a week

I am preparing the report for annual General Meeting and your report shall form part of the same.

With greetings,

Yours Fraternally,

Sd/- S. S. Mirajkar.

Secretary.

P. 1110.

Jhansi,

16-2-28.

My dear Mr. Joglekar,

Some days ago when on enquiry regarding the list of books on Communism Mr. Mirajkar had sent me an address of an England firm but I could get no response from the firm though 15 passed. Will you please therefore have the said and other list from local firms of your place and send to me. Please also arrange to have one copy of "Soviet Year Book" from your local firms as suggested by Mr. Mirajkar. I could not get it from Thacker & Co. Bombay & Calcutta.

Hoping to be excused for the trouble,

(Yours Sincerely

(Sd/ L. N. Kadam.

N. B.

(Municipal councillor.

Please let me know if any of you are going to attend the Laborers' and Farmers' conference going to be held at Lahore on 23rd instant under the Presidentship of Diwan Chaman Lal.

P. 1110. E.

A Postal Envelope in which the letter (P. 1110) was sent. The address on the envelope is as follows :-

Mr. K. N. Joglekar.

17 Dwarkadas Mansions.

Sandhurst Road.

4 Bombay.

Postal Seal.

16 Feb. 1929.

4 Manuscript quarto sheets supposed to be in the handwriting of Spratt, containing the following matter.

This Congress of the Youth of Bombay Presidency declares that the most pressing need of the mass of the people is the attainment of freedom from the exploitation of imperialism, which brings in its train universal poverty, political subjection, and the retardation of social development. This can be achieved only by a mass movement of the people directed against the evils from which they suffer.

The highest duty of the Youth of India is therefore to assist by all possible means the formation, organisation and training of a mass movement of the exploited working class, peasantry and middle classes.

For this purpose this Congress recommends that Youth organisation should (i) make a study of the working conditions particularly of young workers in the various industries of Bombay (2) assist the organisation of trade unions and specially among young workers (3) study the conditions of peasant life by group visit to villages. (4) study the question of unemployment, of working and middle classes in towns. (5) organise associations of Youth of all classes for mutual education and joint work.

This Congress, standing for complete democracy in the national life, demands the extension of the franchise to all above the age of 18. (21 in pencil)

Resolutions on League against Imperialism.

Boycott of Simon Commission.

This Congress calls upon all students in the Bombay Presidency to answer the call of the Indian National Congress for mass demonstrations on the landing of the Simon Commission, and the resolution of the Working Committee for Universal Hartal on that day. The conference recommends that students work in cooperation with the National Volunteers and the C. C.'s and in particular should conduct propaganda for the closing of all shops. Pickets should be formed under the auspices of the National Volunteers for the purpose of securing that the hartal of students is complete.

This Conference declares that the supreme task of India is the combatting and overthrow of Imperialism. For this end it is desirable to seek the cooperation of other subject peoples and subject classes also struggling against the universal enemy. This conference therefore decides to affiliate as a full member of the league against Imperialism formed to coordinate the efforts of the oppressed of all countries in the world against the greatest menace to civilisation and progress.

P. 1112.

2 issues of the Newspapers "spark" in English of the following dates:—

10-2-29.

17-2-29.

P. 1113.

Issue No. 19 of "the Far Eastern Monthly" magazine, for the month of September, issued by the Pan Pacific Union secretariat, Shanghai.

P. 1114.

A note paper containing the following matter probably in Bradley's handwriting:—

"Endorse demands of A. I. R. S. F. Militant policy to be adopted. Time limit to be given to Rly. Board.

Campaign for 100% organisation".

P. 1115.

Two typed copies of the following article:—

"Thesis on the revolutionary movement in the Colonies and Semi colonies".

(Vide Exh. P. 334).

P. III6.

2/1 European Asylum Lane,

Calcutta.

20-10-28.

Dear comrade,

Thanks for your letter and enclosure, and for the copies of the "Railway man". The resolutions are particularly welcome. But I am afraid I have to bother you again. What I asked for was (1) a copy of the demand formulated by the G. I. P. Union at its conference held a few month ago. and (2) "The Railwayman" Nos. 1 and 5 to 10 inclusive. (English Editions, if any). (What you actually sent were (1) the resolution proposed by the Party for the A. I. T. U. C. and (2) About 7 or 8 copies of the "Railwayman" No. 12.) Please ask one of your clerks to send them.

But what I wanted to write about was another matter. Can you conveniently attend the Workers' and Peasants' Conference to be held at Jhansi on the 27th-29th of this month? The President (or Chairman) is the President of that Branch of your Union. I should like you to be there if you can, so that you can assist the newly-formed U. P. Workers' and Peasants' Party, and in particular see its Secretary, one P. C. Joshi of Allahabad, who will be there. Jhansi will of course form a branch of the U. P. Party. I hope you will be able to go.

Yours,

P. Spratt.

P. III6. (E)

Superscription on the envelope.

The Organising Secretary

G. I. P. Railwayman's Union

Shetye Building,

Poibaodi-Parel

Bombay.

P. 1117.

A copy of the English Magazine "The Masses of India".
for the month of January 1928.

P. 1118.

East Indian Ry. Union

HEAD OFFICE:—KHAGUAL-PATNA

From	To
E.I.R Union Asansol.	Mr. K.N. Joglekar B.A. 168 Fanaswadi, Bombay 4.

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 super-fluous. 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 the 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 or anything. I understood 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,

P. Spratt.

P. 1119

A small pamphlet in English entitled "The Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal".

CONSTITUTION.

1928.

Central office

2—1 European Asylum Lane,

CALCUTTA.

(Vide Exh. P. 514).

P. 1120.

An issue of "the Labour Monthly" in English for the month of May 1928.

P. 1121.

A small pamphlet in English entitled, "The Trade Union movement".

Thesis presented to the First All India Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference.

DECEMBER 1928.

(Vide Exh. P. 51)

P. 1122.

A pamphlet in English entitled.

"POLITICAL RESOLUTION".

(Vide Exh. P. 162).

P. 1123.

A pamphlet in English containing the "Presidential Address of the First All India Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference"

delivered by

Comrade Sohan Singh Josh

at CALCUTTA

on 21st December 1928.

(Vide Exh. P. 596)

P. 1124.

The following article was found written in pencil on an Indian National Congress, 1928, Subjects committee, note-paper:—

With a view to prepare the nation for the overthrow of British Imperialism and realising that this overthrow can only be achieved by the organised forces of workers and peasants by resort to direct action or general strike on the country wide scale effecting the complete withdrawal of help from the Government, the Congress shall undertake the organisation of workers and peasants of the land through an economic programme calculated to improve their immediate every day life conditions.

And shall in the course of this organisation, pay special attention to the cultivation of organised spirit of resistance to the forces of exploitation in general and the British Imperialist force in particular.

The Congress shall further pay particular attention to the organisation of all transport workers with this set purpose.

The details of this programme shall be fixed by the working committee on the basis of demands of

- (1) 8 hours day
- (2) Minimum living wage
- (3) Old age health and unemployment Insurance. and C. so as to create attachment between the toiling masses and the Congress and ensure an effective general strike and non-payment of taxes at the call of the country.

P. 1125.

An Issue of Urdu "Kirti" for the month of December 1928.

THE ALL-INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS AND THE WORKERS' WELFARE

League of India and the International Federation of Trade unions

An open letter to Indian Trade Unionists

By S. SAKLATVALA.

The Trade Union movements in every country have an important part to play in the political emancipation of the people for the simple reason that the workers organised in trade unions represent the mass more effectively than purely political organisations actually disassociated from the trade union workers.

Unfortunately, however, certain ambitious persons have come to the front in most countries who carry on their own designs in the name of the trade unions and who use the trade unions to further their political ambitions, which are found to be based upon a reactionary policy that ignores the freedom and independence of the masses and that placates the opinions and self-interests of imperialist rulers.

It is this unfortunate phase of public life within the labour movement that recently staggered India with the spectacle of the bulk of the Labour Party in the House of Commons and of the political wing of the leadership of the trade union movement deserting the cause of the freedom of India. The same labour movement, through their emissaries have been trying their utmost for the last two or three years to wreck or obstruct the position of the Workers' Welfare League of India in England, which aims at keeping close contact between the masses of rank and file workers in Great Britain and their fellow workers in India. The powerful Labour bureaucrats have introduced amongst the Indian political figureheads who have associated themselves with the Indian trade union movement the tactics of seeking for brotherhood between the representatives of the imperialistically minded bureaucracy and of weakening the contact between the rank and file of the class-conscious workers in India and Great Britain.

One step in the operation of these tactics in India was witnessed when the All-India T. U. C. met at Cawnpore in November 1927. In the face of the elected representatives of the various trade unions assembled there, an open attack on the Workers' Welfare League of India was artfully and diplomatically shelved aside, the question of the League being left out on the customary excuse of want of time. The matter was then handled by the Executive Council of the A. I. T. U. C., in which the Indian political figureheads, under pressure from the British Labour

leaders, openly betrayed their secret love for reactionary imperialist bodies like the British Trades Union Congress and the I. F. T. U. both of which are strongly in favour of the Simon Commission and of British domination in India, China and other parts of the world. The political figureheads in the Executive Council by unjustifiable and unconstitutional exploitation of their position decided in the name of the Indian trade union workers to sever their connection with the Workers' Welfare League.

In the first place, this move is an act which is neither honest nor constitutional. The association between the A. I. T. U. C. and the Workers & Welfare League of India has been a natural one from the very inception of the A. I. T. U. C. and has always been maintained by an open vote carried in the full open session of the Indian Trade Union Congress.

In the second place, it is too patent that the last session of the A. I. T. U. C. was artfully prevented from discussing the position, especially in view of the fact of the presence of the fraternal delegate from the Workers' Welfare League of India. At the utmost what can be constitutionally justified is that until the next session of the All-India Trade Union Congress, the position should remain in *statue quo* as established by the Delhi session of the Congress in March 1927, the last meeting at which the subject was considered. Instead of this, a few persons by means of a political intrigue in favour of imperialism and imperialist organisations have tried to make the A. I. T. U. C. believe that connection with the Workers Welfare League of India should be severed because half a dozen political intriguers by wire pulling from British political labour bureaucrats have come to that conclusion.

Let me hope and pray that every genuine and bona fide trade union branch in the country will oppose itself to this intrigue and will not countenance this most unnatural and un-Indian step of allowing an Indian body in London to be ousted on the demand of a bureaucratic British apparatus, the imperialistic nature of which has been exposed to the world. Let me hope also that every self-respecting Indian trade union branch will openly repudiate any and every connection with the so-called International Federation of Trade Unions, which is a most treacherous body that has cynically opposed every measure that rank and file workers have taken in this country in support of the liberation and freedom of India and other conquered colonies.

The All-India National Congress at Madras resolved to affiliate to the International League against Imperialism and to vote a donation towards its cause, which was a natural and honourable step for Indian nationalists to take. This League is being attacked and fought against by all the traitors in the Labour Movement who

pretend to work for the masses but who are very anxious to perpetuate the system of slavery and exploitation at the disposal of their capitalist masters. Through their notorious organisation, the so-called Labour and Socialist International, they have issued a false and mendacious manifesto calling for the boycott of the League against imperialism, a manifesto which the advanced rank and file workers have not accepted in any country in Europe.

Curiously enough, Mr. Joshi and Mr. Chaman Lall, who are against the Simon Commission, have accepted this manifesto from those who are bitterly opposed to India's action in boycotting the Simon Commission, and have made the A.I.T.U. C. act under their instructions. They go further and seek to bring about the affiliation of the Indian trade unions, to the discredited International Federation of the Trade Unions, just as they also seek to abolish their natural and honest agency, the Workers Welfare League of India and hand over instead all work on behalf of Indian workers to the notorious bureaucratic committee of British labour leaders who gave to India the Bengal Ordinance and the Simon Commission and who have taken no action against the shooting of workers and the cruel political persecution of class fighters in India.

I appeal without hesitation to all my countrymen and women who take an active and sincere interest in the Indian trade union movement to rouse themselves against this trap laid by imperialist labour bureaucrats of Great Britain and India, into which ambitious and unprincipled politicians like Lajpat Rai, Chaman Lall and others have walked so easily. Such a trade union movement would be more of an obstacle than a help to the progress of the workers. I beg you to take my advice still after all your bitter experience and to pin your faith in the mass and rank and file of the people and not in those who vote for the Simon Commission one day and who the next day vote against the League that is formed to combat imperialism, and who advise the workers to entrust their country's honour to those very same bureaucratic leaders of Britain who have never missed any opportunity in joining in the oppression and exploitation of India whenever they had a chance.

I appeal to every trade union branch to pass their vote of confidence in the Workers Welfare League of India, to refuse to countenance any association with the so-called International Federation of Trade Unions and to demand that all further negotiations with British or European bodies be conducted through the Workers' Welfare League, and to take steps to remove from their committees men who would dangerously commit the masses of Indian workers to association with undesirable organisa-

tions by dodging an open discussion at the open session of the All-India Trade Union Congress for settlement of such important matters.

Yours fraternally,

SHAPURJI SAKLATVALA.

P. 1127.

WORKERS' WELFARE LEAGUE OF INDIA.

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

President.	Treasurer.	Secretary.	Indian Secretary.
Mr. K. S. Bhat.	Mr. K. Sheldrake	Mr. J. E. Potter-	Mr. S. Saklatvala
		Wilson.	M. P.

June 14th 1928.

To the Chairman, Secretary and members of the Committee.

Dear Comrades,

I beg to enclose herewith a copy of my public letter to Indian Trade Unionists for your special deliberation and decision.

I would really have not put you to so much trouble, had I not seen a grave danger approaching our country and the self-respect and rights of Indian workers in what was done in your name at Delhi last February.

Pray accept my sincere assurance that I am not struggling for the pride or rights of the Workers' Welfare League of India, but I am really fighting for the honour, the rights, and the freedom of poor mother India, which is in calamitous danger of being duped and allured by Labour Imperialists of Great Britain.

I also submit to you draft of a resolution which with necessary changes you may adopt, in order to take prompt and uniform action.

Yours very Fraternally,

SAPURJI SAKLATVALA.

Secretary Indian section, Workers' Welfare League of India.

COPY OF RESOLUTION.

" That this.....meeting of the..... protests against several resolutions passed at the Council meeting of the All-India Trade Union Congress, at Delhi on the 26th February, on the grounds that these resolutions being of vital importance to the Indian workers cannot be passed by the Council without the sanction of the full Congress meeting of the India Trade Unions.

The nature of these resolutions renders them inoperative unless they are also accepted by corresponding British or International organisations. We therefore repudiate them in their entirety.

We realise that if these resolutions are allowed to pass unnoticed there is a great danger that their consequences will be a dangerous weapon in the hands of our enemies, both inside and outside India.

We therefore emphatically declare these to be null and void until such time as the next All-India Trade Union Congress has had the opportunity to express its opinion upon them. We also desire to inform the General Council of the British Trade Union Congress that the resolution appointing them, and displacing the Workers' Welfare League of India, as the Agent of the All-India Trade Union Congress was passed at a meeting where only nine out of fifty-eight possible organisations were represented, and which attended by two representatives of the British Trade Union Congress, who went far beyond the ordinary etiquette expected from fraternal delegates, whilst there was none present to put the alternative point of view-

Realising that the British Trade Union Congress is growing evermore intent upon furthering the political programme of the Imperialist British Labour Party, and consequently ever less intent upon fighting the struggle of the workers either in India or in Britain, we repudiate the claim and pretention that they are a fit and proper body to act as our agents and refuse to adopt this unnatural and dishonest means of severing our long standing bond with the Workers' Welfare League of India.

Copies of the above resolution to be sent to the Indian Press. The British Labour press. The Secretary of the General Council of British Trades Unions, Smith Square, London, S. W. The Secretary, All-India Trade Union Congress, Bombay, and, The Secretary, Workers' Welfare League of India 162-A Buckingham Palace Road, S. W. I. London.

A REPLY TO JOSHI

BY

Sapurji Saklatvala.

ALL-INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS AND THE "NEW POLICY."

I am compelled to trouble my countrymen again on this all-important question. I have not lived in England in vain, and I have learned the deeper intrigues that go in Britain in the cause of imperialism.

Mr. Joshi's pompous letter defending his recent sale of India's freedom to the British Labour leaders will not succeed. I am too old a bird to be caught by such an ostentatious claim to honesty, to absence of wire-pulling and to purity of motives when "Labour leaders" are at work. British *Labour officials* are to-day exact equivalents of Government bureaucrats and India Office officials in the art of maintaining Britain's mighty power over weaker people. Their intrigues may gull Joshi or Chaman Lall, not me, and I must ask my countrymen to beware.

The entire proceedings at Delhi, of the A. I. T. U. Council, were nothing short of a tragic calamity for our poor oppressed country. Certain British Labour experts are known to have made a definite report, which has probably come within the knowledge of the Viceroy and leading British officials in India, that if the Right Wing officials of the Labour Party and Trade Union Congress of Great Britain are allowed to take in hand the Indian situation, they will soon put an end to all "dangerous revolutionary activity" in India, and make that country safe for British imperialism. The A. I. T. U. Council meeting in Delhi was the inauguration of this conspiracy carried out by innocent and simple minded persons who did not realise what they were doing.

I have always acknowledged Mr. Joshi's good points, but he is just that kind of a friend of his own country whom every enemy of his country can make good use of on account of his simplicity, accompanied by a weakness for flattery and ambition to be known as "Joshi the Good" by everybody but India. Without doubting Mr. Joshi's veracity, with my conviction of Mr. Joshi's simplicity, I decline to accept his version that the resolution about the Workers Welfare League of India was just overlooked at the last session of the A. I. T. U. Congress.

Early in 1927 I was in India; after my return for over three months I was impaired in health, and then from the end of August I was frequently travelling on the Continent. During this absence I had asked by Comrade C. P. Dutt to hold my portfolio of Indian

Secretaryship of the Workers' League, and to carefully watch over the developing attack of Labour Imperialists on this League. I was engrossed mostly with the Simon Commission fight. Comrade Dutt reported to me, when the Indian Trade Union Congress had actually commenced its work in Madras, that he had definite news that attempts were to be made to shelve the question of official recognition of the Workers' Welfare League of India by the A. I. T. U. Congress in order to make the way clear for the British T. U. C. Committee to take the Indian T. U. under its patronage (as in Trinidad, for instance.) I pointed out to Dutt that he made an error of judgment in not wiring out a caution to Messrs. Joshi, Ginwalla and Bharucha, as the danger of Labour imperialism and British T. U. : utocracy was of a far graver character in and for India than here or in any of the smaller colonies. There was definite prior knowledge in England that the A. I. T. U. Congress was going to "find no time" for the resolution, recognising the W. W. L. of India, which resolution, it itself, would not take more than two minutes of the Congress.

The A. I. T. U. Congress did not by any resolution, authorise the Council to consider, report on or much less to decide upon most important and far-reaching questions like an extraordinary kind of relationship with the British T. U. C., a break with a loyal and useful organisation specially created for safeguarding India's honour and interest, a dangerous courting with certain conference in England and Europe run by organisations which are rapidly proving themselves formidable enemies of all oppressed and conquered peoples, and who or now notoriously discovered to be subordinate allies of Imperialist rulers in the hope of securing a division in the loot. After arrogantly overthrowing the Workers' Welfare League of India, and submitting to the process of flattery and false hopes, Messrs. Joshi, Chaman Lall and Co., through simplicity and ignorance, have created a new "white man's burden" in the Labour world. They may bluff the Indian public into a belief that such actions of their Council were constitutional, and not wire-pulled by interested agents of pseudo-socialist labour imperialists but they cannot easily fool us in to such a belief with our clear knowledge of the every day life of Trade Union organisations in Europe. No. Trade Union Congress in the world will allow its Council to come to a binding decision on such matters without the Congress as a whole body discussing or endorsing same.

When the Congress in India had definitely passed resolutions year after year, recognising the Workers' Welfare League of India as their agents, Mr. Joshi and others had maintained direct relations with British organisations, by correspondence as well as during their visits to England. This policy of ignoring the "agents" was carried so far that several persons representing

Indian Labour had come to England and had frequently and continuously visited British Labour offices and seen British trade Union officials and studiously avoided coming near the Workers' Welfare League offices or members, in spite of every effort on the part of the League to establish such a contact. The League has for years been holding public meetings and delegate conferences under British rule. It is obvious that if such meetings should be addressed by Indians coming from India to attend Geneva and other Conferences, our work would gain considerable value. The British T.U.C. has never held a single conference of this character. The reasons for this attitude has been well known. First, the Indian office has always treated the Workers' Welfare League of India as a "dangerous red" organisation and allowed this opinion of theirs to be made known to those Indian delegates. Secondly the officials in the British Trade Union Congress office and two or three politicians who have always strutted about as "friends" of Indian's freedom, have cautioned their Indian visitors against this League. When a complaint of the extraordinary attitude of Indian delegates belonging to the Indian T. U. Movement, not coming near their official agents and finding all the time necessary for others was made to the head office in Bombay, Mr. Joshi invented and put forward this childish excuse that the resolutions that acknowledged the League as the agent contained the word "agents" and not the words "sole agents". Mr Joshi, a sensible educated person a responsible member of the Assembly, knew the broad facts that our League was the only body recognised as agents by a specific resolution and no other body was so appointed, and our complaint was not at all against any courtesy of communication with others, but against completely and deliberately ignoring us.

Now friend Joshi holds up the same silly sappy argument as an eye bandage to the Indian public in defence of the Delhi plot. Will the public ask Mr, Johsi as to where was the necessity of an unconstitutional resolution by the Executive Council at Delhi to break through the All India Congress resolution for previous years, when according to Mr. Joshi's own cunning argument the League in London was not the sole agent and the Indian Council was at liberty to communicate directly with anybody and everybody. Yet a further and more important question. When, for all these year the Workers Welfare League was not appointed "sole agents", where did the need arise to appoint the British T. U. C. as effectively sole agents, and not as additional agents? Is it another white man's monopoly?

We several Indians who have lived long in England, who have taken an active part in British Trade Union organisation, who are able to give their services to the British Labour Movement, who know the good points as well as the dangers of the British

movement patronising the Indian movement, and who for years devotedly worked for Indian Labour through the Workers Welfare League of India with those branches of the British Congress that gave proof of genuine interest in Indian Labour and did not mean to use it for their own imperialistic ends with that superiority complex so dear to the hearts of the Social Democrats who have now joined their fortunes with the conservative aristocrats all over Britain and Europe.

Let the Indian public find out the exact meaning of this Joshi-Purcell resolution, and judge for themselves how far even its contents are constitutional, honest and free from ulterior motives !

“Resolved that hereafter the General Council of the British Trade Union Congress should directly represent the All-India Trade Union Congress in Gt. Britain as its agents”

The E. C. of an Indian organisation resolves what a British organisation must do. They do not request, they merely order? One would expect that in any innocent & honest negotiations India may put forward a request and the British body may pass a resolution agreeing to accept or refuse the request. This is not an honest resolution this is a previously prepared plot, known beforehand to the General Council in England, and a scheme that would have the full blessing of the India Office. Any constitutional lawyer will agree with me that the above resolution is not correctly worded, and can have no effect until the General Council passes a corresponding resolution. The General Council will also do so in a hole-and-corner meeting against their constitutional powers, for no one in Gt. Britain has ever appointed the General Council to act as agents for any other Trade Union organisation other than the one in Gt. Britain.

Now for honesty? Chaman Lall and Joshi may understand all about the nature and quality (I gravely doubt they do) and functions of the General Council. But here you are proclaiming to the world that the *Indian Workers* have decided to add power to the General Council of Gt. Britain and to appoint them their agents. The Indian Workers can easily understand the structure and work of a body like the W. W. L. I. that is an organisation of Indians in England who are associated with the British Labour Movement, and who have formed a society with friendly British Workers to fight for equal economic and political rights for Indians as for British workers. I submit that not one per cent of Indian workers who are members of the A. I. T. U. Congress had any conception of the existence or nature of the General Council of Gt. Britain, and I make bold to assert that even if an effort was made to explain it, not one out of 10,000 Indian workers

would understand it, and I am sure that most of the members of the Indian T.U. Council who was passed the resolution knew mighty little about the General Council. To tell the world that the Indian workers have weighed up the merits of the General Council and installed it as their Guardian Angel in place of the W. W. L. I in London is not playing an honest game. Then what do you mean by one country's T.U. Congress appointing another country's T. U. Congress as its "agents"? What is at the bottom of this game? Does Joshi believe for a moment that the British T. U. C. will for a moment agree to appoint the Indian T. U. C. as their agents? The Imperialist Labourite will do no more such a thing than the London Chamber of Commerce would appoint the Indian Chamber of Bombay as their agents !

In modern life large Trade Union bodies require to communicate with one another. They require mutual assistance, frequent co-operation, and several times they want to cast votes in opposite directions on continuous matters. The British body is an old experienced body, the Indian would be a new one. The British leaders have often and often betrayed their imperialist temperament and political ambitions over conquered subjects. Negotiations between the two bodies can, therefore, be more safely conducted by some "agent" organisation in London which would be open for membership to Indians who are experienced in British Labour activities. That we can all understand, but what is the meaning of the British body, becoming agents? In future the British "agents" will act for an in the name of India in European Labour politics to suit their convenience, and secondly to use the Indian Labour movement for realisation of British Labour Imperialist ambitions. The Indian Labour movement will be used by British Labour movement not to expose the evils of British Imperialism but to plead for its continuation in the spirit of Miss Mayo and in the same manner in which Shiboleths like Hindu-Muslim disunity, Depressed classes, child-widows, etc., are used by British capitalists to continue their regime of oppression and illiteracy in India. The circle will be completed and the MacDonald-Birkenhead pact will be made successful. The Simon Commission will be able to collect "suitable evidence" that would convince the British proletariat. Mr. Hartshorn has already started a one-sided and idiotic campaign against Indian capitalists in particular and in favour of British employers in India. Mr. Purell, who is himself part and parcel of the most unscrupulous political organisation, viz. the Parliamentary Labour Party, indulges in sneers against Indian politicians baring, of course, Chaman Lal, Joshi and Lajpat Rai.

Here are men from India, friends Bakhale and Deoki Prasad Sinha, consorting for hours with British Labour Party and Trade Union leaders who have all supported the Simon Commission and have all upheld British Imperialism in Egypt and China and who

have unanimously re-elected Macdonald as their chief spokesman; Mr. Macdonald has been recently, publicly and rightly praised to the skies by Lord Birkenhead as a pillar of strength to the Tory Government in maintaining British rule over Egypt and India. These two friends and in fact all Indian Labour representatives who arrive here scrupulously avoid coming near the Workers' Welfare League of India, they will not perform their duty of addressing conferences of British workers on Indian workers' needs and demands against Imperialism and against the Imperialism and against the the Simon Commission. They do not come to help but they come to destroy the work that Indians permanently residing here, are doing against tremendous odds. They come to back up Labour Imperialists, who are now the avowed partners of the old Conservative and Liberal Imperialists, in grinding down Asia and Africa for the sport and elevation of their British masters. We have been struggling here for the last two months to extract from the Government the truth about the Lillooah Strike and the action of the military force, the findings of the District Magistrate and also the incidents of shootings during the Bombay Strike. Mr. Sinha, who is a lawyer, and supposed to be the Guardian of the East Indian Railway Workers, could have rendered valuable service to the Indian workers' cause by giving reliable facts at the conferences convened by the Workers' Welfare League, but this he flatly declined to do; he even declined to give an interview to the working class press, whilst he is ready to conduct private conversations with Mr. Hartshorn and other members of the Simon Commission. This is the significance of the innocent looking Delhi meeting. Indian representatives have to co-operate with Western workers, but they have to make demands on behalf of Indian workers, upon the British Trade Union officials. It is all nonsense to say that the British Trade Unions are non-political bodies. The British Labour Party which is now becoming politically responsible for India's woes, has roughly four and a half million (45 lakhs) of members of whom only half a lakh are political individuals and the other forty-four and a half lakhs are Trade Union affiliated members. It is therefore essential for the Indian Trade Union movement to have agents in England who can guide and advise from personal experience, their brethren in India, in their negotiations with their British T. U. officials. Even if the A. I. T. U. Congress desired to conduct direct negotiations, it is the height of absurdity and a ludicrous position to assert that the General Council of the British Trade Union Congress act as agents of the Indian Trade Union Congress, and it is a mockery of constitutional procedure to suggest that by a resolution passed by an Indian Committee in Delhi, and without any resolution of the British Trade Union Congress, such a bonafide agency is established? If it is, then it can only be by secret manoeuvring in England and by wire-pulling and influencing of weak-minded persons in India.

I ask the Indian public to see if I had twisted any facts, or whether Joshi and Chaman Lal have kept back important facts or have been themselves foolishly ignorant of them.

“The “agency” of the W. W. L. I. was a kind of a blood tie. The Workers' Welfare League of India was itself created before the A. I. T. U. came into existence, for the specific purpose of assisting India to create her great Labour movement, and secondly to fight for the economic and political rights of Indian workers and agricultural Labourers among the British workers, who, by their apathy and through the political ambitions of their leaders, were largely responsible for the downfall and betrayal of Indian workers and peasants. The subsequent resolutions of the A.I.T.U. Congresses were a graceful and natural acknowledgment of this blood-relationship of the two bodies, and required no agreement.

The appointment of an outside body like the General Council of Great Britain requires a clear agreement of mutual terms and conditions; the Delhi resolution is no such agreement and therefore I declare it again, unhesitatingly, to be a dishonest and unconstitutional plot into which simple-minded men were gulled. The Indian Trade Union Committee passed a luke-warm resolution of lip sympathy towards the League against Imperialism instead of openly associating and affiliating with it, for the simple reason that the Parliamentary Labour Party is bitterly opposed to this League and wants to maintain British Imperialism under the cloak of “kindness to poor animals.”

The Delhi Council passed a resolution to send their delegates to the “Labour and Socialist International” and yet they want us to believe that they have not sold themselves to the Amsterdam intriguers. Where is Mr. Joshi's honesty? How many bona fide Indian workers understand anything about this great political plot in Europe carried out by capitalist and militarist powers through the instrumentality of corrupt minded Labour Leaders? Is it honesty to say to the world that the poor Indian workers have selected this ignominious organisation to fraternise with? Mr. Fenner Brockway agreed to accept the Chairmanship of the League against imperialism in July 1927. The British Labour Party's policy being decidedly in the favour of Britain's rights to rule over any other people's country, Lansbury was forced to resign from the Anti-Imperialist League. Brockway resisted the British Labour Party's displeasure and began to function as the chairman. Immediately this “Labour and Socialist International” gave notice of expulsion to Brockway from his position as representatives of the I. L. P. unless he resigned from the League Against Imperialism. Thus Fenner Brockway, the I. L. P. hero, departed from the new League, to uphold the right of Britain to rule Asia and Africa. Now, Chaman Lal, opposed to the Simon Commis-

sion, is to attend as a delegate to this "Labour and Socialist International" with its policy to strongly support the Simon Commission. And this outrage is to be carried out in the name of the Indian workers, and if they knew all about it, and have agreed to sell their country's freedom to a few pseudo-Socialist upstarts of bossy European blood. I leave my Indian brothers and sisters to judge me when I unhesitatingly characterise such proceedings as dishonest, unconstitutional and wire-pulled, and I do not mind Joshi's outburst. Joshi's lays stress that it was done by a full committee of the A. I. T. U. Congress, but his own report shows that representatives came from nine organisations, whereas according to the list given by Joshi to Purcell, he had on that day, 57 organisations affiliated; so we can see how completely democratic is the force of Joshi's Delhi resolutions.

The Delhi resolution was carried in February, 1928, but I have before me the proceedings of the Committee of the A. I. T. U. Congress in Cawnpore, in November 1927, when even this unconstitutional and ultra vires Delhi resolution against the W. W. L. I. was not passed, and when we were the London Agents.

One Mr. Tarini Prasad Sinha, had written from London asking for a few Indian students to be educated in England for Trade Union and Labour organisation work. The Committee did not have the common sense to refer even such a matter to us in London. This Mr. Sinha has persistently refused to associate with the W. W. L. I. in London. How and where is he to educate those Indians, except by delivering them to some political organisation? Mr. Sinha is an ardent member of the I. L. P. which claims by paper resolutions to be a friend of Indian freedom. Let my Indian readers judge of this doublefaced I. L. P. policy. The I. L. P. tries to throw dust into the eyes of the outside public, that its policy, is more advanced than that of the British Labour Party in Parliament. The British Labour policy in matters like this expedition to China, the British right of occupation in Egypt, utter disregard of Indian's opposition to the Simon Commission, etc., are all entirely framed and controlled by the Labour Members in the House of Commons along with a few persons from the Labour Party Executive. Out of 157 Labour M. P's 112 are members of the I. L. P. and out of about a dozen members of the Executive who are not M. P.'s and who attend and vote at Parliamentary meetings quite half are I. L. P. members. So these I. L. P. members keep a just policy on paper, and pass and put into practice an unjust policy as members of the house of Commons.

All the above ramifications show how very essential it is for India's honour and interest to work with the assistance of the Workers' Welfare League of India.

Boldly appeal once again:—

1. To all Indian politicians to devote themselves a primary task to the organisation of the workers and peasants of India.
2. See that every worker-industrial or agricultural is in his or her trade union, and that all trade unions, affiliated to the All-Indian Trade Union Congress.
3. To see that neither simpletons nor political tricksters occupy important position, in the A. I. T. U. C; for men who are not upholders of their country's freedom are not likely to be sincere or useful apostles of the workers' freedom.
4. To see that all Delhi resolutions are emphatically repudiated, and even to stop Chamar Lall and others attending reactionary conferences in Europe in the name of Indian workers.
5. That a committee of independent and intelligent persons be appointed to study the differences between reactionary and advanced labour and socialist international organisations.
6. To take steps for starting a Labour College in India along the lines of my memorandum given to the Congress Committee last year.

P. 1127. (E)

The Secretary

Bombay Press Workers Union

C/o Sjt K. N. Jogleker

168 Fanaswad.

BOMBAY 2

INDIA.

P. 1128

Telegrams: Thengdi Engineer, Poona.

A. B. C. Code 5th Edn. used.

D. R. THENGDI.

PCONA CITY.

Engineer.

(British India.)

Labour & Employment Office.

Date 21 Dec. 1927,

My dear Jogleker,

A few days ago, I had received a letter from Mirajker, asking me to attend a meeting of the E. C. of P. and W. Party. I asked him to get the records ready first and then let me know, when I shall give him time of holding the meeting.

It is more than a week since I wrote to him, but I did not hear any thing from him untill now. Will you please inquire why he is silent over the affair. And let me know.

I beleave, you are going to Madras. If so, let them know that they will find it very difficult to carry on their boycott without taking the masses into their confidence. This means putting a labor programme on the Congress Agenda Organization of labor, universal adult suferage, provision of constant employment to all adults, free education, oldage pentions, and nationalization of land, will have to be accepted. Will you move the "unemployment resolution"? Hoping to hear from you before you leave for Madras, I am

yours fraternally,

D. R. Thengdi.

Where is Mr. sratt at present ?

P. 1129.

37, Harrison Road,

Calcutta,

1. 2. 1927.

Dear Com, Joglekr,

I have not heard from you since I left Bombay. I hope you are doing well. From the receipt of the post office I understand that the T. M. O. was delivered to you on the day after of my

departure. I had wired you twice to have sent the money back per T. M. O. you know it very well that my pecuniary Circumstances are badly off.

If is very difficult to make you understand under what sorts of difficulties I have been passing my days. Please do send the money as soon as this reaches you if you have not already remitted the same. I have not been doing very well all these days. Please reply soon. With my greetings to you and to all other Comrades there.

Yours

Sd. Muzaffar Ahmad.

P. S. Please let me know at once when Comrade Saklatvala reaches Calcutta.

P. 1129. The envelope containing the above letter bears the address: Mr. K. N. Joglekar Esqr., B. A.,

168, Fanswadi,

Bombay No. 2.

P 1130.

37, Harrison Road,

Calcutta,

2. 2. 1927.

Dear Com. Joglekar,

Just now I have received the money order sent by you. I do not know why you have not deducted the expenses incurred by you. In Bombay you gave me a five rupees note while only rupees four were due to me. You have not deducted that amount also.

I wrote to you a letter yester-day. I hope that will reach you in time. The conference of the Bengal Peasants' and Workers' Party is going to be held on the 12th and the 13th instant. I am not doing very well here. Please write to me how you are doing.

Yours

Sd. Muzaffar Ahmad.

The envelope containing the above letter bears the address :

Mr. K. N. Joglekar Esq., B. A.,

168, Fanaswadi,

Bombay 2.

P. 1131.

Printed addresses of libraries and leading socialist Papers abroad. Among these addresses the following are of interest:—

The Editor, International Press Correspondence.

Franz Dahlern.

Berlin, S. W.48.

The Editor, Communist Review,

16, King Street, Covent Garden,

London, W. C. 2.

The Editor, Communist.

16, King Street, Covent Garden

London, W. C. 2.

The Editor, young Communist.

35, Grays Inn Road.

London, W. C. 1.

P. 1132.

Issues of the International Press Correspondence for the following months—

7th Nov. 1922

12th Jan. 1925
30th March 1925
9th April 1925 (Special number)
9th April 1925
10th April 1925
7th June 1928

One issue without the opening page.

P. 1133.

3 Issues of "the Masses of India" for the months of March 1927, April 1927 and November 1927.

P. 1134.

Issues of the English News paper "Worker's Weekly".
of the following dates:—

20—8—26
25—7—24
1—8—24
10—9—24
3—10—24

P. 1135.

A pamphlet in English entitled "The Communist International" containing the conditions prescribed by the Second Congress of the Communist International for the admission of

Parties to the third International ; and also the text of the constitution of a "Red" Trade Union International by the Communists.

P. 1136.

A booklet in English entitled

"The Reds in Congress".

by

J. T. Murphy.

Preliminary Report of the

First World Congress

of the

Red International of Trade

and Industrial Unions.

P. 1137. *2E*

Rejected.

7th June 1927

Dear Joglekar,

I neglected to arrange about the Rs. 250/- before leaving Bombay. Will you therefore hand it over to Ghate as soon as you can, and he will inform me.

Yours,

P. Spratt.

P. 1138.

Nov. 6.

Mr. Begarhotta

Ajmere.

Dear Comrade:

Possibly you have already received my letter written last week. I am expecting a reply at your earliest opportunity. After I had mailed my letter, a copy of the Socialist with your Open Letter came to my notice. Enclosed herewith is a copy of the communication I am sending to the Socialist by this mail. I am sending you a copy, because you may give it to the vernacular press. The matter is of public importance, and should be given the widest publicity.

Yours fraternally

M. N. Roy

SHOULD THE COMMUNIST PARTY BE A SECRET SOCIETY ?

To

The Editor, The Socialist, Bombay.

Dear Sir:

May I have the use of your journal to answer the Open Letter addressed to me by Mr. N. Begarhotta, member All India Congress Committee? This letter was published in the Socialist of September 24th.

Mr. Begarhotta raises two questions: 1. The necessity of organising a Communist Party; and 2. how this Party should function. On the first question there is no difference, Mr. Begarhotta agreeing with us on the necessity of a Communist Party. In fact, he goes so far as to say: "Communism only can free India from foreign bandage and human slavery". On the second point however, he labours under some misunderstanding. He appears to think that we prefer an illegal existence to open political activity. Obviously he is not well informed on the matter; because we fully agree with his advice that the Communist Party must be openly organised, and function in an open political field. Like many others, Mr. Begarhotta must have got this wrong impression about our programme and activities in consequence of the story told by the prosecution in the Cawnpore trial. But the fact of the matter is, that on many an occasion, we have deprecated the organisation of secret societies for conducting a great political movement, and

we have registered our opinion unmistakably against the futile terrorism advocated by the nationalist secret societies, which are numerically negligible and politically of no importance. Even the letters and public documents produced to establish the "guilt" of the accused in the Cawnpore case, testified to our opposition to "terrorist conspiracies". Unfortunately the defence failed to take advantage of this weakness of the prosecution - a weakness which, firmly seized upon, would have cut the ground from under the feet of the prosecution.

Nevertheless, the fact remains that so far, Communist propaganda has had an illegal character in India. Now the question is, whether this illegality has been of our own choice or has been forced upon us. Undoubtedly the latter is the case; we were forced underground, because we were denied the freedom to act openly. The Cawnpore Case held not only Communist propaganda and the attempt to organize a working-class party to be criminal, but declared punishable any suspected relation with the Communist International, or even with individual Communists. If under these circumstances, we have not been able to organise our party openly, that failure has had ample reason. Nor has our desire to avail ourselves of all means for carrying on the propaganda and the preliminary work been mistaken. This does not, however, remove the necessity of legalizing Communist propaganda in India and to make the Communist Party an important political factor. We never lost sight of this necessity, and prepared ourselves for the first available opportunity to take up the fight; because the first stage of the Communist Party is bound to be marked by a bitter struggle for the right to a legal existence. The moment has arrived to begin this struggle.

When we talk of a Communist Party, what we have in mind is a political party reflecting essentially the interests of the working class, in which category the masses of the poor peasantry are included. Therefore our party will be a party representing the overwhelming majority of the nation. There is no constitutional pretext on which such a party can be denied the right to a legal existence. But precisely for this reason that we propose not to organize study-circles or a small sect preaching fanatically a novel socio-economic philosophy, but to mobilize the masses of the people under the banner of our party for a gigantic political struggle we have been subjected to determined persecution from the very beginning. In the Cawnpore Case, the Judge as well as the prosecuting counsel declared that Communism or a Communist Party, as such, did not constitute a criminal offence. The infant Communist Party of India incurred the towering wrath of the British Goliath, because we adapted our programme to the timely needs of India. Had we been inclined to "Economism" and wedded to the abstract theories of social justice, we would not only be left alone, but even possibly receive furtive encouragement from the powers that be. The

- ✓ Government do not object to Communism as such. What does it mean? It means that the Government would not consider us dangerous if we lived in the height of theoretical isolation; but
- ✓ applied communism is not tolerable. It is no longer dead theory. It invigorates the present political struggle by stimulating the consciousness and energy of the revolutionary social forces. The very fact that the mightiest Government is so zealous to root us out, when we are apparently such a negligible quantity, proves the historic necessity of the task we have initiated; proves that a working class party under Communist leadership is destined to play a great role in the actual *political life* of India.

We must struggle for legal existance. The findings of the Cawnpore Court provide the starting point. A Communist party is not criminal. Let it be organized; but there should be no illusion. The Government will demand that it be a "Communist Party as such", that is, a party which indulges in a dream which will be realized in some distant future, and which leaves the present alone. Our reply will be that the Communist Party must exist, not by the saction of the Government, but as a historic necessity—by its own power. All suggestions to trim our sails for the sake of legality should be dismissed. Illegal existance is bad; it places us under great disadvantages. But legality, which is attained at the sacrifice of our political demands is worse; it will render us an impotent sect. In the advocacy of the much-needed legalization, this highly dangerous tendency is discernible. This tendency is to be found in Mr. Begerhotta when he says "It (Communism) is purely an economic movement, and we will bring success at our feet without pains". I am sure that Mr. Begerhotta does not fully comprehend what this sentence implies. It contains the germs of "Economism", which ignores the fact that without political power no economic change or social transformation can be realized. The so-called "Labour-Kishan" Party of Mr. Singaravelu Chettiar of Madras was born under this evil star and, consequently, was suffocated in its own impotency. The programme of the above party was a secure "Labour Swaraj" and economic amelioration of the masses. It started out on this ambitious task, totally

- ✓ ignoring the realities of the situation. It was simply ridiculous to talk of Labour Swaraj while the burning question of National Swaraj was still unsolved; it was equally ridiculous to suggest any way of ameliorating the economic conditions of the masses without challenging the political institutions which created those conditions. Yet the Labour Kishan Party, which chose to call itself Communist put forth this ridiculous programme to insure its legal existance. This in ordinate zeal for a legal existance cost the party its existance altogether. Shall we make the same mistake?

The question of the legalization of the Communist Party should not be diplomatic question. It is a broad political issue,

and should be dealt with as such. The Cawnpore case provided a splendid opportunity, which unfortunately, could not be properly used, owing to the utter inability of the defence counsels to grasp the political importance of the case. It must also be said that the attitude of the accused left very much to be desired. One should have more courage of conviction. The line of defence should have been, not to plead "not guilty" to the charge brought, but to prove that the acts alleged to have been committed or connived with by the accused, were perfectly constitutional. How can the Communists pretend to be in a position to give a more revolutionary lead to the nationalist struggle, if they fight shy of the burning question of the nationalist movement? The economics of Communism demand that the Communist Party of India should be in the foremost ranks in the struggle for national liberation. Bourgeois Nationalism can be satisfied with a compromise with Imperialism; but no appreciable improvement in the economic condition of the working masses and of the considerable section of the lower middle class can be realized, without a complete break with the political and economical domination of a foreign power. Since the Communist Party is the political spokesman of this overwhelming majority of the nation, it will never play its historic role, unless it is prepared to challenge the programme of bourgeois nationalism, and demand that the nationalist struggle should be conducted according to the interests of the majority of the nation. All these paramount issues were involved in the Cawnpore Case. They were not met, but avoided.

The pre-requisite of the legalization of the Communist Party will be to settle these issues. Let me hope that the next opportunity will not be lost. I affirm once more that the Communist Party stands upon too broad a political platform to fit into the narrow limits of "secret societies". But it will be suicidal to buy legality at the sacrifice of the cardinal points of the Communist programme as applied to the present situation in India.

(Sd.) M.N. Roy.

P. 1139.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA.

168, Fanaswadi,

Bombay; 2. Feb. 5th, 1926.

To

V. H. Joshi, Esqr,
Secretary and Treasurer,
Communist Defence Fund,
434, Thakurdwar,
Bombay 2.

Dear sir,

You must be aware that at the recent Communist Conference held at Cawnpore, the Communist Party of India has been re-organised with its headquarters at Bombay, with Comrade J. P. Begerhotta and myself as General Secretaries.

When the Communist Defence Fund was started it was mentioned that whatever balance was left after defraying the Conspiracy Case charges, was to be utilised towards re-organisation of the Party. From the account that you published a sum of Rs. 400/- remains with you, as its then Treasurer. I shall therefore thank you to hand over the same at an early date and oblige.

Yours fraternally,

S. V. Ghate.

Jt. Secretary.

Copy forwarded to Messrs. Joglekar.

P 1140.

37, Harrison Road,
CALCUTTA,
19-1-1926.

My dear Joglekar,

You saw Mr. Dange in Sitapore Jail. Please let me know how really he is doing with his health. I am anxious to here about it. I have received a letter from Com. Ghate. He says, nothing has as yet been done towards establishment of the Office of the Communist Party of India. I am really very sorry for it. All of us should try

our best to bring the party on a strong footing. Please do utilise the money saved out of the Communist Defence fund for the office. What Mr. Joshi says about the fund? Please do not let this matter go easily. You should not allow this sort cheating amongst ourselves. I depend on you, friends at Bombay. If you people do not take any step I shall creat a hell about it. At any rate Rs 400/-which is still left with Mr. Joshi must be spent for the communist Party.

Please do reply at once. I am being advised by doctors to leave Calcutta but it is impossible. I am sending herewith a few copies of the Manifesto if the Labour Swaraj Party (Provisional). This party will be rendering every sort of help to the Communist Party of India.

The "Langal" is a Bengali Weekly Organ of this party. I am now contributing articles to "Langal."

Yours

Muzaffar Ahmad

P. S. If nobody wants to do any work in Bombay the control office of the Party may be transferred to Calcutta.

Sd. M. A.

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

BOMBAY.

P-1140 (E)

The envelope Contianing the above letter bears the address,
K. N. Joglekar Esqr.,

B. A.

168, Fanaswadi,

Bombay No. 2

P. 1141.

"LANGAL"

THE WEEKLY ORGAN (IN BENGALI)

of the

BENGAL PEASANTS' AND WORKERS' PARTY.

37, Harrison Road.

CALCUTTA.

2. 4. 1926.

My dear Joglekar,

A few days back I addressed you a letter which, I hope, has reached you by this time. One thing I forgot to mention in the letter i. e. about the letter of Mr. Joshi. He says, he has got with him Rs 580/2/9 just now. You told me at Cawnpore that the sum of Rs 1500/- was collected in Bombay. But, Mr. Joshi says, only a sum of Rs 1010/- including the sum of Rs 400/- paid by the people of Benares was realised. In any way he is not willing to pay the money to the Communist Party of India. He says he is quite willing to pay the money for the publication of the case in book form.

If I agree to it he is ready to pay the money to me to print the case in some Calcutta Press. If I do not agree to it he will wait till Dange is come out. I have asked him in reply that he should consult you and Comrade Parvate. Now, what is to be done? If selected papers of the case be published sale proceeds might go to the fund of the party. Please do whatever you think proper to do.

Have you got any news about Dange? If so, please let me know what his present condition is. I asked you to send some books and back copies of the Socialist. But you have not done it. Please do send them at once. What has been the result of litigation?

Yours fraternally

Sd. Muzaffar Ahmad.

P. 1141. (E)

The envelope containing the above letter bears the address:
Mr. K. N. Joglekar, B. A.

168, Fataswadi, Bombay, No. 2.

Declaration form.

(To be signed by the member of the Communist Party of India)

Where as the workers and peasants of India are unable to live a human life on account of their being exploited both by the foreign and native capitalists and landlords in India. And where as the existing political parties in this country are dominated by bourgeois interests which are diametrically opposed to the well being of Indian workers and peasants I the undersigned aged.....here by accept and sign the creed of the COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA which stands for the establishment of a workers and peasants Republic in India. I have carefully gone through the resolutions of the first Communist conference printed the back and fully agree with the immediate object of the party which is the securing of a living wage for the workers and peasants by means of Nationalisation of public services, namely Land, Mines, Factories, Houses, Telegraphs, Telephones, Railways and such other public utilities which require common ownership. I belong to no such communal organisation which can debar me from joining this Party.

I herewith pay /8/-the suscription for my membership for the ensuing year.

Signatures.

Address in full,

(The declarant is requested to sign two such forms one of which is to be kept with the enrolling secretary and the another one should sent to the General secretaries of the Central Executive).

ON THE BACK.

The resolutions of the first Communist Conference held at Cawnpore on the 26th day of December 1925, for the establishment and formation of the COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA.

Where as the workers and peasants of India are unable to live a human life on account of being exploited both by foreign and native Capitalists and Landlords in India. And where as the existing political parties in India are dominated by bourgeoisie interests which are diametrically opposed to the well being of the Indian workers and peasants. This conferouce of the Indian Communists resolve that a party be formed for the purpose of the emancipation of the workers and peasants of India. This party shall be known as the COMTUNIST PARTY OF INDIA and the ultimate of the party shall be the establishment of a Republic Swaraj of workers and peasants, and the immediate object of the party shall be the securing of a living wage to the workers and peasants by means of Nationlisation and Municipalisation of public

services namely Land, Mines, Factories, Houses, Telegraphs and telephones, and Railways and such other public utilities which require public ownership.

For the purpose of achieving these objects the party shall form Labour and Peasents and unions in Rural and urban areas, enter district and Taluk boards Municipalities and assemblies, and by such other means and methods carry out the ideal and immediate programme of the party with or without the cooperation of the exsisting political bodies in India.

The party shall have a central office, with two General Secys for conducting its bussiness and the president of the conference be the president of the party for the year before the next Conference. The party shall consist of communists only, who should pledge them selves to carry out the object of the party.

No one who is a member of any communal organisation in India shall be admitted as a member of the communist party.

The communist Party of India Shall ordinarily hold its congress session every year during the xmas week.

The party shall have a central executive committe consisting 30 members elected by various provincial organisations.

The E. C. shall have the followiong five provincial centres with, Calcutta, Bombay, Cawnpore, Madras and Lahore as their head offices, under its supervision to carry on the work in these circles.

The central excecutive shall have a council of seven members, with the president as its exofficio member, to execute all emergency matters that may arise from time to time, which come with in its scope.

Every member shall pay /8/ as subscription for his Membership to the enrolling secretary 25% of which will be sent to the C. E. as squota and the remaining part of it will remain with the provincial secretaries.

All the provincial organisations shall submit their working report to the secretaries of the central executive every quarter.

General Secretaries

C. E. COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA.

P. 1143.

Telegram No. 5849 dated 25-2-27 from Saklatwala, Joglakar, Congress Hall, Bombay, Girgaon. It runs as follows:—

Yourself Shah Ghate Nurajkar Bakhle Bhagratha Mukundesai consult take prompt action organise general conference all socialists communists at Delhi fourteen March Karl Mark Anniversary ask Hazrah Mohini preside also ask Gopinath Sin Muzafar Ahmed co-operate without sulking I now know general situation India and proper place for communists.

Saklatwala.

P. 1144.

Friday 26th Nov. 26.

Dear J.

Enclosed you will find a copy of the long promised resolutions. I hope you will excuse the delay, but really it is a bigger job than it seems. I want to make a few remarks now with regard to several of the items in order that you will understand the lines along which I have been working.

My first idea is that there is no earthly hope of any of our propositions being carried and the chief task is to find out where the supporters are for the purpose of getting some Real labour work done on the largest possible scale after the Congress is over. The first resolution is very mild, it does not say a quarter of what could be said, but we have to be careful lest we drive away what little support there is for us.

I suggest that who-ever moves it, should point out that since the National Congress was formed it has been in the control of various sections of Indian Society. One by one these sections have either been driven over to the ranks of the Imperial Government supporters or they have voluntarily seceded from the Congress in the same direction (e. g. the Liberals). The growth of responsive co-operation is an indication that yet another section is prepared to desert the Congress or if possible take the Congress with it. Then it ought to be pointed out that while these elements have transferred their allegiance Congress has depended more and more on the lower strata of society and hence it has become more radical. Show then that Congress is now faced with the alternative of being swamped by

falling into the rut of co-operation or strengthening itself by assuming a mass character and fighting for the immediate and ultimate demands of the lower strata (namely the workers and peasants.) In addition it should be explained that by fighting the battle of the oppressed the Congress is not guilty of co-operation, but through wringing concessions from an unwilling Government it is actually advancing the cause of Swaraja by weakening the Power of the Government and at the same time building its own forces. You see my idea here is that the struggle for independence has got to be linked up with the ordinary economic struggle of the masses. This will make it possible to purge the Congress of all the undesirables or through uniting the labour elements under their own banner reduce the Congress to impotence.

The resolution on the organisational tasks is simply a reflex of the first one and it has the advantage of proving to your supporters that you are more concerned about getting actual work done than the passing of pious resolutions that will remain ineffective. You will note that it is similar to the one we already drafted for the B. P. C. C. group.

You will also note with regard to the third resolution that I have divided it into three parts thereby doing away with the necessity for three separate resolutions. This I think is the most difficult one of the whole lot. As we agreed previously a utopian programme is of no use and has the bad effect of holding us to the ridicule of our opponents. We must therefore be able to put up a reasonable case for every item that we submit. I do not suggest that the enclosed program is complete, but I believe it can form the basis and that it should be augmented or amended by the group.

Point 2 in the political part is probably out of place, but it has to be included somewhere as our opponents will assuredly ask from whence the finance is going to come for all our other items. In supporting this item you will get some valuable statistics from The Times Year Book where it deals with the finances of the various provinces, there you will see that practically the whole burden of taxation is thrown on to the backs of the masses in the form of indirect taxation.

The other points in the political part of the programme are all self-explanatory, we are merely demanding privileges that have already been granted to the workers practically all over.

You will also note that in the Economic Program there are three demands concerning the industrial workers and three concerning the peasants. The first are simply a reiteration of what is in the B. P. C. C. program. The items in connection with the peasantry are not quite so clear, but the main idea is fight against heavy taxation and rents, squeeze out the moneylenders by making Government

assume responsibility and to force the Government to do more in the way of improving the methods of agricultural. I suggest that the Group should go over these points and revise or add to them. If you get a hold of Palm Dutt's book you will get some valuable facts and figures in a very concise form that may help you to complete this part and likewise justify the points that I have suggested. The Indian Year Book will also be helpful.

With regard to the Social and Educational part the demands are simple. In support of them you can point out that the amount of illiteracy in India is greater than in any other part of the world, that there is practically no provision for elementary or advanced training for the technical worker, and that practically all secondary and higher education is conducted in English—a foreign language. Again you can give facts and figures to show that infantile mortality in India is greater than anywhere else. This fact alone justifies every point in the programme and any more of the same kind that you can think of.

I hope you will be able to call an early meeting of the Group and get all these matters discussed, and that you will let me know how things are proceeding within the B. P. C. C. and on the T. U. spheres. I have got in touch since I came here, but that is all. At a later date I will give my impressions although just now I must say they are not very convincing. I am sending a copy of this letter and the resolutions to Mirichkar.

Your faithfully.

RESOLUTION ON IMPERIALISM.

This Congress expresses its full approval of the attitude taken up by the British Trade Union Congress towards imperialism. In common with that body it believes that the Empire provides a cloak under which both the white and colored workers within the Empire are ruthlessly exploited. It therefore declares its willingness to participate in all forms of common action with the other trade unions within the Empire, for the purpose of putting up the maximum amount of resistance to the machinations of British Imperialism.

Resolution on the Legal Status of Indian Trade Unionism. This Congress emphatically condemns the Trade Union Registration Act of 1925, as passed by the Indian Government. In doing so, it takes this opportunity of directing the attention of the rest of the trade union world to the attempt being made to circumscribe the activities of trade unionism in India. The Congress therefore reiterates its determination to fight for the unqualified right of organisation, the principle of collective bargaining, and the right of Trade Unions

to participate in political and educational activities on behalf of their membership. This Congress, in demanding, that these long standing trade union privileges are extended to India, confidently looks for the active support of International Movement and particularly the support of the British Trade Union Congress and the Labor Party.

Resolution on International Trade Union Unity.

This Congress laments the fact that the Indian Trade Union Movement has no organic connections with the International Movement and the further fact that even the International Movement is not a unifying force.

It takes its stand with the Trade Union in Mexico, Norway, and other countries in appreciating the sterling work, that has been done by British Trade Union Congress and The All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions to attend International Unity.

Finally as a guarantee of its desire as sincerely for unity, this Congress refrains from affiliating to The International Federation of Trade Unions, or The Red International of Labor Unions, but pledges itself to join a United Trade Union International, formed by the merging of these two organizations.

Resolution on organization.

This Congress knows with concern the present tendency in the Indian Trade Union Movement, which leads to the creation of many small and overlapping unions, which in turn leads to misunderstanding and chaotic organization and ultimately reduces the aggregate strength of the organized workers.

Congress avers that the most efficient form of organization is along industrial lines, i. e. one union for one industry. In consequence it resolves to appoint a thoroughly representative Committee, which shall have powers to co-opt representatives of organizations not affiliated to the A. I. T. U. Congress also. The function of this committee will, be to devise ways and means, whereby the various kindred trade unions shall be amalgamated into National Industrial Unions.

Draft of Resolutions for Presentation to The A. I. C. C. and The National Congress.

1. Resolution on the Political tasks of the Congress.

This session of the Indian National Congress resolves that, the many happenings in the political arena during the past year and principally the growth of Responsive Co-operation indicate that a section of the Nationalist movement has been won over to the ranks of the Government forces, thereby increasing the strength of the latter and to that extent weakening the political influence of the Congress.

In face of this temporary reverse the Congress declares that, more than ever, before, preparation for the era of Civil Disobedience and mass action by the workers and peasants is the essential prerequisite for the realisation of India's independence.

This session therefore, maintains that persistent struggle for the realisation of the economic, political, and social requirements of the Indian masses is the paramount task for the immediate future, creating thereby the maximum of National solidarity, thus increasing the strength of the Congress and undermining the power of the existing forms of Government.

2. Resolution on the Organisational tasks of the Congress. Resolved that Congress immediately endeavours to improve its organisational contacts with the working classes, industrial, agricultural and clerical by:—

(A) Forming a special subcommittee for the purpose of working amongst the peasantry and creating local, provincial, and national peasants organisational as a constituent part of the National Congress.

(B) The formation of a similar sub-committee to work in collaboration with the All Indian Trade Union Congress for the recruitment of membership to the Trade Union and for the creation of a Labour Party as a constituent part of the National Congress.

(C) Instructing all the provincial Congress Committees to carry out like work in the provinces under the guidance of the respective National sub-committees and in Collaboration with the Provincial Committees of the All Indian Trade Union Congress where such exist.

3. Resolution on programme of Immediate Demands.

Resolved that Congress ratify the following as its minimum program of immediate demands.

(A) 1 Political.

1. Universal suffrage from the age of 21.

2. The introduction of a heavily graded system of income tax to apply to all salaries of Rs 500 and over

3. The withdrawal of all nominated seats from the National and Provincial Legislatures and the complete abolition of the principle of Communal Representation.

4. Legislation upholding the right of free speech and freedom of association and organisation in Industrial and Political spheres of activity.

(B) Economic.

1. The establishment, by law of a maximum working day of eight hours and a guaranteed minimum wage for all wage earners.

2. The complete abolition of Child Labour up to the age of 14.

3. Inauguration of schemes of Social Insurance and Employers Liability, on European standards, to protect the working classes during periods of sickness, injury and unemployment.

(4) Nationalisation of land and its reallocation directly to the Cultivators at a percentage rental based on the annual yield.

(5) Government assistance to the poorer peasantry for the improvement of agricultural and the introduction of modern methods.

(6) Restriction by law of the rate of interest on Peasants loans to a maximum of 4% and the establishment of an agricultural Bank for the provision of credits to the peasantry.

(C) Social and Educational.

1. Provision of free elementary education for all up to the age of 14, and increased activity by Government towards the stamping out of illiteracy.

2. The establishment of centres for free technical training for the workers to be maintained by the government and the Employers.

3. Provision of more adequate facilities for secondary and university education in the several important vernaculars.

4. The construction by Government of adequate and suitable houses for the working classes at a rental within their capacity to pay.

5. Free medical Service.

6. More adequate supply of Hospitals Public Health Centres etc.

7. Public instruction in the elementary principles of Hygiene and sanitation.

CONSTITUTION

of

The Communist party of India.

Article 1. The establishment of a workers and peasants Republic based on the socialisation of the means of production and Distribution, by the Liberation of India from British Imperialist Domination.

Article 2. Sessions of the C. P India (a) The Communist party of India shall ordinarily hold its conference every year during the month of October at a place that may have been determined by the central executive here in after referred to.

(b) An extraordinary session shall be summoned by the Central Executive on requisite on a requisition of a majority of the Pro. Committee or of its own motion in case of grave emergencies.

Article 3. The communist Party of India shall consist of

The component the following:—

parts of the
C. P. I.

(a) The Central Executive.

(b) Provincial Committees.

(c) District Committees.

(d) Other working class unions as may be affiliated to it from time to time.

Article 4. Membership. No one shall be eligible to be a member of the any of the committees or unions referred to in the foregoing articles unless he or she has attained the age of 18 and has expressed his or her acceptance of the object as laid down in article of the object of this constitution of the Communist Party of India.

Article 5 Provincial organisation. (a) Each provincial Committee, district or other committee referred to in the article 111 shall have the power to frame rules laying down conditions of membership and for the conduct of business not inconsistent with this constitution.

(b) Each provincial committee shall consist of representatives elected annually by members of the

district organisations in the province in accordance with its number.

(c) An annual report shall be submitted by each pro. committee of the work done by the end of each year.

Article 6. Delegates. Any bonafide worker or peasant shall be eligible for election as delegate for the annual conference.

Article 7. Fee. The delegation fee shall be fixed at a minimum of -/8/-.

Article 8. Election of the President. The several Provincial Committees shall suggest by the end of.....to the central executive the names of persons who are in their opinion are eligible for presidentship of the conference and the central executive shall submit these names to the provincial committees for final recommendations.

Central Executive. Article 9. Every union or committee referred to in article three will be authorised to send one representative for every 25 members. The elections of the central executive shall take place at least a month before the annual conference.

The central executive shall meet as often as may be necessary for the discharge of its obligations and every time upon the requisition by 10 members there of who shall state therein the purpose for which they desire a meeting of the central executive. The quorum shall be 1/3 of its whole strength.

Article 10. Function. The central executive shall be committee of the party to carry out the programme of work laid down by the conference from year to year and deal with new matters that may arise during the year and may not be provided for by the conference itself.

Article 11. President of the C. E. The president of the conference shall be the chairman of the central executive for the following year.

Article 12. Office bearers of the C. E. The C. E. shall have three General Secretaries and two treasurers who shall be annually elected by

P. 1146.

A printed pamphlet in English headed
"The Manifesto of the Communist Party of India"

Hindu—Muslem Problem.

(vide Exh. P. 769).

P. 1147.

A magazine in English entitled
"Trade Unions Information" d/- 16th Jan. 1928.

Issued by the Informations Department of the Red International of
Labour Unions.

P. 1148.

A book in English entitled
"The Labour movement in China".

P. 1149.

A booklet in English entitled
"The Land Revolution in Russia"
Being a speech on the land question

by

Lenin.

Together with the Two Fundamental Land Decrees of the
Russian Soviet Republic.

P. 1150.

A book in English entitled
"Bolshevism"
"The Dream and the Fact"
by
Edmund Candler, C. B. E.

P. 1151.

A booklet in English entitled
"G. Linoviev's Report
of the
Executive Committee
of the
Communist International
for 1920—1921."

Delivered at the Fourth Session of the Third Congress of
the Communist International, on 25th June 1921.

P. 1152.

A book in English entitled
"India in Transition"
by
Manabendra Nath Roy.
with collaboration of
Abani Mukerji.

Saraswati Machine Printing Press, MEERUT, U. P., INDIA.

P. 1153.

A book in English entitled

" India's Problem

and

Its Solution "

by

Manabendra Nath Roy.

P. 1154

A book in English entitled

" Theory and practice of Leninism "

by

L. Stalin.

Published by

The communist Party of Great Britain.

16 King Street, Covent Garden, W. C. 2.

P. 1155.

5 Issues of the Magazine in English

" The Communist International "

Nos. 10, 7 (Two copies), 12, 17 and 20.

P. 1156.

14 issues of the Magazine in English

“ The Labour Monthly ”.

for the following months—

August 1924, October 1924 (2 copies).

April 1925, May 1925, October 1925.

January 1926, February 1926, March 1926.

June 1926, July 1926, January 1927.

February 1927 and January 1928.

P. 1157.

9 issues of the Magazine in English

“ The Communist Review ”.

for the following months:—

January 1927, October 1926, November 1926,

September 1925, (2 copies), August 1925,

February 1925 (2 copies) and January—February 1923.

P. 1158.

4 Issues of the Monthly Magazine in English entitled
“ Plebs,” for the following months :—

January 1926, February 1926, February 1925, and December
1924.

P. 1159.

Warrant of arrest issued by the District Magistrate, Meerut, for the arrest of Gangadhar Moreshwar Adhikari, Bhimrao Atmaram's Wadi, Block No. 3, 3rd Floor, Thakurdwar Road, Bombay, under Sec. 121-A of the I. P. C.

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

P. 1160.

Search Warrant issued under Sec. 96 C. P. C. by the District Magistrate, Meerut, for searching the house of Gangadhar Moreshwar Adhikari's Bhimrao Atmaram's Wadi, Block No. 3, 3rd floor Thakurdwar Road, Bombay.

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

P. 1161.

Bombay, 20th March 1929.

We the undermentioned Panches were called by Inspector Shirazi of the C. I. D. at 9-30 A. M. on 20th March 1929 in the Kranti office situated at Aspar Building, Poibawdi Parel to witness the search of the person of one Gangadhar Moreshwar Adhikari who was arrested by Inspector Shirazi for an offence under Sec. 121-A of the Indian Penal Code.

1. Gopal Vishnoo Tambe. H. Occup. servant in a tea shop age 20 residing in Rajaishai Building Poibawdi.
2. Ram Krishna Sabramanium H. Madrasi, Occup. Electrician age 24 residing in vegetarian Mansions, Parel.

Nothing was found in the personal search of Gangadhar Moreshwar Adhikari and nothing was seized from his person (body).

This Punchnan was read over to us and contains a full and true account of the search of the persons of Gangadhar Moreshwar Adhikari.

By me

Sd. A. A. Shirazi

Sd. R. Subramaniam

Inspector

20th March 1929.

C. I. D.

Sd. Gopal Vishnoo Tambe (In vernacular).

20-3-29.

20-3-29.

Bombay 20th March 1929.

We the undermentioned punches were present at the Kranti office in Aspar Building Poibawadi Parel at 9-30 on the 20th March 1929 when Inspector Shirazi of the C. I. D. arrested Mr. Gangadhar Moreshwar Adikari. His person was searched in our presence (Names of Punches).

1. Gopal Vishnoo Tambe, occupation servant in a tea shop, age 20, residing in Rajaishai Building Poibawdi.

2. Ram Krishna Subramaniam H. Madrasi, occupation Electrician, age 24, residing in Vegetarian Mansions Parel.

Nothing was found on his person ; but the following articles belonging to him were seized by Inspector Shirazi in our presence in the Kranti office situated at Poibawadi Parel where he used to sleep.

1. Leather Hand Bag.
2. Remington Portable Type writer with the name Adhikari on the outer case.
3. 1 Book of cuttings entitled 'Communism cha on ama'.
4. 1 Article entitled Problems of the British Empire (typed).
5. A book in German entitled "Grun Dsatzr Des Kommunismas'.
6. A Book named "Communist Party training".
7. Two Typed papers entitled "Anti Communists propoganda in the Central Legislature.
8. A typed open letter addressed to Comrade Meher Ally of 5 pages.
9. Four printed pink papers containing the names of Editors of Newspapers.
10. Two blue printed papers containing names of Editor of Newspapers.

11. A cutting from some English paper marked. X Items 3 to 11 inclusive were found in Mr. Ganadhar Moreshwar Adhikari's leather handbag.

12 and 13. 2 papers in German apparently a letter.

14, 15 and 16. Three loose fools caps with certain notes. Item No. 14 being headed Technical mistakes made by the Party.

17. One loose foolscap containing certain notes headed "Decisions".

18. 1 loose fools cap containing certain notes headed C. P. Meeting (group) agenda.

19. 1 loose fools cap headed "Agenda for a Communist group meeting".

20. 2 carbon papers.

Item 12 to 20 inclusive were found in a correspondence file belonging to G. Adhikari Marked Z.

(21 to 29). A bundle of private letters in German (numbered 21-29).

(30 to 35). Six loose fools caps containing plans of wiring Diagrams with German writings on them.

(36 to 43). A bundle of 8 letters in German numbered 36 to 43.

44. A letter in English dated March 15. Items 21 to 44 inclusive were found in an Imitation Leather writing Pad bearing the name Adhikari.

45. Leninism by Joseph Stalin.

46. A book in German on The Russian Revolution.

47. A book in German named Agrar problem.

48. The principles of Socialism by Marj Agnes Hamilton.

49. A book in German entitled Mark Engels.

50. A book in German named "Der Burger Kriej in Frankrich".

51. A book in English named "Social Revolution" by Karl Kantsky.

52. A book in German named "Elementar bucher Des Kommunismus."

53. A book in German named "Elementar bucher Des Komunismus."

54. A book in German named "Der deutsche Baner Kniej" by Von Friedrich Engels.

55. A book in German on Lenin Volume XX.

56. A book in German on Lenin by Samtliche Worker Volume XIII.

57. A book in English entitled "The Peasantry and the and the revolution."

58. Political letters by Manabendra Nath Roy.

59. A book in German named "Die Klassen Komplexe in Frankreich."

60. A book in German entitled V. Der Keimpfurn der Frieden.

61. A book in German named "Die Konsum Genossen sechaften in Der Ussr."

62. A book in English entitled Scientific socialism by William Paul.

63. The Religion of Capital by Paul Lafargue.

64. Communism by R. Palme Dutt.

65. A book in English entitled women of the future.

66. A book in German entitled "Der Uchtzebut Brumairs des Louis Bonaparte."

67. A book in German entitled Die landwirthschaftlichen Genossenschaften in der sowjet union.

68. A note book containing names and addresses of certain people in Berlin and other places.

69. A Communist Calendar in German.

70. An Album containing 14 pictures.

71. A book in German named "Der Kampf Um die Kommunistische International."

72. A book in German named Des Genossen Sehaftes wessn in Der Union Der S. S. R.

73. A book in German entitled "Lehrbuch der Russischen Sprache."

Items 45 to 73 were found in a suit case marked F.

The above Punchnama was read over to us and it contains a

full and true account of what we have witnessed during the search.
The search was finished at 1-30 p.m. on 20-3-29.

Before me.

(Sd.) R. Sabramaniam.

(Sd.) A. A. Shirazi Inspr.

20-3-29.

20-3-29.

(Sd.) Gopal Vishnu Tambe,

(In vernacular.)

20-3-29

Copy of the list of papers with regard to search of Jagannath
Moreshwar Adhikari, Bombay.

PUNCHNAMA.

We the undermentioned men members of the Punch Viz:—

1. Mr. Vishnu Jagannath Sabnis age 28, occup student
resi: in simplex Building Powwalla st.

2. Mr. Dharama Hir Savant occup clerk in the Times of
India age 34, residing on simplex Building, Powwalla street.

Were present at the time of execution of search warrant
D/- 15th March 1929 by Inspector Shirazi of the C. I. D. Bombay
to witness the search of Rooms Nos. 16-17 Simplex Building
Powwalla street off Charni Road Bombay and now in the occupation
of Mr. Bhal Chandra Trimbak Ranadeve at about 8-30 p.m. on the
20th March 1929. The above search was conducted in our
presence by Inspector Shirazi and nothing was siezed by the
searching officer.

Before me.

(Sd.) D. H. Savant.

20-3-29.

(Sd.) A. A. Shirazi,

(Sd.) V. J. Sabnis.

Inspector C. I. D.

20-3-29.

20-2-29.

P. 1162.

PUNCHNAMA.

Bombay.

20-3-29.

We the undersigned members of the Punch Viz.:—

1. Mr. N. N. Chhatrapati Pleader age 46, Hindu, occup. Pleader residing in Bhimrao Atmaram's Wadi, Thakurdwar Road.

2. Mr. Keshav Govind Bhat Sawle, age 37, Brahmin Hindu, occupation Hotel, Manager: Residing at Angre-Wadi Mugh Bhat.

Were present at the time of the execution of the search warrant dated 15th March 1929 by Inspector A. A. Shirazi of the C. I. D. Bombay to witness the search of the rooms situated at Bhimrao Atmaram's Wadi Block No. 3 3rd floor, Thakurdwar Road in the occupation of Mr. Moreshwar Krishna Adhikari and his sons Ganga Dhar, Moreshwar Adhikari and Jangannath, Moreshwar Adhikari at 7 a.m. on the 20th March 1929.

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

Articles found.	Place where found.
1. 1 copy of the "Spark" D/- 17-3-29 ...	In the drawer of a writing table.
2. 3 Do. 17-2-29 ...	Do.
3. 1 Do. 10-3-29 ..	Under some newspapers in a Book-Rack.

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.

(Sd.) A. A. Shirazi, 1. (Sd.) M. N. Chhatrapati.
Inspector C. I. D. 2. (Sd.) Keshav Govind,
Bhat Sawle.

20-3.

(In vernacular.)

P. 1176.

A book in GERMAN entitled
"ILLUSTRIERTE GESCHICHTE DER
RUSSISCHEN REVOLUTION"

1917

P. 1177.

A book in GERMAN entitled
"AGRAR-PROBLEME"
Herausgegeben
Vom
Internationalen Agrar-Institut
Moskau

P. 1178.

A book in GERMAN entitled
"Programm Kritiken"
by
Marx Engels.
Elementarbücher Des Kommunismus.

P. 1179.

A book in GERMAN entitled
"Der Bürger krieg in Frank reich"

by

KARL Marx.

P. 1180.

A book in ENGLISH entitled
"SOCIAL REVOLUTION"

by

Karl KAUTSKY.

P. 1181.

A book in GERMAN entitled
"Lohn Preis UND Profit".

by

KARL Marx.

Elementarbiicher Des Kommunismus.

P. 1182.

A book in GERMAN entitled
"Das Kommunistische Manifest"
Elementarbücher Des Kommunismus.

P. 1183.

A book in GERMAN entitled
"Der Deutsche Bauernkrieg"
Von
Friedrich Engels.

P. 1184.

A book in GERMAN entitled
"LENIN"
Samtliche Werke.
XX

P. 1185.

A book in GERMAN entitled

"LENIN"

Samtliche Werke.

XIII

P. 1186.

A book in ENGLISH entitled

The Peasantry and the Revolution"

by

N. L. Mecheriakov.

P. 1187.

A booklet in ENGLISH entitled

"Political Letters"

by

Manabendra Nath Roy.

P. 1188.

A book in GERMAN entitled

"Die Klassenkämpfe

in Frankreich

by

Karl Marx.

P. 1189.

A book in GERMAN entitled

"V. Der Kampf Um den Frieden."

P. 1190.

A booklet in ENGLISH entitled

"COMMUNISM"

by

R. Palme Dutt.

P. 1191.

A book in GERMAN entitled

"Die Konsum Genossen Schäften

In Der USSR."

P 1192.

A book in GERMAN entitled

'Die land wirtschaftlichen Genossenschaften in der Sowjetunion'

Von

G. RATNER

Moskau.

P 1193.

A book in GERMAN entitled

"Der 18 Brumaire Des Louisbonaparte"

by

Karl Marx.

P. 1194.

A black note book with a label marked Berlin, G Adhikari
Addresses 1928.

The following addresses are important:—

Walter, Carl, Vera, Mehdi Hasan, Bhaduri and Nambiar.

P. 1195.

A Communist calendar in German. on every page there is an illustration in connection with some phase of the Russian Revolution.

P. 1196.

A Typewritten copy of a letter dated Bombay 25.1.29 from "Dein" to Liebe Vera in German.

P. 1197.

A booklet in ENGLISH entitled
"Women of the Future"
by
Lilienthel

P. 1198.

A book in GERMAN entitled
"Der Kampf Um Die Kommunistische Internationale"

P. 1196.

Search warrant issued under sec. 96 C. P. C. by the District Magistrate, Meerut, for Searching the premises occupied for the office of "Kranti" Aspar Buildings, 1st Floor, Poibavdi, Parel, Bombay.

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

P. 1200.

Punchnama.

20th March 1929.

We the undermentioned members of the Punch, viz:—

1. Ramakrishna Subramanyam, age about 24 years, Hindoo, Madrasi Brahmin, Electrician in Tata Hydro Electric Receiving Station, Parel, residing Vegetarian Mansion, Parel.
2. Gopal Vishnu Tambe, aged about 19 years, servant in the teashop of one Dottatraya Ganesh Dewa Sthali at Poibovri, residing Rajanbai Building, Parel, caste Hindoo Sonar.
3. Narayan Pandoorang Naik, aged about 29 years, Hindoo, Maratha, Manager of the Shriram Upahar Griha, Poibovri, residing Aspar Building, ground floor,

were present at the time of the execution of warrant dated 15th March, 1929 by the District Magistrate, Meerut, U. P., to witness the search of the office of Kranti situated on the 1st floor of Aspar Building, Poibovri, at 3. 30 a. m. on 20th March, 1929.

The above search was conducted by Sub-Inspector B.R. Tawde of the Special Branch, Nagpada, Bombay, in our presence and the following articles were taken possession of by the officer conducting the search:—

1. 157 copies of Kranti, dated 17. 3. 29.
2. 85 copies of Kranti, dated 3. 3. 29,
3. 38 copies of Kranti, dated 9. 3. 29. each copy contains a page of 10. 3. 29.
4. Twelve copies of Kranti dated 30. 6. 28.
5. Four copies of Kranti, dated 5. 7. 28.
6. Two copies of Kranti, dated 8. 7. 28.
7. Three copies of Kranti, dated 12. 7. 28.
8. One copy of Kranti, dated 26. 7. 28.
9. One copy of Kranti, dated 22. 7. 28.
10. One copy of Kranti, dated 19. 7. 28.

11. One copy of Kranti, dated 29. 7. 28.
12. Six copies of Kiranti, dated 19. 8. 28.
13. One copy of Kranti, dated 17. 8. 28.
14. Six copies of Kranti, dated 4. 11. 28.
15. Two copies of Kranti, dated 24. 2. 29-one copy of them contains only two pages (1-2 and 3-4).
- * 16. Nine Books of coupons of addresses of the Editor Vivid Wrote and others.
- f 17. Eleven books of coupons of addresses of Editors, nine of them for Editors in Poona and two for Editors in other places in India.
18. One copy of Prajapaksha, dated 17. 3. 29.
19. Two copies of Railwayman, dated 9. 3. 29 and 23. 2. 29.
20. One copy of Voice of Labour, dated 3. 2. 29.
21. Three copies of Railwayman, dated 2. 3. 29, 16. 2. 29 and 10. 12. 28.
22. One copy of Majdoor, Cawnpore, dated 10. 3. 29.
23. One copy of Sendesh, dated 3. 3. 29.
24. One copy of Kaiwari, dated 2. 3. 29 and only front page of 6. 3. 29.
25. Two copies of Majdoor Bandhoo, dated 3. 3. 29 and 9. 3. 29.
- Et 26. Four books of unpublished manuscript of Eastern and colonial Bulletins issued by the Red International of Labour Unions, dated 15. 1. 1928, 24. 8. 27, 1. 10. 27 and 15. 10. 27 respectively.
- Ex 27. Seven books of Social Economic Labour Review Bulletin of the I. L. U. Labour Research Dept. for may 1927, July 1927, August 1927, (two books). August 1927, September 1927, October and November 1927 and December 1927.
- Er 28. Typed speech to the students of the University on May 18, 1925 containing 18 pages, bears no signature of the author, bears heading "Political Task of the University of the people of the East (with two or three copies of each page).
- X 29. One file with heading "Labour movement in India, containing cuttings from English papers.

30. One file with heading "The Legislative Assembly 1929", containing cuttings from English papers.

31. One file with heading "The Spark" containing copies of spark, dated 27-1-29, 10-2-29, 17-2-29, 24-2-29, 3-3-29, & 10-3-29.

32. One file with heading "world Congress" containing printed International Press Correspondence unpublished manuscripts dated 30-7-28, 1-8-28, 3-8-28, 8-8-28, 11-8-28, 16-8-28, 18-8-28, 23-8-1928, 25-8-28, 13-8-28, 1-9-28, 19-9-28, 27-8-28, 25-9-28, 4-9-28, 4-10-28, 9-10-28, 17-10-28, 25-10-28, 30-10-28, 8-11-28, 21-11-28, 17-9-28, 12-12-28, 28-11-28,).

33. One File with heading "The Indian National Congress" containing cuttings from papers (English).

34. One File with heading "Bombay Riots" with cuttings from English papers.

35. One File with heading the Agrarian Question, containing cuttings from English papers, one typed article with heading "The Agrarian Question in India" (8 pages) with a duplicate copy marked 'A', loose pages from a German book with head line Die Kapitalistische Ausbeutung D. Indischen Bawern U. Arbeiter from pages 2371 to 2381 both inclusive marked 'B', loose pages from a German book with head line probleme Der Indischen Resolution from pages 2357 and 2359 to 2370 both inclusive, marked '35C', loose pages from a German book with head line Wege Der Entwicklung Immodern Persien from pages 2359 to 2270, both inclusive, marked 35 D.

36. One file containing loose cuttings from English papers.

37. One file with heading Anglo Saxon and Middle English containing loose outtings from English papers, one envelope bearing words 'Private and confidential and containing Railwaymen's Union subscription forms, and one letter dated 26th June 1928 from the Nagpur Textile Union to the Secretary of the Strike Release Committee signed by one R. S. Ruiker.

38. One file with heading "^{Berlin} _{Club}" containing a book of the Communist Party of India, Executive Annual Report. 1927 (38 A), one typed matter with heading Two Tactics, by V. I. Lenin, marked 38B, 10 pages a typed letter with heading to the Workers of the World marked 38C, a typed article, head line, Revolution and Counter Revolution in China marked 38D, one typed article with heading Lenin Day dated 2-1-29, marked 38E, four pages, one typed article, head line—'Lessons of the Boycott Campaign' by G. A. & A. B. 11 pages marked 38F, one typed article, head line. On the Indian Question, In the VI World Congress, pages 32 marked 38D.

39. One file with heading Kranti Advertisement containing some letters etc.

40. One file containing one typed letter of three pages with a Resolution proposed by the Indian delegation to the Congress, dated 31-10-28, marked 40A, a typed matter, head line, 'The Third International' 4 pages, marked 40B, one typed matter, head line, Constitution and Rules of the Communist International, 76 pages marked 40C, a typed article, heading Party organisation, one page, marked 40D.

41. One file containing cuttings from English papers and a typed letter addressed to the Mill Owners' Association, marked 41A.

42. One file of Kranti Correspondence, containing some letters and receipts etc.

43. One file of Workers' and Peasants' Party, containing a typed article "To the All Indian Conference of Workers and Peasants' Party, 10 pages; Secretary's report, Workers and Peasants Party, 6 pages; Report 1st Annual Conference of the Workers' and Peasants' Party, Bombay, 3 pages; Resolution of Peasants, 4 pages, dated 29-1-28; Thesis on our attitude towards the Congress and the present labour leadership, 10 pages; Resolution of the trade Union movement, 4 pages dated 29-1-28; Secretary's Report, Workers & Peasants' Party, 6 pages; Youth, two pages, dated 29-1-28; Resolution on organization (sic) dated 29-1-29, 4 pages; General Political Situation, 26 pages with a correction slip, alteration memo. etc.

44. Four German Journals Nos. 18, 19, 21 & 25, "Kommyha Abhin Pabothank.

45. An English Book entitled Seamen in Bombay, 1928.

46. The Bombay Mill—Workers General Strike 1928.

47. The Yearly Report, in Marathi of the Girni Kamgar Sangh, Bombay.

48. A German magazine "Film Und Volk, Novr. 1928.

49. Seven copies of "A Call to Action", dated Bhatpara, March 1928

50. A pocket note book of Mr. G. M. Adbikari.

51. An English Book named "The Roots of the Socialist Philosophy," by Fredric Engels.

52. A copy of Port Trust Kamgar Paper, dated 14-6-1928, addressed to S. A. Dange.

53. Ninetyone handbills signed by Mr. A. A. Alwe.

54. Ninetytwo handills signed by Mr. K. N. Joglekar.

55. Receipt book of Kranti Advertisement.
56. A small receipt book of Kranti.
57. Newspaper extracts illustrating Communist Propaganda and the spread of Communist ideals in India.
58. The Young Liberator, English magazine.
59. Marathi songs by Arjun Atmaram Alwe "Girni Kam-garauchi Pade".

From item Nos. 1 to 59—they were found on the shelf near the table.

60. A general file containing letters and cuttings from Marathi newspaper.

61. Typed article. Speech of Mr. L. R. Teirsi, dated 26-1-29.

62. Written Statements of Joint Strike Committee, 3 Loom and 2 frame system.

63. Written statement by Mr. J. Addyman.

64. Written statement by Mr. Sorabji Merwanji Solai.

65. Written statement by Mr. J. Addyman.

† 66. The violent attack of Jap capitalism against Jap Labour.

† 67. The end of the British Rubber monopoly.

68. Written statement by Mr. J. Addyman.

Item Nos. 60 to 68 were found on the table.

69. The Rights of Labour, English Book.

70. The Indian Labour Review, July 1928 and June 1928.

71. File of Workers and Peasants party containing printed leaflets.

72. The Labour Monthly by P. Dutt, issues for January, February, March, June 28. Novr, 28, Sept. 27 and Dec. 26.

73. Historical materialism, by Nikolai Bukharin.

74. Lenin, German Book.

75. Hell Found, English Book, by S. A. Dange.

76. English Book "Useful Work versus Useless Toil" by William Morris.

77. The Labour Monthly for May 1928, April, 1928 and November 1923

73. The Marxist, English Book of July 1926.
79. A Marathi book by W. H. Joshi "Rashia wirudha Kesaricha Hetupurasar wikaryas".
80. The New Era of Feb. 1929, an English magazine, Volume I, No. 5.
81. Das Kapital, a German Book I and III (two books) Nos. 1 and 3—II.
82. Marxismus Und Naturwissensahaft, a German book of 1925.
83. International Bibliothek of 1922, a German book, "Der Helprung".
84. Das Kapital, Books 2 and 3-1, German Books.
85. Die Canfte, a German Book.
86. Die Fran, Bon Unguft Bebel, a German Book, of 1923.
87. Zur Kritik Der Politifchen Okonomie, Karl Marz, a German book.
88. The International Bibliothet of 1923.
89. Hegel Line Auswahl of 1925, a German Book.
90. Marx, Karl Marx, of 1927, a German book.
91. Kapitalismus, Kommunismus, wissenschaftlicher, Sozialismus of 1919, a German Book.
92. A Political Meeting of the Great Strike by J. T. Murphy.
93. The Peasants' Movement in Indonesia, S. Dingley.
94. Problems of the Chinese Revolution, by N. Bukharin.
95. Communism, by R. Palme Dutt, Socialist Series No. 4.
96. Kausalgesetz Und Willensfreiheit, Max Planck of 1923.
97. Ather Und Relaxivitatstheorie, Albert Einstein of 1920, a German book.
98. Das Wesen Des Lichts, Dr. Max Planck of 1920.
99. Useful Work versus useless toil by William Morris.
100. Finance (second edition) by Emile Burns.
101. The Communist International, July 15, 1928, Vol. No.14.
102. Musolini and Fashismo by D. V. Tamhavker, Marathi book.
103. Twentytwo copies of International Presse Korrespondenz, a German magazine, Serially numbered from 1 to 23.

104. A typed article, heading—The Role of the Proletariat in the National Revolution by Abdur Rahman, 7 pages.

Item Nos. 69 to 98 were found on the shelf near the table.

Item Nos. 99 to 104 were found in the right hand side table drawer.

105. A big file bearing mark 'Fra' and containing typed article as per list marked X plus one article "Notes of the month" with some copies of all.

106. Five small photos found in the drawer of the table.

Item No. 105 was found on the shelf near the table.

107. Thirty bamboo stick found in the entrance room on the left hand side corner while entering into the office.

The above Punchnama was read over to us and it contains a full and true account of what we have witnessed during the search. Search concluded at 11. 45 p. m. on 20-3-29.

Before me.

1. Sd/-R. Subramanian.

20-3-29.

Sd/-B. R. Tawde.

S. I.

2. Sd/-Gopal Vishnu Tambe.

Special Branch,

(Signed in vernacular).

Nagpada, Bombay.

20-3-29.

20-3-29.

3. Sd/-Narayan Pandoorang

Naik.

(Signed in vernacular).

20-3-29.

P. 1206.

A file of newspaper cuttings containing amongst others the following article by Mr. B. F. Bradley:—

“Disruptionists in Trade Union Congress.”

P. 1206. (1)

Disruptionists in Trade Union Congress.

TUG OF WAR BETWEEN CO-OPERATORS WITH
IMPERIALISM AND ATTEMPT TO GIVE IT A
REAL WORKERS' EXPRESSION.

(By B. F. BRADLEY, Vice-President, All-India Railwaymen's Federation.)

In the following article Mr. Bradley reviews the doings of the Session of the Trade Union Congress at Jharia from the Left-Wingers' and Communists point of view.

It is necessary to stop the disruptive tactics of some individuals in the Indian Trade Union movement to draw attention to some the remarks recently made by certain, prominent, Trade Union leaders. Mr. E. Kirk who attended the last session of the Trade Union Congress at Jharia has got a rather bad attack of the “Rad Bogey.” Perhaps it is because he stayed with me at the Dak Bungalow at Jharia.

However what has appeared in the Times and Statesman written by Kirk will not help to build the Trade Union Movement in India, but rather destroy it. His statement was eagerly seized on by these organs of Capitalism and enemies of the working class, in order to prove that the activity of the organised worker must be either curbed or stopped. But I am not as much concerned with the abuse of the Capitalist press, or repression by the Government as I am about individuals within the Trade Union Movement advocating, as Mr. Kirk is made to advocate in these organs of Capitalism, that there should be a split in the Trade Union Movement.

Mr. Kirk apparently is not prepared, it seems, by his statement to abide by a majority decision. He says that those who do

not agree with him must be driven out or there must be separation. This advocacy of disruption must be received with glee by the capitalists in India, and satisfaction to know they have such a loyal ally within the ranks of labour. The Trade Union Congress should deal with Kirk, Shiv Rao and others who are carrying on this disruptive propaganda. They talk about constructive and genuine trade unionism. Fine catch words like these, mean to those who use them Trade Union organisation on the lines of class collaboration and non-militancy. Despite all that has been written and said about the terrible conditions of Indian Labour these individuals would attempt to use the Trade Union Movement of India to collaborate with the capitalist to perpetuate slave conditions and make the worker satisfied with his lot.

NOT THE WAY OF THE WORKER.

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

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

WHY THEY ARE DISUNITED.

It is for workers to understand why these people that Kirk describes as disunited, are disunited and have no policy. There are many reasons. Many of them are in the Trade Union Movement, not for the movement, but for personal reasons. It is thought by some to be an easy stepping stone to the Councils and Assembly. Some attempt to centre the movement in themselves, and so on, but none have a considered policy to organise the workers to face their problems and a common enemy. As is proved by Kirk, the Communists are the only people that have given that consideration to

the problems facing the workers and know what they want and where they are going.

Let us see what happened at the Trade Union Congress at Jharia. Personally I am not altogether satisfied with the result of the Congress, but, it marks a considerable step forward in the development of the Indian Trade Union Movement. The question that took up most time in discussion was, whether we should send delegates to the International Labour Conference at Geneva. This year, on this matter there was a scramble of those "disunited elements" to support the sending of delegates, possibly with the idea that they might get a free trip to Europe. As far as this question is concerned, the Communists had a decided policy, they opposed the sending of delegates. Some of the reasons given were that the International Labour Office is an appendix of Imperialism, and is controlled by the particular Capitalists and Governments concerned. Further, rarely do the findings of the International Labour Congress get taken any notice of or operated by the Governments or employers concerned, if the finding go in favour of the workers.

THEIR OBJECT ACHIEVED.

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

AN INTERESTING POINT.

The next question to be dealt with was International affiliation, whether the Congress should affiliate to the I. F. T. U. or the R. I. L. U. Many of the disunited delegates were leaving the room, they did not know what the I. F. T. U. or the R. I. L. U. stood for and did not want to know. I noted an interesting point in relation to this matter. Two large unions affiliated to the T. U. C. had sent in resolutions calling for affiliation to the Red International of Labour Unions,

but no Union had called for affiliation to the re-actionary I.F.T.U. The I. F. T. U. question was raised on a letter from the I.F.T.U. itself. Our disunited friends had dwindled considerably after Geneva, and they were ready for a compromise which was suggested by Chamanlal that, until unity had been achieved by the internationals concerned, the Trade Union Congress would affiliate to none. This was gladly accepted by the disunited in the fear that the T. U. C. might have turned another *volte-face* and affiliated to the R. I. L. U. thereby carrying out the resolution of the day before and the fight against Imperialism.

SNUB TO THE BRITISH T. U. C.

Then came the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat, another Red Scare. Here Dewan Chamanlal came to the assistance of the disunited, advocating an Asiatic Labour Congress to be held in Bombay with the assistance of Imperialist Japanese representatives such as Sazuki. Here Chamanlal according to the Times makes a good speech accusing J. Ryan and myself of Communism and showed, that the P. P. T. U. S., was a Government-banned affair. We all know the Government bans many things, especially as far as India is concerned. The Times put its praise in the right place, the question was put to the vote and Chamanlal and the disunited won. But there was that solid vote of the Communists still there every time. The Workers Welfare League of India was also under the cloud of red connection, despite the good work it had done for the Indian Trade Union Movement during the last year. On this point the T. U. C. gave a snub to the British Trade Union Congress and broke with them, it was decided to have no agent at all in England.

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

In the question of relationship of the Congress to the All-Parties' Convention the Moscow hand is seen again, because the Congress laid down certain demands to be placed before the Convention, such as the establishment of a socialist republic Government in British India and Indian States, universal adult suffrage,

freedom of speech, free compulsory education, nationalisation of services, and non enactment of repressive measures. These demands were opposed as being too extreme, but as another good point to the Congress the demands were agreed to.

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

TRADES DISPUTES BILL.

The resolution on the Trade Disputes Bill laid the following points down: the Congress condemns the Bill as a whole, being a reactionary measure designed to deprive the workers of the right to strike, and calls upon the Trade Union Movement to prepare for a General Strike if the Bill becomes law. The only way in our opinion to fight this Bill is by the organised power of the workers; of course any talk of strike upsets some. However, the resolution was carried. It is now for the Trade Unions, Provincial Committees, and E. C. of T. U. C. to prepare to carry it out.

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

P. 1207. 3P.

A file headed Berlin corr. containing the exhibits No. P-1207 (1) to P-1207 (6).

P. 1207. (1) ⁵⁰

The Communist Party of India

Executive's Annual Report

1927

Comrades,

We have the pleasure to submit to you, the following report of the work done by us, during the year ending 31st of May 1927 and before we proceed to discuss other points, it is in our opinion necessary to give you a short history of the Communist Party of India, which will in our opinion go a long way to clear the misunderstanding prevailing in some quarters about us. Our movement, as all of you know, is neither one imported from abroad, nor a group maintained by Russia for its propaganda in India, as the vested interests say, to unpopularise Soviet in this country. Really speaking, it is the development of the social forces that have brought us all together, and have helped the formation of this party. India has been busily struggling for its political emancipation for the last several years. The aftermath of the war had created an all-round discontent and the masses were everywhere seen in a revolutionary mood, which could not find a way for radical action, owing to lack of bold leadership. It was at this juncture that Mr. Gandhi came forward with his Non-Cooperation movement and the masses joined the struggle with great zeal which made the things in India almost on the verge of a great political upheaval until at last the leader gave in at Bardoli to the reactionary influences. Ever since, the Non-Co-operation Army went on dwindling, owing to difference of opinion, while the leadership, though, went on unchallenged, was yet left superficial. The leader was arrested and the movement was killed partly by Government repression, and partly by those who had but reluctantly joined it, and who got the opportunity to play their own game. The Swaraj party stepped in with the slogan of parliamentary obstruction, and went on creating dissensions in the Congress ranks till at last it captured the Congress finally at Cawnpore. Mr. Gandhi, who had by this time been released, had to submit to the opposition, thus leaving the field in no better condition than when he started the Non-Co-operation movement. The situation went on changing and quarrels arose within the Swaraj Party itself. Another independent party was formed with little change from the Swarajist programme.

During all this period of the fight for leadership in the Congress, the younger element, dissatisfied with these wranglings, was busily trying to find its own way. A part of it went to the futile terrorist camp, while others formed small groups here and

there such as the Young Men's Association etc. It was during these days that the name of communism was first heard in India. In the year 1922 a dozen young men who had left India during the Hijrat movement and who later migrated to the University of Tashkand, returned through Afghanistan, pregnant with the new political thought and training that they got at Tashkand. Immediately on their entering this country they were arrested and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. Comrades S. Usmani and Nalini Bhusandas Gupta who were still out, took up the task of organising a people's party and began to work amidst the Congress and Khilafat workers. They too were arrested with two others, Coms. M. Ahmad and S. A. Dange, on a charge of conspiracy under section 121. This case received a great publicity and created a vague idea of communism and brought into light the programme of a national revolution, that was proposed by the revolutionary leaders of world reputation, for India. Cawnpore being the place where the communists were tried and sentenced, the zeal for a party with the programme that came in the court, was comparatively more than in other places, and Mr. Satyabhakta availed himself of this opportunity and started a party named and styled as the Indian Communist Party. This party attracted a number of people who got themselves enlisted as its members. Amongst the ideals, the demand for complete independence was kept in the forefront. A good deal of propaganda was made to popularise the name of the party. But it was seen that in spite of all this there was nothing Marxian underlying the work, and on the contrary a number of things, which it is unnecessary to refer here, were done, that would in a country like India where communism is not generally understood, would bring into disrepute, the philosophy of Communism. After about two years' existence, this party called a conference of communists in India, at Cawnpore, and it was announced as the first Communist Conference. A few comrades, decided to capture the party, the membership of which was about 200-300. The approximate number of members cannot be given since Mr. Satyabhakta has not transferred to us, the records he had with him. Nor has he given a statement of accounts of the funds he had collected. Though we succeeded in capturing this organisation, the party was kept in a provisional form and neither a definite constitution nor a programme could be formulated. The executive appointed 4 provincial organisers to organise with different people, with an idea of enlisting their opinion on this subject.

The above is a short history of the birth of the Communist Party of India, and we proceed further to place before you the work done by the executive.

Immediately after we parted from Cawnpore, a meeting was called by comrade Muzaffer Ahmed, at Calcutta, of all the Provincial

organisers and other members with the idea of changing the Headquarters of the party from Bombay to Delhi, since it was found difficult to go on with it at Bombay, as was decided at Cawnpore. At the same time a manifesto on the Hindu Muslim Problem which had become very tense at the time, was issued suggesting that only an organisation of the Masses based on an economic programme would unite the different communities on a common platform. Subsequently the manifesto was proscribed by the Burma and Central Provinces Government. About seven hundred rupees were promised out of which 600 were collected.

Later a regular office was started at Delhi with Com. Begerhotta in charge. He was later joined by Com. Ghate and organisation work was started.

It was then decided to hold a propaganda conference at Delhi in November last. The General Secretaries went on a propaganda tour all over the country but the conference could not be held because of an unexpected raid on the office of Comrade H. A. Nasim the General Secretary of the Reception Committee, and we have reasons to believe that our correspondence was interfered with, in spite of the Home Member's assurance to the contrary, that our correspondence including that with foreign organisations was legal. All this gave a strong blow to the young party and it took another two or three months to recover from the attack.

By this time the Labour group decided to hold the General Conference in February last and a reception committee was formed. The R.C. invited Comrade Saklatwala to preside over the conference and Comrade Muzaffer who had gone to Labour ran down to Bombay to meet Saklatwala on his arrival. Comrade Saklatwala refused this invitation on the grounds that we were not a regular communist party affiliated to the 3rd International and that he had his own responsibilities to the organisation which he represented. The copy of the letter which he published in the press had created an unsympathetic atmosphere towards the party. The conference, therefore, had to be given up as it was thought desirable to avoid controversy at this stage of the party's development.

Subsequently, we were all called to Delhi by Comrade Saklatwala, who had considerably changed his attitude by that time. At Delhi, the whole matter was discussed with Saklatwala, who agreed with us on the necessity of having a Communist Party in India.

Immediately we met at Delhi, where it was decided to call the General meeting on the 29th of May, to adopt a constitution and to elect the executive, at Bombay.

Record of work done during the period—

Bengal—

The members of the party have helped in the formation and

growth of the workers' and peasants' parties that were started in various provinces. Special mention can be made of the work done by our comrades in Bengal in re-building the already existing Peasants' and Workers' Party in the province, and making it a strong organisation. The services done by Langal now Ganavani, in spite of the poor finances and the wrecked health of Comrade Muzaffer will go a long way in promoting the proletarian cause in that province.

Lahore—

Efforts were repeatedly made here, by Comrades Darveshi, Majid, Ramchander and Hasan to start a regular organisation of the work on educative lines. They took a conspicuous part in the Trade Union Congress activities and have organised about half a dozen unions successfully. They have also shown good work in the National Congress and we are hopeful of further good results. Recently, the Weekly Mehnatkash, an Urdu weekly, has been started by them, which is doing splendid work in educating the masses of the Urdu knowing districts.

Bombay—

Here a strong left wing organisation was found necessary against the present leadership, and our comrades have been successful in having a W. and P. organisation, which has already commenced work amongst the industrial workers with their organ 'Krantii.' A number of Trade Unions have been formed, and they could command an influential position in the A. I. T. U. C. recently held at Delhi. With the help of the comrades returned from other provinces, they succeeded in getting Coms, Thengdi and Ghate elected as administrative and Assistant Secretaries respectively, and Com. Joglekar in the Negotiations Committee. The Bombay group has also been active in the Congress organisation, of which Com. Joglekar is a Joint Secretary. In the A. I. C. C. they have succeeded in returning Coms. Nimbkar and Joglekar, who put up a considerable fight for our programme at Gauhati and at the meeting of the A. I. C. C. held at Bombay.

Rajputana—

In the province of Rajputana, Com, Begarhotta, the General Secretary, with the help of Pundit Arjunlal Sethi, has been able to have an effective majority in the Provincial Congress Committee. This Provincial Congress Committee has returned 3 members, two republicans, out of the 7 seats allotted, to the All-India Congress Committee. Trade union activities could not be started because Com. Begarhotta had to devote a greater part of his time and energies to the all-India organisation of our party. Recently a W. and P. has been started and efforts are being made to organise industrial labour.

Madras—

Comrade Singeravelu has been doing good propaganda work and has been devoting greater portion of his time to Trade Union and strike activities. There is no other organisation excepting the Labour and Kisan Party. In his position as a member of the Municipal Corporation, Comrade Singeravelu has been doing propaganda there.

U. P. and other Provinces—

Efforts were made to organise work in other provinces, but owing to lack of sufficient financial resources, we have not been able to organise any effective left wing, though desire has been expressed by a few Communists in certain provinces. In the United Provinces particularly, Comrade Azad Sobhani has been able to create a favourable atmosphere for labour activities and we hope that young men would come forward and take up the work.

General Support—

We have not been able to enlist that support which we expected while forming this party. Our handicaps in the way of carrying on propaganda amongst the students and young intelligentsia which could have given us a number of conscious workers for the party and also in the way of approaching all labour and peasants' organisations, at this stage, for the purpose of promoting the party's programme, were mainly caused by lack of funds. It is very essential that energies are directed toward raising at least that small amount of money which is necessary for enabling our comrades to visit all important industrial centres for the purpose of taking stock of the situation in the different provinces and for coming into direct contact with the proletariat. It will only be then that we can promote the programme of the party and give the masses a right understanding about our own party. Efforts were made to start a central organ of the party and in spite of the little help that we could get from our comrades, it was found difficult to start a party organ without our own press, as no press was prepared to suffer, if it came to that.

Governments' Attitude towards the Party—

Though the rulers have in no way directly come into a collision and nothing can, as yet, be said about their attitude toward us, yet the interference, with our correspondence, and the proscribing of our Calcutta manifesto and the publications of the Communist Party of Great Britain and recently of the 3rd International with all those of other communist parties, etc., will leave no doubts regarding their efforts to stifle our propaganda. Last year, we were given to understand by the Government of India that our correspondence was quite legal, but this does not seem to have held good in practice, and we are afraid that many letters meant for us have never reached their destinations.

In the North-West Frontier province our comrades were put to many difficulties, and mention has to be made of the internment of Comrade Shaffique soon after his release from a three years' sentence. Comrade G. R. Derveshi is under police surveillance and has to report himself at all the places he visits. The Frontier government has not given any reasons for his highhandedness. Comrade Usmani is still in jail and is refused proper treatment in spite of the fact that he is suffering from T. B. and anæmia.

Before parting with the responsibilities given to us last year, and while making it over to you, we wish a great success to the cause which we have tried to serve to the best of our abilities.

CENTRAL EXECUTIVE,

The Constitution of the Communist Party of India

1927

1. **Name.**—The name of the party is the Communist Party of India.

2. **Membership.**—Only those subscribing to the programme laid down by the Communist International will be eligible for its membership.

3. **Subscription.**—Each member of the party shall pay not less than Rs. 12 annually or in for a instalments as may be decided by the Executive, the default in which will cause a lapse in membership.

4. **Admission Fee.**—Will be Re. 1 payable on signing the membership form. Every applicant for membership shall be required to get his form countersigned by at least two members of the Party Executive.

5. **Annual Session.**—The Communist Party of India shall hold an annual meeting of all the members which shall be the highest authority to discuss and adopt the report of the retiring Executive, Congress and Trade Union groups and shall, on the basis of the same form a programme for the ensuing year. Election of the office bearers and a central Executive, discussing of the audited statement of accounts, and other resolutions on the agenda shall be the main business of the annual session.

6. **Responsibility for Administration.**—The affairs of the party when not in session, shall be regulated and administered by the Executive Council, which will be elected on the principle of centralisation not territorially: it will be elected from the floor of the entire Party membership, and which will not act in any manner inconsistent with the resolutions of the Party.

7. The party shall have the following executive offices — Presidium of 5 members, One General Secretary, one Treasurer. There will be no president of the party and every meeting shall elect its own president during its sittings.

8. The Central Executive.— The Central Executive of the Party shall consist of the 5 members of the Presidium, the General Secretary and the Treasurer and eight other members elected by the party. The executive shall ordinarily meet three times in a year at such time and place as the General Secretary in consultation with the Presidium may decide.

10. Notice for the Central Executive— The General Secretary will issue the agenda of the Central Executive mentioning the date, time, and place of the meeting not later than 20 clear days before the meeting.

11. When no meeting of the Central Executive can be called, the General Secretary in consultation with the presidium may circulate to the members for opinion, such matters as require immediate action and the opinion of the majority of the members shall have the same force as they were passed at the meeting of the Central Executive.

12. Presidium— The Party shall elect a presidium for the following purposes (A) To investigate complaints which may be referred to it by the Central Executive and to make suggestions for dealing with the same. (B) To investigate complaints of individuals against disciplinary measures, taken against them, by other party organs and submit their opinion on the same to the central committee for definite action. (C) Supervise and organise small party groups in all other political institutions like the Trade Union Congress and the Indian National Congress. (D) To receive the reports of the group leaders, working in different political bodies and to circulate them among the executive members. (E) To deal with all foreign affairs with the sanction of the executive.

13. The candidates for membership of the presidium must be the party members of the highest possible standing. They must be active workers in the political field for at least five years.

14. Foreign Bureau— The Presidium with the sanction of C. E. will maintain a Foreign Bureau as an ideological centre, composed of Comrades, who are not in a position to work inside the country. The Foreign Bureau will be representative of the C. E. and will act as the organ through which the international relations of the Party will be maintained. But it will not in any way work inconsistent with the Party's Programme and resolutions. The Foreign Bureau will have a regular office at a place of their convenience and will keep a constant touch with all the C. Ps. and the Comintern and will give publicity to Indian affairs.

15. **Party Discipline**—Strict party discipline is demanded from all members and party organisations. Discussion on all questions is completely open so long as no decision is taken. When a decision has been taken it must be promptly operated by all members and organs.

16. Breach of Party discipline calls for action by responsible party organs. Action against party organs includes censure, suspension, or even dissolution of the organisation with re-registering of membership.

Against individual membership, action may be censure, dismissal from office or expulsion. In matters of emergency, action can be taken by the Presidium and appeal will be allowed before the executive and the party.

17. **Fractions**—In all Working classes, Political and National organisations, where there are two or more Communists, a party Fraction must be organised for the purpose of increasing the influence of the Party and applying its policy. These Fractions will not be independent when formed, but will be subordinate to Party discipline and Programme.

18. In all bodies like the National Congress Executive i.e. the All India Congress Committee and the Executive of the Trade Union Congress, the party will form Fractions, which will be placed under the Control of the Presidium, where the Fraction leader, who will be appointed by the Executive Committee, will have to submit reports of the work done in the respective bodies. In all such matters, where the opinion of the members in the Fraction may differ, it will be guided by the Presidium until the executive meets.

19. Every question to be decided by the organisation or Branch in which the Fraction is working, should be discussed beforehand by the Fraction meeting, and report of their decision should be sent to the General Secy. who will circulate it to the Presidium. On every question, on which a decision is reached, the Fraction members must act unitedly and vote solidly in the meeting of the organisation in question. Failure to do this constitutes a serious breach of Party discipline.

20. **Minimum Programme**—The Communist Party of India at its annual sessions will formulate a regular programme and Policy to be worked through the National Congress and the Trade Union Congress, and form party groups called the Comrades Fractions to work there on behalf of the Party. The party will also form minimum programmes on the lines of which it will seek co-operation with the existing workers and Political Parties.

21. The central executive shall have powers to frame laws for the conduct of the Communists in other political groups but they will not be inconsistent with those laid down by this constitution.

22. **The Central Office**— The Place of the Central Office will be decided by the Executive Committee, where the records of the Party will be kept and publications issued.

Resolutions on the Party Programme, Elections etc.

The annual session of the Communist Party of India was held in Bombay on Tuesday, May 31. After the adoption of the Executive's annual report and a constitution of the party, the following office bearers were elected for the ensuing year:—

Presidium: Comrades Muzaffer Ahmed, J. P. Begerhotta, G. R. Derveshi, K. S. Iyanger, Dange, (if willing to sign the party creed.)

General Secretary: Mr. S. V. Ghatge. Treasure, Mr. S. H. Mistry.

Executive: Messrs. M. Singarvelu, Hasrat Mohani, R. S. Nimbkar, M. A. Majid, K. N. Jogtekar S. N. Tagore, A. Halim and S. D. Hasan.

Imperialism Condemned.

The following resolutions were unanimously passed:—

1. The Communist Party of India looks upto the Communist Parties of the World, as well as the International, for lead and guidance, in the work undertaken by this party in this country.

2. The Communist Party of India desire, that a delegation composed of Comrades J. P. Begerhotta, Muzaffer Ahmed, R. S. Nimbkar do travel in Great Britain and the Continent to study labour conditions in those countries. The delegation shall submit a report to the party.

3. This party emphatically condemns the Imperialist designs on China and sympathises with the Chinese in their struggle for securing economic salvation.

4. This meeting of the Communist Party of India condemns the Anglo Soviet rupture, brought about by the Conservative Government, as one of the many attempts of Imperialism to drive Russia on the verge of a war.

5. This Party considers the present Trade Union Bill, introduced, in Great Britain as a direct challenge to the rights of Labour, to unite against capitalists and assures the working classes of Great Britain of its fullest sympathy in their struggle against capitalist aggression.

Programme.

6. Whereas, in the opinion of the Communist Party of India, it is only the dynamic energies of the toiling masses that can bring Swaraj to India, and whereas the present bourgeois leadership in the Congress has proved itself to be gradually compromising with Imperialism, and as such is directly in opposition to the interests of the masses, this party calls upon all its members to enrol themselves as members of the Indian National Congress, and form a strong left wing in all its organs for the purpose of wresting them from the present alien control.

This party further calls upon the Communists to co-operate with the Radical Nationalists there, to formulate a common programme on the lines of the following minimum programme laid down by this party:—

- (a) Complete National Independence, and the establishment of a democratic republic based on universal adult suffrage. (b) Abolition of landlordism. (c) Reduction of land rent and indirect taxation higher incidence of graduated income-tax. (d) Modernisation of agriculture with state aid. (e) Nationalisation of public utilities. Industrialisation of the country with state aid. (f) 8 hour day and minimum wage.
- (b) For the promotion of the above programme, the Communist members of the Congress shall contemplate to form a republican wing in the All-India Congress Committee with the co-operation of the left wing of the Congress.
- (c) That all the activities regarding election to Legislatures, Municipalities, Local Boards, etc, shall be decided upon by the central executive from time to time.
- (d) All important issue coming before the All-India Congress Committee shall first be discussed in the party group and instructions issued to its representatives in the All-India Congress Committee to that effect.
- (e) The members of the party shall not be members of any communal organisation and shall always try to expose the class character of such movements.

Trade Union Congress.

7. Whereas it is found that the middle class leadership in the All-India Trade Union Congress has solely been responsible for keeping itself isolated from the proletariat, it is necessary

that the Communist members do enter the Trade Union Congress, and organise labour unions and get them affiliated to the Trade Union Congress, with a view to wrest it from its present bourgeois leadership. The Comrades' section in the Trade Union Congress will put up the following minimum programme as the immediate demands of the working class:—(a) Legal limitation of work to eight hours a day, (b) Legal minimum wage, (c) Abolition of employment of women and children under the age of 18, (d) Abolition of employment of women underground, at night and in dangerous occupations, (e) Schemes of maternity, benefits old age, sickness and unemployment insurance, (f) Workmens' comensation and employers' liability, (g) Freedom of organisation of trade unions exemption from liability for the acts of individual members and freedom to take part in political activities, (h) Weekly payment of wages and (i) Legislation providing for adequate safety devices in factories and mines.

8. The Communist Party of India approves of the programme laid down by the Workers' and Peasants' parties of Bengal, Bombay and Rajputana, and enjoins the members to work out this programme. The members shall try to form similar organisations where such do not exist.

9. This party congratulates Mr. Awari and his colleagues who are trying to establish their right to carry arms by "Satyagraha" against the Arms Act.

10. This meeting emphatically condemns the recent order of the Government of India, in proscribing all advanced literature from entering into this country, as an attempt to stifle the legitimate growth of free thought.

11. This meeting condemns the unjust terms, that have been forced upon G. R. Darveshi by the North West Frontier Province Government.

12. This meeting condemns the action of the North West Frontier Provincial Government in interning Comrade Shaffique who was to have presided over the proposed conference of this party in November last.

13. This meeting sympathises with Comrade Usmani and Akbar Khan in their sufferings in jail.

14. The Communist Party of India welcomes Comrade Dange back from jail, and hopes that he will be able to resume his activities immediately, he recovers his health.

15. The Communist Party of India congratulates Babu Subash Bose, on the courage he has shown, in not accepting the terms of Government at the sacrifice of his principles.

P. 1221.

Warrant of arrest issued by the District Magistrate, Meerut, for the arrest of Shantaram Savlaram Mirajkar, 2/3 Khandke Building, Lady Jamshedji Road, Dadar, Bombay, under Sec. 121-A I.P.C.

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

P. 1222.

Search Warrant issued under Sec. 96 C. P. C. by the District Magistrate, Meerut, for searching the house of Shantaram Sovlaram Mirajkar, 2/3 Khandke Building, Lady Jamshedji Road, Dadar, Bombay.

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

P. 1223.

PUNCHNAMA.

We the undersigned members of the Punch.

1. Vasedeo Govind, age 40, Hindoo, Goldsmith, residing in Deobais Chawl, Lady Jamshedji Road, Dadar Bombay.

2. Namdeo, Bhagwan, age 45, Hindoo, Licensed Tobacco shopkeeper, residing in Hakimbhais Chawl, Lady Jamshedji Road, Dadar, Bombay, were present at the time of the execution of search warrant, No. Nil, dated 15th March 1929, by the District Magistrate, Meerut (U.P.) to witness the search of the room of Shantaram Savlaram Mirajkar at 2/3 (ground floor) of Khandke Buildings, Lady Jamshedji Road Dadar, Bombay, at 6-5 a. m. on the 20th March 1929.

The above search was conducted by Inspector E. A. Fern, Bombay City Police in our presence and the following articles were taken possession of by the officer conducting the search.

- (1) 15 Books, India and China, by Shapurji Saklatvala, M.P.
- (2) 1 Book Evolution Social and Organic, by Arthur M. Lewis
- (3) 1 Book Socialism, by David P. Berinberg.
- (4) 1 Book The Double Edge of Labour's Sword by Morris Hellgart, and Max J. Hayes.
- (5) 1 Book The Defence of Terrorism by L. Trotsky.
- (6) 1 Book Poems for Workers, by Manuel Gomerf.
- (7) 129 copies of the Spark, dated Sunday January 27, 29.
- (8) 2 copies of the Communist International, Sept. 30th, 27.
- (9) 6 copies of the Spark dated 10-2-29, 17-2-29, 24-2-29, 3-3-29, 10-3-29, and 17-3-29.
- (10) 1 book I.W.I. Songs.
- (11) 1 book on the Revolutionary Movement in the Colonies.
- (12) 1 book, American Imperialism, by Jay Lovestone.
- (13) 1 book The Peasantry and the Revolution, by N. L. Michersakov.
- (14) 1 book Lenin by A. Losovsky.
- (15) 1 Presidential Address Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference.
- (16) 1 Photograph in frame of S. Saklatvala, M.P.
- (17) 1 Photograph in frame of P. Spratt.
- (18) 1 Group photograph of Mirajkar and N. Ghate.
- (19) 7 Letters addressed to Mirajkar—"Signed by the Punch".

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

(Sd.) Eric A. Fern.	1. (Sd.) Vasedeo Govind.
Inspector of Police.	(Signed in vernacular)
Officer conducting the search.	2. (Sd.) Namdeo Bhagwan.
20th March 1929. 9-30 a.m.	(Signed in vernacular).

P. 1224.

A booklet in English containing "Poems for Workers".
Published for the Workers' Party of America by the Daily Worker
Publishing Co. Chicago. Ill.

P. 1225.

129 copies of the newspaper "Spark" d/ 27-1-29.

P. 1226.

2 issues of "The Communist International" in English of
30-5-27 and 30-9-27.

P. 1227.

A booklet in English entitled "I. W. W. Songs"
To fan the flame of disancer.

P. 1228.

A book in English entitled. "The Revolutionary movement in the colonies".

Thesis on the Revolutionary Movement in the colonies and semi-colonies, adopted by the Sixth World Congress of the communist International 1928.

P. 1229.

A book in English entitled "The Peasantry and the Revolution" by N.L. Mecheriakov.

P. 1230.

A book in English entitled "Lenin" and the Trade Union Movement by A. Losovsky.

P. 1231.

A copy 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.

P. 1232.

37, Harrison Road,

Calcutta,

22-2-1927.

Dr. Mr. Marijkar,

I have been requested by Mr. Shapurji Saklatwala M. P. to write to you to say that he is willing to meet socialists and communists at Delhi on the 14th of March next. He prefers this date because it is the Anniversary day of Carl Marx. You may hold a regular conference there or you may simply meet him there for discussion of the things. If it be a conference he will not preside over it. He will simply speak. In any way I am not going there, my financial circumstances will not allow me.

Yours truly,

Sd. Muzaffar Ahmad.

P. 1233

38 Mecklenburgh Square,

London W. C. 1

October 12 1927.

Secretary Defence Committee,

17 Dwarkadas Mensions,

Sandhurst Road,

Bombay 4

Dear Mr. Mirajkar,

I have seen your statement in the press with regard to the Spratt Defence Committee and as I have been interested in the matter having met Mr. Spratt when he was working at the Labour Research Department, I should like to tell you that I am very glad that you are taking such steps to vindicate the right of free speech.

I understand that the Labour Research Department here was naturally the first to interest themselves in Spratt's defence and that their Director, Mr. Page Arnot Communicated with Mr. Joshi on behalf of Spratt. Mr. Arnot, in response to a cable from M. Joshi, was able to get together about forty pounds as a first instalment of assistance for the defence, which he sent to Mr. Joshi. Since then we have been able to interest the "Independent Class

War Prisoners' Aid " organisation here in the case and they have undertaken to take the matter up, to issue and appeal and to collect everything possible. It is hoped that the full amount mentioned by Mr. Joshi (£250) will be collected. You may already have heard from Mr. R. Lovell, the Secretary of the I. C. W. P. A. on this subject.

In view of the importance of the issue, I hope sincerely that it will be possible to arrange for such representation that the utmost value is obtained and an adequate defence ensured.

Wishing you every success in your efforts,

I am, Yours sincerely,

C. P. Dutt.

P. 1234.

Telegram " Kirti "

Telephone " 714 "

" KIRTI "

The only Labour Organ in Urdu.

The Best
Medium
for
Advertisements

Commands
Widest
Circulation.

Reference No.....

Amritsar 27th July 1928.
(India).

Dear Comrade,

We the undersigned shall feel much obliged if you kindly condescend session of the workers' and Peasants' conference of the Punjab to be held on the 28th, 29th, and 30th Srptember, 1928 along with the Punjab Provincial Political conference at Lyallpur. The president of the session will be Mr. S. A. Dange, Bombay. You are requested once again with all the force at our command to kindly grace this occasion by your presence and expected to reach on 28th September 1928 at Layallpur.

With fraternal greetings.

Yours in liberty,

Sd. Sohan Singh

General Secretary

The Workers' and Peasants'
Party, Punjab.

P. 1235.

F. and O. S. N. Co.

S. S. Razmak.

January 10, 1927.

Dear Comrade Mirajkar.

I thank you for your very cordial letter of 1st January, and in case you miss contact with me on my landing, I better acknowledge it formally. It is my devout wish and hope that this trip to India, which to a poor man like me is a tremendous speculation may prove to be of use and service to our poor country, especially at a time when our political outlook is more of a bewilderment than a settled policy and programme. The consideration of imparting a Labour spirit and mind to our Congress, which you put to me, I need hardly say is one in which I should hope to serve with some experience.

Yours fraternally,

Shapurji Saklatwala.

P. 1236.

A book in English entitled
"The defence of Terrorism"
(Terrorism and Communism).

by

L. Trotsky.

P. 1237.

Warrant of arrest issued by the District Magistrate, Meerut, for the arrest of Motiram Gajanan Desai, Jariwala Building, 2nd floor, Sandhurst Road near Dr. Parekh's Hospital, Bombay, under Sec. 121-A of the I. P. C.

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

P. 1238.

Search Warrant issued under Sec. 96 C. P. C. by the District Magistrate, Meerut, for Searching the house of Motiram Gajanan Desai, Jariwala Building, 2nd Floor, Sandhurst Road near Dr. Ptrekeh's Hospital, Bombay.

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

P. 1239.

Search Warrant issued under Sec. 96 C. P. C. by the District Magistrate, Meerut, for searching the premises occupied by the office of "Spark". Bombay.

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

P. 1240.
PANCHNAMA.

Bombay 20th March 1929

1. Mr. Sorabji Ardeshar Palkhiwalla age 30 years, occupation proprietor of the Jublee Soda factory, Khetwadi Main Road.

2. Mr. Shanker Vithoba, age 24 years. occupation Bidi shop keeper, Khetwadi Main Road, Kala Bangala.

We the above named 'Panches' (witnesses) were called by Inspector R. N. Nayamballi of the C. I. D. Bombay at 6 A. M. on the 20th March 1929 to witness the search of the premises occupied by Mr. Motiram Gajanan Desai the Editor of the 'Spark' situated on the 2nd floor of Jariwala Mansion, Sandhurst Road opp. Dr. Parekh's Hospital, Bombay.

The police party was searched by us in the presence of Mr. Desai before the entry in Mr. Desai's rooms.

The following articles have been seized by the police in our presence.

1. The Intelligent woman's guide to socialism and capitalism by Bernard Shaw 1928. Edition by Constable and Co: Ltd. London.

2. Four scraps of paper with notes in ink--marked 2A, 2B, 2C, 2D—

3. A cover addressed to M. G. Desai Esq M. A. bearing postal stamp "London F. S. Feb 21st 1929. 6-15 p. m. marked 3A containing letter dated London 21st Feb; 1929 from "Appa to My dear Dinu" marked 3B.

4. A paper with pencil notes.

5. Four entire pieces of paper with pencil notes and another piece of paper torn with pencil notes. Marked 5A, 5B, 5C, 5D, 5E.

6. Five copies of 'Spark' dated 27th January 1929.

7. 10th Feb. 1929.

8. ... 17th Feb. 1929.

9. ... 24th Feb. 1929.

10. 3rd March. 1929.

11. 10th March. 1929.

12. ... 17th March. 1929.

13. One copy of "Kranti" dated 24th Feb 1929.

14. 17th Feb; 1920.
15. Part of a copy of 'Kranti' dated 9th March 1929.
pages 1, 2, 5, 6.
16. A pages of 'Kranti' 3 and 4 dated 10th March 1929.
17. A copy of New masses dated April 1927.
18. May 1927.
19. July 1926.
20. Feb 1927.
21. Nov 1926-
22. Dec 1926.
23. June 1927.
24. July 1927.
25. Feb 1927.
26. Sept 1926.
27. The Masses of India Feb 1928.
28. A copy of the Workers pictorial Nov 1928.
29. A copy of Sunday Worker 29th July 1928.
30. A copy of... .. 5th Aug, 1928.
31. 4th Nov. 1928.
32. A copy of Workers' life dt. 20th April 1928.
33. 27th April 1928.
34. 11th May 1928.
35. 25th May 1928.
36. 27th July 1928.
37. 18th May 1928.
38. 1st June 1928.
39. Five copies of Workers and Peasants Party's Principles
and Policy dt. Dec. 1928.
40. Six copies of Trade Union Movement dated Dec. 1928.
41. Four copies of "Political Resolution" no date.
42. A copy of Labour Monthly dated July 1921.
43. Feb 1928.

44. April 1928.
45. A copy of Labour Monthly dated May 1925.
46. July 1927.
47. July 1925.
48. Aug 1928.
49. Oct; 1925.
50. Oct; 1928.
51. Oct; 1926.
52. Nov; 1926.
53. Dec; 1928.
54. A copy of the manifesto of the Communist Party by Karl Mark.
55. A copy of the Communist dated March 1928.
56. Dec 1928.
57. Oct; 1928.
58. Jan 1928.
59. Feb 1928.
60. — — — of the Re-conquest of Ireland By James Connolly.
61. A copy of "A call to Action" issued by the Workers' and Peasants' Party Calcutta 1928.
62. A copy of Behind the Scenes of the great Strike by Hamilton Tyte.
63. A copy of the Irish Labour Movement by W. P. Rayan.
64. A copy of "Value, Price and Profit" by Karl Marx.
65. A copy of the "Ideal of Human Unity" by Aravinda Ghose.
66. A copy of the Land and the Nation issued by Rural Reports of the Mineral Committee 1923-1925.
67. A Labo-ur International Book 1923.
68. A short History of the British Workers by R. W. Post-Gate.
69. A copy of the "Crisis in Russia" by Arthur Ransome.
70. A copy of "Imperialism" by Emile Burns.
71. A copy of 'Hell Found' by S. A. Dangc.

- 72.— —'The Labour Party and his Empire' by L. Haden Guest.
73. A copy of Socialism—critical and constructive By Ramsey Mc. Donald.
74. A copy of the 'Report of the Twenty sixth Annual Conference of the Labour party—Margate 1926.
75. A copy of Soviet Russia by Jawahar Lal Nehru.
76. A copy of 'Kranti Karak Raj Naitik Itihas' by S. D. Karandikar.
77. A copy of 'Out of work' by G. D. H. Cole.
78. 'The socilaist and Labour movement in Japan', by an American Sociologist.
79. A copy of 'The Problem of India' by Shiva Ram and D. Graham Pole.
80. A copy of the 'Foundations of Imperialist Policy' by Michel Pavlovitch.
81. A copy of 'The Web of Finance' by Hugh P. Vowles.
82. A copy of 'What to Read' Published by the Plebs League—1923.
83. A copy of 'The Labour year book 1926.
84. A copy of the 'Socialist Annual 1925'.
85. A copy of 'India Today' by the Independent Labour Party. London.
86. A copy of 'Hundred percent Indian' by C. G. Shah.
87. A copy of 'Karl Liebknecht's letter' from Persia published by the Sun shine Publishing House Bombay.
88. A copy of the 'Mass strike' by Rosa Luxemburg.
89. A copy of 'The crime of poverty' by Henry George.
90. A copy of "Scotland and Scotsmen" by Henry George.
91. A copy of "Vorwort Zur Russischen Ausgabe (Written in German).
92. A copy of "Songs for Socialists " issued by the Fabian Society.
93. A copy of Communism by Harold J. Laski.
94. A copy of " Worker's History of the Great Strike " Written by Postgate Wilkenson and Harli.

95. A copy of the "Independence movement in Korea" issued by Japan Chronicle.
96. A copy of "Labour and Housing in Bombay" by Burnett Hurst.
97. A copy of "Land and People" by Henry George.
98. A copy of "Constitution and Rules of the London Indian Association.
99. A copy of "Trade Unionism" Past and future by Mark Arthur.
100. A copy of "Revolution by Reason" by Oswald Mosley.
101. A copy of "Indian Problems" by Kristadas Pal.
102. A copy of "Chants of Labour".
103. A copy of "Hands off Russia".
104. A copy of the "Far Eastern Monthly" dated July 1928.
105. A copy of the "G. B. S. Calendar"
106. A copy of Plebs Dec. 1926.
107.Jan. 1927.
108.Dec. 1927.
109. A copy of "the Volunteer" by Dr. N. S. Hardikar Oct. 1928.
110. The Communist Book shop catalogue issued by Convent Gardens, London.
111. A copy of Plebs Dt/-Sept. 1927.
112.June. 1927.
113.July. 1927.
114.Feb. 1929.
115. A copy of the "Communist International" 1st January 1928.
116. A copy of "Socialism and the Empire" issued by the I. L. Party.
117. A copy of the "Periods of Working class History by R. W. Postgate.
118. A copy of "Revolt" issued in Erode Dt/2nd Jany. 1929.
119. One sheet China's fight is Labour's fight.
120. One Exercise Book containing list of subscribers to "Spark".

121. Seven pages in manuscript address delivered in London by Mr. Desai before introducing George Lanebury at Y. M. C. A. Meeting.

122. A copy of Annual Report of the Labour Research Dept. 1923-24

123. The First All India Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference. Presidential Address Calcutta Dt/-21st Dec. 1928.

124. Seven pages manuscript entitled Towards Socialism G. Adhikari's name also appears below Aziz (Sd) S. S. Pathak 9-4-29. Sent by G. Adhikari and written by Monlana Aziz for publication in the "Spark".

125. Three bits or two pages of a type written article on the Anglo-French Alliance by H. Leister Hutchinson.

126. Seven sheets of manuscript notes.

127. A letter dated 19-12-28. from Bernard Houghton Forwarding six pages of manuscript article on the class struggle for publication in "Kirti" (not yet published)

128. Two pages rough manuscript on the Clerk's Union.

129. Three pages rough manuscript on the R. I. M. Dock Workers Union.

130. A copy of the First Sessions of the All India Socialist youth Congress Chairman's address Calcutta 1928.

131. Six pages of manuscript notes entitled "Textile Workers declare War, (not yet published)

132. A copy of a typed letter dated 4/2/29 to Philip Spratt, Calcutta.

133. A manuscript copy of an article published in the "Spark" by C. G. Shah entitled "Lenin by Trotsky" by Shah-Three pages.

134. A letter from Spratt dated 4-2-29 to Mr. Desai enclosing seven page manuscript article on the Public Safety Bill.

135. A type written article (Two pages) on the Workers and Peasants Party - What it stands for - its programme and Policy by G. V. Ghate - and signed by him.

136. A receipt book of the "Spark" with 15 un-issued receipts for subscriptions.

137. Five type written pages by Mr. G. Desai "On the Eve of the Congress".

138. A printed Hand bill dealing with the organization of the People's party in Indian Politics by Manaklal H. Vakeel.

139. A letter of introduction from the Editor from the "Sunday Worker" Dt/- 30th June 1926.

140. A letter to Mr. Desai from P. Geddes dated 19th August 1926.

141. Seventeen pages of a typed article entitled "The Lessons of the 43rd National Congress.

142. A member-ship card of the South West St. Pancras Labour party in the name of Mr. M. G. Desai.

143. A letter of introduction from Col. Wedgewood to George Lansbury introducing M. G. Desai - Dt/- 7/3/25.

144. Seven pages of an unpublished type-written article on the Conference of the Workers and peasants' Party in India.

145. A letter dated 13/3/29 by G. Barat enclosing an article in manuscript of three sheets entitled "Beware of the Imperialist lie" together with a postal cover.

146. A letter dated March 1928 from the Chairman of the Independent Labour Party London forwarding a manifesto urging International Unity.

147. A pencil written note for one of the issues of the "Spark".

148. Two pages type written list of "Spark" subscribers

149. An advertisement for the "Spark" (unpublished) from V. L. and Co; Publishers.

150. A type written article entitled economic reconstruction of Germany in six pages.

151. Two type written pages purporting to be a latter from Sen Yat Sen and his account of the death of Lenin.

152. Eight manuscript pages of an article on the youth movement in China by an Indian Youth.

153. Five pages typed and rearranged article by B.F. Bradley on Jhansi Congress.

154. Two pages typed written list of newspapers agents in India.

155. Five pages of a manuscript article of a review by C. G. Shah of Soviet Russia by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. ✓

156. A letter dated 27/6/28 from M. G. Desai to Mr. Parvate with its enclosing cover addressed to Mr. Parvate.

157. Thirteen stereo type pages being the report on the First Conference of the British Section of the League against Imperialism held in London on 7th July 1928.

158. Four printed sheets being a treaties on Imperialism and Nationalism

159. A loose leaf pocket book containing miscellaneous notes.

160. Passport No. 19251 issued to Mr. Desai in 1924 by the Bombay Govt.

161. A Corona portable Type-writer No. 586497 with case.

These articles mentioned above were found in the office room in the occupation of Mr. Desai.

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

Before me

Sd. R. N. Nayamballi

Sd. S. A. Palkhiwala.

Inspector of police

Sd. Shankar Vithoba.

C. I. D. C. B.

(In vernacular)

20/3/29. 1-45pm.

Saraswati Machine Printing Press, MEERUT, U. P., INDIA.